MONASTIC REFORM as PROCESS

Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100

STEVEN VANDERPUTTEN

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Ivory plaque representing Saint John the Evangelist, made around the year 1000 by an Insular art-ist probably working at Saint-Bertin. Saint-Omer, Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, inv. 2282. Copyright Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin de Saint-Omer. Reproduced with permission.

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❧ Acknowledgments

This book has a long history. In 2005, I was awarded a research professorship at Ghent University that enabled me to devote the majority of my time to researching and publishing on medieval monasticism. I am grateful to Ghent University's Special Research Fund for this privileged position, initially for five years, then for another five starting in 2010. In fall 2005, I spent three months as a visiting fellow at the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. Conversations that I enjoyed there with Giles Constable, as well as his continued encouragement, strengthened my resolve to develop my interest in the subject of reform. I am also grateful for fellowships at the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte in Eichstätt (2008), the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Wassenaar (2009–2010), the Flemish Academic Center in Brussels (2011–2012), and the Institute for Advanced Study at the University of Indiana at Bloomington (2012). Since 2010, Ghent University's Special Research Fund and the Research Foundation–Flanders (FWO) have funded two separate projects under my supervision on the so-called Lotharingian reforms. Preparation for these projects helped me identify the historical and historiographical issues that are central to this book.

Several colleagues devoted precious time to read, and comment on, previous versions of this book. Giles Constable, Brigitte Meijns, Tjamke Snijders, Helena Vanommeslaeghe, and Koen Vanheule all cast a critical yet sympathetic eye on the entire manuscript, offering encouragement as well as pointing out errors and unclear passages. Diane Reilly painstakingly combed through several chapters to find inconsistencies in the argument and other problems. I am also indebted to the two anonymous reviewers at Cornell University Press for their helpful suggestions. Other colleagues whose scientific advice and support, be it intellectual or moral, proved invaluable include, in no particular order, Barbara Rosenwein, Régine le Jan, Dominique Iogna-Prat, Gert Melville, Caroline Bynum, Richard Gameson, Alison Beach, Isabelle Rosé, Albert Derolez, Stephen White, Scott Bruce, Jörg Sonntag, Anne-Marie

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Preliminary research for several chapters was first published in the form of articles. Chapter 1 is partially based on "Individual Experience, Collective Remembrance, and the Politics of Monastic Reform in High Medieval Flanders," *Early Medieval Europe* 20 (2012): 70–89. Brigitte Meijns cowrote the articles that respectively serve as the basis for parts of chapter 2 and a few of those on Leduin of Saint-Vaast in chapter 5 ("Gérard de Brogne en Flandre: Etat de la question sur les réformes monastiques du dixième siècle," *Revue du Nord* 385 [2010]: 271–95; "Realities of Reformist Leadership in Early Eleventh-Century Flanders: The Case of Leduin, Abbot of Saint-Vaast," *Traditio* 65 [2010]: 47–74). Dr. Meijns has kindly given me permission to rework them for this book; I have paid particular attention to refocusing the argument in these sections on my personal understanding of the evidence and take full responsibility for their contents. Finally, chapter 7 derives in part from research published originally as "Crises of Cenobitism: Abbatial Leadership and Monastic Competition in Late Eleventh-Century Flanders," *English Historical Review* 127 (2012): 259–84. I am grateful to the original reviewers of these papers for their comments.

My wife, Melissa, shared every stage of this project, patiently reading and commenting on countless drafts of each chapter. She relentlessly issued words of encouragement, often doing so at times when she should have been on their receiving end. As did my son, Hugo—so it is to him that I dedicate this book.

✺ Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*
AASS OSB	*Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti*
BASO	Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis.* 2 vols. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901, and *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, supplementi editio altera auctior.* Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1911.
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BMDV	Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MGH SRM	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*
Simon, *Chronicon*	Simon of Ghent. *Chronicon Sithiense.* Edited by Oswald Holder-Egger. *MGH SS* 13:635–63. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1881.

❧ MONASTIC REFORM AS PROCESS

Introduction

In 1162, an anonymous monk from the Bene-
dictine monastery of Lobbes, now in the Belgian province of Hainaut, com-
piled a history of his community from the final decades of the tenth century
to the present.[1] His account was modeled on the *gesta abbatum*, or *deeds of
abbots*, a genre in which a monastery's past was subdivided into sections that
chronologically and thematically corresponded to the individual abbacies
of its leaders. The length and contents of these sections in the chronicle of
Lobbes vary greatly. The availability of sources, the interest to a contempo-
rary audience of the events that were preserved in memory, and the author's
own preferences as a chronicler and an individual all played a role in shaping
the narrative. In cases where the author had little to say, he padded his story
with information taken from sources other than those documenting Lobbes's
institutional history. Among these parts of the chronicle, surely the most
remarkable is the following passage:

> In the thirteenth year of his ordination, Ingobrand was thrown out of
> the abbacy by Wolbodo, . . . bishop of Liège, and it was decided that in
> his place Richard, the venerable abbot of Verdun, was to govern Lobbes

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1. *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium continuata*, ed. Arndt, 308–33. On the history of Lobbes, see, among
others, Warichez, *Abbaye*, and Dierkens, *Abbayes*, esp. 91–136.

as abbot. This he did laudably, as was revealed in all the exercises of holy religion. His authority was recognized as being such that almost all monasteries in Lotharingia observed his institutions as their law and transmitted them to future generations for preservation. During that same time Poppo of Stavelot and Stephen of Liège were recognized for having glorified the church with the same religious fervor. In the twelfth year of his government, Richard returned the abbacy in the hands of Bishop Reginhard.[2]

In this extract, the chronicler sends out conflicting messages, which are symptomatic of the difficulties facing historians of monastic reform. For Richard, better known as Richard of Saint-Vanne (d. 1046), was one of the great reformers of the early eleventh century, and his fame was indeed such that his name still resounded among monastic audiences of the twelfth century.[3] This the *Gesta* duly acknowledge, adding the names of Poppo (d. 1048) and Stephen (d. 1061), both disciples of Richard and trained at the abbey of Saint-Vanne, to show that Richard's action as a reformer at Lobbes was part of a larger movement that made an impact on institutions both in the Western Frankish (Richard's main field of action) and in the imperial (Poppo's and Stephen's) parts of Lotharingia. Yet, in contrast to many of the entries for other abbots, the author makes no effort to say anything concrete about Richard's government at Lobbes. What is merely suggested is that the monks, like many of their peers, had adopted the instructions (or, literally, "institutions") of their new abbot and transmitted them to later generations. Since almost no evidence securely datable to Richard's abbacy at Lobbes (which lasted from 1020 to 1033) has been preserved,[4] we have little or no idea what his reformist government actually meant for life within the monastery and how his agency as a reformer clashed, or meshed, with existing structures, such as disciplinary traditions, modes of economic management, the management of social networks, and so on. However, such a lack of sources is barely evident in scholarly literature, where the consensus about Richard's government in other, better-documented institutions is simply assumed to be similarly valid for Lobbes.[5]

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2. Translated from the Latin text in *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium continuata*, ed. Arndt, 310.

3. On Richard of Saint-Vanne and his reforms, see, among others, De Moreau, *Histoire*, 161–69; Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*; Hirschmann, *Verdun*, 1:135–83; and Hirschmann, "Klosterreform."

4. On Richard's presumed interventions in the management of Lobbes's estates, see chapter 4; on scriptorial activity during his government, see chapter 6.

5. As previously noted in Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 126, n. 306. For an example, see Warichez, *Abbaye*, 69–71.

Representations of Reform

These observations on the modern historiography of Lobbes apply to discussions of the history of many monastic communities of the Middle Ages, where little-known phases of reform and their long-term impact are analyzed and explicated by relying on preconceived ideas about the uniformity of reformist government. The remarkable longevity of this approach is due both to the dominant discourse on reform in apologetic narratives of the time and to the way in which reformed monasticism has been studied since the late nineteenth century. For the most part, contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the reforms were written by authors who wished to celebrate and justify the actions of the main protagonists of the reforms and their patrons. The literary themes they used to demonstrate the legitimacy of their interpretation of monastic reform were double. A first one was to emphasize the charismatic qualities of its originators and to argue in favor of its supposedly universal, homogeneous application.[6] In a second, these authors postulated, or at least suggested, that reform had been necessary for reasons connected to the individual situation of the monasteries involved, the principal ones being decline in internal discipline, failing leadership, and a liberal approach to exchanges with the secular world. All of these were routinely described as inevitable, albeit regrettable, aspects of the development of institutional monasticism.[7] While this general picture makes for a compelling narrative, we will see that it begins to look less realistic when one looks more closely at the history of specific institutions.

More important, however, is the fact that modern scholarship has shaped its own vision of reform as a unified procedure. Until recently, scholars of the monastic reforms of the tenth and early eleventh centuries constructed their discourse in such a way that a lack of concrete information about what happened at individual institutions was not regarded as a significant

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6. This remark applies both to general narratives of reform and to institutional histories. For instance, the late-eleventh-century chronicle of Hugo of Flavigny, our main source for Richard of Saint-Vanne's biography, presents the reforms of the early eleventh century as a coherent movement in order to create a historical argument in the context of current debates over the position of traditional monasticism in the church; see Healy, *Chronicle*. Similarly, the *Vita Richardi*, a hagiographic narrative written in the 1130s, claims that Richard obliged the abbots of reformed monasteries to convene once a year at Saint-Vanne in Verdun. This is a clear allusion to then-current developments in the organization of, among others, the Cistercian movement; see ibid., 44. And in the *gesta* of Lobbes, the reference to Richard's "institutions" and the implied use of a written customary is an allusion to the monks' recent (c. 1130) resistance to being incorporated in a reformist network led by Alvisus of Anchin and their refusal to accept a modified version of the Cluniac customary; see Vanderputten, "Time." On the "Richardian" customary of Saint-Vanne, see chapter 4.

7. See the discussion in chapter 1.

problem. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the scientific study of monastic reform began in earnest, the German scholar Ernst Sackur argued that the *renovatio*, or renewal, of the *ordo monasticus* from the early tenth century onward was organized from major centers of reform.[8] Sackur, who was working in a historiographical context much concerned with the origins and early development of the European nation-states, was responsible for introducing a dichotomous model that opposed a network of monasteries reformed by the abbey of Cluny, situated mostly in Western Francia, to one comprising institutions reformed by the abbey of Gorze and situated mainly in the empire. Criticized early on in a number of case studies about individual monasteries and regional clusters of such institutions,[9] this model was nevertheless influential, and was further developed more than half a century later in Kassius Hallinger's monograph *Gorze-Kluny*.[10] Hallinger's basic argument consisted of saying that, from their inception, the systems of Gorze and Cluny functioned as semi-institutionalized movements that adapted their understanding of reformed monasticism to meet the expectations of secular and ecclesiastical rulers. According to this model, this political background to the reforms yielded distinctly different interpretations of Benedict's Rule on each side of the East-West divide. The impact of these two systems and their respective outlook on the purpose of monasteries in society was so overwhelming, Hallinger argued, that reformed monasticism should be studied from the viewpoint of these movements and their political patronage, as all the smaller reform centers and their respective filiations were derivatives of either system, or of a combination of both. Hallinger's belief in the enduring character of this geopolitical framework and the stability of these monastic networks led him to consider as part of one "movement" monasteries that belonged to the same political sphere but were sometimes reformed as far apart as five or six decades, with little consideration for political, economic, and other variables.

The above hypothesis was criticized soon after its original publication, but even more so after a second, unrevised edition of *Gorze-Kluny* was printed in 1971. To some extent Hallinger's monumental edition of monastic customaries contributed to debunking his own arguments, as it showed a bewildering array of customs and liturgical practices in monasteries hitherto

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8. Sackur, *Cluniacenser*. For an overview of scholarship influenced by Sackur's ideas, see Sabbe, "Notes," 551–52.

9. Warichez, *Abbaye*, 69–70; Sabbe, "Notes," 553–55; Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 335–40.

10. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*.

considered "Cluniac" or "Gorzian."[11] Further research into the societal in-corporation of monastic institutions has also led specialists to abandon the idea that Cluny and Gorze represented two politically inspired "types" of monasticism,[12] and has highlighted the importance of lay patronage, and of local contexts in general.[13] Thus, since the 1980s, the notion of large, oppos-ing movements has come to be broadly regarded as a construction by modern historians struggling to understand reform and reformist networks.[14] The consensus among specialists now seems to be that we need to distinguish two phases of reform, one ranging from the late ninth century until the end of the tenth, and the other from the beginning of the eleventh until the Gre-gorian reform movement transformed the face of the church as a whole. As Isabelle Rosé has argued, the tenth-century reforms were not distinct move-ments directed by monasteries that served as centers from which the reforms were propagated and managed. Instead, they derived from informal associa-tions of reformist agents with a special capacity to mobilize both monastic groups and ecclesiastical and secular networks in the pursuit of institutional and disciplinary change. For these individuals, the homogeneity of life in the reformed houses was less important than was expanding the application of an ascetic and secluded form of cenobitic life from a handful of holy men to entire communities of Benedictine monks. How exactly these communities organized life within the cloister was not a major concern, as long as they all shared in the spirit of Benedict of Aniane's (d. 821) interpretation of the Benedictine Rule.[15] In Western Francia, the second phase, or "wave," of the reforms signified an increasing institutionalization of monastic networks into congregational structures, the most famous of which is Cluny's *ecclesia Cluni-acensis*.[16] The reforms of this second phase are distinguished from those of the first by the fact that they were carried out by the transmission and imposition of a particular customary and that all the reformed houses became oriented, both institutionally and in a disciplinary sense, on a mother house. Elsewhere,

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11. *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*. See Engelbert, "Bericht." For an overview of criticism of Hallinger's work, see Kottje, "Einleitung," 9–13.

12. For Cluny, see Wollasch, "Neue Methoden"; and Rosenwein, "Reformmönchtum." For Gorze, see *Abbaye de Gorze*, ed. Parisse and Oexle; and Wagner, *Gorze*.

13. Among many notable studies are Bouchard, *Sword*; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor*; and Nightingale, *Monasteries*.

14. Constable, "Cluniac Reform." I refer to Constable's work on Cluny and its network for further references, and to his *Reformation*.

15. Rosé, "Réformes"; Rosé, "Communautés." A notable study of the agency of an individual reformer is Rosé, *Construire*.

16. Poeck, *Cluniacensis ecclesia*; Wollasch, *Cluny*.

however, the "logic of the tenth-century reforms" (to use Rosé's words) was maintained throughout the early and mid-eleventh century.[17] There, as in England, the involvement of secular leaders and bishops in organizing and initiating monastic reform remained crucial.[18]

One such area where the reforms continued to be driven by the initiative of individuals and their informal networks as well as by their ecclesiastical and secular supporters throughout the eleventh century was Lower Lotharingia and northeastern France, a region politically split between France and the empire. In *Gorze-Kluny*, Hallinger listed around sixty monasteries, about a dozen of which Richard of Saint-Vanne led as abbot, as belonging to the *Lotharingian Mixed Observance*, a reform movement that operated mostly in the archbishoprics of Reims, Cologne, and Trier. According to Hallinger's analysis, the "mixed" character of the Lotharingian monastic discipline, which incorporated elements from the customs observed at Gorze and Cluny, was intentional, and reflected the mixed political allegiances of the region.[19] In these institutions, he inferred a degree of unity in reformist government that justified its designation as a semi-institutionalized alternative to the movements of Cluny and Gorze.

Following the debates that erupted on publication of Hallinger's study, scholars have approached the "Lotharingian" or "Richardian" discipline and modes of government more pragmatically, looking at the impact of the reforms on specific aspects of monasticism, such as economic management,[20] the cult of saints and hagiography,[21] the production and exchange of manuscripts, and the management of libraries.[22] Most of these studies have focused on the individual capacity of the reformers to mobilize their secular and ecclesiastical networks in pursuit of reform. This is also evident in a number of publications devoted specifically to the careers of key figures in the reforms, such as Poppo of Stavelot,[23] Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai,[24] and Count Baldwin IV of Flanders.[25] Some progress was also made in the study of the

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17. Rosé, "Réformes," 148.

18. Barrow, "Ideas."

19. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1:280–316 and 493–516.

20. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 129–72; Platelle, *Justice*, 27–28 and 57–59; Hirschmann, "Klosterreform" (with corrections to Dauphin).

21. Goullet and Wagner, "Reliques"; Wagner, "Collections."

22. See, for instance, Turcan-Verkerk, "Entre Verdun"; Turcan-Verkerk, "Scriptorium"; Paulmier-Foucart and Wagner, "Lire"; and Reilly, *Art of Reform*.

23. George, "Réformateur."

24. Riches, "Episcopal Historiography"; Riches, "Bishop Gerard I."

25. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV."

The Lotharingian Mixed Observance according to Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1:282. Copyright Studia Anselmiana. Reproduced with permission.

reformist ideology and the propagation of reform.[26] Despite their obvious merits, these approaches to reformist government have failed to adequately explain how the reform of individual monasteries related, on the one hand, to long-term trends in their development and, on the other, to the real or supposed ideals of reformist government of influential reformers like Richard of Saint-Vanne. In particular the notion that the reformers may have allowed the traditions and historical "structures" (be they political, economic, educational, or other) that shaped the institutional identity of monastic communities to have an impact on the contents and development of reformist government is still considered less relevant than, on the one hand, the search for common ground in reformist policies of the same "movement"[27] and,

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26. Van Meter, "Apocalyptic Moments"; Roubach, "Hidden Apocalypse"; Wagner, "Humilité"; Vanderputten, "*Oboedientia*."

27. This has been demonstrated with admirable clarity in the introduction to *Chartes de l'abbaye de Waulsort*, ed. Despy, 19–21.

on the other, the analysis of secular and ecclesiastical rulers' motives for supporting or promoting reform.

The model usually followed in these studies, but rarely explicitly referred to, is one that describes reform on the level of single institutions as a phenomenon consisting of two distinct phases. In the critical first phase, charismatic reformers negotiated the modalities of a workable reformist government. Suppressing or resolving internal resistance, rallying the support of the local lay and ecclesiastical elites, in some cases acquiring new monastic property to establish a viable community, and other such actions are regarded as a reflection of short-term policies intended to make possible the implementation of a reformist "program." Historians have a tendency to regard this "flashpoint" phase of reform as the historical one, according great importance to chronologies and the sequence of events. The second phase, which is considered almost atemporal, constitutes the implementation of the reformist "program" itself. Notions such as evolution, incremental processes, and even the tension between structure and agency are considered of little analytical consequence: the ideals prevalent in the circles of charismatic reformers, and the goals of secular and ecclesiastical patrons, are thought to adequately explicate the goals and even the realities of reformist government in individual monasteries.

Thus, all supposed or real evidence of "reformist" government and its impact on institutional, economic, intellectual, and spiritual life in the monastery is associated with the shared objectives of the original reformers and their supporters, regardless of the question of when and in what circumstances this evidence actually originated. Even in the case of Richard's leadership at the abbey of Saint-Vanne (1004–1046), scholars have lumped together evidence from more than four decades of leadership to pinpoint his intentions and agency as a reformer, presenting it as if all of his documented policies derived from a set of concrete measures formulated at a single point in time.[28] This is understandable, especially given the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the lack of reliable chronologies; but it stands in the way of a thorough understanding of how reform actually worked.

Reform as a Process

This book puts the history of monastic reform to the test by examining the history and development of seven monasteries in Flanders (Saint-Bertin,

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28. This is the case in Dauphin's *Bienheureux Richard*, Healy's *Chronicle*, and even Hirschmann's "Klosterreform."

Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, Saint-Bavo, Saint-Peter, and Saint-Vaast), all of which were involved in the so-called Lotharingian reform movement of the early eleventh century, between c. 900 and c. 1100.[29] Despite the relatively abundant body of scholarship on Flemish monasticism in this period, historians have yet to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relation between long-term developments in the interconnected monastic and political history of the region and the phenomenon of monastic reform. So far, the question of how each reformed institution's historical legacies and traditions shaped the government of reformist abbots, and how that government itself evolved over time, has eluded investigation.

In seven chapters, I reinterpret the evidence from these institutions along three major lines of argument. The first is that the reforms of the early eleventh century essentially constituted a confrontation between the objectives of charismatic reformers and the concrete (social, economic, intellectual) contexts in which each individual monastery found itself, and that this confrontation formed an integral part of the way in which these individuals conceived their reformist agency. The second is that the molding of this confrontation into a durable new situation for monastic groups was a long-term process, for which a "second generation" of reformers was largely responsible.[30] The third is that reformist government was also cumulative in nature, and many of the individual achievements and initiatives (acquisition of privileges, donations, relations with the ecclesiastical and lay elites, and so on) of reformist abbots were possible only because they built on previous achievements. Thus, rather than looking at reforms as "flashpoint" events, we should be looking at them in relation to processes taking place before and after the first arrival of the reformers but also as processes themselves. By taking this perspective, I do not intend to minimize the achievements and charisma of the great reformers of the early eleventh century. Rather, I show that these are insufficient historical arguments to explain the realities of reformed monasticism and reformist leadership at the level of a single institution.

Attempts to resolve the tension between the study of reformers' ideals and that of the realities of reformist government on the level of single institutions are as old as the study of reform itself and have found their theoretical basis in Max Weber's notion of the "routinization" of charismatic leadership.[31] Its

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29. A selection of relevant publications on the county of Flanders in the tenth and eleventh century includes Vanderkindere, *Formation*; Ganshof, *Flandre*; Dhondt, "Développement"; Dhondt, *Études*; Koch, "Graafschap"; and Tanner, *Families*.
30. See Melville, "Brückenschlag."
31. Silber, *Virtuosity*, esp. 25–37; Kaelber, *Schools*, esp. 11–57; Caby, "Fondation."

imprint can be witnessed in the *Ordensforschung*, or the study of the emerging monastic orders (Cistercians, Premonstratensians, the Cluniac network evolving from an *ecclesia* into an *ordo Cluniacensis*) from the mid- to late eleventh century onward.[32] The development of suprainstitutional organs of legislation and supervision, the production of statutes applicable to all reformed institutions, and other measures of homogenization are considered to be the product of such "routinization processes." However, because monastic institutions of the tenth and early eleventh century fail to provide similar evidence for a process of routinization, and because the reformers and their successors did not aim to create them in the first place, this approach has failed to take root in scholarship of monastic institutional development of the tenth and early eleventh centuries.

More useful for this book have been ideas formulated by the political scientist Paul Pierson. In his 2004 book, *Politics in Time*, Pierson argues that, in studying institutional processes, there is a need to "shift our focus from explaining moments of institutional choice to understanding processes of institutional development."[33] Accounts of institutional change often give a significant amount of credit to the role of what he calls "entrepreneurs" or social actors with the capacity to craft solutions to problems that confront an institution and to persuade members of an institution to work together in pursuit of these solutions. Critical junctures in an institution's existence are thus routinely attributed to "exogenous shocks," which tempt authors into explaining change in an idiosyncratic and post hoc way and to look at the institutions themselves as stable, or static, entities. Yet, while finding the immediate sources or triggers of institutional change is fairly easy, structural processes are harder to identify. Pierson's proposed solution to this problem, while hardly revolutionary in its components, is helpful in that it makes it possible to propose a new way of connecting monastic reform to long-term institutional development by means of two arguments. The first is that the reform of a monastery should be studied not as an "exogenous shock" but as an attempt—whether successful or not is a different matter entirely—to intervene in the development of that community by steering the course of existing institutional processes. Relevant to this argument (but not mentioned in Pierson's book) is the concept of "path dependence," also used in institutional studies and referring to the fact that decisions to intervene in the development of a given institution are limited by decisions made in the past,

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32. See, among others, Melville, "Alcune osservazioni," and Melville, "Aspekte."
33. Pierson, *Politics*, esp. 133–66.

regardless of the question of whether these are still relevant.[34] These limitations to reformers' freedom of action imply that the reform of single institutions is always a unique procedure with unique consequences, and that the study of the phenomenon of reform on that level is therefore legitimate. But rather than looking at these previous decisions as constraints—and thereby running the risk of slipping into a deterministic account of institutional history—Pierson describes them in a more neutral sense, using the term "accumulated investments." The second argument, which follows from the first, is that the reform of individual institutions is much more of a process than scholars are usually willing to acknowledge; this argument finds theoretical support in the so-called adaptive response models in institutional studies.[35] These models emphasize response to environmental opportunities and constraints as the determining factor in group change and continuity and are based on the notion of equifinality. Originally formulated by Ludwig von Bertalanffy, equifinality stands for the idea that in open systems—that is, social systems which interact with their environment—similar (but not necessarily identical) end results may be reached with different initial conditions and in many different ways.[36]

In this book I do not aim to present a definitive history of monasticism in Flanders during the tenth and eleventh centuries, or a detailed discussion of what is known about the many different aspects of monastic life in this period. I aim, rather, to verify whether the notions of reform as a process and that of equifinality in reformist government are valid alternatives to the aforementioned ideas and preconceptions underlying scholarship past and current. I also show how commonly accepted notions about the relevance of reform to the development of these institutions and to abbatial leadership in particular are in need of revision. Monastic communities' "accumulated investments" were not something that reformist agents regarded as the mere background to their policies; they considered them central to their reformist government. And rather than looking at reforms of individual institutions as "flashpoint events," we need to view them as processes themselves—processes worthy of study in their own right.

In chapter 1 I build up a foundation for the argument by looking at how the reforms of the early eleventh century were remembered in historiographical

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34. Page, "Essay: Path Dependence."
35. Arrow et al., "Time," esp. 85–86.
36. Bertalanffy, *General System Theory*. Since the publication of Bertalanffy's book, the notion of equifinality has known many applications, as, for instance, in psychology, archaeology, and business studies.

discourse. Using the notion of "social forgetting" as my point of departure, I will argue that, in contemporary and near-contemporary historiography, reform fitted awkwardly with the dominant discourse of continuity and stability in monastic communal life. Some authors simply declined to mention it in discussions of their community's institutional past, whereas others drastically intervened in the memory of long-term developments to allow for a representation of reform that reflected the prevailing abstract understanding of how it actually worked. These representations not only shaped modern scholars' understanding of the realities of monastic development but also obscured two essential features of reform in that period: its incremental nature and the fact that reformist government primarily consisted of working with monasteries' legacies from the past.

In chapters 2 and 3 I evaluate these legacies by looking at monastic development in Flanders during the tenth century and the first two decades of the eleventh. Scholars' comprehension of the eleventh-century reforms is shaped by the notion that the reformers of the mid-tenth century had failed, or neglected, to impose on the monasteries of Flanders a mode of government sufficiently stable and self-sufficient to guarantee their disciplinary rectitude and institutional longevity. These inherent flaws in the reformers' policies, and the gradual decline of reformist leadership in the later decades of the tenth century, supposedly created the need for a new, more efficiently organized "wave" of reforms. Investigation of contemporary evidence reveals many inconsistencies in this way of representing historical reality, and shows the dangers of falling into the discursive trap of apologetic representations of reform. I will argue that to study the reform and further development of Flanders' monasteries in the tenth century in light of the reforms of the eleventh is to misconceive the objectives and realities of tenth-century monastic government and patronage.

In chapter 4, I discuss how the "charismatic" reformers of the early eleventh century respected the political, economic, cultural, and other uniqueness of the institutions they reformed. Contrary to what has been argued, these abbots often left the concrete implementation of reformist government to their successors, the recruitment and early government of whom reveals a deliberate attempt to minimize the political anxieties of the regional ecclesiastical and lay elites. These strategies also help explain why reformist government—successful reformist government, at least—was essentially a cumulative process.

In chapter 5 I look at the "postcharismatic phase" of the eleventh-century reforms. As I will argue, in many respects the attitudes and policies associated with the "Richardian" abbots of the early eleventh century match that of

their late-tenth-century predecessors. Reformist government also relied on the achievements of previous generations, and this will help develop the idea that the reforms were primarily centered on a different conception of abbatial leadership, rather than on an entirely different conception of monastic communal life. In chapter 6 I further explore the tension between structure and agency by looking at how Leduin (d. 1047), abbot of Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes, and his successors shaped reformed collective identities. The focus is on manuscript production and library management, and on the argument that institutional and intellectual continuities played a determining role in shaping "reformist" book collections.

In chapter 7 I discuss the challenges facing the reformed communities in the latter decades of the eleventh century. Partly as a result of its own success, and partly because of shifting patronage, increased competition with other religious institutions, and various internal crises, "old-style" reformist government struggled to sustain itself. By the late eleventh century, however, abbots, especially those inspired by the Gregorian reform movement, were actively pursuing policies of restoration that, like those of the later tenth century, have been largely overlooked by scholars focusing on the Cluniac reforms of the early twelfth century. It may, in fact, be argued that the successes of the "forgotten reformers" of the later eleventh century actually paved the way for the ambitious projects of the next generation.

Chapter 1

Corporate Memories of Reform

Medieval monastic identities were shaped, maintained, and transformed through carefully steered processes of remembrance.[1] By selecting and arranging both individual and shared experiences of the past and preserving them in a retrievable form, monks and nuns were able to ground a contemporary understanding of their collective identity in a legitimizing past.[2] This ability did not translate itself into a constant, typologically unchanging stream of texts, but throughout the centuries expressed itself in many forms, and with variable intensity. In *Phantoms of Remembrance*, Patrick Geary argues that the central Middle Ages in particular were a period of intense transitions for monastic groups throughout western Europe, and that anxieties over their effect on the collective identity and societal situation of such communities caused a surge of interest in strategies and practices of commemoration.[3] As the typology of written and other forms of commemoration was continuously amplified, so was the complexity of the social,

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1. Of particular interest are Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*; and Geary, *Phantoms*.
2. As exemplified in a series of articles published in *Mémoire des origines* (2003); and *Écrire son histoire*, ed. Bouter (2005).
3. Geary, *Phantoms*, 25. See, for instance, Coates, "Perceptions"; and Foot, "Remembering."

spiritual, and other meanings they conveyed.[4] Even the most cursory glance at the evidence reveals how such efforts were the result neither of an objective attempt to rescue endangered memories nor of a spontaneous evolution toward an intuitive collective memory.[5] Instead, monastic groups created social memories by meticulously sifting through what Geary labels "messy memories," visual, oral, and written remnants of a past that was quickly becoming alien to them.[6]

Such sifting entailed not only retaining but also rejecting a fair amount of memorial evidence.[7] Former generations of historians have mostly considered this part of the process in negative terms, designating it as the factor of human agency in the loss of information that would have given us a better understanding of the development of monastic groups and of medieval society in general. Others have emphasized its function as an instrument in the shaping of an intelligible narrative of the past. Over the last decade or so, scholars have added a third perspective, which involves looking at the stratification and selection of memories as capacities of the human mind that are as important to psychological and social systems as the act of remembering itself. Astrid Erll, for one, argues that "social forgetting" (*sociales Vergessen*), or the rejection of certain memories in order to make others intelligible and to allow for the construction of a coherent narrative of the past, is a condition for any form of collective remembrance.[8] As such, the study of social forgetting does not take as its primary subject the disappearance of objective facts and sources or their rejection for compositional reasons, but the actual fact that their rejection was instrumental in the creation of a vision of the past that strove for dominance in the contemporary shaping of a collective identity.[9]

As it turns out, the notion of social forgetting is relevant to the study of how monastic groups of the eleventh and twelfth centuries remembered the tenth- and eleventh-century institutional past, especially in relation

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4. Much of the mise-en-scène of remembrance lies beyond our grasp, as it is difficult to convey—or sometimes even to imagine—the impact physical and intellectual settings, hierarchies, and so forth had on the circulation of memories in the cloister; see Cubitt, "Monastic Memory," 255–58.

5. Among the vast number of studies on this subject, see Schreiner, "Verschriftlichung"; Iogna-Prat, "Lieux de mémoire"; and Vanderputten, "'Literate Memory.'"

6. Geary, *Phantoms*, 26–27; Vanderputten, "'Literate Memory,'" 65–76.

7. Sennis, "Omnia."

8. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 7–8, 54; also Esposito, *Soziales Vergessen*.

9. I also refer to Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets*, esp. 40–98, where it is argued that processes of forgetting tend to erase the labor invested in the constructing of objects and places associated with a collective memory. In this case, the continued existence of a monastic community is remembered, but the process by which past generations managed to sustain that existence is forgotten.

to the phenomenon of reform.[10] In this chapter I will investigate this by looking at how, at the turn of the twelfth century, Simon, chronicler of Saint-Bertin, radically shaped the memory of more than a century of the communal past to accommodate a discourse according to which the then-current reform was nothing more than an updated version of a mode of reformist government initiated at the beginning of the eleventh century. In addition, Simon intended the description of the latter reform to function as a metaphor for the ways in which the current abbot sought to reconnect with his monks and re-create a sense of solidarity within the community. As the analysis of his chronicle will show, two fundamental observations can be made. First, scholars have been reading accounts of reform uncritically; second, both the reality and the legitimizing power of institutional continuity were so deeply engrained in monastic self-consciousness that they even surface in proreformist literature. The creative ways in which Simon themed reform as a historical subject raise some interesting questions about how monastic communities of the eleventh century actually experienced it and how they conceived its relevance to the long-term development of their institutions.

Six Decades' Worth of "Unmemorable" Evidence

The late eleventh century was a critical period for Benedictine monasticism in Flanders. The emergence of new forms of religious life, the pressures and divisive impact of the ecclesiastical reform movement, the fracturing of the political landscape, demographic growth, urbanization, and a burgeoning economy all turned abbatial leadership into a challenging exercise. For the first time, ecclesiastical leaders in Flanders began looking at Cluny, then deeply involved in the Gregorian movement, as both a moral and institutional example. A few years after his election, Abbot Lambert of Saint-Bertin (1095–1123/25), a former prior of the abbey who was among the most fervent supporters of ecclesiastical reform in the bishopric of Thérouanne, secretly asked Abbot Hugo of Cluny to subordinate his community to the latter's abbey.[11] When the canons of Saint-Omer made Lambert's plan public, it led to a schism within the community, some members of which were already dissatisfied with Lambert's attempts to abolish private property for the

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10. On the memory of reforms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see, among others, Margue, "*Libertas*"; and Robertson, "Dunstan."

11. Sabbe, "Réforme"; De Smet, "Quand Robert II"; Kohnle, *Abt Hugo*, 186–91; Vanderputten, "Time."

monks. Various secular and ecclesiastical authorities who had initially given their support to Lambert's initiative also began to have second thoughts on the integration of one of the foremost monastic institutions in the region and a former *Eigenkirche* of the counts of Flanders into the Cluniac system. In order to prevent an escalation of the conflict, and undoubtedly to safeguard his own position, Lambert chose to side with his immediate superiors and quashed Hugo's plans to subjugate the abbey to his authority. Unwilling to abandon his plans for reform, however, he then introduced his community to an adapted version of the Cluniac customary and subsequently oversaw its adoption in several monastic institutions across the region.

It was during these transitional years that Lambert commissioned a monk by the name of Simon of Ghent (d. 1148) to bring Folcuin's tenth-century cartulary-chronicle up-to-date. Folcuin's text, which had been commissioned by Abbot Adalolf (961–962), covered the history of the abbey from the events leading up to its foundation in the seventh century until the very beginning of the abbacy of Hildebrand (962–964/970?).[12] Simon's chronicle, although presented as a continuation,[13] did not pick up where Folcuin had left off but began instead with a discussion on the appointment by Count Baldwin IV of Flanders (988–1035) of Abbot Roderic (1021–1042) and the latter's subsequent (and ultimately successful) attempts to reform the monastic community.[14] Faced with the likelihood of an audience expecting a straightforward continuation, Simon set out in his prologue to explain why he had neglected to describe six decades' worth of communal history:[15]

> Because I wish to be obedient to your [i.e., Lambert's] order . . . I will do so by following the example of a certain monk of this place named Folcuin, who, at the orders of his abbot, succinctly laid out the deeds

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12. The chronicles of Folcuin and Simon were first edited in *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, with additions in *Appendice*, ed. Morand. The preferable, if slightly incomplete, edition for the narrative sections is in *MGH SS* 13, ed. Holder-Egger, 607–63 (referred to hereafter as Simon, *Chronicon*).

13. Research on Simon's chronicle is thin on the ground; see Morelle, "Écrit," 231–39; Berkhofer, *Day*, 75, 79–80; and Ugé, *Creating*, 88–89.

14. Initially, Simon's work covered the period between 1021 and the death of Lambert's predecessor, John (1081–1095); at the end of his life, he would continue his account until his own demission as abbot in 1145. See Morelle, "Écrit," 232–34, who argues in favor of dating the first part of the chronicle early in Lambert's abbacy and certainly before 1116.

15. The original manuscript of Simon's chronicle (known also as the *Simon vetus*) has been lost since the late eighteenth century. For his edition, Guérard relied, for the most part, on an early sixteenth-century version compiled by Dom Tassard (Saint-Omer, BASO, 750). The mid-twelfth century copy of the *Simon vetus* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 146A) used by Morand and Holder-Egger also has its problems, as portions of the original text were erased, interpolated, or replaced in their entirety by later forgeries.

and charters of nearly all the leaders of this abbey who succeeded each other from the time of our very saintly father Bertin up to the time of Lord Adalolf (who in the list of abbots is placed as the twenty-eighth), thus avoiding the inactivity of the writers who preceded me and who neglected to produce a written account of six abbots who succeeded each other at different moments in time from the aforementioned Adalolf until Christ's athlete Roderic. Although we have found nothing memorable that is written down on these [abbots], there is hardly any doubt that they went to great lengths in the care for the government they had taken upon themselves.[16]

Accusing one's predecessors of being negligent in recording the past or at least preserving its "memorable" testimonies is a topical feature of medieval historical writing.[17] In some cases, comments such as these reveal the frustration of an author who found himself at a loss to provide his fellow monks with a continuous account of the collective past. Some of this goes back to the lack of coherent narratives. In other cases, it covers up facts and events considered incompatible with the general way in which an author wanted to shape his community's historical identity. In Simon's prologue, the argument is more subtle. He does not say he has failed to find any memories on the six "lost" abbacies, and even admits that some memories are indeed still retrievable. This is evidenced by the fact that he actually gives the number of abbots as six, thus revealing knowledge of at least an abbatial list. He also mentions by name one Hemfrid (1007–1021) at the beginning of the main text.[18] Nor does he reject the six abbacies as irrelevant: in fact, he invites his audience to consider the period in question as a poorly documented phase marked by what could at least be described as well-intentioned leadership. The argument for not discussing the period in question thus centers on the fact that he had failed to find any contemporary evidence on these abbacies that could be considered "memorable." Consequently, he was unable to

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16. Translated from the Latin found in Simon, *Chronicon*, 635.

17. Sennis, "Omnia."

18. Simon, *Chronicon*, 635–36. The surviving evidence indicates that there were, in fact, seven individuals who led the abbey in this period (see chapter 3 and appendix A). Lambert, a canon of the chapter of Saint-Omer and a contemporary of Simon, in his *Liber floridus* gives a list that may resemble Simon's source: "Bernoldus [Regenold], Balduinus Pulcher comes et abbas, Ernulfus comes abbas, Walterus, Trudgaudus, Otbertus, Henfridus" (edited in Bédague, "Abbés," 88 and 96). Adalolf was probably left out because he had not been formally elected. A late-twelfth-century list of abbots that was added to a copy of Simon's chronicle includes the names of seven individuals, including Adalolf (*Nomina abbatum [Sancti Bertini]*, ed. Holder-Egger, 606–7).

include them in what Geary has called an "explicitly elaborated and cohesive account of the past."[19] This, Simon claims, left him with no other option than to reject the six decades in question from his chronicle.

To investigate what kind of information and sources Simon designated as "unmemorable" is easier than it may seem. The environment in which monastic instruments of commemoration were used was singularly closed, and their applications corresponded to the well-defined ways in which the monks spent their time and energies, which encompassed liturgy, labor, and study. This makes it possible to speculate on a typology—at least a written one—in which memorial information was passed on. We are also well-informed about at least some of the actual tenth- and early-eleventh-century sources to which later generations of monks had access. These included a small number of diplomatic notices, hagiographic narratives, dedications, and colophons in manuscripts, inscriptions, and other written and material artifacts known to the medieval and early modern chroniclers of the abbey.[20] The first to use these sources to compose a continuous account of his institution's history since its foundation was Abbot John of Ypres (1365–1383).[21] The works of other local historiographers and archivists from the fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth give further insight into which memorial traditions survived up to and beyond Simon's time.[22]

While John himself and various subsequent chroniclers repeatedly admit that they are merely treading water in trying to establish chronologies,[23] their accounts imply that they were indeed aware of at least some evidence that Simon must have known about and subsequently rejected. However, what matters even more than the existence of these sources and the fact that most of them must have been available to Simon is that it is possible to test their potential for the construction of a coherent narrative of the sixty years that

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19. Geary, *Phantoms*, 9.

20. I refer to the discussion of these sources in chapter 3.

21. John of Ypres, *Chronicon Sancti Bertini*, ed. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus* 3:col. 445–776; on this author, see Van Der Essen, "Jean d'Ypres."

22. The *Chronica abbatum Sancti Bertini* (Saint-Omer, BASO, 749; late fifteenth century); Allard Tassard's *Annales Bertiniani* (BASO 747; early sixteenth century); his cartulary (BASO 750); the *Chronicon Bertinianum* (BASO 748; seventeenth century); Dom De Witte's *Grand Cartulaire* (BASO 803/I; 1772/73); and his *Index chronologicus traditionum, chartarum, possessionum atque privilegiorum Bertinianorum* (BASO 815; 1780s).

23. John's account of Hildebrand's abbacy (*Chronicon Sancti Bertini*, ed. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus* 3:col. 561–71) derives from Folcuin's description of his first period in office (edited in *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 146–48, and Simon, *Chronicon*, 629–33). A tradition that can be traced back only to the twelfth century names him as the residing abbot at the time of Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury's alleged visit to the abbey in 962 (see Grierson, "Relations," 91–92).

separated Adalolf from Roderic.[24] Given the in-depth discussion of this era in chapter 3, a brief overview will suffice here. Like all major monastic houses in the region, the abbey of Saint-Bertin found itself in the grip of the counts of Flanders from the end of the ninth century onward. In 944, Count Arnulf I (918–965), along with Gerard of Brogne, abolished the lay abbacy at Saint-Bertin and set out to reform the community, causing much dissension; several monks even fled to England. Troubled times followed, during which various individuals who did not carry the title of abbot succeeded each other over a short period. In 950, Arnulf gave the abbacy to his nephew Hildebrand.[25] It was the latter who eventually pacified the community, after which the count ordered him to reform the abbey of Saint-Vaast, in the city of Arras. Over the next few years, the aging Arnulf's authority began to show signs of fragility, and Saint-Bertin and its surrounding region became increasingly plagued by various epidemics and military misfortunes. When Hildebrand's successor, Regenold (954–961), resigned, Adalolf, the new leader of the community, was refused the title of abbot, and the abbacy returned to the count. Shortly after, Hildebrand was called back and reappointed as abbot.

This is where Folcuin's chronicle ends and the history of Saint-Bertin becomes hazy.[26] Nevertheless, John of Ypres in particular shows that it was possible to reconstruct a narrative of this period, even if it necessitated considerable additions drawn from secular and ecclesiastical histories that were, at best, tangential to the institutional history of the monastery. What is revealed by his account is that Saint-Bertin, having survived a troubled phase in the 960s and early 970s, emerged as a powerful institution governed by abbots intent—whether they were always successful in these ambitions is a different point—on managing and preserving the monastic domain, maintaining the high intellectual and artistic standards of their institution, and judiciously managing their participation in regional and international networks. Abbot Odbert (986–1007) is singled out as a defender and acquirer of new properties, while also receiving praise for the lavish manuscripts made under his supervision.[27] His successor, Hemfrid, managed to secure a privilege from Emperor Henry II in 1015 confirming the abbey's possessions in the empire and the freedom from tolls in his territories.[28] Then, in 1021, the abbey

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24. A somewhat more cursory attempt is in Ugé, *Creating,* 30–34.
25. Ibid., 32; De Laplane, *Abbés,* 1:124–26.
26. Ugé, *Creating,* 33.
27. Ibid., 46–49.
28. Morelle, "Écrit," 237 (who argues that the charter, which was later added to the *Simon vetus,* may have been omitted because of anti-imperialist sentiments); also Bédague, "Abbés," 93. For what little is known about Hemfrid, see chapter 3.

was reformed by Roderic, a former monk of Saint-Vaast.[29] His appointment marks the beginning of Simon's chronicle.

There is no doubt that Simon did not feel the need to deal with the remaining memorial evidence of his abbey's past in the same way as modern historians do, or even as his successors from the fourteenth century onward did. His principal concern was the shaping of a collective historical identity for the monks, not an objective exploration of the communal past. This was deliberately set in a contemporary context, with current concerns prevailing over all other considerations involved in the selection and presentation of past events. In addition, he did not have the instruments of research available to modern historians, and in some cases he simply could not access certain sources because they were quite literally hidden from view—as was presumably the case with some of the tomb plaques of tenth-century abbots that were recovered during excavations in the nineteenth century[30]—or otherwise inaccessible. But for the chronicler to claim that the six abbots of the later tenth and early eleventh century had left nothing memorable in writing is nevertheless remarkable, and it is hard to imagine what objective criteria he would have used to reject *all* the memories he was able to retrieve from those six decades. Thus, there must have been other motives behind his laconic remarks on this period and his refusal to give it a central place in his fellow monks' collective identity. To understand them, we must delve more deeply into his objectives.

A Multigenerational Vision of Reformist Leadership

For most scholars, the primary objective of Simon and his predecessor Folcuin was to shape their contemporaries' and later generations' outlook on their archival past, indicating in the process which estates, patrons, and social networks deserved the closest attention of future abbots, and relegating the documents they did not select to a state of "official" (if not necessarily actual) oblivion. In his prologue, Folcuin had written that he wanted to describe the deeds of the abbots of Saint-Bertin or explain property transactions that had been recorded in the form of a charter,[31] thus indicating that, in addition to supporting the collective identity of his community, his chronicle also served a legal and commemorative purpose. In contrast, Simon simply announced

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29. See Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV."
30. See De Laplane, "Saint-Bertin," 44–45, 235, 237.
31. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 607.

that his discourse centered on "the deeds and charters" of past abbots. Although he also claimed to have completed Folcuin's account, his choice of words suggests that abbatial leadership was at the heart of his discourse.[32] But how did he define this, and what components of such leadership did he find memorable enough to be included in a *gesta abbatum*?

A few decades earlier, the Bavarian monk Gottschalk of Benediktbeuern had laid out in detail in his own chronicle how the ideal account of an abbacy should look.[33] Beginning with an abbot's election, the story would then concentrate on his attempts to impose the observance of the Rule, to grow the community and oversee the appropriate conduct of liturgy, to acquire items for the church's treasure and properties, and finally would focus on his role in defending the monks' material wealth. Without being aware of Gottschalk's text, Simon appears to have agreed with this vision, as can be seen in his account of John (1085–1091), whose abbacy was probably the first he himself had witnessed.[34] Although he has relatively little to say about John's election, he does discuss in some detail the latter's consecration by the bishop of Cambrai. John's background as an oblate, his extraordinary capacity for dealing with the abbey's worldly affairs, and his vigilance with regard to the monks' observance of the liturgy are likewise treated at length.[35] There follows a detailed account of his efforts to restore the abbey's buildings after a recent fire, a charter detailing his efforts to reclaim land, and an account of his successful attempt before the count to recover a pond that had been usurped by a fisherman. Separate paragraphs then itemize his various gifts to the abbatial church, his addition of sculptures and general remodeling of the refectory, and his patronage of the production of several manuscripts, the contents of which are duly described.[36] Closing John's section is the report of how he fell ill during a mission for the count to the abbey of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, his exemplary behavior on his deathbed, and the circumstances of his subsequent demise. A vivid scene illustrating his funeral ends with his epitaph.[37] In the second part of the chronicle, Simon follows a similar path in describing the abbacy of John's successor, Lambert, quoting an even larger number of archival sources and other memorial evidence.[38]

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32. See also Morelle, "Écrit," 235.

33. Geary, *Phantoms*, 129.

34. Simon, *Chronicon*, 643.

35. Ibid, 641.

36. Ibid., 642.

37. Ibid., 643.

38. How deeply Lambert impressed his contemporaries is witnessed in the *Tractatus de moribus Lamberti abbatis Sancti Bertini*, probably written in 1116–1119 by one of Lambert's followers who resided outside the monastery at the time (ed. Holder-Egger, 946–53). See Cahn, "Pictorial Epitaph."

The quasi-programmatic form of these descriptions indicates that Simon had a clear vision of what a *gesta abbatum* should ideally look like. Yet whether he made any serious effort to implement this program was largely determined by his personal experiences and memories. This is evident in his account of the abbacies of those abbots preceding John, starting with Roderic (1021–1042) and continuing with Bovo (1042–1065) and Heribert (1065–1081). These individuals, the latter of whom had passed away shortly before Simon became a member of the monastic community, are described as if they belong to a different era, with events and practices alien to Simon's own experience. The entries for these abbots are not especially coherent as narratives, and the tone is sympathetic but overall fairly neutral. The sole exception is the very beginning of the narrative, which includes a detailed discussion of Roderic's persistence in trying to impose a strict Benedictine observance after his predecessors, Hemfrid in particular, had allowed monastic discipline to slacken.[39] His intervention, Simon contends, met with much resistance. To show how these tensions were eventually resolved,[40] he quotes extensively from a hagiographic text from the 1050s to describe a fire that raged in the monastery and an epidemic that decimated the community shortly afterward.[41] These traumatizing events apparently brought the abbot and his monks together in a spirit of repentance, and, according to the chronicler, Roderic was thereafter able to impose his vision of monastic discipline. This, Simon argues, in turn enabled the abbot to pursue the institutional stabilization of the monastery. Two charters are described and reproduced, one concerning the exchange of properties with the bishop of Thérouanne, and the other concerning the settlement of a dispute over the advocacy of the nearby village of Arques. It is clear that Simon knows nothing about these transactions or their context other than what he found in the charters. A brief reference to the reform of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc in 1022,[42] the date of Roderic's death, and his epitaph close the section devoted to his abbacy. Much the same pattern is followed for the next two abbots. The section devoted to Bovo includes a general description of his character and qualities, a discussion about his efforts to restore the abbatial church after the fire, a list of papal and comital privileges, an account of the discovery

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39. Simon, *Chronicon*, 636–37.

40. Ibid., 636–38.

41. Bovo, *Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 526–27. The *MGH* edition of Simon's chronicle indicates which passages are taken from this narrative.

42. See chapter 4.

and translation of the relics of Saint Bertin and Dionysius and of his death in 1065, followed by his epitaph.[43] The description of Heribert's abbacy includes two otherwise unattested accounts of sexual temptation, mention of the fact that he continued the building works, his appointment as abbot of Saint-Germain in Auxerre and subsequent resignation from there, an extract from the same miracle account used for the abbacy of Roderic, a charter concluded with Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne relating to the possession of a number of altars, an account of the conquest of England, and his subsequent deathbed, legacies, and death.[44]

Investigating the sources used by Simon to reconstruct the first abbacies after the reform of 1021 yields three significant results. First, these accounts bear witness to the fact that, for him, the memory of the period before John, and certainly of the period before Heribert, was already a distant one.[45] Second, it is clear that Simon relied exactly on sources he found in the same, archival or other, contexts as those retained from previous times. The detailed description of book production under Bovo, for instance, shows beyond reasonable doubt that he deliberately ignored those made under Odbert, since these would have been kept in the same book collection. Finally, Simon's actual account of the abbacies of Roderic, Bovo, and Heribert is not so different from the one he could have written for the previous abbots. There is no question, for instance, that the monks' remembrance included a record of Odbert as a man who spent a considerable amount of energy in defense of the monks' estates, the acquisition of property, the production of books, and the preservation of artistic and intellectual traditions in the cloister. Several charters and manuscripts and the mid-eleventh-century collection of miracles all attest to Odbert's activities as a monastic leader and, despite the fragmentary nature of the remaining evidence, suggest that his time in office was a high point in the abbey's history. Yet, in his version of the collective past, Odbert was just one of six abbots who had left nothing memorable in writing. This shows that Simon had made a conscious decision to remove the period before 1021 entirely from the monks' collective past, and that

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43. Simon, *Chronicon*, 638–39. For an extensive discussion of Bovo's abbacy, see chapter 7.

44. Ibid., 639–41. For more on Heribert's abbacy, see chapter 7.

45. The reformers of the early eleventh century are not especially remembered in contemporary historiography. At Saint-Amand and Saint-Peter in Ghent, the annalists of the mid-eleventh century have little more to report than the dates of Richard of Saint-Vanne's accession (respectively in 1013 and 1029), without making any allusions to his government (edited in *Annales*, ed. Grierson, 153 and 24–25). Leduin of Saint-Vaast is remembered in the same laconic fashion in the annals of Marchiennes (1024) and in the contemporary annals of Saint-Bavo in Ghent (1034) (*Annales Marchianenses*, ed. Bethmann, 614, and *Annales Sancti Bavonis antiquissimi*, ed. Gysseling, 12).

the description of the period between 1021 and 1081 was inserted in the chronicle not because Simon found the abbots' governance to be particularly relevant to his discourse or because sources were available, but for a very specific purpose that was alien to what had actually happened during that period. The question, then, is why this would have been useful to his purpose as a chronicler.

It has been repeatedly established that, over the course of the tenth and especially the eleventh centuries, monastic communities purged their archives in order to bring their contents up-to-date with the shifting power relations and social networks of their time.[46] They did this by retaining past transactions that were still relevant to the community and by freeing archival memory of those that had become obsolete.[47] In addition, they also cast a critical eye over some of the more exotic examples of diplomatic writing from the preceding period.[48] Simon's claim that, by the end of the eleventh century, little or no material of note from the years 962–1021 still remained in the archives seems acceptable from this perspective. His problems, however, lay less in the dearth of texts or their appearance—all the charter evidence from that time is in the form of very informal *notitiae*—than in the fact that whatever was left from that period must have been difficult to interpret, especially since he lacked tools of comparative research available to modern scholars to clarify the contents of documents that had been removed from their original memorial context. This is particularly evident when the transactions concerned individuals and social networks that, by the end of the eleventh century, had disappeared or been transformed beyond recognition. With no narrative accounts to elucidate these remnants of the abbey's late-tenth-century past,[49] it may have been difficult for Simon and his contemporaries to put into the correct perspective the politics of their abbots and the social networks with which they were dealing.

An alternative explanation is that the traces of abbatial leadership Simon found were not in accordance with contemporary abbatial policies, or that the sources contained reflections that disagreed with the ways in which the monks wished to shape the collective past. This may have been the case with the charter issued in 986 by Odbert.[50] The list of witnesses includes a man

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46. Vanderputten, "Transformations." Morelle, "Écrit," 237, argues that this may be the case with the 1015 charter of Emperor Henry II (see also chapter 3).

47. Vanderputten, "Transformations."

48. Morelle, "Écrit," 237, with reference to Guyotjeannin, "'Penuria,'" 27.

49. Ugé, *Creating*, 48.

50. *Les chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 64, p. 21.

named Gerbodo, who is identified as the monks' advocate. He appears to be the father of another Gerbodo who, from the 1020s onward, functioned as advocate of the nearby village of Arques.[51] In 1041, a fierce dispute between him and Abbot Roderic erupted over Gerbodo's attempts to extort money and services from the villagers. In a charter issued on 6 January 1042, Count Baldwin recorded the settlement he had negotiated between the two parties.[52] He did, however, refer to the advocates of Arques as usurpers, thereby reflecting the attempts of the abbot and himself to contain the assimilation of lay offices and seigniorial fiefs. The 1042 charter also laid out the future terms of conduct between the two parties, carefully avoiding any implication that Gerbodo's heirs could automatically stake a claim to the advocacy at the time of his death. It was nevertheless his son who succeeded him, although after taking part in the conquest of England in 1066 and returning to participate in the insurrection against Count Arnulf III in 1071, the advocacy was transferred to other, unrelated individuals. In the late eleventh century, it returned to Gerbodo's English relatives, but by then it had become little more than a formality with negligible political impact. Nonetheless, when Simon began work on his chronicle, the monks may still have feared new claims on the advocacy and wished to remove any memories of past practices of hereditary transmission. The 986 charter, although making only an oblique reference to existing relations with Gerbodo, may thus have become an unwanted memory by the end of the eleventh century.

Neither of these explanations—either a loss of meaning or the wish to cover up certain aspects of the past—is particularly satisfactory. An altogether more convincing one lies in the difficult circumstances in which the monastic community of Saint-Bertin found itself at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the next. As we have seen, Abbot Lambert played a significant role in the incident-ridden introduction of ecclesiastical reform in the bishopric of Thérouanne and in the reform of monastic life in Flanders. Eventually settling on adopting the Cluniac customary, Lambert needed to legitimize his actions to a highly critical audience. It is significant that a chronicle written by one of Lambert's partisans does not refer to any specific signs of failing abbatial leadership in the monastery during the period leading up to the reforms, but merely indicates that, at the beginning of his abbacy, Lambert set out to abolish personal property and servants for the

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51. His identity and the events and sources described in this paragraph are discussed in chapter 5.

52. The most reliable copy of the charter is in De Witte's *Grand Cartulaire* (Saint-Omer, BASO, 803/I, 93–95).

monks,[53] adding in very general terms that monastic observance in Flanders and elsewhere had shown signs of becoming "tepid."[54] Indeed, John's abbacy and that of his predecessors are represented as successful governments marked by good leadership and strong commitment to the observance of the Rule. The only instance in the first book of the chronicle where disciplinary decline is explicitly associated with failing leadership is in the first paragraph of the section devoted to Roderic. There Simon notes that Roderic had restored the observance of the Rule after the monks had caused unrest (*tumultuando*) owing to a lack of discipline under his predecessor.[55] In his description of the next four abbots' government, any suggestion of decline is carefully avoided, even though we know—and so did Simon—that by the early 1050s the monastic community had slipped into a state of crisis spurred by, among other things, the self-aggrandizing and highly divisive government of Roderic's successor, Bovo.[56] Simon's emphasis on the good government of Roderic's successors suggests that he was looking to defend his patron's government by referring to reasons other than endemic ones. Roderic's reform, not Lambert's, was the critical turning point in the abbey's history, a moment in time when discipline was finally rooted in a pure, Benedictine conception of monastic life.

If correct, these observations allow us to conclude that Simon's text was essentially a pamphlet that advocated and justified contemporary reformist leadership by projecting it onto an invented past. To construct this discourse, Simon had no use for discussions concerning the abbey's history between 961/62 and 1021.[57] Presenting evidence from the latter decades of the tenth century would only have cluttered the narrative's central argument, as there were indications that the abbey had flourished and that monastic leadership had been strong and decisive. In order to present the reform of 1021 as a new departure for abbatial leadership, he needed to incorporate in his account the suggestion of decline. When he failed to find any substantial evidence to corroborate this claim or when he discovered, as he probably did, a far more complex historical reality than suited his discourse, he simply stated the decline as fact.

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53. Simon, *Gesta*, 648–49.

54. Ibid., 645.

55. Ibid., 636–37. In Ugé's interpretation, Simon denounces the excesses of Roderic's predecessor Hemfrid, but this is not corroborated by the Latin text (*Creating*, 34; see chapter 3).

56. See chapter 7.

57. Morelle sees in Simon's work an attempt to associate his abbot's reforms with those of the tenth century ("Écrit," 238–39).

Constructing Cathartic Memories of Reform

The centrality of the 1021 reform to Simon's historiographical discourse merits closer investigation. Almost nothing he has to say about this presumably liminal phase in the abbey's history actually derives from reliable evidence, and unrelated sources are introduced in the narrative with little consideration for the fact that their misuse was easy to detect. His account of the struggle between the abbot and his community, and of Roderic's persistence in trying to convince his monks to accept his strict observance of the Rule, is particularly suspicious. In constructing this story, Simon applied a crude cut-and-paste technique, quoting the entire story of the fire (datable to 1033) and the epidemic literally from a hagiographic narrative.[58] In that context, neither episode is in any way associated with a fundamental dispute over discipline in the monastery, let alone with the 1021 reform. Instead, these stories simply recount how the community dealt with both disastrous events and tried to give them a moral meaning, one in which penance was central. Yet by inserting this hagiographic discourse full of cathartic content in his chronicle, he was able to present the reform and its troubled aftermath—of which he clearly knew very little—as a story of resistance, adversity, and reconciliation.

Simon intentionally gave his account of the 1021 reform a conciliatory undertone, and there may be reason to believe that by doing so, he applied a discourse intended to resolve tensions in the current community. A first argument is that the story of the fire and the epidemic may have served as metaphors for outside threats to the community's integrity in the early twelfth century—interference from lay and ecclesiastical authorities, in particular, the takeover of the community by Cluny. These outside threats in Simon's account drove the community to reconcile themselves with the abbot, not through a forced submission but through voluntary acts of collective penance and reconciliation. A second argument is that Roderic's struggle to impose his new regime is described as a strictly internal affair, and one in which the focus is entirely on the observance of Benedict's Rule. Provided that the aforementioned hypothesis regarding Simon's interest in the 1021 reform is correct, this representation may have helped him argue that, in essence, the reformist agenda pursued by the abbots since Roderic was one for which the ideological and practical impetus came from its own leadership, not from outsiders. Simon thus devised a literary theme in which he was

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58. See note 41, above.

able to metaphorically rewrite the history of the reform of 1099/1100 to entirely marginalize the abbot of Cluny and the many lay and ecclesiastical leaders involved.

At the beginning of this chapter I set out to verify the validity of the concept of "social forgetting" for the study of rejected memories in the chronicle of Saint-Bertin. Simon's text, conceived at a time of institutional crisis, aimed to shape the monks' understanding of their collective identity by presenting a coherent vision of abbatial leadership since the reforms of Abbot Roderic more than seventy years earlier. To achieve this end, Simon sifted through "messy memories" found in a wide range of oral, written, artistic, and even monumental sources. The analysis of the choices he made during this process indicates that his primary goal was to legitimize the actions of the then-current Abbot Lambert by presenting him as part of a succession of abbots determined to implement Benedictine monastic life as it had been introduced in the early eleventh century. At the same time, Simon rejected nearly all the remaining memories from before 1021, designating them as "unmemorable." A comparison with the kind of memories he retained for the period after 1021 shows that he used this categorization so that he could avoid making any statement at all except that the abbey had been governed continuously since 961 and that by the late 1010s the need for reform had become evident. This allowed him to portray the reformed past of his community in a very distinct sense. As an analysis of his description of the 1021 reform shows, Simon shaped the entire first part of his chronicle (1021 to 1095) to support and embody metaphorically a reconciliatory discourse applied within the monastic community of Saint-Bertin following the reform of c. 1100. Like his crude use of unrelated sources, the defining impact of this discourse on his account must have been evident to an informed audience. Yet to modern observers, and probably also to later generations of monks, both its subtle and not-so-subtle messages have become virtually imperceptible.

Simon made no serious attempt to dissimulate the existence of archival and other memories that would have allowed him to construct a narrative of the abbey's history between 961/62 and 1021. As he indicates in his prologue, the only thing worth assuming is that the abbots of that period at least gave their best effort to govern the monks adequately, as, he argues, did later abbots. Yet, if the prologue and the description of abbacies following that of Roderic suggest that the entire period of 961/62–1095 was relatively stable in terms of the abbots' intentions to provide the community with good leadership, his account of the events of 1021 and beyond suggests that a reform had indeed been necessary. To support this claim, he argued that

discipline under Hemfrid had become lax and that, hence, Hemfrid himself had failed as a monastic leader. This apparent contradiction reveals an author struggling to integrate two themes of contemporary historiography. The first—that of continuity—allowed monastic groups to derive a sense of collective purpose and legitimacy from their historical connection to a holy founder. It functioned, as it were, as the secular sequel to hagiographic literature regarding saintly founders of the early Middle Ages, and provided arguments to support claims that the present state of the monastery derived from the continuous government of a line of leaders who could rightfully claim to be the holy founders' successors. The second theme—that of ruptures—became significant only when a new wave of reform and the ensuing ruptures and crises required justification and, as we have seen in Simon's case, the application of a cathartic discourse geared toward restoring a sense of solidarity within a disrupted community. Because of the way in which Simon constructed a story of how the dispute between Roderic and his monks was eventually resolved, we know that the immediate need to provide the monks with literary and other means to facilitate or consolidate reconciliation overruled historiographical tradition to represent the communal past as a continuous development.

Simon's and many contemporary authors' attitude to reform thus is torn between a discourse focusing on spiritual and institutional renewal and one that squarely aims to demonstrate institutional continuities. It is worth remembering that reform, in addition to being a historical reality, also functioned as a literary theme, to which notions such as decline, renewal, and reconciliation were central. The application of this theme on the description of the secular past of a monastic community created a situation in which the collective identity of a group of monks was potentially jeopardized. In particular, the generations that lived close to a reform were keen either to avoid the topic altogether or to underscore the idea that reform fostered and even reinforced continuities in the social and ideological makeup of monastic groups. As we will see, such ideas came closer to reality than many scholars have suspected: reform could in fact be successful only if those responsible for it adequately managed existing traditions and structures. Thus, in order to understand the agency of reformist government in the early eleventh century, we have to understand what "accumulated investments" reformers were dealing with, and how they went about the business of reform. The next two chapters will attempt a reconstruction of the institutional developments that determined the process of reform in the early eleventh century.

✌ Chapter 2

The "Failed" Reforms of the Tenth Century

Scholars' comprehension of the reforms of the early eleventh century is shaped by the notion that the reformers of the mid-tenth century had failed, or neglected, to impose on the monasteries of Flanders a mode of government sufficiently stable and self-sufficient to guarantee their disciplinary rectitude and institutional longevity.[1] These inherent flaws in the reformers' policies, as well as the gradual decline of reformist leadership in the later decades of the tenth century, are thought to have created the need for a new, more efficiently organized "wave" of reforms. Yet scholarship has failed to acknowledge the impact of reformist apologetic literature on this representation of institutional realities. Even if they refrained from commenting on the period immediately preceding the reforms, reformist authors of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries included in their discourse the implicit or explicit notion that a decline in discipline, bad leadership, and other internal factors had necessitated an intervention. The same discourse also fed a perception of reform as a departure from customs, attitudes, and practices of the recent past, and their replacement with more "authentic" modes of conduct and government. This has caused

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1. See, for instance, Ugé, *Creating*, 6.

some historians to think that the leadership and policies of abbots between c. 960 and c. 1010/20 were of little consequence to the reformers of the early eleventh century. Yet as we have seen in chapter 1, the Saint-Bertin example reveals that monastic institutional change in this period is an altogether more complex phenomenon, and that the idea of linear decline, or perhaps even of decline altogether, is not an adequate analytical tool for its study.

In this chapter and the next I will argue that the current consensus on the conditions in which the reforms of the eleventh century were initiated derives from a misrepresentation of the mid-tenth-century reforms and from scholars' tendency to accommodate the reformist discourse of decline for the decades between c. 960 and 1020. As I will show, to study the reform of Flanders' monasteries in the tenth century in light of the reforms of the eleventh is to misconceive the objectives and realities of tenth-century monastic government and patronage.

Gerard of Brogne: Savior of Benedictine Monasticism or Failed Reformer?

The reforms of the tenth century are traditionally regarded as the introduction in Lotharingia of a form of monasticism that, for the first time, could be confidently defined as Benedictine. Ideologically speaking, they were focused on broadening the application of ideals of asceticism and seclusion from a handful of holy men to entire communities of "super-monks."[2] The objective was to create "professional" environments where liturgical service and the remembrance of the dead would be continuously celebrated by groups of highly trained monks who, through their lifestyle, reflected a form of spiritual purity that would increase the impact of their prayers to the highest possible level.

As far as the southern Low Countries are concerned, the first step toward this transition was taken by a nobleman known as Gerard of Brogne (d. 959).[3] In 919, Gerard founded a monastery in his ancestral lands, not far from the current Belgian city of Namur.[4] As a member of the local aristocracy, he followed a popular trend among his lay peers to found and govern monasteries as *Eigenkirchen,* or personal ecclesiastical property, with the notable exception that he eschewed the lay abbacy, choosing instead to

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2. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 171–73.

3. There is an abundant bibliography on Gerard's actions as a reformer; the principal references are *Gérard de Brogne et son oeuvre*; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 206–47; and Misonne, "Gérard."

4. Wollasch, "Gerard"; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 206–29; Misonne, "Gérard."

become a regular abbot. His strong personality and devotion to the Rule of
Saint Benedict, and undoubtedly his flexible attitude to lay involvement in
monastic institutions, soon attracted the interest of various lay rulers. In 931,
he was asked by Duke Giselbert of Lotharingia to found the monastery of
Saint-Ghislain in the present-day Belgian province of Hainaut.[5] Soon after
this, and with the support of various bishops in the region, he was invited
to Flanders by Count Arnulf I, who had recently initiated the progres-
sive reform of his *Eigenklöster*. Under Arnulf's supervision, all the county's
major institutions were reformed: Saint-Peter in Ghent (941), Saint-Bertin
(944), Saint-Bavo in Ghent (946/48), Saint-Riquier (briefly controlled by
the Flemish in 948–951), Saint-Amand (952), and Saint-Vaast (954).[6] Gerard
was personally involved in the reform of only the first three monasteries. In
October 953, he resigned as abbot of Saint-Peter and Saint-Bavo in Ghent,
and retired to his ancestral lands. There he spent his twilight years as head of
his original foundation.[7]

Much modern scholarship on Gerard of Brogne and his significance as a
monastic reformer is a textbook example of what one might call the "flash-
point interpretation" of monastic reform, where change is carried out in a
short space of time.[8] The origins of this representation lie in contemporary
and later medieval accounts of the tenth-century reforms, which focus on
dramatic episodes in which the reform of an institution was formally an-
nounced and/or negotiated. One good example is Folcuin's account of the
reform of Saint-Bertin, written in 961/62.[9] According to Folcuin, Count
Arnulf, regretting the fact that "the monastic religion had been abolished"
(*dolens religionem monasticam . . . aboletam*), called on Gerard to discuss with
the community of monks the transition to a more regular lifestyle. When
the monks refused to cooperate and accept good counsel, and when the
count's threats and flatteries also failed, Arnulf, who at that time was still
lay abbot of Saint-Bertin, ordered them to leave the monastery.[10] After the
monks of Saint-Bertin began to make their exit, he instructed Gerard to take
up the abbacy and to bring monks from various other monasteries to form

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5. D'Haenens, "Gérard"; Misonne, "Gérard," 29–30; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 230–32; Helvétius,
Abbayes, 290–92.

6. See, among others, Hodüm (with Huyghebaert), "Réforme"; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 232–41;
and Misonne, "Gérard," 30–38.

7. See Verhulst, "Note," 5.

8. See the discussion in Vanderputten and Meijns, "Gérard."

9. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 628–32.

10. As Folcuin relates, this was a course of action Abbot Hildebrand of Saint-Bertin would adopt
again during the reform of Saint-Vaast; ibid., 630–31.

the new community. In the meantime, a significant number of laypeople who had gathered to witness "this spectacle" (*hoc spectaculum*) and who felt deeply disturbed by the monks' expulsion and their servants' plight, began to turn against the new monks (designated in Folcuin's text as *monachi regulares*) and the count. The danger of a rioting mob persuaded Arnulf to offer the monks "all that was needed" (*omnia necessaria*) on condition that they observed Gerard's new discipline. However, refusing to accept this compromise, the monks, accompanied by a great crowd of people, retreated to the nearby village of Longuenesse, which belonged to the abbey. The most ardent opponents of the reforms were subsequently invited by the Anglo-Saxon king Aethelstan to take up residence at the abbey of Bath, a move partly inspired by his personal antagonism of Saint-Bertin (where his rebellious brother, Edwin, had been buried after drowning in 933), but mainly by political tensions with the count.[11] Another group of monks, who had stayed in the region, subsequently "embraced the monastic rule" (*regulam amplectentes monachicam*) and returned to the monastery.[12] With these comments, Folcuin's discussion of the reform ends.

Until recently, scholarship also tended to overstate Gerard's agency as a monastic reformer. Here again, the origins of this vision lie in the discourse of medieval authors. The late-eleventh-century *Life* of Gerard claims that the abbot reformed no fewer than eighteen institutions.[13] While specialists of monastic history have rarely been as gullible as Dom Toussaint, who accepted this number as fact,[14] there is a tendency to give Gerard center stage in discussions of the reforms. The *Life* is full of episodes that highlight his personal charisma, the revolt of the former canons of Saint-Peter in Ghent being a noteworthy example.[15] According to the author, "[Gerard] first went to the monastery of *Blandinium*, founded by the blessed Amand in Ghent,

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11. Vanderputten, "Canterbury," 229 (with references).

12. The centrality of this argument to Folcuin's discourse is shown in the list of forty-seven monks "who I remember to have lived according to the Rule in this monastery" at the very end of his chronicle; *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 633. The list covers the years between 948, when Folcuin entered the monastery as an oblate, and 961/62, when he compiled the chronicle. Of the monks listed, Morelle has identified thirteen as having been a member of the community before the reform ("Écrit," 307–8).

13. *Vita Gerardi*, ed. von Heinemann. See De Smet, "Recherches."

14. Toussaint, *Histoire*, 29; see the discussion in De Moreau, *Histoire*, 57. Of the Flemish institutions listed in the *Vita* and certainly never reformed (Saint-Martin of Tournai, Marchiennes, Hasnon, Saint-Amé in Douai, Torhout, and Wormhout), Misonne retains that of Marchiennes as plausible ("La restauration").

15. The two most recent surveys of the reform of Saint-Peter are in Verhulst, "Restauratie," and Declercq, "*Blandinium*."

and found it not only devoid of all religion, for it was occupied by very worldly clerics, but also reduced to almost nothing by the attacks of the perverted and . . . [found] the shrines of three saints who rested there long since plundered."[16] On his arrival, he immediately expelled the "ignoble" canons and replaced them with Benedictine monks.[17] This evidently caused great resentment among members of the former community, who began to plot their revenge. Gerard's biographer reports that when attempts to imitate his behavior, defame him, and finally prevent others from succumbing to his influence failed,[18] the canons set up a conspiracy to murder him. One day, while Gerard was saying Mass at the abbatial church, they burst through its doors to kill him in front of the altar. Undeterred, Gerard walked toward his attackers and confronted them to make them repent. Armed with "heavenly weapons," he declared that he was prepared to die for Jesus Christ, thereby imitating the latter's sacrifice. Impressed by this display of bravery, the canons were overcome by a great sense of fear and threw themselves at his feet, begging for forgiveness. Because they showed remorse for their deeds, the abbot revealed his amiable side and accepted them into his community. According to the story, they were instructed in the monastic observance (*monastica norma*) and subsequently became instructors themselves. Von Heinemann, the nineteenth-century editor of the *Life*, already argued that the focus on Gerard as the instigator of the reform, and the otherwise highly topical and moralizing nature of the story (inspired no doubt by Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*), are all reasons to regard it with skepticism.[19] In his analysis of the *Life*, Jozef Marie De Smet also showed that the biographer's account of the canons' resistance and revolt derives entirely from the author's desire to take a position in contemporary disputes over the moral supremacy of Benedictine monastic life.[20] Mainly because of such arguments, the events reported in the *Life* have not been taken seriously by any scholar with an interest in the tenth-century reforms.[21] Nevertheless, these and other accounts have shaped historians' understanding of the reforms insofar as they regard the reforms as highly dramatic episodes concentrated in time, and the focus of their analysis is on the agency of Gerard and his disciples rather than on that of other ecclesiastical and secular leaders.

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16. *Vita Gerardi*, ed. von Heinemann, 670.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 671.
19. Ibid., 670, n. 5.
20. De Smet, "Recherches," 47–48.
21. Ibid.; Schultze, "Gerhard," 242.

Paradoxically, scholars also agree that the long-term impact of Gerard's interventions was limited. Folcuin's account of the reform of Saint-Bertin corroborates this interpretation: following his description of the return of some of the rebellious monks, no further comment is made on the actual implications of Gerard's reformist government. It is also thought that both monastic discipline and the regular abbacy were quickly compromised by the effects of political instability and the interventions of secular lords.[22] The reforms of the early eleventh century are in fact regarded as the best proof of the eventual failure of Gerard's work in Flanders and elsewhere.[23] Compounding this judgment are the facts that, throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, Gerard himself was not remembered as a particularly important monastic leader,[24] and that his role as a reformer was publicized only in the hagiographic *Vita Gerardi*.

The paradox derives from a misconception of what the tenth-century reforms actually implied. As I will show in the next few pages, the reforms of Flemish institutions were primarily driven not by the desire to establish a "pure" or "authentic" form of Benedictine monasticism but by the count's desire, in addition to redemptive concerns and the wish to create a dynastic sanctuary, to use the monasteries on his territories in the pursuit of territorial expansion and political consolidation.[25] Gerard's reform of Flemish institutions was, in fact, entirely managed by Count Arnulf, and contemporary evidence clearly shows that no one was fooled into believing otherwise.[26] Hence, Arnulf's ambitions for Flanders' political development should not be seen as the background against which reformed monasticism was introduced, or as the reason why it subsequently "failed," but as its primary cause, defining how we should evaluate the long-term impact of the reforms.

Flemish Monasticism in the Early Tenth Century

The so-called restoration of monasticism in Flanders was a key element in the political ascendancy of the counts of Flanders. Following the division of

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22. Ugé, *Creating*, 4–6; on Brogne and its decline in the later tenth century, see Sabbe, "Étude critique sur la biographie."

23. See, for instance, Sabbe, "Notes," 551. Gerzaguet, in *Abbaye féminine*, 54, speaks of a reform *sans lendemain*.

24. Witness the mid-eleventh-century *Annales Blandinienses* (Saint-Peter) and the tenth- and eleventh-century *Annales Elnonenses* (Saint-Amand), both edited in *Les Annales,* ed. Grierson, 1–73 and 132–75, respectively. Also from Saint-Amand are the twelfth-century *Breve chronicon* and the thirteenth-century *Chronica brevis* (respectively in Platelle, "Chronique inconnue," and Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, 16961ter, 1r–[4]r).

25. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 229.

26. Misonne, "Gérard," 31; Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 31.

the Frankish Empire in 843, more than a dozen *pagi* situated in the extreme northeastern part of the Western Frankish kingdom became integrated progressively into the patrimony of one family, the first historically attested head of which was Count Baldwin I, also known as Baldwin Ironarm (861–879). Although formally he controlled only the *pagi* of Ghent and Waas, Baldwin forced himself into a privileged alliance with the Western Frankish dynasty by abducting and marrying Charles the Bald's daughter Judith. In 864, he was entrusted by the king with the *pagi* of Ternois and Flanders, as well as the lay abbacy of Saint-Peter in Ghent. Baldwin's position was not hereditary, and his son Baldwin II (879–918), who must be considered the real founder of Flanders' comital dynasty, was forced to conquer the lands previously controlled by his father.[27] His expansion, which transformed the county from a relatively small, politically marginal region around the town of Bruges to one that included the districts of Boulogne and Ternois to the west and was bordered by the River Canche to the south, was nevertheless kept in check by various ecclesiastical and secular allies of successive Western Frankish kings, even though he managed to find powerful allies in the kings of Wessex. By the 890s, however, Baldwin II had gradually taken control of the southern regions of the Ternois, Artois, and Vermandois, and in 900, he obtained the lay abbacy of Saint-Bertin, where his father lay buried. For a relatively brief period, Baldwin also held the abbacy of Saint-Vaast, but lost it again when the Frankish king moved forward in the Artois. By the time Baldwin died, thanks among other things to the continuous rivalry over the throne of West Francia, Flanders had grown into a sea-oriented power block, covering the North Sea coast from the Zwin to the Canche delta, with fortifications dotted along it. His son Arnulf I (918–965) initially had to share his father's inheritance with his brother Adalolf (918–933), who received Boulogne and Ternois, as well as the lay abbacy of Saint-Bertin. Although Adalolf's death in 933 ended that territorial division, Arnulf's ascension led to fierce rivalries with the neighboring rulers, such as Rollo of Normandy, Herbert II of Vermandois, the Robertian Hugo, and the local counts of Montreuil. The expansion of Arnulf's territories by means of conquest, especially in the Artois and the Ostrevant, continued until the early 950s.[28] At that point in his reign, Arnulf's territories comprised the counties of Boulogne, Ternois, Artois, Ostrevant, and Flanders, including the cities of Boulogne, Thérouanne, Cassel, Tournai, Arras, and Amiens.[29]

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27. This paragraph is based largely on the discussion in Nieus, "Montreuil."
28. Tanner, *Families*, 32–33.
29. On this evolution, see ibid., 33–38.

The Norman attacks and the political instability at the end of the ninth century had severely disrupted life in and around many religious institutions in the region.[30] Saint-Peter in Ghent had been abandoned only for a short period, then was reoccupied at the end of the ninth century by a community of canons; it would soon develop into the county's principal monastic center.[31] And the monks of Saint-Bertin had also fared relatively well, thanks among other things to a well-stocked library and a thriving monastic school. But others had been less fortunate. Saint-Bavo—the more prominent of the two abbeys in Ghent in Carolingian times—had been abandoned in the wake of the Norman attacks and was reoccupied only in the 920s by a small number of canons.[32] At Saint-Amand, local tradition falsely claimed that the abbey had been "destroyed" in the late ninth century; but certainly several successive lay abbacies had weighed heavily on the monks' resources.[33] Nevertheless, these and other institutions over the centuries had accumulated such economic, political, and cultural capital that they were still able to contribute significantly to the counts' ambitions. In addition, the abbots of Saint-Bertin near Saint-Omer, Saint-Vaast in Arras, and Elnone/Saint-Amand, all institutions situated in the southern parts of Baldwin I's territories, in the later ninth century had played a key role in a decades-long struggle for political supremacy over the region, with the first two of these institutions doubling as fortifications against the Norman invaders. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Baldwin II and his son Arnulf brutally transferred the domains of the monasteries situated on Flemish territory to their personal ownership, and also claimed formal control over the Flemish monasteries by taking on the title of lay abbot.[34]

How exactly Arnulf became interested in monastic reform is difficult to establish. Certainly the aforementioned bishop Transmar of Noyon-Tournai (938–950), a former monk of Saint-Vaast, had been urging him to remedy the poor state of monasticism in his territories.[35] There is reason to believe that the promoters of reform succeeded in persuading the count

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30. A detailed survey of the Viking invasions is found in D'Haenens, *Invasions*.

31. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 58.

32. Verhulst initially argued that this happened sometime in the years 911–918 (ibid.; see also Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 31); he later revised his opinion and pushed back the dates to 920–930 ("Restauratie," 336).

33. Platelle, "Oeuvre"; also "Abbaye"; *Temporel*, 111–13; and *Justice*, 51–53, all by Platelle.

34. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 65.

35. On Transmar, see Tanner, *Families*, 64. Also Verhulst, "Restauratie," 338. Regarding the role of informal ecclesiastical networks, see Platelle, *Justice*, 50; Misonne, "Gérard," 34; and Semmler, "Erbe," 43–44.

that promoting reform carried redemptive rewards.[36] In a charter issued at the "restoration" of Saint-Peter in Ghent on 8 July 941 (and undoubtedly written either by Gerard himself or one of his monks), Arnulf compared his own actions to those of Judas Maccabaeus, who had rebuilt the Temple of Jerusalem.[37] No doubt Arnulf was also keen to organize additional institutional settings where his extensive collection of relics could be preserved and presented to the faithful for veneration.[38] Described by Folcuin as "a man eager for holy relics" (*sanctarum reliquiarum avidus*),[39] he assembled this collection partly to claim the wealth of then-extinct communities,[40] to sanction his own power with the remains of powerful intermediaries with God, and to represent the integration of the county's newly conquered territories.[41] It is no coincidence that he concentrated the most precious relic treasures in institutions crucial to the representation of comital power.[42] The two main institutions, Saint-Peter in Ghent and Saint-Bertin, like a number of newly founded collegiate churches situated within the newly established comital fortresses, benefited from major translations of relics that Arnulf personally arranged to be removed from monasteries and other sanctuaries situated less centrally in the county, such as Fontenelle, Renty, Auchy, Saint-Riquier, and Saint-Valéry.[43] In 918, Arnulf moved the dynastic necropolis of Flanders to Saint-Peter in Ghent.[44]

The diverse situation of Flanders' monasteries in the decades leading up to the reforms of the 940s–950s indicates that Arnulf's principal motive in promoting reform by no means was to "restore" monastic life in the region, or simply to promote the cult of relics and the commemoration of his ancestors. Rather, he seems to have been looking for ways to benefit to the fullest possible extent from his monasteries' wealth and status. By "liberating" the monasteries of his territories and giving them the right to elect their own

36. Such reasoning also applied to Carolingian patronage of monastic reform; see, among many others, de Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism"; and Gaillard, *D'une réforme à l'autre*, 265–304.

37. Edited in *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 53, pp. 143–46; see Mohr, *Studien*, 126; and Dunbabin, "Maccabees," especially the discussion of the 941 restoration charter at 36–38.

38. Hödüm, "La réforme," 589; also Bozóky, "Politique"; and Meijns, "Premières collégiales."

39. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 630.

40. Van Werveke, "Saint-Wandrille," esp. 82–87; Meijns, "Premières collégiales."

41. Whether, as Misonne has suggested, that actually meant that he also wished to enhance the propagation of the Christian faith is unclear; "Gérard," 28.

42. Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 64–65; also Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique."

43. Nieus, "Montreuil," with references. Also Meijns, "Premières collégiales"; and Meijns, "Policy."

44. On the counts' burial practices, see Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique."

leaders, he was able to prize them out of the king of France's hands, as the lay abbacy was royal property and had been infeudated to the counts in the ninth and early tenth centuries.[45] Not that the reforms were intended or perceived as an act of rebellion: King Lothar was asked to give his prior permission for the reform of Saint-Peter in Ghent,[46] and reiterated his approval of the reform both of Saint-Peter and of Saint-Bertin in separate charters.[47] But through these acts, the king condoned the count's stated intention to reserve for himself the approval of newly elected regular abbots.[48] That implied the loss of the king's control over the *mensa conventualis*, or the communal properties, and the *mensa abbatialis*, those reserved for the abbot, and the effective transferal of all secular control over a given institution to the count himself. As we will see, he intended to extend this control to the wealth of the individual monks.

Introducing Reform

How exactly Arnulf became personally involved with Gerard is not known. It is possible that Bishop Transmar suggested Gerard of Brogne as the ideal candidate to help organize the reforms, but scholars have suggested various other circumstances in which the two men may have made their first acquaintance.[49] According to the *Vita Gerardi*, Arnulf first became acquainted with the abbot when, desperate to find a cure for his kidney stone, he arranged for a personal meeting with the saint.[50] Long regarded as a fictitious account of the onset of reforms in the county, the discovery in an early-eleventh-century manuscript of an *Imprecatio* to the monks of Saint-Peter, in

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45. Declercq, *Traditievorming*, 236; also Platelle, "Oeuvre"; and Laporte, "Gérard," esp. 157–59.

46. In the restoration charter of Saint-Peter, the count explicitly refers to the fact that his actions have taken place *permissu regis* (*Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 53, p. 145). See also Lothar's privilege for Saint-Bavo of 11 December 954 (ibid., no. 134, pp. 225–28).

47. Edited in *Recueil des actes de Louis IV*, ed. Lauer, no. 36, pp. 82–86 (for Saint-Peter, 20 August 950); *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 134, pp. 225–28 (for Saint-Bavo, 11 December 954 or 958); and *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, ed. Halphen and Lot, no. 15, pp. 32–35 (for Saint-Bertin, 7 January 962).

48. See Hodüm, "Réforme"; Margue, "Aspects," esp. 59; and Declercq, *Traditievorming*, 234–38.

49. See Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 234, who refers to a hypothesis first formulated by Nicolas Huyghebaert, according to which Arnulf and Gerard would have met during the translation of Saint Gerulf at Drongen. Dierkens prefers to hypothesize that the two men met at the Western Frankish royal court during 920–940. A third possibility is that Transmar himself introduced Gerard to Arnulf (see Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 60, n. 14).

50. *Vita Gerardi*, ed. von Heinemann, 669–70; see Koch, "Gérard."

which the count refers to such an encounter, has led scholars to accept that the story contains at least some reference to a historical event.[51] It is safe to assume that Arnulf was aware of Gerard's reputation as a monastic leader, and the respect the latter commanded with both the lay and ecclesiastical elites and perhaps even the general population.

Gerard arrived in Flanders no later than spring of 941. By that time the "restoration" of Saint-Peter in Ghent, at the time serving as the comital necropolis, was already under way. In the "restoration" charter of 8 July, Arnulf announced the canons' replacement by Benedictine monks, along with the installation of the regular abbacy (with a right of approval for the count),[52] and the restitution of properties to the *mensa conventualis* "in as far as it was necessary."[53] The abbey's privileged status in the reforms predicted its future as the county's main representative institution.[54] It is worth noting that Arnulf's charter retrospectively announces measures taken, so it seems, before Gerard's arrival. To some extent, this explains why the document does not mention Gerard at all, even though most specialists assume that he was appointed or confirmed as abbot at its formal proclamation.[55] Clearly the initiative for reform and its implications were entirely monopolized by Arnulf himself.

King Louis's confirmation charter of 950 reveals that the primary reason for the reform of Saint-Peter was publicized as being the canons' "very dishonest" (*satis inhoneste*) behavior.[56] The objective of creating clearer boundaries between the monastic and the canonical orders, and of securing Arnulf's claims on the monastic institutions of Flanders, may have been one of his motives in initiating his next reform. From a political view, the choice of Saint-Bertin was a logical one, especially given its history as a prominent

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51. See Koch, "Gérard," where the text is dated between 928/29 and 934, probably around 930; also Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 233–34, where a date of shortly before 941 is preferred.

52. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 53, pp. 143–46. On the reform charters of Saint-Peter, see Sabbe, "Deux points"; Sabbe, "Étude critique sur le diplôme," 299–300; Koch, "Diplomatische studie"; Sabbe, "Étude sur le diplôme"; Huyghebaert, "Quelques chartes"; Verhulst, "Kritische studie"; and Verhulst, "Note."

53. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 53, pp. 143–46; see Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 235. In the same year, the church of Saint-John, which was situated within the *portus* of Ghent, was transferred to the patronage of the abbey; see Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 100.

54. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 60; Verhulst, "Note," 2–3.

55. For instance, Misonne, "Gérard," 31; and Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 31.

56. *Recueil des actes de Louis IV*, ed. Lauer, no. 36, pp. 82–86.

Eigenkirche and former necropolis of the counts. Despite the close liturgical and other links with the comital family, Arnulf encountered great resistance when he attempted to install Gerard as the new abbot. As we have seen, Folcuin does not explicate why the monks and their supporters rejected the reform so vehemently.[57] One aspect that may have fueled the monks' resistance to the count's greater involvement in the abbey's affairs is the fact that in recent years his relationship with Saint-Bertin had become less privileged than before. While the abbey had been the principal one in the county since the late ninth century, Arnulf's father had been buried at Saint-Peter in Ghent, and Arnulf clearly intended this to be his principal monastery.[58] We may also speculate that Arnulf's introduction of a reformer caused resentment by infringing on the one disciplinary area of their lives in which he had previously shown little interest. Karine Ugé deduces from the resistance to the reforms that the discipline imposed by Gerard was "fairly severe,"[59] but in reality there are no clear indications that the monks actually objected to the discipline promoted by Gerard. It is worth considering that the rebellious monks subsequently accepted relocation to the Benedictine abbey of Bath, where the rigors of monastic discipline may not have been fundamentally different.

The fact that Arnulf's offer of *omnia necessaria* is such a prominent argument in Folcuin's account, but also the fact that the rebellious monks first moved to a village belonging to the abbey,[60] indicates that the dispute also revolved around other issues. In the restoration charter for Saint-Peter he had indicated that he would carry out restitutions of previously alienated properties only as far as was "necessary,"[61] and then only for the properties held by the *mensa conventualis*, or the goods that benefited the community, not the *mensa abbatialis*. Only shortly before his death did Arnulf extend the restitutions to the *mensa abbatialis*, adding new donations from his own properties.[62] It is possible that the reform also affected the monks' individual situation, and it has been suggested that his offer of *omnia necessaria* was intended as compensation for the abolition of personal property.[63] As Brigitte Meijns has

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57. Ugé, *Creating*, 5.

58. See Declercq, "*Blandinium.*"

59. Ugé, *Creating*, 5. Misonne speculates that Gerard brought with him the observance he learned during his monastic training at Saint-Denis ("Restauration," 121).

60. It would be interesting to know whether Longuenesse belonged to the *mensa conventualis*. Unfortunately, contemporary and earlier diplomatic evidence does not permit verification of this.

61. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 53, pp. 143–46; see Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 235.

62. Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 66.

63. As suggested in Ugé, *Creating*, 6.

shown, the 944 reform of Saint-Bertin ended the association between the
abbey and the canonical community of Saint Omer, the latter of which had
been created early in the ninth century but had maintained a close relation-
ship with the abbey.[64] Thus, the reform may have ended a situation in which
the distinction between the monastic lifestyle, where personal property was
prohibited, and that of the canons, where it was allowed, was deliberately
kept vague. Although it is difficult to know to what extent the definitive
separation actually changed the monks' personal status, it undoubtedly had
significant consequences for them, either on an individual or a collective
basis. Finally, some of the lay attendants and "servants" mentioned by Folcuin
probably were laymen who, up to that point, had been involved in managing
the monastery and its possessions, benefiting in some way or other from their
association with the monks. The reform of Saint-Bertin most likely allowed
the count to reassess this relationship too.

Other institutions were reformed in the context of the count's expan-
sionist policy. When the abbey of Saint-Riquier was part of Flemish ter-
ritory, briefly in 948–951, the local community of canons was replaced by
monks.[65] Fulcher, a disciple of Gerard, was named abbot and would remain
in office until c. 965–970.[66] In 951–952, shortly before the loss of the re-
gion to the Flemish dynasty, the relics kept there were transported to Saint-
Bertin, ostensibly to guarantee that they would remain in Flemish—that is,
the count's—hands.[67] Further to the south, Saint-Amand, also known as El-
none, was reformed in 952, when the final lay abbot was replaced by Leudric,
provost of the local church and member of a wealthy family in the region
of Tournai.[68] Here too, the count restored some, but not all, of the abbey's
patrimony, adding some gifts but preserving his right of sovereignty.[69] Ac-
cording to Platelle, this meant no less than actually taking possession of the
monastery, which had long been controlled by rival members of the higher
Frankish nobility, a situation that had long prevented the counts of Flanders
from expanding their influence in this region.[70]

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64. Meijns, "Chanoines"; Renard, "Que décrit," 51.

65. Laporte, "Gérard"; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 239.

66. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 239.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.; Platelle, *Justice*, 50. According to the *Breve chronicon abbatum Elnonensium*, Leudric was
elected in the presence of Arnulf, count of Flanders, and the bishops and abbots of the province
(Platelle, "Chronique," 225).

69. Dierkens, *Abbayes,* 240; Platelle, *Justice*, 51.

70. Platelle, *Justice*, 52–53, 57.

The case of Saint-Vaast in Arras, which was reformed in 954, shows how Arnulf developed a methodology of acquiring monastic and territorial over-lordship in which the formal announcement of reform was just one of several steps. As early as 943, he had taken over the lay abbacy previously held by the local counts Alchmar and his son Adalelm.[71] But while the campaign of reform had already been initiated in other parts of Flanders, Arnulf delayed to reform the abbey for another eleven years, until he had consolidated his power over the region and had been able to establish himself definitively as lord of the town of Arras. Folcuin's report of resistance by the monks to the reform suggests a conflict of interest with the local elites, similar to that which had made the reform of Saint-Bertin such a tumultuous affair. Perhaps this explains why Hildebrand, a close confidant of Arnulf and one with previous experience in dealing with such sensitive issues, was sent to Saint-Vaast. In the intervening years between his accession as lay abbot and the appointment of Hildebrand, Arnulf had been able to rely on Saint-Vaast's various resources,[72] and the abbey continued to function as a recruitment pool of well-educated candidates for high ecclesiastical office. In or around 949, the count, who had just been able to expand his zone of political influence as far as Amiens, arranged for the monk Ragembald to be elected as bishop of that diocese.[73] Through the emperor's intercession, Ansbert, another monk of Saint-Vaast, in 965 became bishop of Cambrai.[74] Folcuin's, or for that matter any other chroniclers', silence on what the reform actually implied for life in the monastery is telling. One may indeed wonder whether, like at Saint-Amand, it really made that much of a difference from a spiritual, liturgical, intellectual, or other internal point of view. The point of the reform or, as the chronology of events here suggests, the process of reform had been to turn the abbey into a subsidiary institution of comital power; any other reflections on the necessity of a reformist intervention are based on pure speculation.

Saint-Bavo was the only reform that Arnulf did not initiate himself. Reluctant to create competition in the town of Ghent, he stalled his response to Bishop Transmar's calls to reform that abbey. In 942, Transmar himself consecrated the chapel of Saint Pharaildis in the comital fortress; it was there

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71. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:84–86. Local traditions refer to two abbots, Hugo III and Hugo IV, who would have served during that eleven-year period, but their existence cannot be verified in contemporary sources.

72. Koch, "Vikingen," at 186, suggests that, at Saint-Peter in Ghent, Count Arnulf had begun with the "restoration" of the monastic economy even before the formal reform of 8 July 941.

73. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:87.

74. See the next chapter.

that the relics of Saint Bavo were deposited.[75] On 30 September 946, following attempts by the monks of Saint-Peter to claim for themselves properties of the other Ghent abbey,[76] the relics were transferred to the site of Saint-Bavo abbey, and in the years that followed a new monastic community was installed.[77] Arnulf nevertheless refused to make any restitution to the monastery and continued to favor Saint-Peter. Reforming Saint-Bavo made, in the count's eyes at least, no sense.

Gerard's Reformist Agency

As we have seen, Arnulf did include religious considerations in his decision to invite Gerard to Flanders. But the nature of the reforms, and the role that he, as sole secular lord, subsequently played in the government of the monasteries reveal that his primary motivation was his own political ambitions. Contemporary evidence also indicates that it was never his intention to leave the government of his monastic institutions to Gerard and his followers. Quite the contrary—the abolition of lay abbacy allowed him to create a regime in which the monasteries could be put entirely at the service of the count and which facilitated the consolidation of his authority as head of Flemish society.[78] Through the appointment of Gerard's successors, control over the monastic economy and its institutional and political networks, and the organization of the monks' liturgical service to the comital family, Arnulf would continue to dominate the reformed institutions. Likewise, it is within this context that his parsimonious policy of restitution must be interpreted, along with the fact that he delayed giving up his claims to the *mensa abbatialis* of several abbeys and his control over immunitary justice of the two Ghent abbeys until the final years of his life.[79]

Arnulf made a point of publicly asserting these intentions. It was he, rather than Gerard, who proclaimed the reform of Saint-Bertin, and it is telling that Folcuin in his description of this event does not accord any active role to the abbot.[80] Similarly, at Saint-Peter there was no mention of Gerard

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75. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 236; Verhulst, "Restauratie," 337.

76. Declercq, *Traditievorming*, 222 onward.

77. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 31.

78. Sackur has suggested that the reforms reflected a strategy to remove the monasteries from episcopal authority (*Cluniacenser*, 140–41). While this may have been the case, surely the count's ambition to cancel out royal influence carried more weight.

79. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 62.

80. A failed attempt in the 950s to reform Fontenelle, which was not on Flemish soil, from Saint-Peter may be the exception (Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 237).

in the restoration charter of 941 or even in King Louis IV's confirmation charter of 950.[81] This approach, whereby in important transactions Arnulf, and not the then-current abbot, acted as the de facto and de jure head of the reformed houses, was one he would practice for the rest of his life. When in 944 a large haul of treasure containing the relics of Saints Wandrille, Ansbert, and Wulfram as well as 138 other relics arrived at Saint-Peter, Count Arnulf acted as initiator and organizer, in close collaboration with Bishop Transmar.[82] And in 962, when King Lothar issued a privilege to Saint-Bertin, the then-abbot Hildebrand, Arnulf's own nephew, received no mention in the document, whereas Arnulf himself was designated as "count and abbot" (*marchio abbasque*).[83]

Toward the end of his sojourn in Flanders, Gerard's public involvement seems to have declined even further. He does not appear to have played a significant part in the reform of Saint-Amand, where the prereform community apparently functioned well enough not to warrant the external recruitment of a regular abbot.[84] The phasing out of Gerard may have been the result of previous problems related to delegating the government of monasteries to several of his aides and collaborators. In 944, immediately after his appointment as abbot of Saint-Bertin, Gerard, by order of the count, appointed two monks as his replacement.[85] One was Womar, from Saint-Peter, the other Agilo, a monk from the abbey of Saint-Evre in Toul, an important reformist center with close links to Fleury and Gorze.[86] When Agilo died in 947, Gerard resigned and secured the count's agreement on the appointment of Wido, his nephew, as the new abbot. Whether an act of nepotism or not, Wido's juvenile impetuousness soon led to significant tensions at the abbey, and the count personally intervened to depose him.[87] In 950, Arnulf appointed his own nephew Hildebrand as abbot of Saint-Bertin, in the process promoting Womar as prior and, after Gerard's departure, as abbot of Saint-Peter.[88] Wido was eventually appointed abbot of Saint-Bavo,[89] but

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81. Verhulst, "Note."
82. Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 67. See the early-twelfth-century *Sermo de adventu Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulfrani in Blandinium*, edited in Huyghebaert, *Une translation*, 3–58.
83. *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, ed. Halphen and Lot, no. 15, pp. 32–35.
84. Platelle, "Oeuvre," 131.
85. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 629.
86. Choux, "Einold"; Michiels, "Humbert"; Choux, "Décadence."
87. Misonne, "Gérard," 36; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 239.
88. The list of witnesses to a notice from 953–959 gives us an idea of the size of the monastic community—twenty monks, including Abbot Womar, are listed; *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen, 87–88.
89. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 63, n. 4; Verhulst, "Note," 6.

in the years that followed he encountered significant resistance from the monks of Saint-Peter.[90] In subsequent years, Arnulf would pursue a policy of appointing indigenous monks as abbot of the reformed monasteries, perhaps in an attempt to secure the "Flemish" character of the monastic leadership.

Arnulf allowed Gerard and other reformist abbots to act more or less at their own discretion only in areas of monastic government that were marginally relevant to his geopolitical and symbolic interests. Thus, the first actual mention of Gerard as abbot in a document from Saint-Peter is in a minor donation charter from 950–953.[91] Some liberties were also permitted in affairs that essentially pertained to the internal management of monastic property and required the technical expertise of his monks. Thus, Gerard is likely to have personally overseen the production of Saint-Peter's *Liber traditionum antiquus*, compiled in 944–946 in order to claim properties that had formerly belonged to the rival abbey of Saint-Bavo and to provoke the count into making new donations and restoring part of the abbey's *mensa abbatialis*.[92] But even there, comital strategies permeated the discourse in which the project was framed. In the narrative introduction to the collection, the anonymous author represented the introduction of a Benedictine regime at the abbey as a return to the ancient discipline imposed by the original founder, Saint Amand.[93] Given that this allegation was completely unfounded, we have good reason to assume that it reflects Gerard's contribution to Arnulf's public discourse on the legitimacy of the reform. In all likelihood, it helped impose on the monks the abolition of personal property, which accorded with the count's ambition to control the monasteries' temporal wealth and which was most likely a significant bone of contention at Saint-Peter, Saint-Bertin, and Saint-Vaast. The same remark may be valid for the close connection between the count's wishes and Gerard's policies regarding the preparation of the account of the translation of 944 at Saint-Peter.[94]

Certainly it is going too far to claim, as Josef Semmler has done, that Gerard was little more than Arnulf's *Sachwalter*.[95] According to Folcuin, Gerard was "almost the only and [certainly the] first in the West in recent years to serve the norm of monastic life."[96] A strong personality, he interacted

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90. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 237; Verhulst, "Note," 15; Verhulst, "Restauratie," 337–38; and esp. Declercq, *Traditievorming*, 249.

91. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 234.

92. Declercq, *Traditievorming*, 20–22, 30–33, 222–29.

93. Declercq, "Blandinium," 62.

94. As attested in the contemporary *Virtutes Eugenii Toletani*; on this, see Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 234.

95. Semmler, " Erbe," 70–72.

96. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 629.

with representatives of other reform movements,[97] and was highly regarded among the region's secular and ecclesiastical leaders. However, to what extent these facts and assumptions are strictly relevant to understanding monastic reforms in Flanders in the mid-tenth century raises another question. There can be little doubt that the reform of the region's monasteries in the mid-tenth century was essentially a lay enterprise in service of lay objectives,[98] and that this reflected on the lack of freedom enjoyed by abbots to develop their own reformist agency. The count's overwhelming influence on the reforms meant that in their internal policies, Gerard and his "disciples" and successors focused for the most part on creating appropriate conditions for the adequate celebration of the cult, prayer service for the comital family, and commemoration of the count's ancestors.[99] Indeed, Ursmer Berlière's claim that "the reform of Gerard was above all a disciplinary and an ascetic one"[100] is valid only if discipline and asceticism are interpreted as elements of an institutional setup—the creation of communities of professional "prayer machines"—rather than as attitudes and monastic customs.

Count Arnulf's promotion of reform must be understood as part of his policy to strengthen his grip on the material wealth of these institutions, consolidate his authority in newly conquered or obtained territories, and use the monasteries as a means of creating political communities with himself at the center. By giving up the lay abbacy of former *Eigenklöster* and adopting the de facto (if not necessarily de jure) position of lay advocate, he was able to pressure the king into abandoning his own direct claims on these institutions and, perversely, into granting privileges that effectively transferred the monasteries from the royal domain to that of the count. Arnulf's intention to use these new resources for his own purposes is reflected in his relatively modest restitutions of usurped property, often keeping parts of former monastic domain for himself, and his self-declared intention to return alienated property to the monks of Saint-Peter, but only as much as they actually needed to sustain the community. To guarantee that his interests were protected and his policies implemented, he retained the right to approve abbatial candidates and, for most of his government, appointed the new abbots himself. He also

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97. See above.

98. Blouard, *Saint Gérard*, 32.

99. Commemorative and redemptive concerns are explicated in a charter of Lothar of 964 for Saint-Peter (*Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 60, p. 156), and another from 966 for Saint-Bavo (ibid., no. 135, p. 230).

100. Berlière, "Étude," 142.

held on to his title of *comes et abbas*, thereby indicating his intention to control the temporal wealth of, among others, Saint-Bertin and Saint-Amand. In the recently conquered or acquired southern parts of the county, the reform of monastic houses also served as public demonstrations of the count's success in taking over considerable territories formerly controlled by descendants of the Carolingian elites.

Whether the application of the new regime changed much in the monks' lives depended on the previous history of their institution. In Ghent, the "restoration" of the two abbeys certainly transformed the communities serving there, whereas in Saint-Bertin and perhaps also in Saint-Vaast, the reform may have had the most impact on the personal situation of each individual monk. But in Saint-Amand, life after the reform must have continued in much the same way as before,[101] and the examples of Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast, although poorly documented, suggest that, on a collective level at least, ruptures with the past may have been less significant than some scholars have assumed. Continuities with previous decades, despite all indications of ruptures and new beginnings, were strong, and intentionally so.

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101. Platelle, *Justice*, 57, 135–39.

❧ Chapter 3

The "Dark Age" of Flemish Monasticism

In chapter 1, we have seen how Simon, in his prologue to the chronicle of Saint-Bertin, claimed that he had been unable to find anything memorable for the period between 961/62, the final year described by Folcuin, and 1021, when Roderic of Saint-Vaast reformed the abbey. As it turns out, this was part of a strategy to focus the narrative entirely on the argument that Abbot Lambert's then-current reform was grounded in the reform of the early eleventh century, and to demonstrate the continuities in reformist government since that time. In a different context, Simon would certainly have found much of what remained in the archives and library of his abbey eminently "memorable." Yet it is equally true that, even if he had wanted to tell the story of his abbey's late-tenth-century past, he would have faced significant problems in shaping a coherent account. Neither the abbots of that period nor the reformers of the early eleventh century had shown any interest in discussing their community's secular past, and by the time Simon began his chronicle, living memories of the period before the last reform had long gone. These difficulties were presumably compounded by the fragmentary state of the primary evidence, and by the fact that they reflected a society that had changed profoundly over the past century.

Monastic historiographers throughout the ancien régime and beyond struggled to make sense of the material from this "dark age" in Flanders' monastic history. Their accounts were often shaped by preconceived notions

about how monastic communities evolved between reforms. Even modern scholarship continues to consider the decades between c. 960 and c. 1010/20 mainly in relation to the reforms that bookended them. With the exception of the Ghent abbeys, where the impact of the eleventh-century reforms is less evident, the development of Flemish monasticism in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries is, for the most part, explained in relation to the tenth-century reformers' supposed failure or unwillingness to create a truly independent *ordo monasticus*. Doing so leads scholars to subscribe to a reformist discourse of institutional and disciplinary decline without actually offering concrete evidence to substantiate it.[1] In their understanding, reformers of the eleventh century "corrected" these shortcomings, pursuing a more "profound" Benedictinization of the monastic existence and emancipating the institutions from secular overlordship. In this chapter I will attempt to develop a more nuanced, less reform-oriented interpretation of this period of Flemish monasticism.

Reformed Monasticism and the Crisis of Comital Power

Count Arnulf's iron grip on the monasteries of Flanders meant that the longevity of reformed monasticism initially depended not so much on the leadership of the newly appointed abbots but on the position of Arnulf and his successors in regional and international politics. By the early 960s, the aging count was facing significant challenges. Epidemics, military defeats, the death of his son Baldwin in 962, and the ensuing concerns over the succession by his underage grandson, the future Count Arnulf II (965–988), compelled him to adopt a more defensive stance. As part of an attempt to placate King Lothar (954–986), he was forced to agree that the county and Arnulf II himself would be held under the king's tutelage until the boy reached adulthood; also that the king could annex the southern parts of the county in exchange for tolerating the future young count.[2]

It may be possible to see some signs of Arnulf's growing anxiety in his attitude with regard to the monastic leadership at Saint-Bertin.[3] When Regenold (954–961), Hildebrand's successor at Saint-Bertin, resigned, Adalolf, the new leader of the community and one of the monks who had initially left the abbey in protest against the reform of 944, was refused the title of abbot. Adalolf soon passed away, and when Hildebrand was reappointed as

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1. For instance, in Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 78–79.
2. Dunbabin, "Maccabees," 39–40; Nieus, "Montreuil."
3. See the evidence presented in chapter 2.

regular abbot in 962, Arnulf nevertheless continued to act as the effective head of the monastery. A privilege issued by King Lothar soon after Hildebrand's return refers to Arnulf as *marchio abbasque*.[4] Since one of Arnulf's reasons for promoting reform had been to detach the Flemish monasteries from the royal domain, we may speculate that he considered these public statements a means to secure his successor's monastic overlordship in regions he knew could become separated from the county after his death.

On his accession in 965, Count Arnulf II could do little to reverse the disintegration of his grandfather's territories. But this did not necessarily change the way in which monastic institutions were organized. Saint-Bertin is a good case in point. The Ternois, or the territories surrounding the town and archiepiscopal see of Thérouanne, and Boulogne became detached from direct Flemish authority and would not formally return to it for more than half a century. Most of the abbey's historiographers suggest that the regular abbacy was interrupted during the government of lay abbots Baldwin II (971–972) and Arnulf II (972–973), indicating that the latter was succeeded by regular Abbot Walter in 973. However, the discovery of Walter's tomb plaque in 1843 suggests otherwise. According to the inscription, Walter, who died in 984, had been leading the monastery for twenty years.[5] This would make him the likely successor *as regular abbot* of Hildebrand, for whom we have no documentation after 962. The overlap with Baldwin's and Arnulf's abbacies can be explained by arguing that Walter shared the government of the abbey with these laymen, restricting himself to internal matters, just like Gerard and Hildebrand had been compelled to acknowledge the count as *comes et abbas*. Exactly who these two lay abbots were, then, is difficult to say. Some abbatial lists designate Baldwin and Arnulf as "count" (*comes*).[6] According to Karine Ugé, Abbot Baldwin may be Baldwin Baldzo (d. 973), the guardian of Arnulf II during the latter's infancy. His successor, Arnulf (d. c. 988), may be the son of Count Arnulf the Elder's brother Adalolf, who probably had his father's former territories, Ternois and Boulonnais, returned on his uncle's death in 965.[7] Alternatively, the *Arnulphus comes* in the abbatial lists of Saint-Bertin may in fact be Count Arnulf II himself. Even

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4. *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, ed. Halphen and Lot, no. 15, pp. 32–35.

5. De Laplane, "Saint-Bertin," 237; De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:132–34. Holder-Egger has little faith in the authenticity of the plaque (see Folcuin, *Vita Sancti Folquini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 425).

6. See chapter 1, n. 18.

7. Ugé, *Creating*, 33; on Baldwin Baldzo, see Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 334; compare with De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:129–31. On Arnulf of Boulogne (962–c. 987), see Tanner, *Families*, 41–42. Dunbabin claims that relations between the two branches of the comital family remained amicable ("Reign," 57–58).

if a fragmentation of political power in the region into smaller principalities seems certain, Jean-François Nieus argues that it is unlikely that the count of Flanders would have given up the episcopal see of Thérouanne and the abbey of Saint-Bertin, including the lay abbacy.[8] Either way, it seems acceptable to think that, following Arnulf I's death, the system of monastic government was continued for at least another eight years.

In 973, the regular abbacy was definitively installed as the sole form of legitimate monastic leadership at Saint-Bertin. Abbot Walter himself may have played a role in the process, and his government is hailed in some abbatial lists from the early modern period as that of the restoration and (re-)building of Saint-Bertin.[9] There may also be a connection with a shift in Flemish political relations, for Count Arnulf II of Flanders reached the age of majority sometime during 969–972 and Baldwin Baldzo died in 973.[10] If Abbot Arnulf and the Flemish count are the same person, it would mean that he gave up the lay abbacy almost immediately after assuming it. This is not necessarily a sign of political weakness, for there may be indications that Arnulf remained closely involved in the abbey's affairs. This is suggested in the recruitment of Walter's successor, Trudgand (985/86), possibly a former provost of the abbey of Saint-Peter, at that time Flanders' major representative institution of comital power.[11] Allegations made later at Saint-Bertin and Saint-Peter also indicate that Arnulf II refused to donate properties promised by his grandfather to the former institution and was responsible for usurping some properties from the latter.[12] A more plausible explanation for Arnulf's supposed behavior would be that the recent monastic reform in England had an influence on monastic policies in Flanders.[13] Given that monks from Ghent were present at the actual proclamation of the *Regularis concordia*,[14] Arnulf II must have been aware of the reforms. It is possible he was inspired by these events to emulate his English peers and operate a stricter separation of the monastic and secular for redemptive purposes and to present himself as a worthy Christian sovereign, without, however, forsaking his rights on these institutions.

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8. Nieus, *Pouvoir*, 43.

9. Saint-Omer, BASO, 747, 58v: "Monasterium sancti Bertini ceptum est edificari et instaurari." See Saint-Omer, BASO, 748, 16v.

10. See Dunbabin, "Reign," 58.

11. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 61, pp. 157–58. My thanks to Georges Declercq for drawing my attention to this.

12. Dunbabin, "Reign," 60.

13. Most explicitly in Saenger, *Space*, at 96. On the reforms in England, see Cubitt, "Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform."

14. See further in this chapter.

Nevertheless, it does seem that some of the count's influence on the monastic institutions of Flanders was degraded in the latter part of the tenth century, although this occurred not, as some might have presumed, at the beginning of Arnulf II's reign, but gradually. While Walter's government was marked by the transition to a new situation in the monastery's leadership, the beginning of Odbert's abbacy (986–1007)[15]—which was soon followed by Count Arnulf's death in 988—unquestionably marked a shift in the monks' associations with lay society. It is interesting, but perhaps not surprising, to see that this shift initially involved members of the regional and local elites rather than the highest secular elites; more surprising, however, is the fact that abbots themselves may have been actively pursuing it. Since at least the 930s, the lay advocacy had been held by the Everards, a clan designated in contemporary sources as *viri illustri* and most likely related to the counts of Flanders.[16] In the 980s, they were replaced by the first of a clan of unknown origins known as the Gerbodos.[17] To what degree the abbots of Saint-Bertin themselves were involved in attracting the first Gerbodo as lay advocate is unclear. However, as we will see in the next section, there is a distinct pattern among abbots from the same period to engage their community in associations with members of the middle and lower groups of the elite, presumably for purposes of protection and juridical representation. The scant evidence suggests that, initially at least, the relationship between the Gerbodos and the monks of Saint-Bertin took the shape of an *amicitia*, or a privileged "friendship" based on a system of mutual services and gift exchange.[18]

By the time of Odbert's death, altogether more significant powers became involved. According to one tradition attested in the early modern historiography of the abbey, Archbishop Heribert of Cologne secured from Emperor Henry the appointment of Hemfrid (1007–1021) as abbot of Saint-Bertin.[19] The emperor's interest in the abbey seems fitting in the context of Count Baldwin IV's (988–1035) then-current attempts to expand his territories to the south and his occupation of the city Valenciennes in 1006, and may be interpreted as an attempt to weaken Baldwin's influence in the Ternois and Boulonnais. The counts' feeble grip on the region had already been demonstrated by Hugo Capet's capture of the town of Montreuil in 980, as a direct result of which the monks of Saint-Bertin were forced to restore the

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15. De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:137–40.
16. Feuchère, "Avoués," 195; also Tanner, *Families*, 292. On the advocacy, see West, "Significance."
17. Feuchère, "Avoués," 195–96.
18. See further in this chapter.
19. *Gallia Christiana* 3:492; also De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:141–43.

relics of Walaric and Riquier previously acquired through the intervention of Arnulf I.[20] However, this pessimistic vision of Baldwin's influence in the region is contradicted to a certain extent by a charter he issued in 1016 in favor of the canons of Saint-Omer, which concerned the trade of a property near the border for the county of Guînes, which he had previously donated to the chapter.[21] Hemfrid's presence in the charter suggests that relations with the count would not have been so troubled as to prevent any kind of interaction. The fact that the count had been able to grant property situated on the extreme western border of his county also suggests that he did have some measure of control over these contested regions. Needless to say, this hardly contradicts the possibility that the abbey's secular allegiances had become more diversified.

Further to the south, the power shift was more immediate, and certainly more dramatic. Early in 966 the king's troops had invaded the Artois and the Ostrevant and had effectively taken control of the abbeys in that region. As Platelle has noted, however, the crushing weight of the *servitium* does not appear to have changed significantly when the abbey of Saint-Amand passed into the royal domain. According to local tradition, Abbot Genulf (956–968) was forced to sell more than twenty estates to generate funds for service due to both the king and the count.[22] When the region returned to Flemish control in the final decade of the tenth century, property belonging to Saint-Amand was taken to fund and support the creation of new administrative and political structures. In 991 or 992, Suzanna, the recently repudiated wife of King Robert and widow of Count Arnulf II, installed herself at Saint-Amand, occupying a residence for which Abbot Radbod was required to build a tower. To cater for her needs, she was given the usufruct of the estate of Mortagne. The symbolic impact of this imposed measure must have been significant. Home to a strategically situated fortress, the estate had been usurped at the beginning of the century by lay abbots Roger I and II; when the abbey was reformed in 952, Count Arnulf restored the property to the abbey. When Suzanna occupied it as a *precarium*, she and her son Baldwin IV quickly (at the latest in March 994, when the region returned to

20. Montreuil, in the Ponthieu, had been conquered by Arnulf I in the late 930s, subsequently lost, and finally reconquered in the 940s (Vanderkindere, *La formation*, 59–60). The restitution of the relics is mentioned in the *Historia relationis Sancti Walarici*, ed. Holder-Egger, 694.

21. Edited in Tock, "Mutations," 142–48; regarding the canons of Saint-Omer, see Meijns, "Chanoines," 697–705; and Bédague, "Abbés."

22. Platelle, *Temporel*, 115–19. In 968, the king offered the abbey to Rather of Verona, but, due to resistance from the monks, his tenure lasted no longer than a single day (on Rather, see, among others, Dolbeau, "Rathier de Vérone"; and Anton, "Ratherius").

Flemish authority) took action to transform it into one of the strongholds of the *comitatus Curtracensis seu Tornacensis*, an embryonic incarnation of the future castellany of Tournai. As a logical conclusion to this takeover, sometime during the next decade, Count Baldwin formally annexed Mortagne. Between 996 and 1013, he also founded a community of secular canons inside the monastic compound of Saint-Amand, ostensibly to serve the church of Saint-André but undoubtedly also as a signifier of the counts' control over the abbey.[23]

The situation was somewhat different at Saint-Vaast, where the count was vying with the bishop of Cambrai for influence over the city of Arras and its surroundings. Abbot Hildebrand's reform of 954 had not been an easy one, according to the chronicler Folcuin, as there had been much resistance from within the community. Yet Folcuin's claims should not be mistaken for an objective evaluation of the quality of monastic personnel at Saint-Vaast. In fact, it was from this previously rebellious community that Ansbert, also an archdeacon of the church of Cambrai, was chosen to become bishop of Cambrai in 960.[24] According to the early-eleventh-century *Deeds of the bishops of Cambrai*, Bishop Ansbert (960–965) relied heavily on the count's support to combat "his own soldiers" and restore his authority over the bishopric's territories.[25] Shortly after Ansbert's death, however, royal troops conquered the region of Arras. It is unfortunate that Abbot Frameric's government (961/62 or 968–972) remains undocumented, as his possible relationship to the Flemish elite raises some interesting questions. His only documented homonym from the region is Bishop Frameric of Thérouanne (974–989), whose niece, according to the twelfth-century chronicler Lambert of Ardres, owned properties at Selnesse, in the region of Guînes, and at Hondschoote, near the Flemish coast. In the latter village, she owned land, marshland, and an altar that one of her ancestors had received as a benefice from the abbey of Saint-Vaast.[26] If this woman and Abbot Frameric were indeed related, and if Frameric was made abbot in 961/62, his appointment may well have been part of Arnulf I's strategy to secure lasting influence in a region that, as part of the deal with the king of France, would be lost to Flanders after his death. If he was appointed only in 968, it would show how Arnulf II tried to regain some Flemish influence in a city now firmly in French hands.

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23. Platelle, *Temporel*, 120–21; Meijns, *Aken*, 436–39.

24. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:88, state that Ansbert was professed before the reform of 954.

25. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 433.

26. Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. Heller, 608; see Van Werveke, *Bisdom*, 45 and 85–86; and Warlop, *Flemish Nobility* 1:1, 37.

Not much of Saint-Vaast's history in the following two decades is certain. In 987, the abbey suffered a fire, possibly as a result of military actions by the troops of Hugo Capet.[27] Had we known more about Abbot Malefrid (972–before February 990) and his relation to Count Arnulf II, perhaps it would have been possible to speculate that the destruction of the abbey as a "Flemish bulwark" was intentional. When Arras was returned to Flanders in April of 988,[28] the count set out once again to establish a reliable power base in the city. With the bishop of Cambrai as his main opponent, and with less freedom to act than in the rural environment of Saint-Amand, he again looked for support from the abbey, which, at the time, was enduring a tense relationship with the bishop. According to book 2 of the *Deeds*, Abbot Falrad (before February 990–1004)[29] tried forcibly to extricate his abbey from the jurisdiction of Bishop Rothard (c. 976–995).[30] In a sequence of events dated in the *Deeds* to c. 990, Falrad produced a charter, allegedly issued by Bishop Vindician in 680, that put the abbey directly under the supervision of the Holy See.[31] Count Baldwin IV strategically supported Falrad's rebellion and struck deals with Walter I and II, the wardens of the *castrum* of Cambrai. In the following years, the abbot had his men raid and burn the bishop's estates.[32] Sensing that the situation had quickly gotten out of hand, in 1004 Baldwin, together with Bishop Erluin, deposed the abbot. When Baldwin's troops were forced to withdraw from Valenciennes in 1007,[33] Erluin jumped at the chance to have the monastery reformed by an outsider, the Lotharingian Richard of Saint-Vanne. Thus, the new "wave" of reforms in Flanders was initiated at a time when comital authority was probably weaker than it had been under all of Arnulf II's reign.

The Forgotten Restoration: Monastic Leadership around the Year 1000

Throughout the latter part of the 960s and the next two decades, the young count Arnulf II was unable or, as Jean Dunbabin suggests, unwilling to pursue an aggressive expansionist policy like his grandfather Arnulf I or his successor, Baldwin IV.[34] The relative stability in what remained of the

27. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:89–91.
28. Lemarignier, "Exemption," 335–40.
29. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:91.
30. Van Mingroot, "Kritisch onderzoek"; Van Mingroot, "Gerard Ier."
31. Lemarignier, "Exemption."
32. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 452–53.
33. See the next chapter for a more detailed account of these events.
34. Dunbabin, "Reign," esp. 56–57.

county translated itself into the continuation of comital policy regarding the Ghent abbeys. Saint-Peter in Ghent thrived under the counts' protection and for nearly a century would continue to function as the dynasty's main necropolis and center of worship.[35] The privileged position of the abbey was visibly attested to by the fact that construction of a new abbatial church, begun at the initiative of Arnulf I in 960, was continued throughout this decade and the next. On 30 September 975, Archbishop Adalbero of Reims consecrated the church, while Archbishop Egbert of Trier, grandson of Arnulf I, did so for the church's new *Westbau* in 979.[36] By including ample room for the burial of the abbey's most prominent lay patrons, in all likelihood members of the count's inner circle,[37] the construction of these buildings, where the most precious relics of the county were preserved and members of the Flemish dynasty found their final resting place, fostered a political community focused entirely on the figurehead of the count. In 966, privileges issued by King Lothar and Emperor Otto I further consolidated Saint-Peter's legal and financial fortunes.[38] Thanks to the continuing patronage of the counts, members of the higher aristocracy, and many of the counts' subjects,[39] the abbey reached a level of prosperity it would never be able to achieve again. Its steep ascent as the county's main center of monastic worship also elevated the monastic school into a widely renowned center of learning. In 984, Archbishop Adalbero of Reims wrote to Abbot Wido "the Wise" on behalf of Gerbert of Aurillac, who, at the time, was leading the city's cathedral school and would later become Silvester II. Adalbero wrote to inquire whether pupils from the school could receive training in Ghent.[40] Both institutions also loaned manuscripts to each other, to make copies for their libraries.[41] During the later tenth and eleventh centuries, the library was completed with a considerable number of classical works. Some of these additions can be attributed to Abbot

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35. Declercq, "Entre mémoire"; Declercq and Dierkens, "Abdijkerk."

36. Huyghebaert, "Consécration"; Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 68–69. From July 2002 until May 2006, excavations were carried out in the square in front of the seventeenth-century abbatial church. Among the discoveries were the foundations of the *Westbau*; Bru, Laleman, and Vermeiren, "Monnikenkerk."

37. Excavations have revealed an atrium situated in front of the abbatial church, which enclosed a cemetery reserved for the high-ranking among Saint-Peter's patrons; see Bru, Laleman, and Vermeiren, "Grafveld," 70–72. Atria have been documented for the abbeys of Saint-Riquier, Lorsch and the palace at Aachen; Bru, Laleman, and Vermeiren, "Monnikenkerk," 50–51.

38. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 62, pp. 158–60; *Diplomata* 1, ed. Sickel, 1:431.

39. The diplomatic evidence from this period is edited in *Chartes et documents* 1, ed. Van Lokeren; *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen; and *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch.

40. *Briefsammlung*, ed. Weigle, no. 36, p. 64.

41. Ibid., no. 96, p. 126, and no. 105, p. 135.

Wichard (1034/35–1058), but others must have been familiar to the monks before that time.[42]

Yet even in the heart of the county, competition was lurking. Since 966, the abbey of Saint-Bavo was in a personal union with Saint-Peter,[43] among others, because the count's donations at the time of the reform were probably insufficient to sustain the former community as an independent institution. King Lothar initiated the abbey's resurrection as a viable institution as early as May of the same year, confirming its rights and properties in a formal charter.[44] Less than a decade later, Otto II began to actively pursue the restoration of the abbey as an independent entity, possibly at the suggestion of Count Thierry II of Western Frisia, Arnulf I's son-in-law—at that time, advocate of the monastery and *comes* of the *pagi* of Ghent and Waas—and of his son Egbert of Trier.[45] In three charters, one from 974 and two from 976, he restored significant portions of the former monastic domain and granted immunities on these properties.[46] In 977, he also granted the monks freedom from tolls in the empire; his successors did likewise in 1003 and again in 1040.[47] When in 981 the emperor actively supported the abolition of the personal union of Saint-Peter and Saint-Bavo and, for the first time since the reforms, provided Saint-Bavo with properties substantial enough to actually sustain the community, Arnulf II does not seem to have reacted.[48] Jean Dunbabin has suggested that Otto's patronage of the Ghent abbey was not necessarily one the young count resented, as he may have seen it as an opportunity to move into the limelight in the empire and create opportunities for alliances with important imperial vassals.[49] And certainly he did not prevent Abbot Odwin (981–998) from constructing an immense abbatial church[50] and initiating an aggressive hagiographic campaign related to the recuperation of the estate

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42. Verhulst, "Activité"; Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 78; Derolez, "Scriptorium," 148. Declercq refers to quotations by Persius in forged charters from Wichard's time to indicate that his work was intensively studied at the abbey ("*Blandinium*," 78).

43. Verhulst, "Restauratie," 338.

44. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 15, pp. 228–30.

45. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 32–33, with references. On Thierry and his son Arnulf, see Koch, "De betrekkingen"; Meijns, "Hoe een heilige verdienstelijk werd," 122; and Nieus, *Pouvoir*, 345.

46. *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 2/1:2, ed. Sickel, no. 69, pp. 82–83 (21 January 974); *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 136, pp. 231–32 (18 January 976); and ibid., no. 137, pp. 232–34 (19 January 976).

47. *Oorkonden*, ed. Vleeschouwers, no. 8, pp. 9–10; *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 139, pp. 244–49; and ibid., no. 141, pp. 249–51.

48. Verhulst, "Restauratie," 338–40.

49. Dunbabin, "Reign," 59.

50. Odwin was buried in the transept; see De Smidt and Van de Weerd, "Verslag," 87–91.

of Wintershoven.[51] Ten years after granting the initial toll freedom to Saint-Bavo, Otto did the same for Saint-Peter.[52] The fact that Egbert, his chancellor, was involved in the consecration of the *Westbau* of the new abbatial church also indicates that relations may have been less tense than previously assumed. Nevertheless, this imperial patronage probably was intended to establish the emperor's influence in the region more than anything else, and the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Bavo created formidable competition in the city of Ghent, which potentially undermined Saint-Peter's status as principal monastery in Flanders and figurehead of comital authority. Both monastic communities were almost instantly spurred into waging a fierce battle of words over which institution had the right to claim historical and juridical primacy.

Elsewhere in Flanders, the temporary disappearance of the counts' dominant patronage soon heralded the advent of an active generation of regular abbots who began to pursue a modest policy of restoration and to develop modes of government that relied less on comital authority and protection. In contrast with Saint-Peter and Saint-Bavo, none of these institutions would receive any major donations, restitutions, or other privileges for at least another three decades, or at least none that were considered worthy enough of inclusion in long-term institutional memory. This may explain why the abbots' main objective appears to have been to consolidate the monastic domain rather than expand it. Walter of Saint-Bertin and his successor, Trudgand, pursued a policy of institutional stabilization, consisting in part of new deals with long-time lay occupants of monastic possessions. Both abbots are mentioned in a charter issued by Odbert, which confirms to Lotmar, son of a canon named Atzo, the property of the domain of Fléchinelle, which had been given to him by Walter and Trudgand in return for a yearly rent.[53] A few modest acquisitions are also documented: the earliest dates from 975, just two years after the restoration of the regular abbacy.[54] Odbert may have actively pursued a policy of connecting with members of the local and regional elites. The objective of these *amicitiae*, theoretically egalitarian associations based on a system of gift exchanges and mutual service, was to manage social

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51. Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 33–34.

52. *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* 2/1:2, ed. Sickel, 874–75.

53. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 66, pp. 21–22. A notice dated by Haigneré at c. 987, but most likely drafted a few years later, concerns land owned by the abbey in Humbertvisin (ibid., no. 65, p. 21, edited in Simon, *Chronicon*, 634–35).

54. The transaction concerns a donation by a woman named Richildis of a property at Herbelles (*Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 64, pp. 20–21). Another charter dated to the abbacy of Odbert records how Bishop Frameric of Thérouanne donated the altars of Loon and Bourbourg (Saint-Omer, BASO, 745, fol. 39; see *Regestes*, ed. Bled, 1:69).

order around the monastery, acquire new resources, and protect older ones. Possibly the arrival of a new advocate, the aforementioned Gerbodo, should be considered in light of a deliberate attempt on the part of the abbot to weave a functional network of lay protectors and officials around the monastery. From the complex system of exchanges and interactions that were required to establish and maintain such a privileged relationship, only a few indications remain: one Gerbodo, father or son, is known to have donated a manuscript to the abbey,[55] and one of his relatives possibly was a member of the monastic community.[56] Whatever the specific terms on these new associations were, they probably turned the system of lay officialdom into an efficient instrument of monastic government: one passage in the mid-eleventh-century *Miracles* of Saint Bertin tells us how the monks' lay officer at the village of Caumont confronted a usurper of monastic property by challenging him to a duel.[57]

At Saint-Amand, the canonically elected abbot Gueric (968–996) according to later chroniclers recuperated some of Genulf's forced alienations.[58] During the abbacy of his successor, Radbod, the monks also received at least one major donation;[59] and Radbod apparently gave the domain of Spéluz as a benefice to a man named Engelbert "to protect it against criminals."[60] It is not unlikely that, like the transferal of the lay advocacy at Saint-Bertin, this transaction reflected a growing awareness on the part of abbots that henceforth, matters such as protection and shared government of the monastic estate were to be arranged with members of the local aristocracy. We have already seen how, at Saint-Vaast, Abbot Falrad took a confrontational stance by commissioning the production of a forged charter allegedly issued by the seventh-century bishop Vindician, claiming extensive exemptions from episcopal power. Like what the abbots of Saint-Amand and Saint-Bertin appear to have done, Abbot Falrad's action seems to have been aimed not so much at expanding monastic property but at making the most of what the monks already owned. The gradual expansion of the town of Arras, owned in large part by the abbey, and its development as a trade center over the next few decades would exponentially inflate the value of properties it had owned

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55. Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 48, note on endleaf; ed. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 13, 34, n. 1.

56. A list of monks from the abbey mentions two individuals named Gerbodus/Gerbodo as members of the community, the first having presumably made his profession under Trudgand or possibly Walter, the second under Roderic; Saint-Omer, BASO, 815, 114v and 115v, respectively. On the problems involved with dating and interpreting this list, see Vanderputten, "Monastic Recruitment."

57. *Miracula Sancti Bertini (continuatio II)*, ed. Holder-Egger, 518–19.

58. Platelle, *Temporel*, 118.

59. Platelle, "Premier cartulaire," 322, n. 23.

60. Platelle, *Temporel*, 100, n. 214.

for decades, if not centuries. Like his colleagues at Saint-Bertin and Saint-Amand, Falrad relied on members of the lay elites to provide protection and, if necessary, go to battle in defense of the monks' interests.

Despite indications that abbots were actively forging ties with members of the local and regional elites, actual evidence of lay patronage to these institutions is scarce. But particularly in the case of Saint-Bertin, the lack of charter evidence is misleading.[61] Many laymen and -women were drawn to the abbey by the prospect of becoming one of its privileged partners, and the focus of their patronage was on the relics of saints preserved at the abbey. In the colophon of the famous Odbert Psalter, written by the scribe Heriveus, the author addresses the abbey itself, claiming that "[no one] can enumerate how many pledges you obtain through the merit of your holy relics."[62] Few of these pledges have left a trace in the written evidence. For instance, in the lower margin of the sole remaining leaf of a late-tenth-century manuscript of the *Life* of Saint Folcuin, bishop of Thérouanne (d. 855), three different hands from the eleventh century recorded the names of more than a dozen Anglo-Saxons.[63] Since the main text on the page concerns the saint's burial in the abbatial church of Saint-Bertin, we may speculate that the names are those of pilgrims who had visited the saint's grave and made a donation.[64]

The fostering of institutional identities and patronage by means of hagiographic activity was not limited to Flanders' larger abbeys. According to an account from the second quarter of the eleventh century, Abbess Judith of Marchiennes, a former double monastery that had evolved into a small nunnery assisted by a handful of canons, oversaw the elevation of the relics of Saint Jonat, first abbot of Marchiennes, in the late tenth century.[65] Nothing is known of Judith's intentions when she had Jonat's body removed from his grave. An obscure saint, he may have been an ideal candidate to heighten the abbey's attractiveness to potential—male—donors. Certainly efforts were being made to make the cult of saints whose relics were preserved at Marchiennes

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61. Notices from 986, 987, 993, and 994; edited respectively in *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 64, p. 21, second part; no. 65, p. 21 (partial edition; edited in full by Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 13, 634–35); no. 64 (third part), p. 21; and no. 66, pp. 21–22. On Odbert's government, see De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:137–40. His tomb plaque was discovered in 1844 (De Laplane, "Saint-Bertin," 44–45, 235).

62. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 37.

63. Saint-Omer, BASO, 342bis, 104r. The *Life* is known to scholars as the *Vita Sancti Folquini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 424–30.

64. Gameson, "Angleterre," 178. As late as the thirteenth century Saint Folcuin was mentioned in local sources as being especially popular with English pilgrims; see Vanderputten and Snijders, "Stability."

65. *Lectiones in commemoratione et transitu Sancti Ionati*, ed. *AASS Augusti* 1, 73–75 and *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum* 2:273–75.

Page of a manuscript of Folcuin's *Life* of Saint Folcuin, with eleventh-century additions of the names of Anglo-Saxons, presumably pilgrims. Saint-Omer, BASO, 342bis, 104r. Copyright Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, photo Jonas Braekevelt. Reproduced with permission.

more prominent. Sometime around the year 1000, a new metric *Life* of pa-troness Rictrudis and a prose one of her daughter Eusebia, abbess of Hamage, were also written, apparently at the instigation of Bishop Erluin of Cam-brai (995–1012).[66] Perhaps the only reliable evidence regarding the abbey's temporal may put these efforts in context: in 976, at the request of his wife, Emma, King Lothar restored the estate of Haisnes to the abbey.[67] Quite possibly the restitution of property at Marchiennes was accompanied by ha-giographic justification, as was the case at Saint-Peter in the 940s–960s and Saint-Bavo in the 970s. In a similar fashion, vague memories of a translation of the relics of the patron saint Ragenfredis at the abbey of Denain sometime in the tenth century may refer to this "forgotten" restoration campaign de-signed to make the community more visible to secular society.[68]

Thus, we are able to discern a "wave" of reformist agency—intense ac-tivity by the monastic leadership in pursuit of material restoration, new and renewed patronage, reorganization of relations with the local elites, and so on—prior to the year 1000 that has so far eluded scholars' attention. Various members of the highest secular and ecclesiastical elites appear to have been involved in this process, although the state of the evidence makes it difficult to assess the extent of their agency. In the diocese of Cambrai, Bishop Erluin, even though it is impossible to make out the full extent of his involvement, appears to have played a key role for female institutions. If his role behind the Marchiennes revival of hagiography was indeed an active one, this would mean that, prior his 1008 appointment of Richard of Saint-Vanne at Saint-Vaast (discussed in the next chapter), he had been relying on more subtle ways of nurturing the shaping of monastic identities, enhancing monasteries' ap-peal to patrons, and generally improving their economic and societal position. Likewise, several abbots of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries dis-played policies that match that of the Richardian reformers of the early elev-enth century. With this in mind, one may indeed argue that the "flashpoint" appointment of Richard in Arras, while dramatic, may not have had such drastic consequences for abbatial government in the monasteries themselves as modern commentators have suggested. A process of institutional reform was in full development years, in some cases decades, before the reformers arrived; and it was due mostly to the counts' loss of complete control.

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66. See the discussion and references in chapter 6.

67. Edited in *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, ed. Halphen and Lot, no. 34, pp. 93–94; see also *Histoire-polyptyque*, ed. Delmaire, 84, n. 47; and Ugé, *Creating,* 110–11. On the obverse of the original charter, the text is inscribed of a second, suspect charter by Lothar (Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 10 H 6/40).

68. Gerzaguet, *Abbaye féminine*, 55.

The International Outreach of the "Restoration Movement"

Abbots' efforts to create strong, protective networks around their institutions are further evidenced by attempts to receive patronage from the high and mighty. Letters written in the 980s and early 990s by abbots of Saint-Peter, Saint-Vaast, and Saint-Bertin to three successive archbishops of Canterbury indicate that Flemish abbots were actively seeking to establish a privileged relationship with these prelates and may have received extensive benefices from them.[69] Relations between Flanders and the archbishops—Dunstan in particular—had been cordial since the late 950s. In 956–957, Dunstan, at that time abbot of Glastonbury, was exiled after an altercation with the new king Edwy. Count Arnulf eagerly accepted the dissident abbot into his county and arranged for him to stay at Saint-Peter, where he remained until the summer of 957.[70] The cordial relations between Dunstan and Flemish abbeys in later years suggest that his sojourn in Ghent was one he fondly remembered.[71] In 960, two and a half years after his return to England, Dunstan succeeded to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury.[72] His promotion evidently raised hopes in Flanders for better relations with the English court. After the body of Saint Gudwal was transferred to Saint-Peter in 959, the cult of this little-known saint quickly found its way to Worcester.[73] In 962, Arnulf sent the abbot of Saint-Bertin with a delegation to the English court,[74] and in an undated letter to Dunstan, he or his grandson Arnulf II requested the archbishop's support in his attempts to restore diplomatic relations with King Edgar.[75] Despite the uncertain date of the letter and the uncertain monastic involvement, it is beyond doubt that the Flemish abbeys benefited from Dunstan's positive reaction to the letter and from his efforts to promote a positive image of Flanders at the English court. It is assumed, for example, that in 964 he inspired King Edgar to donate important and lucrative estates in Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich to

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69. The letters date from the years 989–990 and are edited in Vanderputten, "Canterbury," 237–44.

70. Grierson, "Relations," 88–89; Brooks, "Career," 14–18. On the subject of relations between England and the Continent in general, see Sarnowsky, "England."

71. Adelard of Ghent, Dunstan's second biographer, who wrote around 1006–1012, claims that Dunstan was responsible for the translation of Saint Wandrille (*Vita Dunstani Cantuariensis: Lectiones*, ed. Stubbs, 59–60). At least part of his account can be dismissed: the translation actually took place in 944 (see Huyghebaert, *Translation*; and Van Houts, "Historiography," 241).

72. Whitelock, "Appointment."

73. Baker and Holt, "City," 145.

74. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 632.

75. Arnulf of Flanders, *Epistola ad Dunstanum archiepiscopum*, ed. Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, 359–61. On Dunstan's relations with Edgar, see Brooks, *Early History*, 247–49.

Saint-Peter.[76] Together with King Edgar, Aethelstan of Worcester, and Oswald of York, Dunstan made sure that a "Benedictine wind" blew throughout England by overseeing the reform of a large number of monastic communities.[77] As mentioned earlier, a small role in these changes was reserved for the monks of Ghent. In the early 970s, Bishop Aethelstan and a large number of English bishops, abbots, and abbesses drew up the *Regularis Concordia*, a customary for use in reformed monasteries.[78] Although specialists now agree that the impact of the customs observed at Saint-Peter on the English reform program was limited when compared to the influence exerted by Cluny and Fleury,[79] the introduction to the *Regularis concordia* mentions that monks from Ghent and Fleury had been invited to participate in the preliminary debates.

Through its privileged association with the count and its role as principal dynastic center in Flanders, Saint-Peter's abbey also established contacts with abbeys in Normandy and the empire. In 959 or 960, a monk from Saint-Peter called Mainard, possibly a relative of Arnulf I, received permission from Duke Richard of Normandy to reform Saint-Wandrille/Fontenelle.[80] According to the mid-eleventh-century *Inventio et miracula Sancti Vulfranni*, he rebuilt the church, dormitory, and refectory there, brought books, charters, and ornaments from Ghent, and restored the temporal. In 964, he acquired the relics of Maxim and Venerand.[81] In 977 or 978, Egbert of Trier installed a monk from Saint-Peter named Goter (d. 981) as the abbot of the newly reformed abbey of Sankt-Eucharius in Trier.[82] The reform of Sankt-Eucharius may have been inspired mainly by political motives; but one of its former monks and a friend of Gerbert of Aurillac, Remigius of Mettlach, subsequently had contacts with the abbey in Ghent. Not long after the appointment of

76. On the disputed authenticity of this charter, see Dhondt, "Donation," 119 and 124–25. In 1016, Edward the Confessor visited Ghent, where he issued a charter to confirm his intention to restore a number of possessions to the monks of Saint-Peter. He fulfilled his promise in 1040 (Grierson, "Relations," 95 and 101; Keynes, "Aethelings," 177–81).

77. See Cubitt, "Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform"; and Barrow, "Chronology."

78. *Regularis concordia Anglicae Nationis*, ed. Symons. See Jones, "Two Composite Texts," 233, n. 1.

79. Kornexl, "Regularis Concordia," 103–4; Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St. Aethelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, lix–x; Bullough, "Continental Background"; *Aelfric's Letter*, ed. Jones, 19–20 and 42. The influence of Fleury on the *Regularis concordia* was only marginal; see Milfull, *Hymns*, 16. Lapidge argues that Aethelwold mentioned Ghent only "out of deference to Womar," the abbot of Saint-Peter who had retired to Winchester in the 970s ("Aethelwold," 99).

80. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Prosopographie*, 331–32. It is possible that one of Mainard's monks at Wandrille was later sent out to become abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Princes normands*, 205–8).

81. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Prosopographie*, 332.

82. Misonne and Margue, "Aspects"; Margue and Schroeder, "Zur geistigen Ausstrahlung." Also Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 32, where it is argued that Thierry was probably involved in the emperor's privilege of 966.

Goter, a former monk of Saint-Peter became abbot of Mettlach.[83] The monastery of Egmond in Holland was also reformed in the mid-tenth century from Ghent, presumably from Saint-Bavo.[84] Other possible contacts with Sankt-Pantaleon in Cologne and Tegernsee are less explicitly attested in the evidence.[85]

Less involved in comital politics but nonetheless keen to participate in the internationalization of Flanders' monastic networks, the abbots of other communities also pursued relations with important foreign patrons. Perhaps it is no coincidence that they did so at the end of Arnulf II's reign, when comital influence was at a low point. For instance, Falrad of Saint-Vaast actively sought Archbishop Siric/Sigeric of Canterbury's (990–991) support in his abbey's ongoing struggle with Bishop Rothard. Although we have no idea how Siric responded to this query, we at least know that he certainly did: on his return from receiving the *pallium* in Rome between late 990 and early 991, he stayed at Arras.[86] Manuscript evidence also suggests that permanent relations between the two institutions were established around this time.[87] In what context Odbert of Saint-Bertin wrote his two letters to Archbishop Aethelgar (988–990) and his successor Siric is more difficult to establish, but it is clear that he hoped to benefit both from a financial gesture of goodwill and from close relations with ecclesiastical institutions across the Channel.[88] Odbert in any case claims in his letter to Siric that Aethelgar had made substantial donations that supposedly had allowed him to "rebuild" the monastery. In addition, the presence of highly skilled English artists at Saint-Bertin and of Saint-Bertin's patron saint in Anglo-Saxon calendars suggests that the impact of this campaign of rapprochement was considerable.[89]

Like Saint-Bavo, Saint-Bertin also benefited from special attention from the emperor in the early years of the eleventh century. Possibly Odbert himself in 1002,[90] but certainly his successor, Hemfrid, in 1015 managed to

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83. Declercq, "*Blandinium,*" 76–77; Liefsin or Leofsige, the messenger who carried Wido's letter to Dunstan, subsequently became abbot of Mettlach (Hare, "Abbot").

84. Suggested in Declercq, "Van 'renovatio ordinis,'" 165, n. 10; and substantiated in Verkerk, "Vlaams-Hollandse connecties," 11–13 (where it is suggested that monks were sent from both Ghent abbeys).

85. Declercq, "*Blandinium,*" 77.

86. Falrad's letter is edited in Vanderputten, "Canterbury," 238–39; Siric's itinerary is edited in Stubbs, *Memorials,* 391–95. See Ortenberg, "Archbishop."

87. The presence of a parish church in London dedicated to Saint Vaast in the eleventh century also suggests links with the abbey (Brooke and Keir, *London,* 124).

88. Ugé, *Creating,* 46–49.

89. On the English artists, see further in this chapter; on the calendars, see Ortenberg, *English Church,* 36–37.

90. According to Böhmer and Graff, *Regesta imperii,* no. 1500.

obtain a privilege from Emperor Henry II confirming the abbey's possessions in the empire and the freedom from tolls in his territories.[91] If Odbert really did receive such a privilege, like the monks of Saint-Bavo would do in 1003, then he did so in the midst of rising tensions between the emperor and the count. Even if only the 1015 privilege is authentic, the fact that it was issued remains significant. Clearly the emperor was interested in gaining the sympathy of an institution that had formerly functioned as one of the count's main dynastic sanctuaries but now remained out of their reach. A tradition whereby Hemfrid would have been appointed by the emperor's intervention would certainly support this line of thought.[92] The community of Saint-Bertin must also have been aware of the possible adverse effects of an annexation of the region by the counts of Flanders. Given its relative prosperity during this time, and bearing in mind what had recently happened with the temporal of Saint-Amand, the monks and their lay supporters had reasons to be apprehensive. If nothing else, the privilege secured the ownership of properties and rights that would remain beyond the count's grasp should he annex the county. But requesting it may also have been a way of indicating that Odbert and Hemfrid, both presumably recruited from the regional elites, along with their abbey's lay officers and other associates, were rallying outside support against a count keen to embark on a campaign to reconquer the region. Perhaps such intensive buffering—and the support of the emperor—effectively allowed the monks of Saint-Bertin and their associates to fend off the reform of their community until Hemfrid's death in 1021.[93]

The rewards of these abbatial policies are difficult to calculate. With only a handful of exceptions, donations by pilgrims and local patrons, as well as by the higher ecclesiastical and lay elites, are undocumented. It is also unknown to what extent the restorative measures taken in the management of the monastic economy created additional revenue. We know, for instance, that Genulf and his successor at Saint-Amand were able to finance extensive construction work on the monastic buildings, even if some of the abbey's wealth would be used shortly thereafter to erect Queen Suzanna's residence.[94] Similarly, at Saint-Bertin, a hagiographic narrative written shortly before the middle of the eleventh century claims that Walter had his workmen tear down a small church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and rebuild it in wood. Apparently the edifice, which was situated inside the monastic complex, had become

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91. Ibid., no. 1870; see also Bédague, "Abbés," 93. Morelle, in "Écrit," 237, argues that the charter may have been omitted from Simon's autograph because of anti-imperialist sentiments.

92. See above in this chapter, at n. 19

93. See the discussion in chapter 4.

94. Platelle, *Justice*, 316.

"dilapidated by its old age and the incursions of the pagans."[95] Another small church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which had supposedly been there since the time of Saint Bertin, was moved to another location in the monastic compound. Surely the most impressive evidence of how well some of Flanders' monasteries were doing also comes from Saint-Bertin. In his colophon to the famous "Odbert Psalter," the monk Heriveus addresses the abbey itself, stating that "you outstrip the neighboring cloisters with your innumerable books."[96] Evidently this wealth was considered insufficient, as scholars have described more than twenty sumptuous volumes produced under the supervision of Odbert.[97] In addition to the Odbert Psalter and the two aforementioned hagiographic manuscripts, the scriptorium produced volumes devoted respectively to Saint Martin, a Passion of Saint Denis adjoined to a gospel lectionary, a patristic collection, a Psalter, Cassiodorus's *Historia tripartita*, cosmographical works, and Milo of Saint-Amand's poetry.[98] These volumes are now regarded as important evidence of a transitional phase in manuscript decoration around the year 1000, incorporating both elements from Carolingian and diverse regional strands of Anglo-Saxon illumination in a distinct style.[99] Odbert himself actually participated in the transcription and decoration of some of these, together with such scribes and artists as Dodolin,[100] Heriveus,[101] Henric,[102] and possibly also Ricolf and Baldwin.[103] It is easy to forget that several of these individuals had received at least part of their training at the abbey itself: a list of monks from Saint-Bertin reveals that Dodolin, Henric, Heriveus, and at least one Englishman involved in the production of manuscripts may have been professed at the abbey before Odbert's election, most likely in the years 964/73–986.[104] Odbert may thus, to use Richard Gameson's expression,

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95. Erembold of Saint-Bertin, *Libellus de miraculis Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 522–24 (excerpts).

96. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 37. A booklist from the early twelfth century contains 305 numbers (*Brevis annotatio librorum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Becker, 181–84).

97. There is an abundant bibliography on Odbert's role as a patron of, and participant in, manuscript production. See Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," for references.

98. Ibid., 34.

99. Gameson, "Angleterre," 173.

100. Edited in *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 64, p. 21; on Dodolin, see Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts."

101. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 34–37, 40–41, and 69; Heriveus worked on the Odbert Psalter, and on a gospel lectionary followed by a Passion of Saint Denis.

102. Henric copied the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*; see Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 37–39.

103. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 39–40. Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 765, has five additional, unidentified "hands" (ibid., 41–43). Dodolin assumed an editorial role in the creation of the famous Odbert Psalter (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 20) and the lectionary written by Heriveus (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 342).

104. Saint-Omer, BASO, 815, 114v–115r.

have "revolutionized" book production at Saint-Bertin, but he certainly did so thanks in no small part to the know-how of the personnel already there.[105] Nevertheless, certain other scribes must have worked at the scriptorium, not all of whom were necessarily members of the community. At least three English artists worked there, stamping some of the manuscripts' decorations with distinctive Anglo-Saxon style elements.[106] One such artist did not belong to the community itself, nor did he take up permanent residence there. In addition to illustrating an evangeliary (Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 11), this artist (who, according to Gameson, may have been a professional scribe) is also known as the talented illustrator of a Psalter made for the circle of Bishop Oswald of Worcester, a gospel-book from northeastern France or Saxony, and a copy of Gregory's commentary on Ezekiel and an astronomical manuscript, both presumably made at the abbey of Fleury.[107] Another Anglo-Saxon artist worked on a second evangeliary made at Saint-Bertin, while a third added drawings to Odbert's great Psalter. Perhaps not surprisingly, the style of the latter two artists is reminiscent of later examples from Canterbury.[108] Finally, two contemporary ivory carvings from Saint-Bertin were also made by an English artist working in the "Winchester style."[109]

Just as manuscript production at Saint-Bertin reflects that abbey's close links with the Anglo-Saxon world, production at the abbey of Saint-Bavo show the monks' leanings toward their main secular patron at the time. Sometime after 980, the monks of Saint-Bavo started production of a hagiographic volume now preserved as Ghent, University Library, 308. Together with its eleventh-century additions, it contains almost the entire hagiographic output of the abbey between c. 946 and c. 1050, complemented with an earlier *Life* of Bavo.[110] According to Gameson, the illumination of the first part includes several initials of "very pure Franco-Saxon style" derived from Ottonian examples but is dominated by a series of initials attributed to Anglo-Saxon models from the early tenth century. The second stratum of the volume, which probably originated shortly after 1010, clearly shows more influence

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105. Saenger has identified the single leaf of the *Vita Sancti Folquini* (offered to Abbot Walter in 968–984) in Saint-Omer, BASO, 342bis, 104, as evidence of manuscript production before Odbert's time (*Space*, 196). Certainly there are formal grounds to attribute it to an earlier period than the manuscripts traditionally identified as made in Odbert's scriptorium; see Vanderputten and Snijders, "Stability." However, Richard Gameson dates the fragment to "probably" the beginning of the eleventh century ("'Signed' Manuscripts," 40).

106. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 34–35.

107. Gameson, "Angleterre," 172; also Gameson, "Itinerant English Master."

108. Gameson, "Angleterre," 172.

109. See Gaborit-Chopin's catalog entry in *La France Romane*, 302.

110. Gameson, "Angleterre," 171.

Two pages from a hagiographic manuscript produced at Saint-Bertin during Abbot Odbert's government (986–1007). Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 107, 6v–7r. Copyright Bibliothèque Municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer. Reproduced with permission.

from Ottonian examples. Thus, even a manuscript produced exclusively for internal purposes reflected the imperial alliances of the Ghent monastery. It is certainly no surprise that a monastery so crucial to the policies of both Otto and Henry in Flanders would have received more than just privileges and donations and would indeed have benefited from intense exchanges with ecclesiastical institutions in the empire.

The spectacular manuscript evidence from Saint-Bertin alongside Saint-Peter's international reputation as a center of learning stand in stark contrast with the rustic language in Falrad of Saint-Vaast's only remaining text, a letter to Archbishop Aethelgar of Canterbury.[111] Nevertheless, various indicators point to the existence of an intellectual culture at Saint-Vaast throughout the early and middle tenth century. The *Deeds* of the bishops claim that Saint-Vaast's monk Ansbert, who first served as archdeacon of the church of Cambrai and in 965 was appointed bishop of Cambrai, was "erudite in the

111. See above in this chapter, at n. 86.
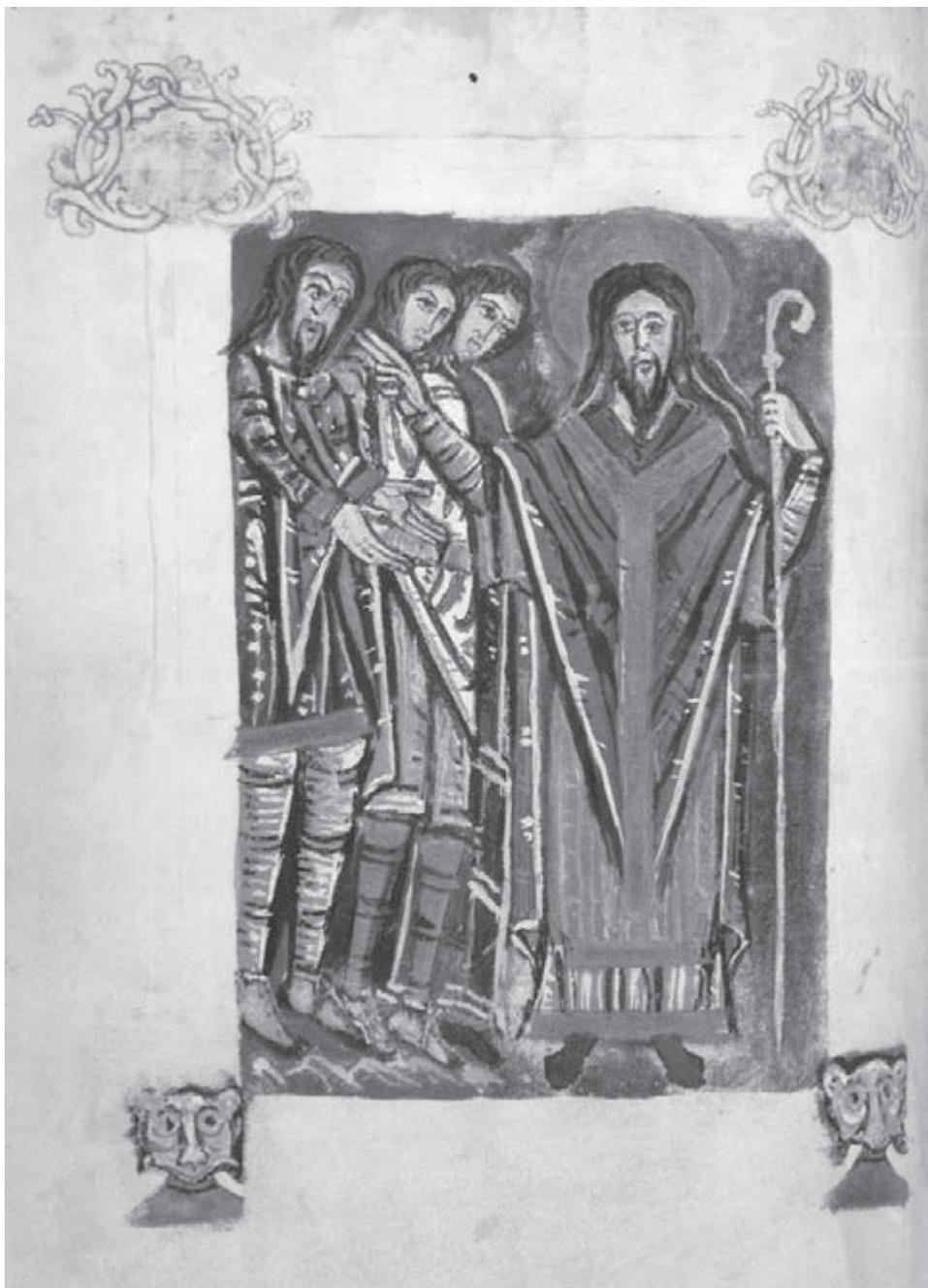
Miniature in a hagiographic manuscript from the abbey of Saint-Bavo in Ghent, produced between c. 980 and the early decades of the eleventh century. The image shows distinct Ottonian influences. Ghent, University Library, 308, 174v. Copyright Ghent University Library. Reproduced with permission.

literate arts."[112] His level of education, his career as an archdeacon, and his actions to restore order in the bishopric suggest that he had received a solid training, both from an intellectual point of view and in the administration of ecclesiastical institutions. And if Gameson's attribution of at least one late-tenth-century manuscript to Saint-Vaast is correct, at least some efforts were made to maintain or even expand the abbey's library, even in times of institutional crisis.[113]

Hagiographic Politics and the Management of Corporate Identities

Reformist abbots, and bishops supporting monastic reform, actively pursued the cult of saints as an instrument for attracting lay patronage. One of their primary means was through commissioning hagiographic narratives. These consisted of updated versions of texts originally composed in the seventh to early tenth centuries, new texts concerning figures from the recent past, collections of recently recorded miracles, reports of translations and inventions of relics, and even catalogs of relics recently acquired by their institution. A second, internal purpose also played a significant role: whereas it has often been argued that the eleventh-century reformers in particular attempted to create collective solidarity by focusing on an abbey's patron and his hagiographic tradition, much the same strategies operated in houses of the later tenth century.

The motivation behind the composition of these narratives is complex and has been extensively studied, especially for the Ghent abbeys.[114] The texts from both of these institutions reflect the political rivalry that, throughout the later tenth and early eleventh centuries, translated itself into both monasteries' competitive patronage. From Gerard's abbacy onward, monks at both abbeys composed hagiographic narratives not only to promote the cult of saints resting at their institution but also to give credence to their claim of being Saint Amand's original foundation in Ghent. This literary strategy was instrumental in creating a stronger sense of solidarity among the monks of each respective abbey. Initially, the Saint-Peter hagiographers had the advantage: although a miracle collection of Bavo was compiled at Saint-Bavo shortly after the reform in 946, those at Saint-Peter composed a small collection of texts in the years 941/46 to 953/60 relating to the saints Gerulf,

112. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 433.
113. Gameson, "Angleterre," 182.
114. Holder-Egger, "Heiligengeschichten"; Maier, "Saints"; Deploige, "Twisten."

Bertulf, Wandrille, and Ansbert, plus a catalog of relics, all of which reflected the abbey's privileged status at the time and, in veiled terms, belittled Saint-Bavo's historical claims. In 976, the same year the monks of Saint-Bavo received the second and third of Otto's privileges, a metrical *Life* of Bavo was composed. In 980, just before the dissolution of the personal union between the two monasteries, a monk named Notger from Liège composed a *Life*, translation, and miracles of the fictitious saints Landoald, Landrada, and their "companions," followed probably before 990 by an account of the arrival and elevation of the relics in Ghent, in 982. Intended among other things to justify the monks' rights to the distant domain of Wintershoven, one of Otto's first restitutions, the narratives were supplemented around the year 1000 by a *carmen* dedicated to Saint Bavo, around 1010 by a translation report on the same saint, and in 1014 by an anonymous *Life* of Saint Macharius, a highly suspect saint who in 1009 had presented himself at the abbey's gate, claiming he was Bishop of Antioch. The fact that this impressive hagiographic activity occurred virtually simultaneously with the turning of the abbey's fortunes after 974/76 is, of course, no coincidence. When in 1019/30 Abbot Othelbold (1019–1034) wrote a letter in response to Countess Otgivia's request for an overview of the relics of saints preserved at the abbey, his answer provided not only a reply to her query but also a detailed discussion of the monastery's miserable situation since the Norman invasions and the alienations by the first counts of Flanders.[115] Both issues were associated in Othelbold's mind, and he considered the reliquaries of Saint-Bavo as an argument to justify his abbey's assumed status as one of the principal ecclesiastical institutions in the county.[116] Despite the fact that the abbey had long been siding with the emperor, apparently after c. 1010, the impressive collection of relics and the equally impressive hagiographic tradition accumulated was a sufficiently valid reason for the count to become friendly with the monks.[117] Accordingly, the dispute with Saint-Peter subsided, but only to flare up with even greater intensity around the middle of the century.

At Saint-Bertin, the cult of saints was heavily promoted in this period, and significantly reveals a shift in the monks' attitude toward their institutional identity. In chapter 2 we have already seen how Count Arnulf had overseen the transfer of a major collection of relics from Saint-Wandrille shortly after the reform. In 951, he had also "stolen" (to use the chronicler Folcuin's

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115. Edited in Voet, *Brief.* Construction of the new abbatial church, which had begun under Odwin, continued in this period.

116. In the 980s Erembold brought back the relics of Pancrat and Barbara from a journey to Rome (Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 33).

117. Deploige, *Twisten*, 58–59.

own words) the bodies of the patron saints of Saint-Sylvin in Auchy, Saint-Valéry, and Saint-Riquier; they were all brought to Saint-Bertin.[118] In 980, with the recapture of Montreuil by Hugo Capet's troops, the Flemish were forced to return the relics of the two latter saints to their former owners; only Saint Sylvin remained at Saint-Bertin.[119] Almost immediately, so it seems, the monks set out to dissociate their saintly patronage from the counts' patronage and to elevate the remaining saints at the abbey to the status of patrons next to Saint Bertin himself. Thus, during Odbert's abbacy, Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 107—a collection of the lives and miracles of the saints Bertin (complemented with gospel readings, masses, and other relevant texts), Winnoc, Sylvin, and Folcuin—was produced.[120] The iconography of the manuscript left little to the imagination, especially regarding the appropriation of Sylvin and Folcuin—two saints who had no institutional relationship with the monastic community. In Sylvin's case, this was clearly a form of damage control and a means to prevent any further hemorrhaging in the abbey's saintly patronage. In the case of Folcuin, the inclusion of his *Life* in the manuscript consolidated the recent transformation of his cult from an aristocratic one into one that was intimately connected to the monastery itself. Saint Folcuin, bishop of Thérouanne, had been elevated from his grave in 928, at the initiative of his great-nephew Folcuin, the chronicler Folcuin's father, and his brother Regenwala.[121] The objective at the time had been to celebrate the family's saintly ancestry and to connect, through a shared Carolingian ancestry, with the Flemish comital family. When the count's protective net of support and patronage showed signs of fragility, and to give the cult of Saint Folcuin legitimation in the form of a written tradition, the chronicler Folcuin conceived a *Life*, datable between 968/69 and 984, and dedicated it to Abbot Walter and his community.[122] The *Life*, which was based in part on Folcuin's account of the saint's life in his *Deeds* of the abbots, strikingly minimizes the aristocratic arguments inherent to the promotion of Saint Folcuin's cult in the early tenth century. Like in the local abbots' ways of dealing with their social networks, the focus of hagiographic policies shifted from the monks' patronage to their own institutional identity. Saint-Bertin was now no longer a comital institution but the sanctuary where the bodies

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118. Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 630.

119. See n. 20.

120. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 43–45.

121. On the cult of Saint Folcuin, see Mériaux, *Gallia*, 177–81.

122. See the prologue of the *Vita Sancti Folquini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 424–26; also Vanderputten and Snijders, "Stability."

of the four aforementioned saints rested, and the abbey is identified as such in episcopal and papal documents from the early eleventh century. Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 107, was instrumental to this process. Based on Richard Gameson's analysis of the presentation miniature in this codex (which shows Saint Bertin, Odbert, and a monk offering the manuscript to the saint), not only the use but also the actual production of the codex was considered by the abbot and his scribes as a way of connecting directly with the saint himself, and associating the entire community with his saintly patronage.[123]

Just as significant for our knowledge of how collective identities were shaped and maintained are indications of changes to the monks' memorial practices. From the fifteenth century onward, historiographers at Saint-Bertin remembered Trudgand as having introduced the feast of All Souls.[124] This is unlikely, as he died long before Abbot Odilo of Cluny actually created the feast. Yet late medieval and early modern abbatial lists do reveal that, from Trudgand's abbacy onward, the exact dates of the abbots' deaths were systematically recorded.[125] Another important but overlooked piece of evidence is the *Catalogus Bertinianorum religiosorum*, a list of names found only in an eighteenth-century compilation by the archivist Dom De Witte.[126] According to the title, the *Catalogus* consists of two distinct sections. The first assembles all known names of monks from Saint-Bertin up to (but excluding) Trudgand's abbacy. The second section is of greater interest, as it purports to be a catalog of "all the other monks of Saint-Bertin, invested respectively, as one may assume, by the aforementioned Trudgand and all the other abbots." It is divided into smaller lists of varying length, headed each time by the name

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123. As we will see in chapter 6, a similar line of thought runs through the production of hagiographical volumes at Saint-Vaast in the 1020s–1030s. Prereform, nothing in particular is known about abbatial policies regarding the cult of saints at Saint-Amand and Saint-Vaast; Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei"; Escudier, "Scriptorium"; Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts"; and Reilly, *Art of Reform*. However, the case of Marchiennes shows that in this period efforts at hagiographic production were made even in minor institutions whose history is obscured by an almost total lack of sources. As I will argue further (in particular in chapter 6), the creation of such texts was intimately linked to the concrete needs of a specific institution, more so perhaps than to the agency of abbots intent on carrying out a reformist agenda.

124. See the *Series abbatum Bertinianorum* (Saint-Omer, BASO, 755, 33r) and the aforementioned *Chronicon Bertinianum sive dicti loci abbatum curiosa et succincta recapitulatio* (Saint-Omer, BASO, 748, 16v).

125. A seventeenth-century addition to the *Chronica abbatum Sancti Bertini* confirms the date inscribed on his tomb plaque; Saint-Omer, BASO, 749, 26v.

126. Saint-Omer, BASO, 815, 110r–184r. The full title on 110r is *Catalogus Bertinianorum religiosorum qui a S. Bertino usque ad Trubgandum 33um abbatum colligi potuerunt: et a praedicto Trugando, caeterorum omnium Sithiensium, ut credibile est, tam ab illo, quam ab omnibus aliis abbatibus, respective, vestitorum.* See Vanderputten, "Monastic Recruitment."

of the abbot who presumably invested the monks mentioned.[127] More than likely, the second part of the list originated in the context of a prayer community the abbey of Saint-Bertin and that of Corvey established probably shortly after 962. One side of the flyleaf of a manuscript with commentaries on the psalms preserves part of the original list of monks sent from Corvey to the Flemish abbey.[128] It gives the names of 270 individuals, each of whom is allocated to a particular abbacy. The logic of the list's organization is revealed by the existence of a list of professed monks of Corvey, the initial version of which was compiled shortly after the election and blessing of Abbot Folkmar of Corvey (916–942) and continued until the early eleventh century.[129] In form and content, it is very similar to the list found in De Witte's manuscript. If the title of the Saint-Bertin list can be trusted, the earliest possible entries in the second part are from 985 or 986, long enough after the original revision of the 962 list from Corvey to necessitate new versions of both documents. It is possible that the new version sent at that time from Corvey reflected more closely the format of the Folkmar list than the older one, and that this format was subsequently adopted at Saint-Bertin. Whatever the true methods and reasons behind the compilation of these lists, they do suggest a renewed interest in monastic networking and commemorative practices in the later decades of the tenth century.

In chapter 2, I argued that Arnulf's action as a reformer was motivated primarily by his interest in acquiring complete ownership of these institutions and by using the various economic, intellectual, and symbolic resources to affirm his position, legally or otherwise. Although the reforms consolidated this policy in various ways, in terms of comital involvement they changed very little, and indeed they created a form of religious institutional life that was more focused on comital interests than before. The county's changing political fortunes, much more so than the reforms, impacted the ways abbatial leadership developed. While Saint-Peter in Ghent flourished in the late tenth century as the county's main religious center and the symbolic heart of the count's biblically inspired authority, competition with other lay and ecclesiastical rulers created significant opportunities for abbots to develop their own policies, both internally and externally. It is notable that, in the

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127. The recording in writing of monastic profession goes back to chapter 58 of Saint Benedict's Rule; see *Règle*, ed. De Vogüé and Neufville, 2:630. For a discussion of the profession ritual, see Hofmeister, "Benediktinische Professriten," esp. 253–57; and Angenendt, "*Cartam offerre*," 136–39.

128. Honselmann, *Alten Mönchslisten*, 12–14, with a facsimile following p. 8; also Coolen, "Confraternité," with another facsimile at 623.

129. Honselmann, *Alten Mönchslisten*, 15–19.

abbeys that slipped somewhat or entirely from the count's power, literary production, scribal activity, memorial practices, the defense and consolidation of the temporal, and other aspects often associated with proactive—some may say reformist—abbatial leadership soared. By the turn of the eleventh century, several monastic communities in Flanders had become embedded in systems of lay and ecclesiastical patronage significantly more complex than that of several decades earlier. These systems, which reflect the political rivalries of the time in Flanders rather than the internal situation of the monasteries themselves, created tensions that were the basis of the next "wave" of reforms.

❧ CHAPTER 4

Introducing the New Monasticism

When a group of reformers in Lotharingia in the early eleventh century began propagating a new vision of Benedictine monasticism, they did not challenge the traditional emphasis on stability and seclusion from the world. Influential figures such as Richard of Saint-Vanne, Poppo of Stavelot, and William of Volpiano (d. 1031), abbot of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon, were, in essence, traditional monastic leaders who, like their contemporaries, emphasized how ordinary monks were to remain wary of engaging with the outside world if they wished to avoid compromising their spiritual purity and effectiveness as "prayer machines."[1] Certainly several of these individuals through their own behavior broadcasted new attitudes with regard to monastic vocation, interiorization of certain religious principles, empathic reflection (most notably imaginative dialogue with the Passion story), the Eucharist and transubstantiation, and so on.[2] But these principles were not

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1. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 170–209; Wagner, "Humilité"; Wagner, "Richard"; Vanderputten, "Oboedientia." On William of Volpiano, see also Bulst, *Untersuchungen,* and Malone, *Saint-Bénigne.*

2. During his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1027, Richard specifically visited places relevant to the Passion story (Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 281–96). On his deathbed, he closely held on to several of the relics he had collected during that journey (a piece of rock from the holy sepulchre and a piece of the holy cross, among others); see Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 404–5, and

central to how these individuals wanted to impact, *as reformers*, contemporary monasticism and the world.[3] As Phyllis Jestice argues, their reformist impetus should be looked at from the perspective of a new understanding of abbots' personal mission as institutional and religious leaders.[4]

The "New Monasticism" of Lotharingia propagated a dichotomous vision of the monastic world, consisting of a large group of ordinary monks, whose service to society was executed within the cloister's wall, and a small one of charismatic individuals capable of engaging in different ways with the outside world without compromising their Benedictine identity. The reformers conceived this engagement as an apostolic one, controversially arguing that it was compatible with a life that placed emphasis on reclusion, asceticism, and spiritual purity. Only the most talented monks—by which they essentially meant themselves and their chosen disciples—were eligible for an existence in which they, as individuals, could combine these ideals. Apologetic accounts of the reforms laid great emphasis on how charismatic leaders such as Richard and Poppo during their formative years had shown exceptional anachoretic leanings. Writing in the late eleventh century, Hugo of Flavigny included in his chronicle the account by "religious men" of the testimony of an archdeacon of Rouen who had personally witnessed Richard's behavior. According to the archdeacon, Richard had excelled in his inclination to the ascetic life, his observance of silence, his assiduity to reciting the Psalter and praying, and his generosity toward the poor.[5] In the reformers' own perception and in that of their later apologists, the wisdom Richard and his fellow reformers had acquired during these exercises in self-renunciation gave them the moral authority to become at the same time involved in worldly affairs and lead the communities entrusted to them to perfection.[6]

Richard of Saint-Vanne, in his writings and actions as a monastic leader, greatly stressed the necessity for obedience, humility, and stability, but he also believed that permanent stability and seclusion from the world stood in the way of his contribution to the "monastization" of society.[7] He and

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the discussion of Richard's staging of his own deathbed in Vanderputten, "Death." For Richard's devotion to the holy cross, see also Wagner, "Humilité." On his thoughts regarding transubstantiation, see Wagner, "Richard."

3. Richard appears to have had definite ideas on the priesthood and on apostolic teaching; see Wagner, "Richard."

4. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 175.

5. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 369.

6. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 191.

7. Ibid., 176–78. The term "monastization" is inspired by Wagner, "Richard," where it is argued that Richard wanted "to propose a monastic model to society as a whole."

his fellow reformers also set out to reform the church as a whole by associating themselves closely with the highest secular and ecclesiastical leaders of their time, all the while benefiting from these associations to impose their vision of "professionalized" monasticism in as many institutions as possible. For instance, Richard and his followers played an active part in promoting a new understanding of lay piety and laymen's responsibility as Christians. They organized a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,[8] among other destinations, and participated in the proclamation of the Peace and Truce of God. They also poured enormous resources into the construction of new churches, where pilgrims could adequately venerate the relics these reformers so avidly gathered.[9] Integral to this project of sanctification was the support of well-furnished, smoothly operating, and secluded monastic communities. Thus, Richard and his followers also intervened in every domain of monastic life that they thought would contribute to the sanctification of society as a whole.

That such interventions did not always impose themselves by necessity created much resistance, both within the communities affected and among outsiders.[10] Several cases are documented of communities bewildered by the reformers' rejection of what they regarded as proper Benedictine discipline and respectable abbatial government.[11] They also resented the intrusion of outsiders who encouraged lay and ecclesiastical lords to sweep so aggressively through the monastic landscape. But what was perhaps most shocking, the reformers engaged with laypeople so intimately and so frequently that their own lifestyle and their attitudes to relations between their institutions and the outside world seemed to be in stark contrast with the strict monastic discipline they and their supporters so forcibly imposed. The objections of contemporaries to the apparent paradox in the reformers' way of dealing with monastic communities and their own conduct bring us to the essence of the reformist ideal. Hallinger's understanding of the "Lotharingian reform movement" as an institutional or semi-institutional network based on the shared adoption of a "mixed observance" is a misconception of what the "New Monasticism" actually was. The reform movement of the early

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8. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 393–97.

9. Geary, *Furta*, 65–74. The construction of outer crypts, which allowed pilgrims to venerate relics preserved at monastic institutions without disturbing the monastic offices in the abbatial church itself, was popular among reformist abbots; see Sanderson, "Monastic Reform"; Genicot, *Églises*; and Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 135. Also Sanderson, "Monastic Architecture."

10. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 178–80.

11. Ibid., 179–82.

eleventh century was centered not on monastic discipline or institutional management but on how a transformation of monastic leadership could impact both on the individual and collective well-being of monastic communities and on the way in which monasticism—as a "prayer machine" and a source of apostolic action—could provide a service to society. What makes the "New Monasticism" of the early eleventh century an actual movement is therefore not so much its shared program of reform—relating to internal discipline, church architecture, management of the temporal, and so on— but its shared conception of how abbots should function, both within their community and in the wider world, and how this reflected on their subjects' service to God and society.

At least part of the movement's success and of secular and ecclesiastical leaders' tolerance of the reformers' personal ambitions can be attributed to the focus among ecclesiastical leaders on respecting each community's "accumulated investments" and institutional identity. Richard's own monastery of Saint-Vanne had been, since the middle of the tenth century, a de facto *Eigenkloster* of the bishop of Verdun, who also controlled the appointment of its abbots.[12] To a significant extent, the fortunes of the abbey and Richard's reformist abbacy depended on the bishop's generosity and goodwill: at the time of Richard's ascension to the abbatial throne in 1004, relations with the bishop were cordial and would remain so for at least two decades.[13] In the pursuit of reform, Richard also fostered his relations with the secular elites. At the time of his entry into the monastery, he was accompanied by his friend Frederic, count of Verdun, son of Godfrey of Verdun of the house of Ardenne, an aristocratic family with strong imperial allegiances. Godfrey and his wife, Mathilda, were among the principal lay benefactors of Saint-Vanne, as were their other sons, Godfrey II, duke of Lower Lotharingia from 1012 to 1023; Gozelo, duke from 1023 to 1046; and especially Count Herman of Ename (d. 1029), who, at the end of his life, entered the monastery.[14] All these individuals and several of their relatives were commemorated and, in some cases, buried at the monastery.[15] Thus Richard's abbacy of Saint-Vanne not only consolidated the institution's de facto status as an episcopal monastery but also developed it into a major regional center of dynastic commemoration and sepulture. The local necrology also reveals that the promotion under

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12. Healy, *Chronicle*, 29–31.
13. Ibid., 31–33.
14. Ibid., 34–35.
15. Hirschmann, *Verdun*, 1:154–55.

Richard's leadership of a form of liturgical commemoration that explicitly rewarded patrons for their generosity led to significant numbers of donations and other gifts.[16]

When other lay and ecclesiastical lords accepted the reform of monasteries on their territories, they were not importing any "alien" customs or semi-institutional networks. Nor were they remediating the structural challenges experienced by the region's monastic institutions, like their dependence on patronage from the highest elites, uncertain status in regional politics, and so on.[17] Instead, they were importing strong-willed abbots intent on shaping a monastic machinery that responded more adequately to society's changing needs, and to their own aristocratic agendas. Richard, Poppo, and other members of the "movement" went out of their way to respect the then-current relationship with lay and ecclesiastical lords and made no attempt to formalize any connections with Saint-Vanne or any other institutions.[18] In managing a monastery's temporal, ordering the material for new hagiographic texts, promoting the cult of relics, and managing its social networks and other aspects of institutional life, they consistently worked from the perspective of that specific community. New church buildings may have looked alike, liturgy may have been streamlined along similar lines, the remembrance of the dead may have been enhanced, elaborated, and more prominently publicized by all those involved in the reforms.[19] But contrary to Hallinger's suggestion, these common denominators in reformed monasteries were but instruments in a policy that was not aimed at unification or centralization.[20]

Imperial Politics and the Damnation of the Unwilling

One such institution where the "accumulated investments" of the past had recently been the subject of dispute was the abbey of Saint-Vaast. In 988,

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16. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 133–58; Hirschmann, *Verdun*, 1:194–200.

17. In some cases, modern scholars have represented Richard's agency in ways that are unwarranted by the evidence; see, for instance, Healy's statement that Richard imposed a new regime on the "lax" monks of Saint-Bertin (*Chronicle*, 46). For similar comments about the dangers of accepting post-factum claims of disciplinary decline as fact, see *Chartes de l'abbaye de Waulsort*, ed. Despy, 20.

18. This is contrary to what Hirschmann argues about Saint-Vaast in "Klosterreform," 138.

19. See Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*.

20. One medieval source that has fed this misconception of Richard's agency as a reformer is the *Vita Richardi*, composed in the 1130s (ed. d'Achéry, Mabillon, and Ruinart, 519–30; a contemporary set of miracle accounts is found in *Miracula Richardi*, ed. d'Achéry, Mabillon, and Ruinart, 530–34). See Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 27–34; and Hirschmann, "Klosterreform," 135–36.

the Artois, including the town of Arras, had been restored to the Flemish dynasty.[21] Count Baldwin IV immediately initiated a campaign to buttress and limit the influence of the bishop of Cambrai, an imperial bishopric and hence a direct ally of what would become one of his major adversaries. One of his tactics in the ensuing power struggle was to lend support to Abbot Falrad of Saint-Vaast, who, from the late 980s onward, launched several attempts to exempt his abbey from episcopal authority. A fortress was erected, and, as at Saint-Amand, the count took advantage of the tensions at Arras to lay the foundations for his new castellany there. The only account of this episode paints a rather sordid picture of Falrad's character and behavior, and it is unclear to what extent he really was the depraved individual described by the author of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*. Eventually, though, he was removed from his position, probably with help from Count Baldwin himself. According to the same account, Falrad's successor, Heribert, was "not very suited" to the task, a laconic remark that may conceal the fact that he was unable to resolve tensions over the current status of Saint-Vaast.[22] Heribert was soon removed from office, and for some time (perhaps as long as 1005–1008) the abbatial throne remained empty. How this impacted on the abbey's government is unclear.

Then things turned to Bishop Erluin's advantage.[23] Baldwin had been looking for opportunities to expand the county to the south and had seized the occasion presented by the death of Emperor Otto III to dispute control over Valenciennes. In 1006, he conquered the city and threatened to capture Cambrai. At the request of Erluin, Otto's successor Henry II launched a counterattack, invading Flanders, capturing Ghent, and threatening to seize the city's relics. In the meantime, Erluin had mobilized King Robert II of France, whose connections with Cambrai and, in particular, Valenciennes were still strong. In 1007, Baldwin capitulated in the face of the overwhelming force threatening his troops, and he retreated from Valenciennes. Erluin reacted promptly by ending the interregnum at Saint-Vaast and inviting none other than Richard of Saint-Vanne to take up the abbacy.[24]

As Daniel Van Meter has argued, Richard was a suitable candidate in Erluin's eyes principally because of his talents as an administrator and his

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21. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 133.
22. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 452.
23. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 135.
24. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 452.

attitude to episcopal involvement in the government of Saint-Vanne.[25] But there is no question that Baldwin perceived Erluin's actions as a political checkmate, and his passivity in the matter shows that he did not try to prevent or undo them for fear of worse retaliations on the part of Erluin's influential allies.[26] Similarly, the bishop's candidate himself was a figure requiring due consideration in any dealings, for Richard was well connected to the Lotharingian higher elite and had become involved with the imperial court.[27] Even if Richard may have adopted a neutral stance initially, his subsequent behavior clearly demonstrated where his allegiances lay. Between 1008 and 1012, the situation in Arras continued to be highly unstable because of the continuing disputes between Walter I of Lens, the warden of the Fortress of Cambrai, and Erluin, whom Emperor Henry II in 1007 had granted the secular title of Count of the Cambrésis. These problems percolated into the heart of the community of Saint-Vaast: if we are to believe Hugo of Flavigny's chronicle, Richard himself evicted one of Walter's associates from a tower the latter had erected on the abbey's atrium.[28]

The reform of Saint-Vaast thus served a triple purpose: it helped restore episcopal authority and imperial influence in the region, guaranteed better relations between the bishop and the monks of Saint-Vaast, and put the abbey as an institution back on the rails after a period of disruption. Not that this led the community of Saint-Vaast to unanimously welcome the new abbot. According to Hugo of Flavigny, on his appointment at Saint-Vaast Richard was "received by those brothers whose judgment was the better."[29] Others, including Leduin, his future successor at Saint-Vaast (1022/23–1047), were so enraged with his methods of leadership that they conspired to murder him in his sleep.[30] Overwhelmed by remorse, so the chronicler relates, at the very last moment Leduin refrained from executing his plans. The next morning he confessed everything in private to his abbot. Richard then made him repeat his confession in the chapter and closed the incident. Hugo's topical account (which explicitly refers to Leduin's later appointment as abbot)

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25. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 138.

26. The *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai* ambiguously represent the count's involvement in Richard's appointment: "Quare et huic amotam abbatiam Richardo religiosissimo viro comes, providente episcopo atque ordinante, moderandam commisit" (*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 452).

27. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 138.

28. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 377.

29. Ibid.: "a fratribus, quibus erat mens sanior, susceptus est."

30. Ibid., 378–79 and 385–86.

primarily served to promote his own ideas on monastic humility, repentance, and forgiveness. Its historical value is impossible to verify, and the nature of the account should indeed raise some suspicions as to its authenticity.[31] But Hugo did offer his readership contemporary evidence showing that, as late as 1011–1012, the community was still not entirely subjected to Richard's authority.

Before taking a closer look at this evidence—a circular letter issued by Richard himself and directed to "all sons of the church" (*omnibus aecclesiae filiis*)[32]—it is worth considering the chronology of its conception in relation to the political situation in Arras and the bishopric of Cambrai. According to most scholars, the letter was written no earlier than August 1012. It thus bookends a period of renewed contest over control of the region, which had formally ended in the spring of that same year. During 1011–1012, two of the main players in Arras died.[33] First, Walter of Lens passed away. As Walter lay on his deathbed, Bishop Erluin was pressured to accept homage from Walter's son Walter II. Erluin refused, sparking an episode of violent confrontations between the two parties; and when, in the winter of 1011–1012, Erluin also lay on his deathbed, a frantic struggle to secure the episcopal succession erupted.[34] Count Baldwin immediately arranged for a pact with Walter II, who occupied the episcopal palace, and tried to get Azelin, the comital candidate, recognized as the new bishop of Cambrai. In the meantime, however, Henry II had appointed Gerard of Florennes, one of his court chaplains and a former codisciple of Richard at the cathedral school of Reims, and sent Richard, Abbot Berthold of Inda, and Herman of Ename to Baldwin to escort the new bishop to his see in Cambrai.[35] Baldwin dropped his support for Walter, who was forced to swear an oath of fealty to Gerard; in exchange for this gesture, the emperor gave him the city of Valenciennes, Walcheren, and several islands on the Scheldt estuary. Gerard was ordained bishop on 27 April 1012.

Richard was keen to strike while the iron was hot. In his letter, written, so it seems, shortly after these events, he addressed several issues that give us a fascinating insight into his self-conception as a monastic leader, as well as his extraordinary ability to address the paradoxes of the "New Monasticism,"

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31. Other examples of actual murder attempts on reformist abbots are in Healy, *Chronicle*, 42.

32. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 381–91.

33. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 139–41.

34. Richard intervened to give Erluin a decent burial; *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 454.

35. Ibid*.*, 465–66.

in one and the same discourse. The text describes how two monks of Saint-Vaast had experienced visionary journeys to the other world, the first in April 1011 and the second in August 1012.[36] During his journey, the first monk had encountered the archangel Michael and Christ himself, who revealed to him a number of prophecies and meanings enclosed in holy scripture. According to Sharon Roubach, the visions represent the millenarian ideas circulating at the time within Richard's intellectual circle as he applied them to break the resistance of those monks unwilling to comply with his directives.[37] Indeed, several members of the community of Saint-Vaast are mentioned by name, revealing the brutal discourse to which Richard eventually resorted to impose his authority on the community of Saint-Vaast.[38]

Other interpretations may be proposed that focus more on Richard's broader intentions. It appears that he also used the letter as a literary vehicle to inform his audience of his vision of life within the reformed monasteries. In one of the more contemplative parts of the text, he describes the ideal monk, listing his virtues: "He is very kind (*mansuetus*) and humble (*humilis*) and shows to all his great obedience (*obedientia*) and piety (*pietas*), and because of this he will convert and live." This discussion, which of course is based directly on the Rule of Saint Benedict,[39] ostensibly reflects Richard's priorities in organizing life within the monastery. In his vision, monastic obedience and humility guarantee the adequate service of a monastic community, both to God and society, and the individual salvation of its members. That the focus on obedience and humility as principal monastic virtues does not derive from the situation at Saint-Vaast alone is made evident by the fact that the same theme returns in another of Richard's own writings, the *Life* of Saint Rouin of Beaulieu, where it is mentioned as the first and foremost of the long list of virtues attributed to the saint.[40] Anecdotes dotted here and there in

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36. The letter was previously discussed in, among others, Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV"; Van Meter, "Apocalyptic Moments"; and Roubach, "Hidden Apocalypse." Even though Richard was an active letter writer, no other pieces of correspondence have been preserved. The *Vita Popponis* describes how Poppo had received many exhortatory letters from Richard, the originals of which he took with him to his grave (Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 313). See also chapter 6.

37. Roubach, "Hidden Apocalypse."

38. Regarding the situation at Saint-Vaast, see Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 176–82; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 1:185 and 2:485–86; Hirschmann, "Klosterreform," 137–38; and Reilly, *Art of Reform*, 93–103.

39. Roubach, "Hidden Apocalypse," 311.

40. Richard of Saint-Vanne, *Vita Rodingi*, ed. d'Achéry and Mabillon, 532. On the *Life* of Rouin, see Haubrichs, *Tholeyer Abtslisten*, esp. 71–72 and 98–101.

the biographies of other reformist abbots appear to corroborate the centrality of these themes to the reformers' internal leadership and preaching. In the *Deeds* of the abbots of Gembloux, the chronicler Sigebert describes how Olbert (1012–1048), to demonstrate the values of poverty and the will to obey (*voluntas obedientiae*), instructed his monks to participate in the construction of a fishpond.[41] Such exercises may have been intended to blot out social distinctions within the monastery. Hugo of Flavigny recounts how Richard's friend Frederic had caused a scandal during a meeting at the emperor's court by publicly subordinating himself to Richard, adding that he went on to become a living example of monastic humility by his attitude to his fellow monks and his willingness to participate as a workman in the reconstruction of the abbey.[42] For his part, the author of the *Life* of Thierry of Saint-Hubert (d. 1087) is indignant about the fact that the monks of Saint-Hubert were openly proud of their high birth.[43] Highly talented monks like Poppo were also instructed in obedience and humility, not so much through theoretical reasoning, but by practice. Named prior of Saint-Vaast, Poppo was soon recalled to Saint-Vanne to head the infirmary "to prove his patience," a test that, according to his biographer, he passed, thanks to his humility and patience.[44] Poppo, as abbot of Stavelot, would also apply the same type of test to his disciple Guntramn, future abbot of Saint-Trond, whom he requested to walk from Saint-Trond to Stavelot to prove his obedience. On arriving at Stavelot, Guntramn was instructed to sleep outside the monastery.[45] Total subordination was key to the success of the reformers' inner-monastic goals.

A third interpretation of Richard's circular focuses on his understanding of the relationship between communal life and the outside world, his apostolic self-conception, and his agency as a promoter of monastic reform.[46] At the end of the first vision, the monk, the archangel Michael, and the Savior descend to hell, where they see the monks of Saint-Bertin. The harrowing dialogue that follows offers a very concrete vision, not only of Richard's reformist intentions for that monastery, but also of the way in which he intended to proceed:[47]

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41. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, ed. Pertz, 538.
42. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 372–73.
43. *Vita Theoderici abbatis Andaginensis*, ed. Wattenbach, 46.
44. Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 301.
45. Rodulf of Saint-Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. Waitz, 231–32.
46. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 142–48; Roubach, "Hidden Apocalypse," 311–12.
47. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 386: *Angelus*: "Dico tibi, multum sunt maligni spiritus in illo loco . . . " *Salvator*: "Dico tibi, quia quando ibi venit Sanctus Bertinus, multi fuerunt diaboli, numquam tamen fuerunt tanti sicut modo sunt." *Anima*: "O Domine . . . de illo loco et omnibus fratribus qui sunt in eo loco." *Salvator*: "Dico tibi, illi sunt quasi ad seculum sequendum." *Anima*:

ARCHANGEL MICHAEL: There are many malign spirits in this place . . .

SAVIOR: When Saint Bertin arrived there, there were many devils; but
never as much as there are now.

SOUL: O Lord . . . of this place and all the brothers there . . .

SAVIOR: I tell you, they behave as if they belonged to the world . . .

SOUL: O Lord, let me go to them; I will tell them to abandon the world.
Let me go to the bishop. I will tell him to look after that place. . . .
Let me go to the Lord Abbot; I will tell it to him only.

Richard used the literary figure of the Soul to propose an approach to re-
form much like the one he had adopted at Saint-Vanne and Saint-Vaast. He
intended to impose on the community of Saint-Bertin a mode of monastic
organization in which the community was more clearly segregated, in cus-
toms as well as literally, from the outside world. To guarantee a successful
outcome, he professed his intention to involve the local bishop, who, like his
colleagues of Verdun and Cambrai, would fully exercise his episcopal rights
over the monastery.

Of Bishop Gerard's support he seems to have been fairly certain; of
Count Baldwin's, less so. One of the more harrowing passages of the second
vision is one in which the soul and the archangel observe a place filled with
the fires of eternal death and a crawling mass of worms. It is pointed out
that this place was reserved for Count Baldwin, who was to be punished
for his evil deeds. More than just political rhetoric,[48] this passage clearly was
intended to convince Baldwin of the redemptive aspect of allowing for the
reform of one of his major monasteries. Like the conversion of the monks
of Saint-Vaast and Saint-Bertin, Baldwin's patronage of the "New Monasti-
cism" on his territories is represented as a purgatory act, a way of cleansing
himself from his sins and guaranteeing his own salvation. It is interesting to
see that Richard, as both abbot and monastic leader, was applying the exact
same discourse in establishing his authority as an abbot and in admonishing
secular lords in supporting his actions as a reformer. Through the descrip-
tion of the two visionary journeys, Richard thus presented the recipients of
the circular letter an outline of the reformers' understanding of monastic
leadership and its various claims on authority within and outside of the
cloister's walls.

"O Domine, dimitte me ire ad illos; dicam illis ut relinquam mundum. Dimitte me ire ad episcopum;
dicam illi ut respiciam locum illum. . . . Dimitte me ire ad domnum abbatem; illi soli dicam."

48. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 142–43.

In summary, the letter shows how Richard, in one and the same text, assumed the different roles he had accorded himself as a monastic leader. To his own subjects, he confirmed that his priority was not so much a different way of living monastic discipline as a total subordination to the charismatic figure of an abbot capable of connecting with secular society. To outsiders, particularly secular leaders, he demonstrated his ability to show them how to secure their own salvation, namely, by providing them with the means of and instruments for transforming monasticism into an efficient "prayer machine." Finally, he also used imagery in the letter to address some concrete issues and to demonstrate his authority in revealing what fate awaited those who refused to comply with his vision of reformed monasticism. But the letter also shows him as a faithful ally of secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and one careful not to offend episcopal and other sensitivities.

Bending to Comital Politics

We do not know what impression Richard made with this lengthy and complex discourse, but we do know that, as of late 1012, his fortunes turned dramatically. By 1013, order at Saint-Vaast was restored to the extent that he was able to leave the abbey, delegating the daily government of the Arras abbey to his collaborator, Poppo,[49] and concentrate on the reform of Saint-Amand.[50] Shortly thereafter, Richard called Poppo to Saint-Vanne; and in 1015, the latter was given the task of reforming Beaulieu, near Verdun; in 1021, Emperor Henry appointed him abbot of Stavelot.[51] In the meantime, the government of Saint-Vaast had been delegated to Count Frederic of Verdun, who would remain prior there until his death in 1022.[52] Frederic's appointment may have been intended as a conciliatory gesture toward the count. Frederic's mother, Mathilda, the daughter of Duke Herman of Saxony, before her marriage to Godfrey of Verdun had been the wife, and then widow, of Baldwin III of Flanders, and thus physically embodied a dynastic connection between the Flemish dynasty and the house of Ardennes, to which the Verdun branch belonged and which had strong imperial allegiances.[53]

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49. Healy, *Chronicle*, 43.
50. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 147.
51. Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 301. On Poppo, see also Schmidtmann, "Poppo"; and Krauß, "*Christi iugum leve.*"
52. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 182–84; Van Meter, "Apocalyptic Moments," 320.
53. Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 138.

Baldwin's decision to allow for the reform of Saint-Amand instead of Saint-Bertin is interesting. Van Meter and others have suggested that he preferred to wait for the incumbent abbots to die,[54] and that, by chance, the occasion first presented itself at Saint-Amand.[55] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, by handing over Saint-Amand, Baldwin "gave up" an institution that, unlike Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast, had operated for at least two decades as a center, and a stable one at that, of comital authority. The creation of the chapter of Saint-André, the erection of a tower for the comital palace in front of the abbey (finished in 1010), and the faithful service of Abbot Radbod all helped develop the site as an administrative and political focal point in that part of the county. Allowing a reformer like Richard to intervene could be interpreted as a capitulation. However, it could also be seen as a demonstration of the count's intention to allow for the reform of his monasteries on condition that such reforms were given a distinctly "Flemish" character. Thus, Richard was invited to reform a house where the Flemish presence was well established, where no imperial or other foreign parties were involved in its government, and where there existed a tradition of close collaboration with the comital family. Given Richard's stated willingness to adapt himself to local political circumstances, his appointment at Saint-Amand was a victory not so much for a Lotharingian lobby but for himself as a reformer of high moral and diplomatic repute. And to that, Baldwin probably did not object.

It is worth noting that Richard in his letter does not explicitly associate Baldwin's future punishments with the latter's attitude to the proposed reform of Saint-Bertin. Neither does the "soul"—that is, Richard—state his intention to overthrow the current abbot at Saint-Bertin. It is quite likely that Richard did so to avoid alienating both the count and his own supporters. Obviously, it would not have been a wise move to try to initiate reforms in a region by accusing its secular head of specific misbehavior. Neither would it have been very judicious to accuse the abbot of Saint-Bertin directly. We have seen in chapter 3 how, in 1007, when Baldwin's authority was at its most vulnerable, the archbishop of Cologne may have intervened at Saint-Bertin to appoint an "imperial" candidate named Hemfrid as abbot. Richard's own appointment at Saint-Vaast the next year had resulted at least in part from a similar strategy to prevent Count Baldwin from controlling these institutions

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54. Van Meter, "Apocalyptic Moments," 313.

55. Healy argues, although on what grounds is unclear, that observance of the Rule had become lax (*Chronicle*, 44).

and using them to pursue his expansionist policies. It was probably not in Richard's interest to call for the removal of Hemfrid, as his contemporaries probably regarded the latter as a warrantor of imperial interests, or at least as a buffer against all-too-brutal comital expansionism, at Saint-Bertin. He thus proposed to the count the *principle* of reform, rather than a specific institution to which it should be applied, as a means of securing redemption.[56]

Between 1012–1013, when Richard wrote his terrifying letter, and 1021, Baldwin's political fortunes improved significantly. Peace with the emperor enabled him to reestablish his authority in the west and south of the county. Furthermore, following the death of Count Arnulf of Ternois in 1019, the siege and conquest of the town of Saint-Omer was apparently a major step forward in that respect.[57] Unwilling to offend his new ally's interests, Baldwin may nevertheless have been reluctant to remove Hemfrid from the abbatial throne. In 1020, King Robert of France besieged the Flemish count in Saint-Omer, and in the same year, Emperor Henry II attacked Ghent, possibly in defense of the imperial fortress of Ename. In the settlement that followed, Baldwin kept Saint-Omer (and, hence, Saint-Bertin), while the remainder of the region was distributed among the count of Boulogne, who received Boulogne and Lens, and Roger, count of Saint-Pol, who received the southeastern part of Ternois. With Saint-Bertin now firmly in the count of Flanders' hands, Abbot Hemfrid's death in 1021 presented itself as an opportunity to create a center of comital influence similar to that at Saint-Amand, so the reform was initiated. As we have seen in chapter 1, the chronicler Simon's account of the reform of Saint-Bertin is shaped by a reconciliatory discourse that has no apparent relation to the events of the early eleventh century. But perhaps the reference itself to resistance within the community reflects vague memories of a difficult transition, much like what had taken place at Saint-Vaast. The reforms of the tenth century had provoked fierce resistance at both monasteries, and at least for Saint-Bertin we know that the social network around the monastery was mobilized.[58] Certainly the political background of the reforms was similar insofar as it represented a shift toward a regime in which lordship over the abbey by a bishop or lay ruler was consolidated. That surely created tensions within and around the communities, especially in cases where abbots and their monks had been able to

56. On Richard's use of the argument of redemption as a way of convincing lay lords to support reform, see Wagner, "Richard."
57. Tanner, *Families*, 76–78.
58. Simon, *Chronicon*, 636–37. Also Tanner, *Families*, 79–80.

spread their institutional allegiances by building up a diverse social network of patrons and supporters. As we will see in the next chapter, for Saint-Bertin to be reformed effectively meant the return to a regime in which the count resumed his role of high advocate and became more involved in the monastery's affairs than in previous decades.

In scholarly discussions on the introduction of the "New Monasticism" in Flanders, the reforms of the 1020s are usually treated as part of Richard's reformist campaign. Yet, as far as we know, the reform of Saint-Bertin (1021), Bergues-Saint-Winnoc (1022), Marchiennes (1024), Hamage (1024), and Denain (1024–1025) was carried out without any direct involvement by Richard himself. By the time Saint-Bertin was made available for reform, Richard had already resigned from Saint-Amand (1018), and was thinking of leaving Flanders altogether. Probably shortly after Frederic's death in January 1022, he resigned at Saint-Vaast, and shifted his attentions to the abbey of Lobbes, where Bishop Wolbodo had appointed him abbot in 1020. Poppo, surely the most talented of Richard's collaborators, had disappeared from the county as early as 1015, to return only at the very end of his life when, in 1048, he was invited by Count Baldwin V to take up the abbacy of Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes.[59] Thus, the "first generation" was no longer directly involved in the subsequent reform of Flanders' monastic institutions. As we will see, the next "wave" of reforms all took place at the personal initiative of Count Baldwin IV and Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, either separately or together. Both men intended to retain a tight grip on these institutions' social and juridical status.

Regionalizing Reform in the 1020s

Little is known of the reform of Saint-Bertin and of the appointment of Abbot Roderic. The chronicler Simon informs us that Roderic, as former monk of Saint-Vaast, was recruited by Baldwin, but nothing at all is known either of his career prior to his appointment as abbot or of his ancestry.[60] It can be assumed that, while there, he had been a faithful disciple of Richard, and it may be that Simon's comments on his penchant for prayer and asceticism reflect a close spiritual kinship between the two men. Reports about his involvement, along with Leduin, in persuading Bishop Gerard to participate in the proclamation of the Peace of God at Compiègne in 1023 also indicate

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59. George, "Réformateur," 109–10.
60. See chapter 1.

that he took over Richard's apostolic leanings and intended to play a role in public affairs.[61] But Roderic may also have been recruited to represent a new, indigenous strand of monastic leaders. Given Baldwin's inclination to organize reforms in a context that was as "purely" Flemish as possible, he may have wanted Saint-Bertin to be reformed not by an outsider, as he had permitted at Saint-Amand, but by a monk who he could be certain would look favorably on comital interests. In the case of Saint-Bertin, this was a particularly relevant matter, as Roderic's predecessor, Hemfrid, may have been intentionally recruited to represent imperial interests at the abbey and diminish the Flemish count's impact there. This concern may have applied also to the subsequent reform, organized from Saint-Bertin, of the abbey of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[62] That abbey's origins dated back to the late seventh century, when the abbot of Saint-Bertin had founded a small monastery dedicated to Saint Winnoc on an estate recently donated in the village of Wormhout. In 846, Winnoc's relics were brought to the church of Our Lady in Saint-Omer to safeguard them against the Norman invasions. Then, in 899, Count Baldwin II had them retrieved for deposition in a new church built in Bergues, to the north of Wormhout, where he also installed a chapter of canons. In the early 1020s, Baldwin IV built a new church dedicated to Winnoc, to which he had the relics transported from the collegiate church of Saint Martin and Winnoc. According to a charter issued by Baldwin VI in 1067, the canons who had been granted ownership of the new church soon succumbed to the temptations of wealth and "voluptuousness."[63] In 1022, they were expelled and replaced by a community of Benedictine monks led by Roderic.[64]

Contemporary sources make no statement as to why Leduin was selected to succeed Richard as abbot of Saint-Vaast.[65] One possibility is that his appointment is related to an increased anxiety on the part of the local bishop over the abbey's rapidly rising wealth and growing impact on the regional economy. On 27 November 1021, shortly before his abdication, Richard had managed to obtain a privilege from Pope Benedict VIII confirming

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61. See the next chapter.

62. This passage from Simon's chronicle is omitted from the *MGH* edition and can be found only in *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 187.

63. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:57–62.

64. Defries, *Constructing*, 83–86; also Meijns, *Aken*, 326–33.

65. The most likely time would have been shortly after the death of Prior Frederic at the Epiphany in 1022 (Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 184). This paragraph is largely based on findings first presented in Vanderputten and Meijns, "Realities."

the ownership of several recently recovered or newly built mills and fish-ponds and some comital donations, an indication of the success of Frederic's management of the monastic estate.[66] This may have created fears in Bishop Gerard about a return to the previous tensions over the abbey's obligations to the episcopacy. According to the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, Richard resigned from the abbacy to demonstrate his purely spiritual intentions as a reformer and abbot.[67] It is possible that the *Deeds,* written after all on the orders of one of Richard's personal friends, glossed over the fact that Richard had been pressured into resigning. Too much influence on the part of reformist abbots who simultaneously operated in different institutions and regions certainly was something that troubled the minds of local bishops. Historiographical tradition at Lobbes is more explicit in showing how, in 1032, Richard resigned as abbot there when tensions with Bishop Reginhard of Liège made it impossible for him to continue.[68]

Leduin's appointment as successor has all the appearances of a compromise. In the previous decade, Gerard himself had begun initiating monastic reforms characterized by the tight control he retained on the leadership of these institutions and on their relationship with his own authority as bishop.[69] To perpetuate the reform campaign, he needed the support of a well-furnished institution such as Saint-Vaast; but as far as personnel was concerned, he wanted to rely on figures that were less politically compromised than the first generation of reformers. Richard's imperial and Lotharingian backgrounds were obvious; but Poppo and Frederic, both deeply involved in Richard's domanial restoration policy, also had connections reaching far beyond the limits of the bishopric as a consequence of their high descent and involvement with the reforms. In contrast, Leduin did not belong to this small group of "international" reformers, although, in principle, his presumed descent and wealth made him eligible for a responsible role in the monastery. The *Deeds* indicate that he had converted to the monastic life as an adult (*ex laico piae religionis monachum factum*),[70] a version confirmed in

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66. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 192. The charter is edited in *Papsturkunden*, ed. Zimmermann, no. 532, pp. 1101–13; the authenticity of this document, unlike that of a bull of 16 March 1024 (see chapter 5), is established by Voet, "Étude"; and Lemarignier, "Prieuré"; also Herrmann, "Historisch-diplomatische Untersuchungen," 85.

67. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 470.

68. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 126.

69. See, initially, Van Mingroot, "Gérard Ier," col. 744.

70. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 470, and esp. 488: "ex laico monachus et abbas monachorum post facta" and "a saeculo conversum."

the *Life* of Poppo.[71] Hugo of Flavigny's chronicle adds that he was of noble descent (*nobilibus ortus natalibus*),[72] while Guimann, author of the late-twelfth century cartulary of Saint-Vaast, claims Leduin had taken off "the girdle of military service" (*deposito militie baltheo*) before entering the monastery.[73] In the necrology of Saint-Vaast and in Guimann's cartulary, there are also references to the fact that Leduin owned and subsequently donated property in the region to Saint-Vaast, which suggests that he belonged to the regional aristocracy.[74]

But his late entry in the monastery did not necessarily make him an ill-suited candidate. A passage in the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai* suggests that by entering monastic life as an adult, he missed out on some of the education given to the more promising oblates and novices.[75] Nevertheless, the chronicler also explicitly indicates that Leduin's tutors were Richard himself and Prior Frederic. His involvement in the same campaign as Roderic to convince Gerard of the Peace of God also reveals that he harbored an apostolic conception of his office similar to Richard's. In addition, his subsequent direction of the production of hagiographic narratives at Marchiennes and manuscripts at Marchiennes and Saint-Vaast suggests that he was sufficiently learned to oversee such projects.[76] Emerging as if out of nowhere from the written evidence as abbot of Saint-Vaast, he may well have been a dark horse among Richard's collaborators, a candidate who rose to prominence because of his uncompromised political status and his presumably "Flemish" descent. In any case, the *Deeds* explicitly mention that Gerard had been consulted about Leduin's candidacy.[77]

Once appointed, Leduin immediately became involved in the most active phase of Gerard's program of monastic reform. Although Gerard also collaborated closely with Richard (at Florennes in 1010/11, Hautmont in 1015, and Lobbes in 1020),[78] Poppo (at Saint-Ghislain in 1029/30), and his own brother Eilbert of Florennes (at Maroilles and with the foundation of

71. Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 300.
72. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 379. In the eighteenth-century necrology of Saint-Vaast, Leduin is designated as *nobilis stirpe* (*Nécrologe*, ed. Van Drival, 10).
73. *Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 115.
74. The necrology contains a note *ex tractu Berclau* next to Leduin's name, indicating his geographic origins (*Nécrologe*, ed. Van Drival, 10); in Guimann's cartulary it is stated that Leduin had donated Berclau from his alodial property (*Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 115).
75. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 488.
76. See chapter 6.
77. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 470: "consilioque Gerardi episcopi."
78. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 340.

Cateau-Cambrésis, both in 1025), Leduin was the only one he implicated in a sustained series of interconnected reforms and foundations. The first documented collaboration between the two men looks innocent enough. At the behest of the bishop, in January 1024 Leduin traded a property in Anglicourt in the Beauvais region for Haspres, a neglected priory of the Norman abbey of Jumièges situated between Cambrai and Valenciennes.[79] At that point, Count Baldwin became involved again. Also in 1024, Gerard and Baldwin asked him to evict the female community at Marchiennes and replace it with Benedictine monks, presumably from Saint-Vaast, whom he was subsequently to lead as abbot.[80] Hamage, a small house barely a mile from Marchiennes, was "liberated" from the residing community of canons and converted into a priory soon afterward.[81] Around that time, probably shortly after the reform of Marchiennes, the count or the bishop charged him with filling the void left by the abolition of the latter community. By evicting the canons of Denain and replacing them with a group of Benedictine nuns, he created the only female monastery in the county.[82] By 1025, Gerard's involvement with Leduin as a monastic reformer was over, and the remaining twenty-two years of Leduin's life as abbot can be reconstructed only by means of isolated and fragmentary evidence. In 1033, he abdicated in unspecified circumstances in Marchiennes.[83] Nothing is known of the involvement of Gerard or Count Baldwin in his taking up of the abbacy of Saint-Bavo in 1034–1035/36.[84]

Early Reformist Government

Even though Richard is renowned in scholarly literature for his talents as an administrator and reorganizer of the monastic economy and institutions,[85] he systematically delegated the daily government of the abbeys he and his

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79. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 461–62; see Lestocquoy, "Épisode"; Nazet, "Crises," 481; Voet, "Étude," 231–35; and Mériaux, *Gallia*, 283.

80. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 461. On the reform of Marchiennes, see among others Vanderputten and Snijders, "Echoes."

81. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 461; also Sabbe, "Notes," 556; Nazet, "Crises," 476–77; Platelle, "Crime," 159; Delmaire, *Diocèse* 1:197. The priory was soon abandoned and was restored to its former state only in 1133 (Platelle, "Hamage," col. 200).

82. Gerzaguet, *Abbaye féminine*, 57–58. Denain had been a fortified monastic site since at least 931; there are no indications of attempts to reform the house in the mid-tenth century (ibid., 53–54).

83. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 194; Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny* 1:294.

84. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 35.

85. In addition to the references cited in n. 3 of the introduction, see Hirschmann, *Verdun* 1:135–44, and Healy, *Chronicle*, 45–49.

disciples helped reform. His choice of priors and successors was judicious. Frederic, who effectively led the community of Saint-Vaast from 1015 to his death in 1022, could be relied on as an unconditional supporter of Richard's ideals and (because of his own aristocratic background) an ideal intercessor with Flanders' higher lay elite. Malbod of Saint-Amand (1018–1062), Leduin, and Roderic, his three main "successors" in Flanders, were probably appointed as part of a strategy to sustain reformist government without compromising the new vision of abbatial leadership. Richard's abdication in Saint-Vaast and the reasons given for it in the *Deeds of the bishops of Cambrai* indicate that, while local authorities welcomed Richard's conception of monastic leadership and reform, they were also keen to replace the first, supposedly "charismatic" generation of reformers with a less threatening, more locally based one. In contrast to Richard and Poppo, these individuals were active only within a limited geographical sphere, relied on a limited international and aristocratic network, and operated within the boundaries set by the ecclesiastical and lay authorities. Still, the behavior of at least Leduin and Roderic indicates that their self-conception as abbots was very similar to Richard's.

For a reformer of Richard's caliber and levelheaded approach to monastic government, there are surprisingly few indications of his personal involvement in imprinting on the communities he reformed his concrete policies.[86] At Saint-Vaast, he made certain efforts to reorganize the monastic domain, that is, if the papal privilege of 1021 can be relied on. Dietrich Lohrmann also argues that Richard was responsible for setting up at least eleven new mills on the River Scarpe, thereby completely transforming its use.[87] However, since he left the abbey very shortly after order was restored in 1013, it almost certainly was not he, but Poppo and, from 1015, Frederic, who should be credited with these major achievements. Hirschmann also argues that two new parochial churches were built in the monastic *burgus* of Arras during Richard's abbacy. If the suggested dating is correct, the construction of these edifices probably tells us more about Richard's interest in parochial care than about those concerning the monastic community of Saint-Vaast.[88] For his abbacy of Saint-Amand, we know only that he gave up the direct exploitation of some distant estates and that he removed some antique columns

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86. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 173–97, does not have a great deal to say about Richard's reformist agency in Flanders, despite his best efforts to the contrary.

87. Lohrmann, "Mühlenbau," 153–55.

88. Hirschmann, "Klosterreform," 168.

found in the region to the abbey of Saint-Laurent in Liège.[89] For Lobbes (where Richard was abbot from 1020 to 1032), not a single piece of evidence can be securely dated to Richard's abbacy there.[90] Jean-Pierre Devroey has shown that a list of goods belonging to the abbey was drawn up sometime in the decade before 1038.[91] Clearly an effort to consolidate the monastery's properties and facilitate its management, the list echoes the confection of a similar document at Saint-Vanne in the 1040s and another one at Saint-Amand around the same time.[92] Yet it is by no means certain that Richard oversaw this project in person, or that it even took place during his abbacy. Certainly Adriaan Verhulst's assertion that Richard's action to the benefit of the integrity of the reformed monasteries' temporal is "well established" must be taken with a grain of salt, at least if one wishes to avoid falling into the trap of generalizations.[93] And as I will argue later, the processual nature of reform on the level of single institutions should prevent us from assessing these policies as single actions in time.

Scholars have also tended to ignore the fact that almost all the evidence regarding the new dynamics in abbatial government is not from Richard's time as head of these communities but from that of his successors. At Lobbes, it was his successor Hugo (1033–1053) who began construction work on the abbatial church and the parochial church of Saint Ursmer, acquired new properties, and, in 1049, ordered the compilation of a catalog of the impressive monastic library.[94] At Saint-Amand, it was Malbod who initiated construction works in the crypt of the abbatial church (dedicated in 1040);[95] reorganized and, following a well-planned scenario,[96] amplified the monastic domain; and initiated a policy to document transactions more systematically.[97] And as we will see in the next chapter, similar comments apply to Leduin's abbacy of Saint-Vaast. Most likely, apart from stabilizing the monasteries put under his care, Richard's main concern was to transfer to his collaborators and associates attitudes, skills, and knowledge and to create a

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89. Platelle, *Temporel*, 122 and 150.

90. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 126.

91. *Polyptyque*, ed. Devroey, with comments on the dating on p. lxv. For further evidence relating to the government of Richard at Lobbes, see Dierkens, "Entre Cambrai et Liège," 22–23.

92. See chapter 5.

93. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 596–97.

94. Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 126. For a *status quaestionis* of research on Lobbes's booklists, see Dolbeau, "Bibliothèque."

95. Platelle, *Temporel*, 123.

96. Ibid., 152–53.

97. Ibid., 122–23.

situation in which these could be applied, although not necessarily to apply them himself. Of course, the effects of delegating abbatial power could be foreseen only up to a point. In 1035, Poppo became abbot of Waulsort, only to resign after less than a year in office. In addition to initiating a policy of domanial restoration, he had attempted to settle a dispute with the monks of Hastière over Waulsort's claims on that monastery. On Poppo's death in 1048, his successor at Waulsort, a former prior of Sankt-Maximin in Trier named Lambert (c. 1035–c. 1075), repeatedly exclaimed his relief at finally being able to function as a fully independent abbot and claimed for his monastery the full ownership of Hastière.[98]

One may wonder whether the assertion by previous scholars that individuals such as Malbod, Leduin, and Roderic imitated Richard's concrete policies accurately informs us how such knowledge and expertise was transmitted. A good example is that of Leduin's training. As a monk of Saint-Vaast, he was trained by both Richard and Frederic. Hugo of Flavigny claims that Leduin accompanied Richard on a journey to Saint-Vanne, and his subsequent promotion of the Peace of God does suggest that he was deeply influenced by Richard's conception of the abbatial office.[99] But as an administrator, he may have learned more from observing Frederic manage the monastic estate of Saint-Vaast. When this estate obtained the papal privilege of 1021, evidently Richard, in his capacity of abbot, acted as the main recipient. Yet it was undoubtedly Frederic who had prepared its finer points and had informed Richard of the monastery's archival and juridical traditions. After all, even before Frederic became prior, it was Poppo, not Richard, who had overseen the restoration of the monastic domain.[100] There can be little doubt that Leduin was also closely implicated: once appointed abbot, he showed himself to be a skilled administrator with intimate knowledge of the financial and institutional aspects of monastic management. He would have acquired such practical expertise by working together with Frederic, rather than with his—largely absent—abbot. In terms of abbatial agency, he was a "disciple" of Richard's, but in terms of how to apply that agency to existing legal, financial, and other structures specific to Saint-Vaast—and to the situation in Flanders in general—he was Frederic's disciple.

Assuming that a number of "disciples" received their training in such a way that they did imitate Richard's mode of government at Saint-Vanne, we

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98. *Chartes de l'abbaye de Waulsort*, ed. Despy, 20–21.
99. On Leduin's involvement in the Peace, see chapter 5.
100. Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 300.

must still ask ourselves whether that is sufficient to adequately contextualize and interpret their concrete policies. Monastic leaders, in attempting to apply general principles and methods of monastic government, integrated in their methods of reform each institution's "accumulated investments," which steered their government in ways that Richard could never have foreseen. As we will see in the next chapters, reformist government was a cumulative process, which may have referred to a number of common points in reformers' agendas, but which in its chronology, methodology, and outcomes depended just as much on local institutional, economic, and other contexts.

The question may also be asked if what scholars identify as typical "Richardian" or "reformist" government was really that innovative. As I will argue in the next chapter, many reformist measures appear to represent a form of rationalization of the work of several of their late-tenth- and early-eleventh century predecessors as described in chapter 3. The fundamental difference appears to lie in their self-conception as abbots (with a stronger emphasis on apostolic activity and involvement with the world), the disposal of larger and more internationalized networks, perhaps a more diplomatic approach to the involvement of secular and ecclesiastical lords in the government of monasteries, and, finally, the recruitment of monastic leaders highly trained in various aspects of institutional management and sharing in a similar conception of monastic leadership. What they did was neither revolutionary nor particularly innovative. But it was often far more efficient, more attuned to concrete political, economic, and other circumstances, and more reliant on expertise built up within a wide network of individuals with a common interest in a new conception of monastic leadership.

❧ Chapter 5

Processes of Reformist Government

The "second generation" of reformist abbots, even though they are accorded less stature in scholarly discussions than the chief protagonists of the reforms, was often a far longer lasting presence in the monasteries of Flanders. During their long and relatively stable abbacies, individuals like Leduin of Saint-Vaast, Roderic of Saint-Bertin, and Malbod of Saint-Amand guided their monks through the process of institutional, economic, and spiritual change. Richard and his small group of associates certainly influenced the self-conception of these abbots and encouraged them to emulate his way of managing the internal and external affairs of Saint-Vanne. But, as we have seen, there is little evidence that the initial "flash" of reform, and indeed Richard's own agency as head of newly reformed communities, matched what scholars now perceive as a fully developed reformist government. Even to Richard himself, reform was a process, carried out over many years.

The lives and leadership of the "second generation" document the ways in which reformed monasticism gradually embedded itself in eleventh-century Flemish society. The key to these men's success as reformers was their ability to adapt modes of government to the specific contexts and traditions that had determined their community's existence without compromising the ideal conception of monastic leadership that had been formulated by their predecessors. As such, their leadership simultaneously documents the relevance

of the notion of reform as a process and that of equifinality for the study of monastic development in this period. In this chapter I look at five different ways in which "reformist" leadership developed between c. 1015 and the middle decades of the eleventh century.

Leduin of Saint-Vaast: Reformist Leadership between Bishop and Count

Despite more than a century of critical analysis of the early-eleventh-century reforms in Flanders, Leduin remains a marginal figure in monastic studies.[1] Modern scholarship considers his appointment as abbot of Saint-Vaast in 1022/23 and his subsequent career as a good example of the policies adopted by Bishop Gerard of Cambrai and Count Baldwin IV to "regionalize" the reforms. While he is given some credit for engineering social order in the region and for ensuring, through his prudent leadership, that several of the communities under his care would flourish in the decades to follow, most of these successes are framed in Leduin's supposedly docile attitude to the authority of Bishop Gerard and Count Baldwin, and in the presumption that he did little more than faithfully implement Richard's reform program.

On first inspection, the *Deeds of the bishops of Cambrai*, the only contemporary narrative to document the reforms in Flanders, appear to corroborate this perspective. Their author, keen to emphasize his bishop's decisive role in the reform of monastic life in the Cambrai/Arras diocese, probably did not stray far from the truth in indicating that, to a great extent, the newly appointed Leduin's interventions in Haspres, Marchiennes, Hamage, and Denain were initiated and directed by either or both of his ecclesiastical and lay superiors. Certainly Bishop Gerard initially perceived his own moral and juridical authority in these matters as decisive.[2] The account of the trading of the Haspres priory in the *Deeds* also indicates that Gerard felt he was the best judge of how monastic groups should be organized, despite the fact that he had actually visited the priory together with the newly appointed abbot of Saint-Vaast.[3] In the *Vita Humberti secunda*, written at the abbey of Maroilles no more than a decade after its reform, one revealing passage describes how Gerard had found the abbey in a pitiful state, "to the point that one would

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1. The only extensive discussion of Leduin's biography and career so far is in Vanderputten and Meijns, "Realities." Previous accounts are in De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:102–5; Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 192–97; Sackur, *Cluniacenser*, 2:140–44; De Moreau, *Histoire*, esp. 164; and Koyen, *Prae-Gregoriaanse hervorming*, 147–49.

2. Reilly, *Art of Reform*, 114–15.

3. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 461–62.

have believed that an enemy army had passed."[4] He ordered the canons to leave the abbey and replaced them with monks, arguing that it would be easier to make monks obey the discipline imposed on them and to correct their mistakes. As a learned man with a keen interest in theological issues and canon law, Gerard was rather well-placed to judge the qualities of monastic life as it was practiced in his and other monasteries. In contrast with Leduin, who had entered monastic life at a later age, Gerard had received intellectual training similar to that of Richard, and he had been involved with the reformist movement and its main protagonists for several decades.[5]

Given the reformers' attitudes with regard to the role of ecclesiastical and lay rulers in initiating the reforms, Leduin's low-key role at this point is compatible with the way in which interventions were initiated elsewhere. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Richard of Saint-Vanne himself had actively promoted close collaboration with the local ecclesiastical and secular authorities and had left the initiative to reform monastic houses to them. Yet this had by no means prevented him from pursuing with great success the interests of the communities entrusted to him.[6] Indeed, it may be revealing that the *Deeds* make virtually no reference to monastic government at all, as if the subject itself is beyond the scope of the narrative and, indeed, of Gerard's direct involvement with the monks. Certainly they focus on Gerard's agency as a promoter of reform, and much less so on his involvement in outlining reformist government. In addition, scholars have overlooked the fact that the *Deeds* were written at a premature time (1024–1025) in Leduin's career as monastic leader. He had been abbot of Saint-Vaast for only two or three years, and certainly Marchiennes, Hamage, and Denain were still undergoing significant changes to their institutional setup as the chronicle was written. The idea that, as an abbot, Leduin was little more than a faceless successor of Richard, appointed for political reasons rather than for his ability to successfully lead a monastic institution, is also at odds with reality. Analysis of various pieces of contemporary evidence and of indications scattered in the third book of the *Deeds* (written, so it seems, in the 1040s) shows quite the contrary. In all likelihood, he had been rather well prepared for his function: given the timing of his ascendancy to the abbatial throne, it seems reasonable to think that he was involved in some way in the preparation of the papal privilege of 1021, and his subsequent actions as abbot strongly suggest that

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4. *Vita Humberti secunda*, ed. *AASS Martii* 3, col. 565; see Duvosquel, "Vita"; Helvétius, *Abbayes*, 339–40; Duvosquel, "Humbert."

5. Van Mingroot, "Gérard Ier," col. 744.

6. Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 173–83, and the references cited in the introduction to this book.

he had previously been trained to deal with the management and reorgani-
zation of monastic property.[7] It is also significant that he probably received
much or all of his training at Saint-Vaast from Prior Frederic, not so much
from Richard.

Leduin's abbatial government is difficult to assess in relation to the work
of his predecessors, as few documents from that time have been preserved.
To what extent the donations that occurred during his abbacy represented a
break with the past is therefore unknown.[8] But it seems certain that he took
a number of measures that aimed to rationalize the management of monastic
property and regain direct control over the monks' estates. Sometime in the
1020s or early 1030s, Leduin issued a charter strengthening the abbey's hold
over some of its dependents.[9] From the 1030s onward, he also displayed a
distinct awareness of changing social and economic circumstances and their
impact on the economy of Saint-Vaast. Urbanization and the burgeoning
trade, most importantly of textiles, in the city of Arras had a great impact
on the monastic economy, because the abbey held significant parts of the
town as property. In 1036, he issued a charter stipulating the conditions to
which the toll and the markets of the town were subjected.[10] In rural areas,
he actively pursued the brokering of settlements to recover alienated monas-
tic property.[11] His government also yielded the first abbatial charters from
Saint-Vaast to have survived; their contents and preservation have been taken
as bearing witness to a growing concern over the efficient exploitation of
monastic patrimony and its consolidation in a written form.[12]

And it does seem like this attitude bore fruit, as Saint-Vaast and the various
other institutions under Leduin's leadership soon flourished. As early as 1029,
just five years after the abbey's reform, a new abbatial church was dedicated
at Marchiennes,[13] and in 1031 the same happened at Saint-Vaast.[14] Construc-
tion work also went on at the newly founded priory of Billy Berclau,[15] while

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7. Compare with the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 488.

8. *Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 399–400 (charter from 1033).

9. Ibid., 256–58; see Warnkönig, *Flandrische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, 3, no. 47, pp. 82–83; and Ganshof, "*Homines.*"

10. *Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 170–75 (with later disputes documented in a piece edited on 175–79).

11. In a charter of 1091, Abbot Alold of Saint-Vaast (1068–1104) refers to a settlement made following a dispute between a *miles* and Leduin over a piece of monastic property (edited in *Chartes de l'abbaye d'Anchin*, ed. Gerzaguet, no. 6, pp. 94–95).

12. Morelle, "Metamorphosis"; Berkhofer, *Day*, 90–122. Leduin's attitude in these matters por-
tends Alold's literate policies; see chapter 7.

13. *Annales Marchianenses*, ed. Bethmann, 614.

14. *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 52–58.

15. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 460. On the foundation of this priory, see
further, at n. 19.

the poor state of the monasteries of Denain and Hamage[16] may also have called for some intervention to restore places of worship and other utilitarian commodities.[17] If little else, this at least suggests that sufficient resources were available to actually undertake such projects. Similar remarks can be made for the production of manuscripts at Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes, which will be discussed in chapter 6. It is also significant that this accumulation of wealth occurred before the first documented instances of significant support by the count of Flanders or, for that matter, Bishop Gerard.

While it is difficult to assess in what sense Leduin's appointment changed modes of abbatial government at Saint-Vaast and other monasteries, we are much better informed about how his government developed. As in Richard's case at Saint-Vanne, we have the advantage of being able to study Leduin's actions over several decades. Although the evidence is sparse, it seems clear that he shifted the focus of his policies in the management of the monastic domain over time, and that these adaptations were primarily due to the impact of the changing economy and society of Flanders. But Leduin's agency not only developed over time; he also developed strategies of abbatial government that were rooted in the specific circumstances of the monasteries and other institutions under his care, and thus not always matched those of the bishop or the count. The aftermath of the acquisition of the priory of Haspres, for instance, reveals how Leduin managed to pursue his own agendas while operating under the bishop's close supervision. As we have seen, the author of the *Deeds* indicates that the intervention at Haspres was initiated by Gerard, citing as the bishop's prime motivation his dissatisfaction with the fact that there was hardly any supervision from the distant motherhouse of Jumièges. Threatening Abbot Thierry of Jumièges that he would evict the monks himself, Gerard—together with Leduin—negotiated the trade of the priory for the domain of Anglicourt, a property belonging to Saint-Vaast in the region of Beauvais.[18] Because Anglicourt was part of the ancient property of Saint-Vaast, Leduin probably had misgivings about the trade. He eventually agreed to the exchange, but when a charter was issued stipulating the conditions, the only reason given for the trade was that Haspres priory was closer than Anglicourt, echoing the argument for rationalization given in the *Deeds* concerning the foundation of Billy Berclau. Perhaps this was

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16. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 460.

17. Excavations at the former site of Hamage reveal that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the monastery was transformed into an agricultural center. Although the cloister itself was presumably destroyed during the Viking raids of 880–883, the church was well maintained; see Louis and Blondiaux, "Abbaye," at 122–23.

18. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 461–62.

the only justification to which Leduin himself was willing to subscribe.[19] In 1038, he reincorporated Anglicourt into the domain of Saint-Vaast, obtaining confirmation of its reacquisition by no less a personage than King Henry I of France.[20] As we will see further, by that time, he was able to revoke previous episcopal decisions without fear of much resistance.

Even in the earliest phase of his abbacy, Leduin's motivations for collaboration with Gerard were mixed, inspired in all likelihood by a desire to please the bishop, care for his monks' welfare, and, in at least one case, pursue the interests of his own relatives. Soon after his accession to the abbatial throne of Saint-Vaast, Leduin obtained Gerard's permission to found a priory in Billy Berclau, presumably on his own alod. According to the *Deeds*, the foundation was intended as a place for the surplus of monks at Saint-Vaast, as well as a means of facilitating management of the abbey's extensive properties in the vicinity of the new priory.[21] Leduin's initiative also carried a broader relevance to the ecclesiastical institutions in the region: by creating the community of Billy Berclau, the institutional form of the priory was introduced for the first time in the diocese of Cambrai.[22] Yet tellingly, in their description of the newly founded priory, the *Deeds* hesitate between the words *monasterium* and *cella*,[23] which indicates that the status of the new foundation was still undetermined at that point. It is likely that Leduin wanted to turn Billy Berclau into a private sanctuary modeled on those owned by many members of the higher aristocracy. Indeed, Leduin's—allegedly secret—installation of a relic of Saint James in the altar of the newly built church[24] and the change of name from *Berclaus* to *Cella Sancti Salvatoris* on the occasion of Bishop Gerard's consecration of the church suggest the abbot's wish to establish a religious community where his name and those of his relatives would be

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19. Leduin's hesitation is attested to ibid. His charter regarding this transaction is edited in *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, no. 26, pp. 111–13; see also Ricouart, *Biens*, 3–65; Lemarignier, "Prieuré"; Lemarignier, "Paix," 465–67; and Helvétius, *Abbayes*, 124.

20. The incorporation of the 1024 charter relating to the initial exchange into the 1038 document shows that Leduin assembled a "dossier" on Anglicourt in order to submit it for royal confirmation (Jacques de Guise, *Annales Hanoniae*, ed. Sackur, 170); see Lemarignier, "Paix," 465–68.

21. See the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 460. Delmaire, in *Diocèse*, 1:200, dates the foundation of the priory to 1022–1024/25, while Dauphin, in *Le Bienheureux Richard*, 193–94, speculates that the foundation may already have been planned during Richard's abbacy of Saint-Vaast.

22. Delmaire, *Diocèse*, 1:200.

23. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 460.

24. According to Guimann, Leduin wanted to build a monastery in memory of his name and for the sake of his soul. With the help of a handful of aides, he went through the relic treasure of Saint-Vaast and had the head of Saint James transported in the greatest secrecy to be enshrined in the priory's altar (*Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 155; also Gerzaguet, "Tempête"). Apparently, Leduin did not own relics, whereas Richard and Poppo had been able to gather some during their respective pilgrimages to the Holy Land (Vanderputten, "Death," and George, "Réformateur," 90).

remembered forever.[25] It is worth remembering here that Leduin entered monastic life in adulthood and, according to various sources, had abandoned a military career for his new vocation.[26] Therefore, the concerns and desires, but also the strategies at self-promotion, of his aristocratic peers would have been something he was aware of, or sympathetic with. In fact, his dealings with the priory suggest that they were still central to his self-conception as a member of the local elites.

While Leduin's relationship to Gerard and Count Baldwin has routinely been studied from a top-down perspective—that is, in terms of his allegiance to these two regional players—it seems more useful to study it from a horizontal aspect, comprising a complex set of continuously intersecting associations. Much like his predecessor Richard, Leduin conceived his role as abbot as one that was relevant only if supported, and in most cases directly solicited, by both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Accepting some of the bishop's directives allowed him to gain the former's trust and collaboration in securing the future of his institutions. The rapidly growing wealth of Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes in the 1020s not only derived from this relationship of trust but also turned him into a powerful member of Gerard's network. When Gerard's political fortunes turned in the mid-1020s as a result of the death of Emperor Henry II (Cambrai formally belonged to the empire, and Gerard had enjoyed the emperor's support during his first thirteen years in power), Gerard had to rely increasingly on the support of the local ecclesiastical elites to maintain his authority against the count of Flanders and members of the local aristocracy in Cambrai. As head of some of the wealthiest institutions in the diocese, Leduin subsequently became a desirable ally. Despite the somewhat dismissive comments made about Leduin's education in the *Deeds,* Gerard over the years became more appreciative of Leduin's personal qualities. He wrote affectionately to the abbot on the occasion of the fire of the cathedral of Arras in 1029 and engaged the abbot in his battle against heresy and religious dissent.[27] From the end of the decade onward, the bishop stepped up his support for Leduin's policy of restoration and consolidation. In 1030 or 1036, Gerard granted the abbey of Saint-Vaast the parsonage

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25. The choice of the new name may be indicative of Leduin's aspirations beyond setting up an ordinary priory. The collegiate churches of the Counts of Saint-Pol in the towns of Saint-Pol and Harelbeke, founded by Countess Adela and Count Baldwin V of Flanders, were also dedicated to the Savior; see Angenendt, "*In honore Salvatoris*"; and Meijns, *Aken,* 1:471–79 (Harelbeke), and 504–6 (Saint-Pol).

26. See chapter 4.

27. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 478–79; see Riches, "Bishop Gerard I," 131; and Van Meter, "Peace," 654.

(*personatus*) of the altars in four villages (three of them only temporarily),[28] and on 18 January 1031 he confirmed several exemptions from secular interference and restrictions of episcopal power that had previously been the subject of protracted disputes between the bishop and the abbey.[29] Apparently, Leduin and the monks of Saint-Vaast, in whose scriptorium the episcopal charter was written, had presented him with a version of the so-called *charta Vindiciana*, a forged charter of Bishop Vindician to the abbey of Saint-Vaast, dated 1 May 679/85. This document, which may have been based on an original document from the seventh century, had been forged in the 990s as part of Abbot Falrad's attempts to exempt the monastery from episcopal power.[30] Gerard's extraordinarily generous confirmation of the forged charter, which purported to grant the monks a significant number of privileges and exemptions, may have derived from his friendship with Leduin and his faith in the abbey's role as his best guarantee for the reforms' future.[31] But it certainly also served a political purpose, as the privilege explicitly restricted the count's prerogatives to intervene in Saint-Vaast, turning the abbey's increased independence into an advantage for Gerard himself.[32]

For his part, the count also used Leduin to manage the continuous struggle with the bishop over power in the Cambrésis. From the beginning of his episcopacy onward, Gerard's authority in Cambrai had been contested by Walter, castellan of Lens and the formal representative of the count there.[33] When Walter was murdered in 1041, Gerard refused to lift the excommunication he had pronounced on him. His widow's reaction was virulent, and she threatened Gerard with military force.[34] Count Baldwin V (1035–1067), who evidently regretted the loss of his castellan and considered the latter's penance *in articulo mortis* sufficient to abolish his sins, called on the archbishop of Reims to force Gerard to lift the excommunication.

28. *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, no. 1.02, pp. 58–61.

29. Ibid., no. 1.01, pp. 52–58. See Lemarignier, "Exemption," 335–40; Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," 133; Lemarignier, "Eschatological Order," at 161 (where it is argued that Leduin revised the charter); Kéry, *Errichtung*, 258–60; Herrmann, "Historisch-diplomatische Untersuchungen," 62–67 and 85–86; and Reilly, *Art of Reform*, 112–13, with a comparison of some of the clauses in the *charta Vinditiana* and Gerard's charter.

30. See chapter 3.

31. There is evidence that the monks helped, or at least promised to help, with the restoration of the cathedral of Arras, destroyed by a fire in 1029; see the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 478–79 and 488; and *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 329–30. Also Morelle, "Mémoires."

32. *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 52–58.

33. See, among others, Duby, *Three Orders*; Barthélemy, *An mil*, 435–92; Jégou, "Évêque"; and Riches, "Bishop Gerard I."

34. These events are described in a charter concerning goods donated to Saint-Amand by Walter's widow (*Actes*, ed. Duvivier, 1:31–3; see Riches, "Bishop Gerard I," 133–34).

Eventually, Walter was buried in the abbatial church of Saint-Amand, in the presence of Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne, Walter's widow, and, significantly, Leduin. The association between the comital dynasty and Leduin, for its part, had recently been renewed in the context of a campaign on the count's part to publicly assert his position as high advocate of Flanders' monasteries. From the late 1030s onward, Leduin acted as witness to several comital charters issued specifically to deal with the excesses of the lay advocacy and to strengthen the monks' grip on their own temporal. One such, from 1038, regulates the advocacy of Marchiennes,[35] while another, from 1046, is a formal confirmation of the same abbey's possessions and rights.[36] And when Roderic of Saint-Bertin received a charter of Count Baldwin V terminating a dispute over the advocacy of Arques in 1042, Leduin was featured among the witnesses.[37]

Leduin's role in enabling secular and ecclesiastical authorities to deal with their conflicts of interest in a controlled manner was not merely that of an intermediator. Contrary to what might be expected from one of Richard's "regional epigones"—but much in line with how Richard actually conceived reformist leadership—high politics and the collaboration of secular and ecclesiastical powers were, in fact, two themes that occupied a significant part of Leduin's interests. For example, the *Deeds* indicate that, together with Roderic of Saint-Bertin, he had been instrumental in convincing Gerard to both accept, and participate in, the proclamation of the Peace of God.[38] Gerard, who, from his own background as a specialist in canon law, preferred to keep secular and ecclesiastical authority separate, had initially been reluctant to support the movement, and in the following years would advocate excommunication and public penance as more trustworthy alternatives.[39] Leduin, however, was already deeply involved in the Peace movement. In his description of the Compiègne meeting, the author of the *Deeds* refers explicitly to a previous peace initiative taken by the bishops of Soissons and Beauvais, Berold and Warin. From other sources we know that Bishop Berold of Soissons had participated in the church council of Verdun-sur-Doubs in Burgundy in 1016, where the bishops had sworn a peace agreement (*convenientia pacis*).[40]

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35. See Naz, *Avouerie*, 20–22; *Onuitgegeven oorkonden*, ed. Milis, xxxiv–xxxvi; Huyghebaert, "Valse oorkonde," 185; and Milis, "Voogdijregeling," 124–26.

36. The charter's most accessible edition is in *Histoire-polyptyque*, ed. Delmaire, 97–99.

37. See further, at n. 59.

38. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 474; see *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 338–44. On these events, see also Van Meter, "Peace"; and Riches, "Peace."

39. See Vanderputten and Reilly, "Reconciliation."

40. Bonnaud-Delamare, "Institutions," 148–53.

This oath, regulating private justice and warfare, shares many similarities with a peace oath that Bishop Warin of Beauvais presented to King Robert of France, the composition of which has been associated with the gathering of *proceres* from the French realm at Compiègne on 1 May 1023.[41] At this solemn meeting, the objectives and outcome of which remain unknown,[42] Warin and Leduin also founded a fraternity between the church of Beauvais and the abbey of Saint-Vaast.[43] It is remarkable that, in such a short space of time after his accession to the abbacy of Saint-Vaast, Leduin used the occasion to strike a deal with one of the two prime initiators of the peace movement in the north of France. As Roger Bonnaud-Delamare points out, fraternities between ecclesiastical institutions were intended as peacekeeping instruments, a practice documented as early as 963 in the case of Gembloux, and certainly known to Richard of Saint-Vanne.[44] The new fraternity put into practice the general agreement reached among all parties present at the meeting, setting an example as to how it could be implemented in the field. Yet the same agreement also allows us to see Leduin as a shrewd abbot who used the agreement to maintain the safety of his abbey's possessions in the relatively distant bishopric of Beauvais.[45] This, and perhaps also his supposed attendance at the renewal of the peace reunion in Oudenaarde six years later,[46] not only show his determination to implement the principles laid out in the peace proclamations, but also indicate that a close collaboration between secular and ecclesiastic authorities was in no way detrimental to his authority or to the interests of the communities under his care.

Various pieces of evidence also indicate that Leduin was closely involved, perhaps even instrumental, in shaping episcopal discourse in the 1020s–1030s, and in providing Gerard with at least some of the material and intellectual resources he relied on to develop his own theoretical and practical answers to what he experienced as the recent threats to episcopal authority.

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41. Pfister, *Études*, lx–lxi and 170–71; Bonnaud-Delamare, "Institutions," 148–53; translation in Head and Landes, eds., *Peace of God*, 332–34.

42. Lemarignier, "Paix," 448–57, considers this reunion as a peace gathering to prepare for the meeting between King Robert of France and Emperor Henry II in Yvois in August of the same year. The only source for these events is Bishop Warin of Beauvais's revised charter in which the confraternity between the church of Beauvais and the abbey of Saint-Vaast is given royal approval.

43. See Prou, "Charte," 383–98.

44. Bonnaud-Delamare, "Institutions," 147; Lemarignier, "Paix"; Bijsterveld, "Looking," 304–5.

45. Van Meter, "Eschatological Order," 161. Warin of Beauvais's charter also mentions the bishop's gift of a third of the altar of the church of Anglicourt, the estate that was later exchanged for the domain of Haspres. Duke Richard II of Normandy subsequently confirmed the transaction at a gathering in Rouen in 1024; *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, no. 26, p. 113.

46. According to the twelfth-century continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux made at the abbey of Affligem, Count Baldwin IV had gathered together in Oudenaarde the relics of

We know, for instance, that during the years 1023–1025 Gerard was work-ing intensively with Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis*, references to which permeated the *Vita Gaugerici* (a *Life* of the seventh-century bishop Géry of Cambrai), several of his sermons and letters, and parts of the *Acta synodi Attrebatensis* (the supposed report of a synod in which he addressed a recent heresy in Arras), all of which may be considered programmatic statements of Gerard's self-conception as bishop.[47] Remnants from the book collection of Marchiennes and Saint-Vaast in that period suggest that the ideological links between the monastic community—or at least its leadership—and the bishop were strong, and that the libraries, scribes, and perhaps even authors of these institutions significantly participated in shaping the literate com-munity focused on Gerard's figure as bishop. As Bruno Judic explains, the library of Marchiennes owned a manuscript (Douai, BMDV, 314) contain-ing the *Liber pastoralis* and various related treatises, which indeed may have been used to compile the aforementioned texts. In addition, the only copy of Gerard's presumed peace decree from c. 1036 is preserved in a contem-porary manuscript from the same abbey.[48] Most crucially perhaps, the monks of Saint-Vaast also produced a manuscript known as the "Giant Bible" of Arras. As Diane Reilly's masterful analysis of the iconography has shown, the pictorial program of the volume represents Gerard's ideas of social order, ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the Christological role of the bishop and the king.[49] While scholars have looked at the iconography of the famous "Giant Bible" of Saint-Vaast as an example of how the monks adopted and repre-sented Gerard's ideas on societal order, it would appear that Leduin played such an active role, both in organizing work at the scriptorium and being involved in current debates over societal order and ecclesiastical authority, that he may have been far more instrumental in conceiving the pictorial program of the Bible than was previously assumed.[50] The production dur-ing his abbacy of a collection of manuscripts that, according to Gameson, "included the basic elements of a monastic book collection," in any case, indicates that he felt strongly about the need to monitor closely the spiritual and intellectual aspects of life within the reformed communities and that he

the most important saints of his county, including those of Saint Vaast. It is likely that Abbot Leduin accompanied the relics to the gathering (*Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographiae Auctarium Affligemense*, ed. Gorissen, 113; see De Smet, "*Paces Dei,*" 113–15; and Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 49).

47. Judic, "La diffusion."
48. Douai, BMDV, 856, 91r; the text was partially edited in Bonnaud-Delamare, "Institutions," at 190bis. See also *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 328–44; and Riches, "Bishop Gerard I," 128–29, n. 31.
49. Reilly, *Art of Reform*.
50. As suggested in Gameson's review of Reilly's *Art of Reform*.

went to great lengths to assist his monks in creating a representative library for these purposes.[51] While yielding impressive results, both policies were not intrinsically innovative and were both deliberately and explicitly grounded in local and regional traditions.

By the early 1030s, Leduin stood at the head of a small network of relatively wealthy monastic institutions, where the management and the state of monastic property was being closely monitored, new buildings were being erected and old ones restored, new cults were being promoted while old ones were revived, sumptuous manuscripts were being produced, and collective identities were fostered. Rather than being a mere epigone of Richard, Leduin adapted his behavior as abbot to the rapidly changing social and economic conditions (the toll schedule), reorganized the management of monastic property in order to extend the monks' control over it (the charter concerning the status of dependents, the regulations of the advocacy, the recuperation of usurped property, and the acquisition/foundation of the two priories), and quite possibly even merged the abbey's interests with those of his own aristocratic background (foundation of Billy Berclau). These measures distinguish him from his predecessor and show how he adopted a deliberately "regional" outlook to his office, his own monastic and aristocratic identity, and his monks' interests. Leduin was a political figure in his own right—perhaps not a major one on a par with Gerard and Baldwin, but certainly one who regularly found himself at the center of regional politics. Most significantly, these authorities, who had more or less selected him for his uncompromised status, quickly recognized him as a political player and a monastic leader with his own, valid agenda, even using his individual drive as a monastic leader to propagate new means of managing social tension. Through his involvement with the movement, he enjoyed the freedom to create a network around himself and his institutions that, for a local abbot, would otherwise have been unthinkable.

Reforming Saint-Bertin: Comital Politics, Material Reorganization, and the Peace

Whereas Leduin's leadership is hardly remembered in historiographical tradition but is well attested in the scattered evidence that remains from his time in office, that of Roderic of Saint-Bertin is celebrated profusely in Simon's chronicle but poorly documented by other sources. As a former monk of

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51. These policies will be addressed in more detail in chapter 6.

Saint-Vaast, Roderic had enjoyed an education and training in institutional management at least similar to Leduin's, and in his behavior as abbot he would show strong similarities with Leduin. The main difference between the two men lay not so much in their leadership or their conception of the abbatial office but in the circumstances in which the reform of their institutions originated. While the reforms carried out by Leduin were mainly initiated by Gerard of Cambrai, with varying degrees of involvement by Count Baldwin, those led by Roderic were unquestionably comital initiatives.[52] Evidently, the count had strong interests in both groups of institutions; but in the politically insignificant bishopric of Thérouanne, he did not have to compete with the local bishop. In addition, the timing of the reforms of Saint-Bertin (1021) and Bergues-Saint-Winnoc (1022) also coincided with the definitive consolidation of comital power in the region.

Like his colleague Leduin, and unlike both men's mid-tenth-century predecessors, Roderic appears to have been fairly independent in managing Saint-Bertin's institutions. In 1026, he reaped the first successes of his campaign to consolidate and amplify the monastic domain and rationalize its exploitation. According to a charter issued by Bishop Baldwin of Thérouanne (989–1030), he and Roderic put an end to differences over the rights to several properties in the region of Saint-Omer.[53] In exchange for the property of lands in Lumbres, Camiers, Etaples, and Dammes, the abbey received the altars of Herbelles, Tubersent, and Petresse. In the same year, Roderic obtained several altars from Bishop Harduin of Tournai (1000–1030).[54] It seems likely that behind these donations lies a policy of exchange similar to that pursued by Richard for Saint-Amand and by Leduin for Saint-Vaast. In any case, it is clear that Roderic sought to consolidate and expand his monastery's patrimony by focusing on the acquisition of altars. In 1040, he received the confirmation by Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne (1030–1078) of a previous exchange with Bishop Baldwin and of several acquisitions of altars, also in relatively close proximity to the abbey or to other agricultural centers belonging to Saint-Bertin, from Drogo himself.[55] As a result of these efforts,

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52. The chronicler John of Ypres claims that, on his appointment as abbot of Saint-Bertin, Roderic received his abbatial benediction from Bishop Baldwin of Thérouanne (989–1030) (*Chronicon Sancti Bertini*, ed. Martène and Durand, col. 572).
53. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 175; also *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 68, p. 22.
54. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 176; also *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 69, pp. 22–23.
55. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 70, pp. 23–24. On donations of altars by bishops to monastic institutions, see Wood, *Proprietary Church*, 697–711, esp. 700–702. A question worth investigating is whether this acquisition was intended to complete the abbey's ownership of all

some structural work was possible in the abbey's compound. According to the mid-eleventh-century hagiographer Erembold, Roderic had a small and "very ancient" church dedicated to the Virgin Mary knocked down to expand the monastery's garden.[56]

In addition to reorganizing the monastic domain, Roderic also appears to have adopted an attitude toward the monastery's lay officers that was far more aggressive toward real or perceived abuses than that of his predecessors had been. Using a discourse adopted from the Peace movement, referring explicitly to the devastating effect of any kind of injury to an ecclesiastical institution to social (and, hence, divine) order in general, the abbot's messengers targeted such individuals with a fierce discourse, referring at the same time to political rebellion and heresy.[57] This rhetoric is evident in hagiographic narratives relating both to the abbacy of Roderic himself and to that of his successor, Bovo,[58] but also in the aforementioned charter regulating the advocacy from 1042.[59] According to that document, Gerbodo, the monks' advocate in Arques, had claimed the right to be accommodated once or twice a year in that village, to retrieve anything he needed from it, and to claim a yearly tax from the inhabitants. Instead of defending the abbey's interests, Gerbodo and his predecessors—by which the monks referred, in the first place, to his father, Gerbodo, who had claimed the advocacy since the time of the late tenth-century abbot Odbert—were only pursuing their own ends. To add insult to injury, the authors of the charter claimed that the advocacy was de facto being usurped. Without a doubt, such reasoning greatly disrupted relations with the local elites.[60] But the monks' confidence was bolstered by the active support of Count Baldwin V, who, as in his relations with Leduin, was promoting the recovery of monastic property from the middle and lower lay elites in order to regain some influence over the lay offices of former comital *Eigenklöster*.

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or some of the churches in these locations, or whether Roderic's acquisition policy focused specifically on altars as a way of exercising patronage without disturbing the lay ownership networks around the bishop's properties (see Wood, *Proprietary Church,* 705–6).

56. Erembold of Saint-Bertin, *Libellus de miraculis Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 522–23.

57. Vanderputten, "Monks."

58. *Miracula Sancti Bertini (continuatio II and III)*, ed. Holder-Egger, 518–20 and 520–21.

59. Saint-Omer, BASO, 803/1, no. 70, pp. 93–95. The authenticity of the charter as it appears in De Witte's *Grand Cartulaire* is disputed, and the piece may well be a forgery from the later eleventh or early twelfth century based on an original from 1042 (Declercq, "Van privaatoorkonde," 47). So far, however, no arguments have been formulated against the description of the dispute and its resolution; see Bernard, "Études"; also Vanderputten, "Monks."

60. See Vanderputten, "Monks."

We have to take for granted Simon's description of Roderic's personality and conception of abbatial leadership. His inclination to asceticism and his devotion to prayer, as well as his desire to show a good example through his own behavior, all seem to match the reformers' conception of the ideal abbot. In accordance with reformist ideals formulated by the "charismatic" generation, Roderic may also have pursued a policy that imposed a strict segregation with lay society. It is perhaps no coincidence that the previously mentioned hagiographic text in which the extension of the monastic garden is mentioned actually concerns the issue of the restricted presence of women inside the monastic compound and previous infringements of those restrictions. In any case, the author devotes a significant part of his text to discussing how this segregation was organized by means of architectural and other physical boundaries.[61] For the abbot's own relations with the outside world, we have at least one piece of contemporary evidence that reveals that, in those matters too, he was following the example set by Richard and his closest collaborators. Together with Leduin, he had persuaded Gerard of Cambrai to participate in the proclamation of the Peace of God in 1023.[62] It is worth noting that the two men apparently felt confident enough to jointly confront the bishop so early in their careers as abbots: at that time, Leduin had been in office for little more than a year, and Roderic perhaps two. And as we have seen earlier, Leduin was also involved in the settlement of a dispute between Roderic and Gerbodo, the monks' advocate, over the village of Arques. The fact that the two men appear together in the same document is worth noting, as the charter issued by Count Baldwin V implicitly subscribes to the ideology of the Peace by referring to this banal but violent dispute as a *scandalum,* a word used since Carolingian times to describe a violation of divine order and subsequently picked up by the Peace movement to denounce any form of public disruption outside the boundaries set by public convention.[63] It seems as though the two elderly abbots, still firmly convinced of the power of the Peace discourse, joined forces to give this settlement greater significance and, in so doing, fulfill their apostolic vocation as a service to society at large. Baldwin himself would certainly not have objected to this, as such events—much like the earlier proclamations of the Peace of God— presented an occasion on which he could act as warrantor of the peace. And neither would two other highly placed figures mentioned in the charter

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61. Erembold of Saint-Bertin, *Libellus de miraculis Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 523–24.
62. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 474.
63. On the notion of *scandalum* as signifying the disruption of divinely ordained order, see de Jong, "*Sacrum palatium*"; and Firey, "Blushing," 195–200.

object: Bishop Drogo, who excommunicated all who would, in the future, infringe on the agreement and acted as witness; and Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, who acted as witness.

At the beginning of his career as bishop, Drogo, who may have been a former monk of Saint-Bertin,[64] had been forced to flee Thérouanne by Baldwin IV, who had wanted to put another candidate on the episcopal throne. Drogo had found refuge with Gerard of Cambrai, who, through his connections with Fulco of Amiens, called on the king of France for help. Shortly afterward, Drogo was definitively installed as bishop of Thérouanne, and relations with the new count Baldwin V were normalized. In the early 1040s or 1060s, depending on which of the suggested dates is correct, he showed his intellectual kinship with his colleague in Cambrai and concluded a peace pact with the count.[65] This pact shows kinship with Gerard's presumed *In pace* decree and with that of other bishops proclaimed around the same time. What role exactly Abbots Leduin and Roderic played in the creation of episcopal decrees like Gerard's and, perhaps, Drogo's is unclear. When Gerard's archrival Walter of Lens was buried in the abbatial church of Saint-Amand in 1041, attendees included Adela, Count Baldwin's wife; Drogo; and Leduin. It is possible that at some point Drogo and Leduin were called on by Baldwin himself to intervene as uncompromised representatives of the movement. It is also unclear in what way the charter regarding the advocacy of Arques of January 1042 was a public manifestation of Gerard's reconciliation with the main protagonists of this movement (Baldwin, Drogo, Leduin, and Roderic), but it is certainly significant that all four men were present on the same, somewhat banal, occasion of a settlement between the monks of Saint-Bertin and one of their lay officers.

The fact that there were such strong links between the leadership of Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast throughout the second, third, and the beginning of the fourth decades of the eleventh century makes for some interesting observations regarding the tension between structure and agency in contemporary reformist government. Both abbots fostered a conception of abbatial leadership similar to the one propagated by Richard of Saint-Vanne. On the one hand, they were able to position themselves as prominent members of the Peace movement, participating in, and organizing, several important public events during which the ideology of the movement was propagated. On the other hand, they strove to reorganize the monastic institutions in order to

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64. Van Werveke, *Bisdom*, 45.

65. Edited in *Constitutiones*, ed. Weiland, no. 422, pp. 599–601. See, among others, Bonnaud-Delamare, "Institutions," 145–57; and Riches, "Bishop Gerard I," 133–34.

make the "prayer machines" they intended them to be as effective as possible. Thus Leduin and Roderic deployed a wide range of activities, from the acquisition and trade of properties, to the creation and reorganization of monastic buildings and spaces, and the conception of new hagiographic narratives and manuscripts.

The above discussion shows quite clearly that these policies were far more of a process than scholars have been willing to admit. They were also incremental in nature—many achievements of reformist government would have been impossible had it not been for previous ones. Leduin would not have achieved such recognition had it not been for the deals he struck at the Compiègne Peace meeting and his success as a reformer during 1023–1025, and neither would Roderic have been able to confront his advocate had it not been for the count's confidence in his managerial capacities. But despite the similarities between their careers and governments, each abbot, in order to be a successful reformer, had to show an acute awareness of his community's political, financial, and other entanglements as well as of its previously "accumulated investments," in the form of hagiographic, governmental, and other traditions.

The Process of Emancipatory Reform at Bergues-Saint-Winnoc

The fact that the abbey of Saint-Bertin disposed of "accumulated investments" significant enough to support Roderic's reformist government is best shown in Roderic's being sent out the next year to reform Bergues-Saint-Winnoc. Little is known of Roderic's time as head of that monastery (1022–1029), but it is quite possible his leadership initially was quite similar to that of Richard as abbot of Saint-Vaast. First, the new community had to be stabilized and routinized, so to speak, by practice and instruction. Then, perhaps with the aid of a prior who resided permanently at the abbey—for it is unlikely that Roderic would have stayed away from newly reformed Saint-Bertin for longer periods of time—he rationalized the management of the abbey's institutions and reorganized its temporal. From the charter issued by Count Baldwin VI in 1067, we know that the former canons had allegedly "plundered" the monastery's properties and that the count had replaced them through extensive donations of tithes, altars, and *bodia* in that part of the coastal area of Flanders.[66] It may be that, like Poppo and Frederic

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66. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:57–63.

at Saint-Vaast, it was Roderic's future successor Gerewin who oversaw the organization and initial exploitation of these properties during 1022–1029.

In 1033, Gerewin died after a four-year abbacy and was succeeded by Rumold, another monk from Saint-Bertin.[67] Rumold (1033–1068) ascended to the abbacy in the context of the severe depression of his mother abbey. In the same year, the abbatial church of Saint-Bertin burned down, and shortly afterward, the community was decimated by an epidemic. Undoubtedly the troubles with the aforementioned Gerbodo, advocate of Arques, also greatly occupied Roderic's time.[68] In the meantime, Bergues-Saint-Winnoc flourished, thanks in no small part to its strategic location on one of the busiest trade routes in northwestern Europe. From Count Baldwin, the abbey received the right to hold a yearly market in Wormhout,[69] and it soon began striking its own coins.[70] This advantageous situation allowed the abbot, in the second half of his abbacy, to begin construction on the new church, which he also had decorated.[71] This construction was a part of Rumold's efforts to stimulate pilgrimage to the abbey, offering to lay society the opportunity to venerate the relics of saints Winnoc; Oswald, the seventh-century king of Northumbria; and, from 1058 onward, Lewinna, the Anglo-Saxon martyr whose relics had been stolen by a monk of Bergues from an English monastery.[72] A veritable campaign of scrabbling for arguments to stimulate Bergues's own institutional identity and the reputation of its patron saint even further culminated in the 1060s, when the preform *Miracula Sancti Winnoci antiquiora,* or *Miracles of Saint Winnoc*, were complemented with a new series of miracle accounts.[73] The intended application of these stories is revealed in a sermon-like text, probably written in the third quarter of the eleventh century, on the healing of a blind girl by Saint Winnoc.[74]

The coincidence around the dating of the *Miracula*, the *Sermo*, and Baldwin's 1067 charter suggests that Rumold had successfully transformed the modest community of the early 1030s into one thriving on self-confidence,

67. Huyghebaert, "Rumoldus," 830–32.

68. See above, at n. 64.

69. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:57–63.

70. Ibid., 63; Metcalf, "Coinage," 9, expresses reservations as to the attribution of these coins to Rumold's abbacy.

71. See Drogo's *Liber miraculorum Sancti Winnoci*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:275–84. At the time of Rumold's death only the choir was in use.

72. See Defries, "Making."

73. *Miracula Sancti Winnoci recentiora*, ed. Levison, 782–85; see Huyghebaert, "Abbé Rumold," 8 and 24–26. On the hagiography of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, see, in general, Defries, "Constructing."

74. Rumold, *Miraculum Winnoci (sermo)*, ed. Levison, 785–86; see Huyghebaert, "Abbé Rumold," 24–26.

wealth, and popularity with pilgrims and mighty patrons.[75] It is possible that Rumold himself, in preparation for this major event, prepared a manuscript that contained an interpolated *Vita antiqua Sancti Winnoci*, the new version of the *Miracula,* and the *Sermo.*[76] According to Huyghebaert, the original *Vita antiquiora* was written at Saint-Bertin and was interpolated in 1060–1063/64 by Rumold to claim the saint definitively for Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[77] Again according to Huyghebaert, Rumold may even have modified the *Vita antiquiora* so as to sketch his own ideal portrait of an abbot who, through his tranquil demeanor and decisive action, manages to turn the monastery into a sanctuary from the outside world.[78] Probably around 1064, a monk from Ghent who left his community of Saint-Peter, possibly because of misman-agement by Abbot Everhelm (1059–1069), composed yet another *Life* of Winnoc,[79] and at an undetermined time after 1064, a *Genealogy* of Winnoc was conceived.[80]

In 1068, when Rumold passed away following an abbacy lasting thirty-five years, the monks for the first time chose an abbot from their own ranks rather than from the community of Saint-Bertin. All ties with Saint-Bertin, established at the reform in 1022, were thus severed, and the abbeys now entered into open competition. Shortly thereafter, the hagiographer Drogo updated the miracle collection of Saint Winnoc,[81] and conceived two ser-mons devoted to Saint Winnoc and Oswald,[82] a *Life* of Saint Godeliph,[83] and an account of the translation of Saint Lewinna.[84] Lewinna's arrival in Flanders had been publicized by a *circumlatio* similar to that of Saint Ursmer by the monks of Lobbes, who, in 1060, had actually stopped at Bergues for an

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75. See also Gameson, "L'Angleterre," 175, for the fact that one manuscript that ended up in England came from Liège and was passed through Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.

76. Rumold, *Vita antiqua interpolata Sancti Winnoci*, ed. Levison, 769–75; the *Sermo* was edited ibid., 785–86. See Huyghebaert, "Abbé Rumold."

77. Huyghebaert, "Abbé Rumold."

78. Ibid., 26–28.

79. *Vita secunda Winnoci Bergensis*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:267–74. Huyghebaert attributes this text to Werric of Ghent, the author of the *Vita Bertulfi Rentiacensis;* see his "Vita."

80. *Genealogia Winnoci Wormholtensis*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:267–68. This text was possibly part of the original *vita.*

81. Drogo, *Liber miraculorum Sancti Winnoci*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:275–84; see Huyghebaert, "Moine," 201 and 205.

82. Drogo, *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, ed. *AASS Augusti* 2:94–102; Drogo, *Sermo primus*, ed. Huyghe-baert, "Twee sermoenen," 105–7; and Drogo, *Sermo secundus,* ed. Huyghebaert, "Twee sermoenen," 107–8.

83. Drogo, *Vita Godeliph*, ed. Huyghebaert and Gyselen, 34–70; see Coens, "La vie." Also Defries, "Drogo"; and Defries, "Godeliph."

84. Drogo, *Historia translationis Sanctae Lewinnae*, ed. *AASS Julii* 5:613–27.

encounter with the count and his spouse.[85] Bergues, BM, 19, a twelfth-century manuscript for liturgical use, neatly collects all the works produced in this transitional period of the abbey's history. Nearly all of Drogo's hagiographic works are included, and some of the lives and sermons are divided into eight lections for use in the office. Also included are hymns for the office of Saint Winnoc and a partly versified office,[86] indicating that this volume was central to the legitimization of Bergues's identity. But more important, it also signified the completion of the community's emancipation from Saint-Bertin.

The Case of Saint-Amand: Reform in a Comital Bulwark

When, in 1041, Count Baldwin V arranged for the burial of Walter II of Lens in the abbatial church of Saint-Amand, the choice of location most likely was intended as an act of defiance against Bishop Gerard of Cambrai. Saint-Amand was the only Flemish monastery in the diocese of Cambrai that had been reformed exclusively at the initiative of his father, Baldwin IV. Since the final decade of the tenth century, it had also been one of the comital family's main administrative and political footholds in that part of the county. The foundation of a secular chapter within the monastic buildings, the erection of a palace and a tower in front of the abbey, and the confiscation of significant parts of the monastic estate had all led to a situation where the monks' position with regard to the counts in the year 1000 resembled that of other Flemish communities in the middle of the tenth century.[87] Richard's appointment as abbot in 1013 had helped somewhat alleviate the pressure on the abbey's resources and create a relation between the monks and the count in which the latter assumed the role of high advocate rather than that of proprietor. As far as we can acknowledge, the count's direct involvement in the government of the monastery and its estate was thereafter reduced to that of assisting the community in juridical matters,[88] even though the monks continued to rely heavily on his authority to resolve disputes and to bring sensitive institutional matters to a satisfactory end. And as we have seen in chapter 4, the fact that this was the first abbey the count allowed Richard to reform on his territories is telling as to how secure he felt about his interests there.

85. *Miracula Sancti Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam facta*, ed. Holder-Egger, 837–42. See also *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:48–49.

86. Edited in Bayart, "Offices." See Denoël, Note on a manuscript from Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, 148–49.

87. Platelle, *Temporel*, 122.

88. Ibid., 128.

In 1018, Richard was succeeded by Malbod, a native from the village of Saint-Amand.[89] During the next forty-four years, Malbod (1018–1062) would lead the community through relatively untroubled waters. Although most of his abbacy is sparsely documented, we know that by the 1060s the abbey's patrimony had expanded significantly, thanks to donations, acquisitions, and mortgage loans.[90] An important aspect of Malbod's reformist policy was his interest in concentrating properties at locations near to the abbey and investing in acquisitions that showed real financial potential.[91] These measures, the wealth that came from them, and the relative stability of his government ensured that Malbod, like several of his colleagues in Flanders, was able to rekindle activity at the long-dormant scriptorium[92] and, more important perhaps, initiate a building campaign. A crypt was built or at least enlarged, and a new abbatial church was dedicated in 1040.[93] Thus it happened that one of the main centers of comital power in southern Flanders at the time of Walter's death in 1041 disposed of a new religious edifice that provided the ideal backdrop for a highly significant political act such as the latter's burial. Like Leduin and possibly Roderic, Malbod through a careful but for the most part autonomously pursued policy had more or less forced his institution to the count's attention.

Almost all the evidence we have of Malbod's successes in dealing with the excesses of lay officialdom seems to date from the 1040s onward, coinciding so it seems with Count Baldwin V's increased interest in manifesting himself as high advocate of Flanders' monasteries. In at least one instance, the count intervened in this capacity at Saint-Amand, as he had done at Saint-Bertin in 1042, to resolve a dispute over a usurped alod.[94] In the village of Spéluz in Brabant, Malbod near the end of his abbacy reversed his predecessor Radbod's (996–1013) concession of the advocacy to the layman Engelbert and his descendants.[95] And in the village of Guermignies, he regulated the advocacy by deed of charter.[96] Finally, in circumstances that can no longer be reconstructed, he gave the lay office of *ministerialis villae* to his brother Alen. For this he would be reproached by a new generation of reformist

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89. *Breve chronicon*, ed. Platelle, "Chronique," 225: "Ex villa Sancti Amandi oriundus erat."
90. Platelle, *Temporel*, 122–23, 137, and 146–48.
91. Ibid., 153.
92. A volume of Cassian's *Collationes* dates from c. 1050; see Besseyre, Note on a manuscript from Saint-Amand, 318.
93. Platelle, *Temporel*, 123.
94. Drogo, *Liber miraculorum Sancti Winnoci*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:280–81.
95. Platelle, *Temporel*, 136.
96. Ibid., 123.

abbots who, in the early twelfth century, tried to undo many of the arrange-ments with local clans who had been given de facto hereditary lay offices in the previous century.[97] But as Platelle has suggested, Alen's appointment may well have been a tactic to buffer the monastery against the actions of the lay advocates who, by that time, were hardly fulfilling their intended roles.[98] This suggests that, in spite of the count's assistance, abbots were still very much dependent on their own initiatives to buffer lay attacks on the monastic estate.

By the middle of the eleventh century, Saint-Amand enjoyed a privileged relationship with the counts, and in the southern regions of Flanders it ef-fectively functioned as a monastery of a status almost equal to Saint-Bertin's and Saint-Peter's. Around 1055, Malbod baptized Baldwin's grandson, the future Arnulf III (1070–1071),[99] and in the final years of his life he was asked by the count's son, the future Baldwin VI, to oversee the restoration of the former abbey of Hasnon. The count's motivations for the intervention at Hasnon were varied, and ranged from Baldwin's personal conviction of the redeeming value of such an act to the more prosaic ambition to get rid of a lay lord named Wintheric, who had erected a fortress on the Hasnon site, a strategically important point along the River Scarpe.[100] Malbod sent a contingent of monks to replace the community of canons who had previ-ously lived there, and deputized the future Abbot Bovo II (1077–1085) to oversee the proceedings.[101] The count then restored several usurped proper-ties to Hasnon and added a number of donations, which Malbod undoubt-edly then took care to organize in such a way that they would serve the new community as efficiently as possible. Just as Richard, at Saint-Vanne, ordered the composition of an *Urbar* in the 1040s,[102] toward the end of his abbacy Malbod consolidated Saint-Amand's ownership of lands and rights by means of the written word, ordering at least two lists to be drawn up.[103] Malbod's successes in managing the monastic domain, organizing the lay networks around the monastery, and establishing an intimate connection with the co-mital court predicted a brilliant future for Saint-Amand. Soon, however, the abbey's fortunes would take a turn for the worse.

97. Ibid.; also Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

98. Platelle, *Temporel*, 139–40.

99. Ibid.

100. *Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis*, ed. Holder-Egger, 154–55; see Dewez, *Histoire*, 61–81; Nazet, "Crises," 478–81; and Platelle, "Hasnon."

101. Platelle, *Temporel*, 125.

102. Healy, *Chronicle*, 49; Hirschmann, "Klosterreform," 141–42.

103. Platelle, *Temporel*, 122–23; Morelle, "Metamorphosis," 184–85.

The "Failed Reforms" in Ghent

As we have seen in chapter 3, the two Ghent abbeys occupy a place of their own in Flanders' monastic history. Their development in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries is comparatively well documented, and, thanks to that documentation, we know that both institutions flourished in the decades around the year 1000. Saint-Peter continued to benefit from its privileged position as the county's main monastic center and necropolis of the Flemish dynasty, while Saint-Bavo, thanks mainly to the emperor's patronage, reached a level of prosperity that was more modest but still unparalleled by other institutions in the county. Throughout the later tenth and early eleventh centuries, abbots in both monasteries actively pursued a policy of acquiring new properties and rights, establishing complex networks of patrons and benefactors, and sustaining a high level of scriptorial and intellectual activity. Attesting to the resources that remained available to these two communities is the rich body of hagiographic literature in which the rivalry between the two abbeys was played out.

In the first two decades of the eleventh century, relations between Saint-Bavo and Count Baldwin also gradually became more friendly, and in the 1010s, the count's political entente with Emperor Henry II probably did much to further normalize relations. By the time Count Baldwin allowed Richard and his disciples to reform several of the houses in the western and southern parts of his county, neither institution in Ghent appears to have shown signs of institutional or disciplinary decline—but as we have seen, it is difficult to prove that this would have been the reason for any of the reforms (with the exception perhaps of Saint-Vaast) anyway. The count also had little reason to want to stabilize his own position with regard to these institutions and their social networks by means of a reform, as competition over secular influence on the city's abbeys (in particular with the emperor) appears to have declined following the turn of the eleventh century. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Ghent abbeys were not included in Baldwin's early reformist campaign. There are also no indications that the Lotharingian reformers themselves campaigned for the reform of either of the two monasteries, and it seems that, for a long time, the "reformist wave" of the early eleventh century made little impact on life there. In Saint-Peter, the first two decades of Abbot Rodbold's lengthy abbacy (995–1029 and 1032–1034) represented a stable regime in which the abbey continued to benefit from donations[104]

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104. The diplomatic evidence from that time was published in *Chartes et documents*, ed. Van Lokeren, vol. 1, no. 87, pp. 69–70 and no. 101, p. 75; *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen, nos. 104–13,

and from its international networks, most notably with the Anglo-Saxon dynasty and the archbishops of Canterbury.[105] At Saint-Bavo, Abbot Othelbold (1019–1030) launched a campaign to recuperate lost and usurped property. A famous letter to Countess Otgivia, in which he answers her request to list the abbey's relics but adds a long discussion on the abbey's lost temporal, documents his determination to address this problem.[106] Both men also maintained an active scriptorium, stimulated intellectual activity, fostered the cult of relics, and (in the case of Othelbold) participated in at least one Peace meeting organized by Count Baldwin.[107]

The behavior of Rodbold and Othelbold as monastic leaders does not seem to have been much different from that of reformist abbots like Leduin, Roderic, and Malbod. The real difference lay in the context in which they had to implement their governmental strategies and what this implied for their further development. It seems fair to say that, under the government of Count Baldwin IV, the Ghent abbeys continued to function as principal centers of monastic life in Flanders but that their privileged relationship with the comital dynasty was sustained not so much by new alliances and exchanges but, rather, by tradition.[108] Othelbold's letter to Otgivia, in which he mentioned several estates usurped by members of the Flemish dynasty, was a desperate attempt to reestablish that connection. But overall, Count Baldwin was showing little inclination to offer any assistance; throughout his government, he failed to make any substantial donations or restitutions.[109] This undoubtedly impacted on the Flemish elite's inclination to patronize these institutions: at Saint-Peter, the general rate and size of donations also decreased substantially from the beginning of Wichard's abbacy (1034/35–1058) onward.[110]

Despite being consistently represented as one of the principal promoters of monastic reform in early-eleventh-century Flanders, Count Baldwin IV conceived his relations with his monasteries in a similar way to his predecessor Arnulf I. The principal motivation for collaborating with the reformers was either political or strategic: Baldwin intended to reinforce his grip on

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pp. 98–105; and *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 79, pp. 185–86; no. 81–87, pp. 188–91; and no. 90, pp. 194–95. Commentary in Koch, "Diplomatische studie," 100–101.

105. Archbishop Aelfheah of Canterbury (1006–1012) requested the monks of Saint-Peter to prepare a *Life* of Saint Dunstan for liturgical use (edited in Stubbs, *Memorials*, 53–68).

106. Voet, *De brief;* commentary in Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 95–113.

107. That of Oudenaarde, in 1030; see *Sigeberti Gemblacensis chronographiae auctarium*, ed. Gorissen, 113.

108. Presumably, the count and his wife were buried at Saint-Peter; see Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 324 and 329–30.

109. In his letter, Othelbold refers to some minor donations; see *Brief*, ed. Voet.

110. See above.

several institutions that, to some degree or other, had slipped from his family's control. The added bonuses of economic rationalization, the use of monasteries as administrative and political centers, and so on, were welcome but were not the prime motivation for his engagement. The example of the two Ghent abbeys may, in fact, be used to argue that the absence of any political reason for reforming these institutions would appear to explain why the reformers arrived there long after the other institutions in Flanders had been reformed. Only when the stagnation of monastic government was at risk of turning into a full-blown crisis did the reformers, invited no doubt by the count himself, intervene. No contemporary reports explain the abdication of Abbot Rodbold in 1029 in favor of Richard of Saint-Vanne, who returned to Flanders after an absence of seven years specifically to take up the abbacy of Saint-Peter. Georges Declercq has made the plausible suggestion that the by-then elderly and physically unfit Rodbold struggled to address the many challenges facing his institution.[111] Certainly the lack of significant donations and of comital, royal, or imperial privileges suggests that the government of the abbey in the 1010s to 1020s had shown little trace of energetic leadership. In addition, there are indications that the abbey was struggling to combat a new wave of usurpations and problems with lay officers, most notably advocates.[112] Who exactly decided to move Rodbold aside is unclear, and nothing is known of any comital involvement.

Whether or not the takeover of abbatial authority was contested is also unclear, although we do know that Rodbold reverted to his role when Richard abdicated again in 1032.[113] But to claim, like Hirschmann, that the reform was therefore unsuccessful[114] is to overlook the fact that Richard had adopted a strategy of "quiet stabilization" similar to the one he had applied in other communities. As in other reformed houses, this strategy left virtually no trace in the written evidence, and the one donation charter that survives from the years 1029–1032 is no different from those issued in previous decades.[115] As in the other houses, Richard probably limited himself to taking measures to initiate the process of reform and recruit personnel capable of managing it. Acting much in the same way as he had done with Malbod at Saint-Amand, he appointed a local monk named Wichard as prior.[116] Like his fellow "second generation" reformers Leduin, Roderic, and Malbod, this

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111. Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 78.
112. Koch, "Diplomatische studie," 91–92.
113. Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 104.
114. Hirschmann, "Klosterreform," 139.
115. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 88, pp. 191–92.
116. Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 104.

actual reformer of Saint-Peter was allowed to work for years in the relative security of his office before becoming abbot (1034/35–1058).[117] Even when Abbot Rodbold was briefly allowed to return as abbot,[118] Wichard stayed prior. Richard's disappearance from Saint-Peter thus made little or no difference to the actual process of reform, as its main manager remained firmly in place.

Wichard's profile as a reformist abbot closely resembles that of Malbod of Saint-Amand. Like Malbod, he was recruited from within the reformed community itself, attesting to the reformers' confidence in the institution's educational and managerial traditions.[119] With the aid of Count Baldwin V, who was more inclined than his father to support the abbey's interests, the new abbot initiated a campaign to consolidate and reconstruct the monastic domain.[120] Both with and without the count's assistance, he successfully reclaimed a large number of usurped properties.[121] He also addressed the advocacy issue, resolving a conflict over the village of Douchy.[122] Up until the middle of the eleventh century, a series of smaller donations would further expand the domain.[123] Like Malbod, he also pursued an active policy to consolidate these successes in writing. The abbey's archives were reorganized,[124] and royal and imperial privileges were obtained confirming the abbey's extensive properties.[125] Shortly after 1042, all notices and charters regarding the acquisition of properties since the mid-tenth century were compiled in a new *Liber traditionum*.[126] Wichard's *Liber traditionum,* like that commissioned in the mid-tenth century by Gerard of Brogne, was no objective compilation but a manipulated representation of the archival memory of Saint-Peter. The many forgeries and altered original texts have been the subject of extensive

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117. Ibid., 104–5.

118. Notice edited in *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen, no. 114, p. 105.

119. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 91, pp. 195–96, is an example of a charter written by Wichard himself.

120. Baldwin and his wife, Adela, are referred to as donors in Wichard's *Liber traditionum* (ed. Fayen, note following no. 113, p. 105).

121. Ibid., no. 116, p. 106; and *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 93, p. 199, and no. 95, pp. 200–201.

122. Koch, "Diplomatische studie," 105–6.

123. *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen, nos. 116–26, pp. 106–17; no. 131, pp. 123–24; and no. 133, pp. 128–30; also *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 93, p. 199, and nos. 97–110, pp. 202–10.

124. Declercq, "Classement," 333–34.

125. The charter issued by Emperor Conrad II in 1036 is in *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 4, ed. Bresslau, Wibel, and Hessel, no. 230, pp. 313–15; that by King Henry I of France from 1038 is in *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 92, pp. 196–99; and the one by the king and future emperor Henry III from 1040 is in *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 5, ed. Bresslau and Kehr, no. 49, pp. 61–63.

126. Edited in *Liber traditionum*, ed. Fayen, 1–116.

study yet continue to blur our understanding of the previous century of domanial management at the abbey.[127] Facilitating such an undertaking was the local scriptorium, which Wichard also put to work copying works of Sallustius, the astronomer Hyginus, Cassian (*Collationes*), and Aldhelm (*De laude virginitatis*). Wichard himself may have copied an illustrated manuscript of Terentius's plays.[128] He also compiled the *Annales Blandinienses*—making no reference to the recent reform—and produced at least two minor hagiographic narratives.[129] In addition, it is in that context that in 1049 he ordered the elevation of Florbert, known in hagiographic tradition as the first abbot of the oldest monastery in Ghent.[130] Despite all of this, the count's protection of the abbey did not translate into a privileged relationship. By the middle of the eleventh century, this Ghent abbey's status as the county's religious center was definitely a thing of the past, and Baldwin IV would be the last count to be buried there. Aside from a donation made by Baldwin V for the souls of his father and mother in 1037, the abbey would receive no further gifts from the counts for more than a century.[131]

Leduin became abbot of Saint-Bavo following Othelbold's death in December 1034.[132] Nothing is known of his abbacy there, and he was soon replaced by the aforementioned Rumold of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[133] Like Wichard, Rumold immediately set out to glean from Henry III confirmation of the properties, immunity, and exemption from tolls,[134] but he was deposed before the privilege actually arrived in Ghent.[135] Folbert (1038/39/40–1066), his successor, pursued the reorganization of the monastic domain and, like Richard and Malbod at Saint-Amand and Roderic at Saint-Bertin, attempted to concentrate properties and rationalize their exploitation.[136] The monastic domain, as it was reorganized under his abbacy, would persist in more or less the same form until the later Middle Ages and would be enhanced mainly by purchases rather than donations. The number of usurpations also declined

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127. Declercq, "*Liber Traditionum*," 213–552.

128. Verhulst, "Activité," 39–40, in particular.

129. *Les annales: Annales Blandinienses*, ed. Grierson; the *Visio Sanctae Aldegundis*, preserved in Ghent University Library, 224 (see Verhulst, "Activité," 42–43); and a lost *Life* of Saint Trudo (Verhulst, "L'activité," 41). See Koch, "Diplomatische studie," 106.

130. *Les annales: Annales Blandinienses*, ed. Grierson, 26; for a detailed discussion of this event and the subsequent revision of *Libellus de loco sepulturae Sancti Florberti abbatis Blandiniensis contra monachos S. Bavonis Gandensis*, see Deploige, "Twisten," 60.

131. Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 357.

132. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 35.

133. Ibid.

134. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 141, pp. 249–51.

135. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 35.

136. Verhulst, *Sint-Baafsabdij*, 114–16.
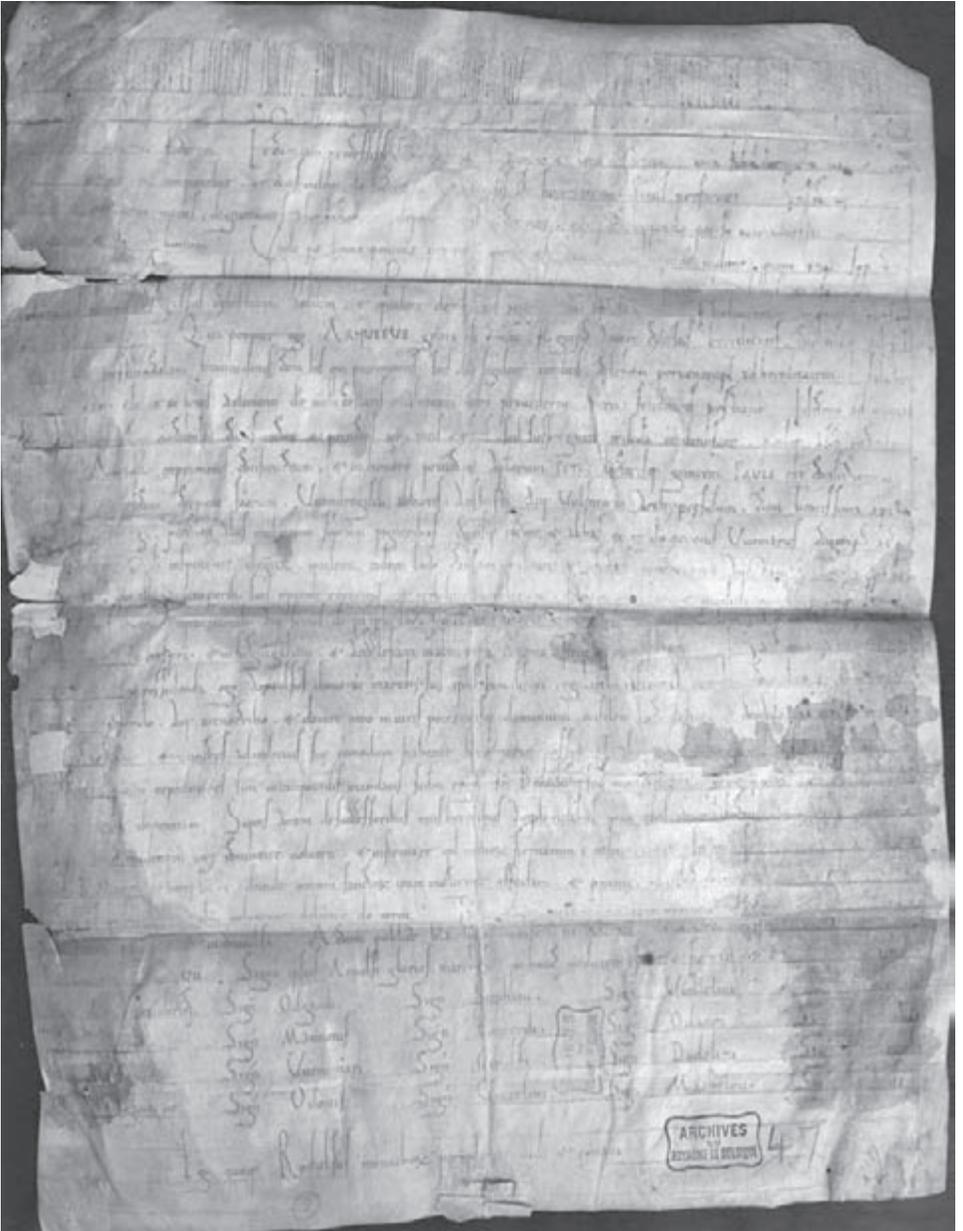
Forged charter of Count Arnulf I of Flanders to the monks of Saint-Peter in Ghent (960), early eleventh century. Ghent, Algemeen Rijksarchief, platte stukken, 28. Copyright Algemeen Rijksarchief te Gent. Reproduced with permission.

steeply. Like Wichard, he also resumed the hagiographic propaganda of his abbey. Sometime during 1049–1058, the monks compiled a *Passio Sancti Livini*, or *Passion* of Saint Livin, a text that was subsequently attributed to the eighth-century missionary Boniface.[137] At least one of its intentions was to reclaim the title of oldest monastic settlement in Ghent. In 1058, Folbert also performed an *ostensio* of the Bavo relics and, in the same year, instigated a yearly procession with the body of Saint Livin to the village of Houtem.[138] That same village was the subject of disputes with Siger of Meerbeke and Arnold, lord of Oosterzele, in the 1060s.[139] Arnold, incidentally, was most likely the brother of Gerbodo, the advocate of Arques with whom Abbot Roderic of Saint-Bertin had clashed so fiercely in the early 1040s.[140] Despite these successes, Saint-Bavo was heading for a troubled period in its history, and certainly one in which its former glory would not be recaptured.

By the second quarter of the eleventh century, the main protagonists of the reforms all firmly belonged, or committed themselves to, regional political networks. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the abbacies of several of these individuals, the example of Leduin, Roderic, and several others shows that what we should focus on in the study of reformist government is not so much its innovative character or the fact that it referred to a general reformist "program" but that the structural challenges of reformist agency were incorporated in reformist government itself. That made reformist government a necessarily cumulative, and certainly also gradual, process.

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137. Deploige, "Twisten," 61–63.

138. Ibid., 65.

139. Coens, "Translations," 61–62. The reference in Vanderputten, "Monks," 606, n. 139, is erroneous. See also Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 135–36.

140. See Vanderputten, "Monks."

❦ CHAPTER 6

Shaping Reformed Identities

Richard of Saint-Vanne had definite—if, by all accounts, conservative—ideas about how life within the monastery should be organized, particularly in four interlinked domains. One concerned internal discipline, as represented most grippingly in his circular letter from 1012–1013;[1] the second referred to the remembrance of the dead;[2] the third covered the shaping of institutional identities centered on the patron saint, his relics, and his cult;[3] and finally, there was the management of monastic book collections.[4] His agency in all of these domains is well attested, and specialists have argued that his individual behavior and preaching, as well as that of the initial circle of like-minded reformers, set standards for reformist government. This view is corroborated by medieval accounts such as the anonymous *Deeds* of the abbots of Lobbes, quoted in the introduction, and the equally anonymous *Life* of Thierry, abbot of Saint-Hubert and a former disciple of Richard, writ-

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1. Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 381–91; see the discussion of this letter and of Richard's vision of monastic obedience in chapter 4.

2. According to Hugo of Flavigny, Richard arranged for a calendar listing the patrons of Saint-Vanne to be read daily in the chapter, and he ordered every community in his care to possess a necrology (*Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 380). See also further, at n. 10.

3. Healy, *Chronicle*, 45–47.

4. See the discussion in chapter 4 and Wagner, "Richard."

ten at Lobbes between 1084 and 1091. According to the latter text, Richard "paid visit to innumerable male communities, recalling their uncultivated souls from the cult of piety to religion [itself], and instructed them to live according to his example."[5] If the many other references in contemporary and near-contemporary accounts to how the reformers transmitted their ideas about abbatial leadership, monastic discipline, relations with secular society, and other subjects can be trusted, setting examples through word and deed occupied a central place in abbots' self-conceived mission as reformers.[6]

In addition, scholars like Hallinger and Dauphin have inferred attempts at creating what Brian Stock would call a "textual community" of reformed institutions that related to all the aforementioned domains.[7] It has been suggested, for instance, that a fragmentary customary known as the *Consuetudines Sancti Vitonis Virdunensis* reflected the organization of monastic life at Saint-Vanne during Richard's abbacy,[8] and at least one twelfth-century commentator seems to allude to such fixed guidelines by claiming that his community had transmitted Richard's "institutions" for over a century.[9] Richard authored a sermon giving instructions on how to pray for the dead, and promoted the production of necrological manuscripts.[10] He also appears to have been an active letter writer, and the *Life* of Poppo claims that the monks of Stavelot assembled a volume consisting of copies of Richard's original letters to their abbot.[11] Even though the exact contents of these exhortatory letters are unknown, they may well have contained instructions relating to reformist leadership and internal discipline. Collections of *Lives* of the patron saints of reformed institutions also circulated in reformist circles,[12] and Richard himself is known to have written at least two hagiographic texts in an attempt to stimulate the veneration of the patron saints of Beaulieu and Saint-Vanne, both of which he led as abbot.[13]

Given Richard's stature as a figurehead of reform, it is tempting to overlook the fact that his and his fellow reformers' initiatives in these domains should be framed not in the context of an abstract, semi-institutionalized—and, as

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5. *Vita Theoderici abbatis Andaginensis*, ed. Wattenbach, 41.

6. On this, see Vanderputten, "*Oboedientia*."

7. For the concept of "textual communities," see Stock, *Implications*.

8. *Consuetudines Sancti Vitonis Virdunensis*, ed. Wegener and Hallinger.

9. See the introduction.

10. *Quomodo est orandum pro defunctis*, edited in Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard*, 355–56. At the end of his abbacy at Saint-Vanne, the monks produced a *Liber vitae* that was used to record the names of both members of the community and lay *familiares*; see Healy, *Chronicle*, 39.

11. The *Life* speaks of *litterae exhortatoriae*; Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 313.

12. See further, at nn. 44 and 45.

13. The aforementioned *Vita Rodingi*, ed. d'Achéry and Mabillon, 532–38 and the *Vita Sancti Vitoni Virdunensis/Libellus de miraculis sancti patris nostri Vitoni*, ed. Dauphin, 361–78.

we have seen, fictitious—reform movement, but in the personal nature of reformist networks, and in reformers' awareness of the fact that they needed to incorporate in the shaping of reformist policies each monastery's specific needs as well as its "accumulated investments." This may explain the limited distribution of Richard's writings—texts considered programmatic by some modern commentators may have gone unnoticed in the majority of reformed institutions—and the fact that most of them either concerned, or were intended for, a limited audience. His sermon *Quomodo est orandum pro defunctis* was conceived as a sermon to the monks of Saint-Vanne, and is known only through a copy from that institution; the *Liber vitae* of that institution is the only known necrology produced under Richard's supervision.[14] Likewise, his *Lives* of Rouin of Beaulieu and Vanne did not widely circulate, and their appearance in other institutions apparently has more to do with his own presence at these than with the exchange of such texts between reformed abbeys.[15] Of the former text, just one copy is known, made presumably from a copy Richard had brought to Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts, in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, when he became abbot there.[16] Of the latter, the only significant addition to the two manuscripts from the library of Saint-Vanne (one from the early 1020s, the other from the early twelfth century) is a thirteenth-century copy from Saint-Vaast, where he was abbot for over a decade.[17] Copies of Richard's letters to Poppo according to the latter's biographer were preserved by the monks of Stavelot as proof of the two men's "mutual understanding and love," not, as one might have expected, as evidence of Richard's teachings on monastic spirituality and discipline.[18] And even though his biographer Hugo of Flavigny claims that Richard was an active letter writer, with the exception of the 1012–1013 missive he fails to cite any of these. No further such texts have been preserved, and no other letter collections are documented.[19]

If there ever was an attempt at creating a reformist literate community, it was one of reformist abbots, not of reformed monastic communities. Richard's *Lives* of Rouin and Vanne concern not a cenobitic ideal accessible to all members of the *ordo monasticus*, but focus on, respectively, the depiction of a typical early medieval saintly abbot (with strong references to Richard's own

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14. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 353–54.

15. Ibid., 232–33.

16. Haubrichs, *Tholeyer Abtslisten*, 98.

17. Dauphin, *Bienheureux Richard*, 357–59.

18. Onulf and Everhelm, *Vita Popponis*, ed. Wattenbach, 313: "ut in eo amborum consensus et dilectio reperiretur."

19. A great deal of what Hugo has to say about Richard's personal behavior and spirituality was based on oral testimonies; see chapter 4, at n. 5.

career as abbot) and the cult of a holy bishop whose relics were the focus of monastic and lay veneration at the abbatial church of Saint-Vanne. Poppo's biographer's comments on the motivation behind the confection of copies of Richard's letters is also significant, for it reminds us that Richard's and like-minded reformers' focus was on the figure of the abbot, and that they invested their energies in using their networks to transmit notions of monastic leadership rather than propagating a new conception of Benedictine monasticism. In addition, awareness of the challenges of reformist agency, which seemingly permeated every documented act of the reformers, also implied that policies regarding disciplinary matters were deliberately kept flexible. This, along with the movement's reliance on the Rule and its Carolingian commentaries as disciplinary points of reference,[20] explains the lack of interest in producing programmatic texts relating to internal discipline. Certainly there is no evidence that the reformers ever published a customary; recently it has been shown that the attribution of the aforementioned *Consuetudines* to Richard's time and to the abbey of Saint-Vanne is a typical case of wishful thinking on the part of scholars hoping to find evidence for a consolidated "Lotharingian" discipline.[21] Another aspect I have already addressed is that reform, and thus also the meshing of reformist ideals and local structures and traditions, was conceived of as a process rather than a sudden, potentially rupturing transition. Teaching through word and deed lent itself far more easily to such an approach.

Thus, rather than looking for direct or indirect indications of how abbots' reformist agency was the product of a fully formed program of disciplinary and institutional intervention, or for evidence of a top-down policy to create a textual community of reformed institutions, our focus should be on trying to understand how the intentional meshing of reformist objectives with each institution's "accumulated investments" (local traditions pertaining to the liturgy, production and management of books, the cult of saints and relics, and so on) worked. To disconnect the two is to do injustice to the ingenuity of the "Richardian" reformers of the second generation and to reject the most important reason why the New Monasticism was so successful and acceptable to both ecclesiastical and lay authorities. In this chapter I will

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20. See Wagner, "Richard."

21. Following its publication in the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, the dating of the customary was first subsequently moved forward to c. 1060–1115 (by Hallinger, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum,* vol. 7, pt. 1, 196–205) or the late eleventh century (in Dierkens, *Abbayes*, 340). Although Hallinger has shown that there are linguistic and orthographic arguments to situate the customs in the region of Verdun (*Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum,* vol. 7, pt. 1, 203–5), there is no reason to situate their creation specifically at Saint-Vanne (see Reilly, *Art of Reform*, 95).

address these issues, not by a systematic analysis of such policies for all institutions concerned—several of which have been touched on in chapter 5—but by means of a case study for the policies of Leduin, abbot of Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes, concerning hagiography, the production and exchange of books, and the management of monastic libraries.

Shaping a Hagiographic Identity at Marchiennes

Leduin's intervention at the abbey of Marchiennes in 1024 was one of the most brutal episodes of monastic reform in early-eleventh-century Flanders.[22] At the instigation of Gerard of Cambrai and Count Baldwin IV, a female community was removed and replaced by Benedictine monks. Unlike the priory of Hamage, which was attached to Marchiennes around the same time, it was intended from the beginning that Marchiennes was to remain an independent monastery. This necessitated decisive action by Leduin to shape a sense of collective identity among the monastic community, at least some of whom were probably recruited from Saint-Vaast. But this is also where he immediately encountered a conundrum of considerable proportions: hagiographic tradition at the abbey focused entirely on the female identity of patroness Rictrudis.

At the time of the reform, hagiographic traditions regarding Saint Rictrudis were sufficiently well developed to resist any attempts at a *damnatio memoriae.* Her life and the early history of her monastery had been given a coherent account only at the beginning of the tenth century, when Hucbald of Saint-Amand had written a *Life* of Rictrudis.[23] Produced at the request of the clerics and nuns of Marchiennes, the text argued that Marchiennes had originally been founded by Amand as a male monastery, with Jonat as its first abbot. Jonat had then added a female community, effectively making it a double monastery. When her husband died, Rictrudis entered the monastery to lead it, as did her children Eusebia, who became abbess in her paternal grandmother's foundation, Hamage; and Mauront, who founded a monastery on ancestral lands at Breuil-sur-Lys. Rictrudis was succeeded in Marchiennes by another daughter, Clothsindis. While Marchiennes appears to have survived the Viking invasions of the late ninth century, Hamage slipped into obscurity, and patroness Eusebia's relics were brought to Marchiennes,

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22. See chapter 4.

23. For a discussion of this text and its editions, see Ugé, *Creating*, 97–109. On Hucbald, see Smith, "Hagiography"; and Smith, "Hagiographer."

effectively creating a double—if not entirely equal—saintly patronage. In the meantime, Marchiennes evolved from a double monastery into one of nuns, assisted by a small group of canons.[24] At the end of the tenth century, interest in local hagiographic traditions flared up again. Sometime during the episcopacy of Erluin of Cambrai (995–1012), John, a monk from Saint-Amand, wrote a verse *Life* of Rictrudis; in the same period a metric *Life* of Rictrudis's daughter Eusebia was also conceived.[25] Despite several incongruities between these new texts, Karine Ugé has suggested that they probably originated in the context of a simultaneous attempt to revive the cult of both saints. Apparently, it was also around this time that the body of Saint Jonat, first abbot of Marchiennes, was elevated from his grave.[26] By all accounts an obscure saint, he was first given the hagiographic treatment in a narrative known as the *Lectiones in commemoratione et transitu Sancti Ionati confessoris*.[27] The *Lectiones* comprises two distinct parts. The date of the first, a *Life* of Jonat traditionally attributed to Hucbald of Saint-Amand, remains uncertain and can only be placed between the early tenth century and the second quarter of the eleventh.[28] The second part of the narrative describes the invention of Jonat's relics and the uneventful elevation from the grave, and it dates from the late tenth century at the earliest.

When Leduin reformed Marchiennes, he was thus confronted with a fairly recent hagiographic legacy that was difficult to ignore. Evidently, it was unusual to have a male community serving under the patronage of a female saint, especially one representing the early medieval patronage of noblewomen. But to have both Rictrudis and Eusebia erased from institutional memory was not an option. In chapter 3 we have seen how the revival of the cult of local saints at late-tenth-century Marchiennes followed a trend among Benedictine institutions in Flanders to accompany the restitution of property by hagiographic justification. Because of the way in which Hucbald and his anonymous successor had represented the abbeys of Rictrudis and Eusebia as private foundations, the protection and management of Marchiennes's temporal was also tied up in a discourse that perpetuated the notion of supreme ownership by these two women of, respectively, the domains of Marchiennes and Hamage.[29] One may also speculate that recent efforts to revive the cults of these saints had had some effect on secular society, and that attempts to

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24. Ugé, *Creating*, 112–13.
25. Ibid., 127–29.
26. See chapter 3. On Jonat, see Misonne, "Jonat"; and Vanderputten, "Miracle."
27. *Lectiones in commemoratione et transitu Sancti Ionati* (see chapter 3, n. 65).
28. On the disputed dating of BHL 4447–4448, see Vanderputten, "Miracle," 55.
29. Ugé, *Creating*, 131.

intervene radically in the hagiographic tradition would not have gone down well with the abbey's extended social network, including, crucially, patrons and perhaps even pilgrims.[30]

Even if Leduin had wanted to get rid of these women and a hagiographic legacy that seemed somewhat inappropriate for a community of male Benedictines, he was unable to do so because of the "reformist" agency of previous generations. Nevertheless, he did take steps to work around this unusual situation. Key evidence can be found in Douai, BMDV, 849, which brings together the entire hagiographic legacy of Marchiennes up to that point, adding several sermons and extracts from the Gospels.[31] Scholars are divided over the dating of this manuscript. Karine Ugé argues that the poor execution of the miniatures therein suggests that it was made before the reform,[32] while art historians, for unspecified reasons, tend to date it to Leduin's abbacy.[33] Yet the fact that its version of the second part of the *Lectiones* states that the female community had already been replaced at the time of writing seems to date it firmly in the postreform period.[34] The iconography—similar to that used at Saint-Vaast, as are the quality and style of the illustrations—may seem clumsy at first sight, although its best images are no more clumsy or less effective than the illustrations in the "Giant Bible" of Saint-Vaast. In fact, it is quite possible that the manuscript was produced at the then-bustling Saint-Vaast scriptorium, or made by one or several monks trained there. During its first years as a reformed community, Marchiennes probably consisted mostly of monks recruited from Saint-Vaast, who undoubtedly brought with them the expertise they had acquired there.

Two of the most lavishly illustrated pages in the manuscript depict scenes that point to how Leduin attempted to change communal attitudes within the tight confines of hagiographic tradition.[35] Without actually intervening in the narratives' content—the exception being the reference to the former female community on folio 66v—and without adding any substantial narratives that dealt explicitly with the transition to a male community, he indicated

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30. As we will see in chapter 7, that fate would befall the monks of Saint-Bertin when Abbot Bovo carried out a controversial elevation of the body of Saint Bertin in 1052.

31. See Snijders's 2012 study of this manuscript, "Textual Diversity."

32. Ugé, *Creating*, 129–30.

33. Černý and Dion-Turkovics date the manuscript to Leduin's abbacy (respectively in "Les manuscrits," 52; and *La représentation*, 64). Denoël argues, on what grounds is unclear, that the manuscript was conceived after the reforms (Note on a manuscript from Marchiennes, 144).

34. Douai, BMDV, 849, 66v. See the discussion in Vanderputten, "Miracle" and Snijders, "Textual Diversity."

35. On this subject, see, among many others, Abou-el-Haj, *Medieval Cult;* and Carrasco, "Construction."

how the saintly patronage of the abbey was shifting. Near the middle of the manuscript, Hucbald's *Life* of Rictrudis begins with a brief prologue, followed by an overview of the different chapters. Then, below the last lines of the overview on folio 71v, there is a scene representing three saints, set in an architectural frame. The saints are identified in a contemporary hand as Rictrudis in the middle, flanked by two smaller figures, Saint Mauront on the left and Saint Jonat on the right. The architectural setting and the fact that Jonat is shown presenting a key to Rictrudis indicate that the suggested context of the scene is institutional. On the opposite page, below an elaborate initial, Rictrudis's three daughters—Adalsendis, Eusebia, and Clothsindis— are represented. They are all the same height, roughly equal to that of the two male saints, and Eusebia is portrayed in the same position as her mother. Significantly, any architectural setting, and thus any direct reference to an institutional context, is lacking, even though the hagiographic narratives in the manuscript explicitly identify Eusebia as abbess of Hamage.

This way of representing the hagiographic legacy of Marchiennes was deliberate. Ostensibly, the commissioner of the manuscript—most likely
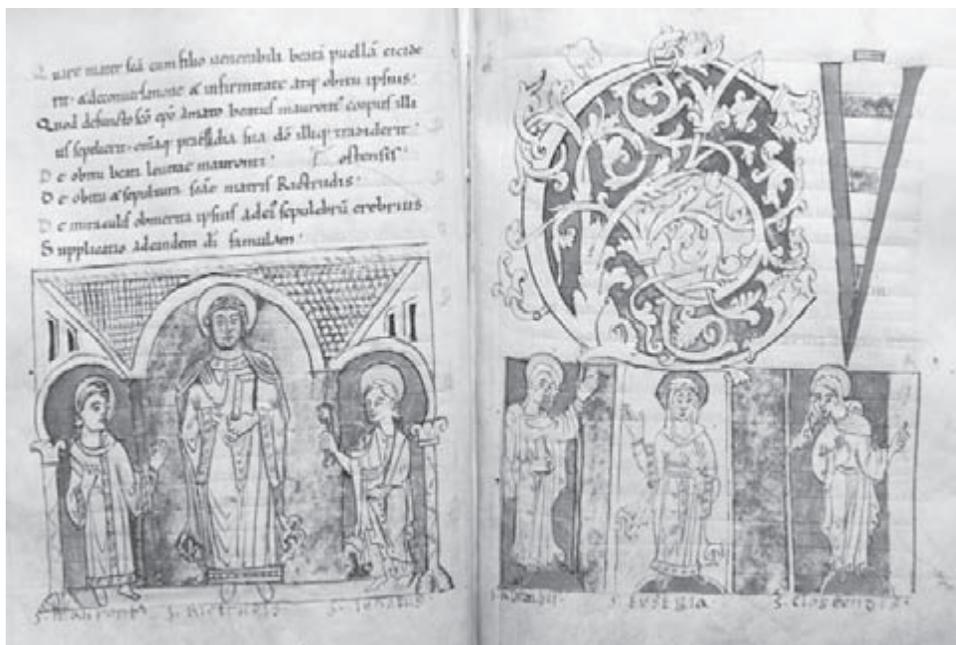
Two pages from a manuscript representing saints locally venerated at Marchiennes, c. 1024–1030. Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 849, 71v–72r. Copyright Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, photo GicA&S (UGent). Reproduced with permission.

Leduin himself—saw no way, or need, to remove Rictrudis as patroness of Marchiennes. But the scenes on folios 71v–72r strongly suggest that Eusebia was being demoted, to the benefit of two male figures, one associated with Marchiennes (Jonat), and the other with Rictrudis herself (her son Mauront). Also, the hagiographic iconography was adapted to represent the latter two as integral to Marchiennes's institutional identity. One may consider ms. 849 as an early or at least intermediary stage in the transition to a hagiographic discourse that accorded a more central role to the male characters in Rictrudian hagiography. Yet, despite the fact that folios 71v–72r presented the reader with a powerful iconographic statement of intent with respect to future hagiographic policy, and despite the fact that the texts intended for communal reading largely ignored Rictrudis in her role as patroness of the monastery,[36] the manuscript contains several clues that reveal the tentative nature of that whole enterprise. In another representation of Eusebia, on folio 33r, her position as abbess of Hamage is still visually acknowledged by an architectural setting similar to that of the representation of her mother on folio 71v; meanwhile, on folio 61v, Jonat is given the doubtful honor of appearing as a rather awkward figure in a nine-line initial. Thus, rather than resolving ambiguities over saints' status at Marchiennes, the conceivers of the manuscript's pictorial program presented readers simultaneously with the old and the new significance given to Marchiennes's male and female saints.

Early reformist government at Marchiennes was careful not to disturb or reject existing hagiographic traditions, and changes in the hierarchy of local saints, let alone interventions in hagiographic discourse, were introduced gradually. Even the "masculinization" of Marchiennes's roster of saints was not a straightforward process. The inclusion of a text on Jonat in the manuscript and perhaps also the scene on folio 71v accorded this saint a more significant role in Marchiennes's institutional history than Mauront. Hagiographic tradition at Marchiennes had corroborated this vision since at least the early tenth century, and the elevation of Jonat's body near the end of the first millennium undoubtedly helped reinforce that vision among the community and its lay and ecclesiastical networks. In the decades that followed the reform, however, it was not Jonat but Mauront who was picked out to embody the monks' quest for a male patron.[37] Even though no separate mention of this saint is made in a contemporary booklist in Brussels—Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 506—it seems that, for a short while at least, he

36. Snijders, "Textual Diversity."
37. Ugé, *Creating*, 103 and 123–25.

was abbots' preferred figure. To support this strategy, a *Life* was written from various relevant passages in his mother's hagiography.[38] The first three chapters comprise a selection of relevant passages from Hucbald's *Life* of Rictrudis, but the fourth is entirely new, claiming that on his mother's death Mauront took over the abbacy of Marchiennes and died there. As Karine Ugé points out, this is an intentioal and explicit revision of hagiographic tradition: according to previous narratives, Clothsindis had succeeded Rictrudis.[39] A single miracle account that dates an intervention by the saint to the abbacy of Alberic (1033–1048) also shows that the monks actively promoted Mauront's cult, and perhaps also the veneration of his relics. Finally, a manuscript from the first two or three decades of the reforms contains an office with neumes for Saint Mauront, indicating that attempts were made to make this saint's feast a high point in the local liturgical calendar.[40] Yet Mauront's cult was not without its problems: as early as 1024, the monks' claims regarding the preservation of Mauront's relics were challenged by the canons of Saint-Amé in Douai.[41] Perhaps because of this, by the middle of the eleventh century Jonat was established in the canon of saints with particular, if not necessarily exceptional, significance to the monastic community. It is impossible to verify whether or not the *lectiones* continued to be recited at the saint's feast (on 1 August) or on the day of his translation (8 April),[42] but at least the monks remained familiar with the site of his grave in the abbatial church.[43] By that time, Mauront had all but disappeared from the canon of patron saints at Marchiennes.

The presence of Saint Vaast in the Marchiennes booklist, along with the absence of the locally venerated female saints Eusebia, Clothsindis, and Adalsendis, is also significant. It is possible to speculate that Leduin allowed the first group of former monks of Saint-Vaast to continue venerating their "house" saints; and that perhaps, for a brief period, both Vaast and Jonat were promoted as the principal male saints at Marchiennes.[44] But the inclusion of Vaast also reflects exchanges between reformed monasteries on a much broader scale. Abbot Heribert of Saint-Ghislain (1023/24–1051),

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38. *Vita Sancti Mauronti*, ed. *AASS Maii* 2:53–54.

39. Ugé, *Creating*, 132.

40. Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 506, 46r–47v. For the full contents of this list, see appendix B.

41. Ugé, *Creating*, 131–32.

42. Extensive damage to a litany written shortly after the reform makes it impossible to ascertain whether Jonat was included (Douai, BMDV, 170, 61v–62r; see Coens, "Anciennes litanies").

43. As attested in Gualbert of Marchiennes, *Patrocinium*, ed. *AASS Maii* 3:154.

44. Saint Vaast is given a prominent place in the aforementioned litany; see n. 40 and comments in Snijders, "Textual Diversity," n. 26.

another monastery reformed under Bishop Gerard of Cambrai's supervision, apparently sent out scribes to copy the lives of saints venerated in the recently reformed houses Marchiennes, Maubeuge, Saint-Trond, and perhaps even Lobbes and Gembloux, for inclusion in a manuscript for liturgical purposes.[45] And when in 1045, Gerewin of Saint-Vanne in Verdun was appointed abbot of Saint-Riquier, he brought with him thirty-six manuscripts.[46] One of these was a miscellaneous collection of hagiographic texts, including the *Life* of Vaast; that of Bertin, patron of the abbey of Saint-Bertin; and, finally, that of Bavo, patron of Saint-Bavo in Ghent (where the aging Leduin was briefly abbot). Hagiographic narratives concerning patrons of reformed houses were thus circulated in reformist circles, and the fact that Vaast turns up in the list from Marchiennes may be a reflection of text exchange practices that transcended this particular saint's popularity with the former monks of Saint-Vaast. These exchanges are, in a sense, the most convincing indications that abbots did foster a certain sense of solidarity between reformed institutions. Still, the fact that the saints' lives collected in these manuscripts are all patron saints of specific institutions, and the fact that apparently no concerted effort was made to establish a hierarchy among them or to stimulate "reformist" cults of other saints, indicates that no one allowed such manuscripts to be used as indicators of congregational structures taking shape. And as Tjamke Snijders has argued for Heribert of Saint-Ghislain, the purpose of the new hagiographic collection at that abbey, aside from a liturgical one, was to improve the impoverished abbey's status by connecting with reformed institutions from the region, several of which were enjoying the patronage of the highest ecclesiastical and secular elites.[47] There are no indications that the leadership of institutions visited by his scribes greeted the opportunity to connect with Saint-Ghislain with much enthusiasm, and pending new discoveries it seems that his attempts at creating an informal network around his institution had little effect.

The creation of new texts, most notably those devoted to the male saints venerated at Marchiennes, fit in well with Richard of Saint-Vanne's own agency in the resurrection of obscure cults or the invention of new ones. It seems tempting, therefore, to conclude that Leduin's campaign was a faithful execution of the "reformist program" of the Lotharingian reformers. It is

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45. Snijders, "Handschriftelijke productie." Very shortly after the inclusion of the aforementioned *Lectiones* of Saint Jonat in Douai, BMDV, 849, a copy of that version was made for the abbey of Saint-Ghislain; it is now preserved as Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université, R4/G 847 codex 4.

46. Hariulf, *Chronique*, ed. Lot, 263; the complete list is on 261–64.

47. Snijders, "Handschriftelijke productie."

true, as Tjamke Snijders has argued for Marchiennes,[48] that the "disciples" and associates of Richard and Poppo were trained to accept the instrumental nature of hagiographic policies in the shaping of collective solidarities. But to look at such campaigns as straightforward implementations of a reformist program is to underestimate the challenges posed by hagiographic tradition. "Hagiographic reform," in all its aspects, was certainly a much more tentative process than has so far been acknowledged.

Shaping Reformist Book Collections

Leduin's campaign of manuscript production, like that of several of his contemporaries, was instrumental in creating a sense of solidarity within the reformed monasteries of Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes.[49] Once again there is no evidence that Richard and his closest associates imposed a strict scenario for how to achieve this goal. But they did make sure that the monastic leadership saw the creation of adequate monastic book collections as priorities, and that their networks were put to use to facilitate the transfer of know-how and technical expertise to support that process. Thus, in a significant number of institutions book production soared.[50] And from research by Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, we know for instance that Richard, on his appointment at Saint-Vaast, had brought at least one scribe with him from Saint-Vanne; this monk subsequently accompanied him to Lobbes.[51] Although the direct influence of this scribe is unclear and nothing is known of scriptorial activity during Richard's abbacy at the Arras abbey, the period roughly coinciding with that of Leduin saw the production at Saint-Vaast of some fifteen manuscripts that, despite numerous examples of scribal and artistic awkwardness, betray the presence of significant expertise at the local scriptorium.[52] The collection included works by Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus, Bede, Hegesippus, Regino of Prüm; a gradual; Gospel books; and a miscellaneous manuscript devoted to the cult of Saint Vaast. Some of the new volumes were intended for the *lectio divina*, while others were service or altar books. Finally,

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48. Some of the iconography and the selection of a number of minor, nonhagiographic texts in the manuscript refer to a baptismal and paschal symbolism that may be associated with attempts to shape a collective sense of identity in the newly formed community; see Snijders, "Textual Diversity."

49. For two recent examples, see Beach, *Women*; and Heinzer, *Klosterreform*.

50. Snijders, "Handschriftelijke productie."

51. Turcan-Verkerk, "Entre Verdun et Lobbes," 182–83. For further evidence relating to scriptorial activity under Richard, see Turcan-Verkerk, "Scriptorium."

52. On the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast in this period, see Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei"; Escudier, "Scriptorium", 1:75–82; Gameson, "Angleterre," 173; Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 48–65; and Reilly, *Art of Reform*.

there is the aforementioned "Giant Bible" of Saint-Vaast, whose iconography represented the close ideological ties between the abbot and his bishop.[53] A considerable number of personnel would have been required to achieve such a significant—if somewhat artistically and technically unbalanced—level of production. For instance, Richard Gameson's research has shown that, in the case of one other manuscript produced at the abbey—a copy of Regino of Prüm's *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*—no fewer than nine scribes were involved.[54]

It is tempting to look at manuscript production and acquisition in Saint-Vaast as the "flashpoint" implementation of Leduin's reformist goals (to assemble a book collection of the same intellectual and spiritual standards as those set by the reformers). After all, the collection as it is preserved today is an impressively extensive, and coherent, example of what a scriptorium of a relatively minor institution like Saint-Vaast was capable of in a relatively short space of time. But even if all these manuscripts were truly made under Leduin's supervision, we need to consider that he was in office for more than two decades, and that, like the building of new churches, it may have taken years or even decades before the goals we tend to look at from an atemporal perspective were actually reached. It is possible, likely even, that abbots like Leduin accorded as much importance to the process of creating instruments of collective solidarity as to their eventual use. Copying and illuminating texts were seen as a form of contemplation and divine service, and the redemptive qualities of such work are repeatedly invoked by scribes and artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[55] The monks of Saint-Vaast who were working on the copy of Regino's handbook, for instance, may have been told to do so because it helped shape individual attitudes such as obedience and humility. The fact that several unskilled scribes were involved in book production at Saint-Vaast may also indicate that monks were actually put to work not only as an individual spiritual exercise but also as a way of giving them a sense of contributing to the new monastic library, and thus to their institutions' new collective (spiritual and institutional) identity. Hence, the speed with which such a project was finished may in a certain sense have been secondary to its actual execution.

The question, then, is whether reform can be regarded as the principal motivation behind these strategies. Persuasive indications of an agency inspired by the Lotharingian reformers' ideals are, to a certain extent, belied by

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53. Arras, Médiathèque, 559; the authoritative study on this manuscript is Reilly, *Art of Reform*.
54. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 53–57.
55. Ibid., appendices.

equally persuasive evidence that pragmatic considerations were at the heart of many reformist policies. For the abbey of Saint-Ghislain in Hainaut we have already seen that the reforms were just a pretext to seek out privileged associations with prominent monastic institutions from the region. And at Saint-Bertin, the reformer Roderic, even though he had been trained in the same context as Leduin, in all likelihood did not initiate a sustained campaign of manuscript production. Some might argue that this was due to the fact that he was working in circumstances far more difficult, and with far less support from the higher elites, than Leduin. Indeed, the ensuing disasters (fire in the abbatial church, a devastating plague) and controversies (the dispute with the advocate of Arques) in all probability did not help create a climate conducive to such investments of capital and human labor, or to create a fertile ground for intellectual and artistic activity.[56] Yet there is also the obvious fact that Saint-Bertin probably had a well-stocked book collection anyway, and that Odbert's magnificent collection of manuscripts, produced just a few decades earlier, was still in the abbey's library. Among the principal masterpieces was a hagiographic volume now preserved as Boulogne-sur Mer, BM, 107,[57] which contains readings from the Gospels, a *Life* of Saint Bertin, two hymns dedicated to the saint, an office for the saint, another *Life* and *Miracles*, a sermon on the saint, antiphons for the vigil of the saint's feast, followed by Folcuin's *Life* of Folcuin of Thérouanne, an extract from the Gospel of John, and then *Life* of Sylvin, followed by that of Winnoc.[58] As Richard Gameson points out, after the famous Odbert Gospels this is the most sumptuous volume of the abbey's entire production during this period, betraying a significance at first sight belied by its modest size (276 × 193 mm). At the opening of the first *Life* of Saint Bertin (fol. 7v), the second of two full-page scenes set in architectural frames represents the enthroned saint being offered the manuscript by a monk, presumably the main scribe. Behind the saint stands a figure, possibly Odbert himself; above the scene is the hand of God. Gameson convincingly argues that this scene is a way of representing the monks' ability to enjoy a personal, direct—and thus also privileged—relationship with their patron saint. The manuscript itself is key to making that relationship possible, and one imagines that Roderic, who was not working in the easiest of circumstances, would have considered this manuscript perfect to use in the context of his own, reformist government.

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56. Roderic's metric epitaph, which was quoted in Simon's chronicle, from a stylistic point of view is distinctly less accomplished than those of his successors Bovo and John (Simon, *Chronicon*, resp. 638, 639, and 643).

57. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 43–45 (with bibliographic references). See also chapter 3.

58. Based on Snijders, "Ordinare & communicare," CD-ROM.

Leduin would probably have agreed. Although the situation was different in Marchiennes, with the female-to-male transition creating additional challenges, at Saint-Vaast he may not have bothered to invest such considerable resources in the production of a new manuscript dedicated to Saint Vaast had one existed of a quality and use similar to Boulogne-Sur-Mer, BM, 107. In the event, he did commission the production of a lavishly decorated manuscript now preserved as Arras, Médiathèque, 734,[59] which serves the same purpose as the volume for Saint-Bertin, similarly setting out to represent and enable direct contact between the saint and his servants.[60] While ms. 734 was unquestionably created in the context of reform, neither the typology of the texts nor most of the texts themselves were new or in any way different from tenth-century examples like the one made at Saint-Bertin. It is also significant that, while Leduin engaged many talented and much-less-talented monks of Saint-Vaast to contribute to the scriptorium as an exercise in group building, an important manuscript like this one was clearly off-limits, and its creation was entrusted to the master scribe, Alberic. Its production, appearance, and contents all suggest that it was made in a frame of mind, and with intentions, very similar to those in which the Odbert volume had originated. On the other hand, whether Saint-Vaast already had a perfectly usable manuscript dedicated to its patron saint may not be especially relevant to our understanding of ms. 734; after all, Odbert also replaced a recent manuscript of the new *Life* of Saint Folcuin by including the text in Boulogne-Sur-Mer, BM, 107, where it represented the saint's status as one of the main saints venerated at the abbey.[61] Perhaps Leduin, while filling the gaps in his monastic library, wanted to complement this campaign with a dedicated volume to make sure that the main hagiographic manuscript used at the monastery would not pale against the splendors of the Giant Bible and other luxurious volumes. We also know that the *Life* of Saint Vaast included in the new manuscript was modified to omit a statement that Vaast had specifically indicated that he wished to be buried outside Arras's walls. Since this contradicted the monks' claim that they held the saint's body, Leduin intervened to amend the text, and to consolidate the authority of the new version of the *Life* by having it

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59. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 44–45; also Schulten, "Buchmalerei," 70–72.

60. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 57–59, gives 230 x 158 mm as the measurements, but points out that the margins were "brutally cropped." Its contents are Alcuin's *Life* of Saint Vaast, Haimo's *Miracles*, a sermon by the same author on Saint Vaast, further miracles, a translation report from Beauvais, the *Epistola Huberti presbiteri ad Haiminum*, yet more miracles, four metric hymns, and an office for the vigil of the feast of Saint Vaast (analysis based on Snijders, "Ordinare & communicare," CD-ROM).

61. See n. 57.

included in ms. 734. His monks then used the new manuscript to amend a version of the *Life* kept at the library of Marchiennes, erasing passages and adding several folios to include new ones.[62]

Whatever the circumstances of its creation, the conclusion is clear: it is not the contents, the decoration, or even the very existence of the volume that is reformist about ms. 734. Rather, it is reformist because it was commissioned by an abbot with sufficient resources to replenish a poorly stocked library, a policy to strengthen the monks' sense of solidarity around the figure of their patron saint, and a willingness to intervene in hagiographic tradition to justify his institution's popularity with patrons and pilgrims. One could hardly argue differently about Odbert's intentions when giving the order to produce Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 107. This only adds to the idea that there are arguments to support the claim that Odbert's government was, in certain respects, just as reformist as that of Leduin.

In addition to these similarities in the intended use, quality, and context of production, we also have direct indications of exchanges between the two abbeys. Conceivably Saint-Bertin influenced book production and library management at Saint-Vaast and Marchiennes. Even though the extensive production of manuscripts under Odbert did not warrant another "wave" of scriptorial activity during Roderic's abbacy, we do know that at least one monk of Saint-Bertin was put to work copying a volume of Milo of Saint-Amand's *De sobrietate* for the library of Saint-Vaast.[63] Working most likely from a manuscript made in Odbert's time, the presumed scribe Suavin named Leduin of Saint-Vaast in his preface as the intended recipient.[64] The resulting manuscript, the only one known to have been produced under Roderic's leadership, indicates that both he and Leduin were aware of the discrepancies in the composition of their respective libraries and collaborated at least once to resolve them. Ostensibly, the objective was to contribute to Leduin's efforts to create an extensive library at Saint-Vaast and to assist the already-busy scriptorium there in its activities.

It is certainly conceivable that scribes working for Leduin saw other Saint-Bertin volumes. The illumination in Douai, BMDV, 849, the hagiographic volume dedicated to the saints of Marchiennes, has been routinely dismissed as clumsy. Yet, despite the decidedly rustic character of some of the

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62. Snijders, "Handschriftelijke productie."

63. Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 48–49.

64. The commissioner, scribe, and recipient are recorded in a twelfth-century copy from the abbey of Saint-Peter at Gloucester (British Library, Royal 5 a.xi). The preface is edited in Gameson, "'Signed' Manuscripts," 71.

Scene representing Saint Eusebia in a hagiographic manuscript from Marchiennes, c. 1024–1030. Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 849, 33r. Copyright Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, photo GicA&S (UGent). Reproduced with permission.

illustrations, they actually draw on high-quality models, some of which suggest kinship with the iconographical models used by the artists who worked on the Odbert manuscripts. The aforementioned presentation miniature in Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 107—in particular the representation of saints presumably identified as Mommolin, Bertin, and Ebertramn on the preceding page—is echoed in two separate portraits of Saint Rictrudis and Saint Eusebia in Douai, BMDV, 849. Similarly, the scene of the scribe offering the manuscript to Saint Bertin is echoed in a smaller miniature representing a monk offering the Marchiennes volume. Of course, such presentation miniatures are legion in the iconography of the central Middle Ages, and a model similar to that in the Boulogne manuscript had circulated in the region at least since the late ninth century.[65] Given the fact that the scribe of the Marchiennes manuscript probably also worked at the scriptorium of Cambrai cathedral, an institution that at the time disposed of both a well-stocked library and an active scriptorium,[66] the fact that he drew inspiration from such examples is hardly surprising. Nevertheless, it remains interesting that Leduin did not feel any particular need, especially regarding the production of manuscripts central to his community's collective identity, to draw on models that departed from iconographic and stylistic tradition. In that sense too, he was a reformist abbot drawing on the "accumulated investments" of past groups of monks and ecclesiastics.

Leduin may also have furnished material to Saint-Bertin. The eleventh-century Saint-Omer, BASO, 311 from the abbey of Saint-Bertin—a composite of various texts including works by Augustine, liturgical works, and hagiographic narratives—contains a *Life* and *Miracles* of Saint Mauront. It is possible that this copy of the *Life* and *Miracles* was made in the context of exchanges between the two reformist abbots. As we have seen above, such exchanges of hagiographic texts concerning significant saints venerated at reformed abbeys are well attested.[67] But the fact that documentation relating to the obscure Saint Mauront ended up at Saint-Bertin may have had more to do with Leduin's and Roderic's shared background than with a sustained reformist policy to exchange such narratives.

Even though the production of manuscripts at Saint-Vaast provides us with a fascinating insight into Leduin's agency as a reformist abbot, it tells us relatively little about how he dealt with monastic book collections that

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65. Ibid., 45.

66. Snijders, "Textual Diversity," nn. 27, 40, and 41.

67. See above. Following the events of 1066, Abbot Seiwold of Bath found refuge in Saint-Vaast. He brought along thirty manuscripts, some of which originally came from the Saint-Bertin library (Grierson, "Les livres"; for instance Arras, Médiathèque, 195 and 1029).

predated the reforms. One manuscript that lifts a corner of the veil is the aforementioned Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 506, a volume that brings together three originally unrelated sections.[68] Folios 1–34 are a separate unit, made probably in the tenth or early eleventh century. This part of the manuscript may well originate from the former female community, although once again there is no way of verifying this. The remainder can be dated to the first half, probably second quarter, of the eleventh century. Folios 35r–43v and 48r–51r contain a sermon for the feast of All Saints but were bound erroneously with a *Life* of Sanctin and an office for Saint Mauront.[69] These pages were bound soon after their production with folios 52r–153r, which contain mainly hagiographic texts devoted to female saints transcribed by the same monk who produced the sermon for the feast of All Saints. The same person then added a table of contents on folio 153v, and a booklist at the end of the quire of the sermon for All Saints, on folio 51v. Folios 52–153 contain texts devoted to Sebastian, several male and female martyrs, saints Hunegondis, Eufrosina, Juliana, Justina, Thede, and Mary the Egyptian. This would raise questions regarding the origins of this part of the text, as the predominant presence of female saints appears to suggest a link with the prereform female community of Marchiennes. However, a quick survey of manuscripts from the central medieval period shows that the saints in question are covered in manuscripts from various male houses in the region (Saint-Bertin, Saint-Vaast, Anchin, Saint-Amand, Saint-Sépulchre in Cambrai, Saint-Ghislain, and Lobbes, among others), and that such compilations are not unusual for Benedictine monasteries in general.[70] More clues as to the dating of this part of the manuscript come from the text in folios 46r–47v. As we have seen before, Leduin actively promoted Mauront and Jonat as male tutelary saints for the male community of Marchiennes, and seeing an office for this otherwise obscure saint puts the production of this manuscript in a reformist context. More interesting, however, is the booklist on folio 51v, which is contemporary with the office for Mauront and provides us with an insight into at least part of the collection of the reformed monastery of Marchiennes.[71]

The booklist is incomplete. How much is missing cannot be verified, as the final two leaves of the quire have been cut out and the final entry of

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68. See Dolbeau, "Dossier," 89–110; Dolbeau suggests a date "either from the beginning of the eleventh century, or even from the end of the tenth" (90) or "early eleventh century" (108).

69. The most complete edition of the office is in *Historiae rhythmicae*, ed. Dreves, vol. 1, no. 77, pp. 200–201.

70. See Snijders, "Ordinare & communicare," CD-ROM. Also, Philippart, *Légendiers*, 87.

71. The instrumental nature of book collections for the shaping of collective identities in reformed monasteries was demonstrated in Hotchin, "Women's Reading."

the list appears to have been erased. What remains are the titles of thirty-seven volumes corresponding to at least part of the nonliturgical sections of the monastic library and omitting any books that may have belonged to the—unattested—*schola*. Nearly all the books listed are relevant to a life of contemplation. Bible commentaries are complemented by a small, conservative selection of homiletic texts (including works by Augustine, Gregory, and Bede, and several anonymous collections) and various other treatises (by Bede, Isidore of Seville, and Paschasius Radbertus), some of which (for instance, Gregory's *Homilies on Ezechiel*) were written specifically for a monastic audience. Another significant group of books deals specifically with the monastic vocation: Smaragdus's *Diadema monachorum* (and perhaps also his commentary on the *Rule* of Saint Benedict) and Ephrem Syrus's *De humilitate vel opera monachorum* are joined in the list by no fewer than three copies of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* itself. The emphasis on works that carried immediate relevance to a monastic agenda is also reflected in the hagiographic volumes, which contained *Lives* and *Passions* of saints who were particularly venerated at the abbey (Rictrudis, Jonat) and other figures considered important for their involvement in regional monasticism (Amand, Vaast) or, as in the cases of Saint Anthony and Saint Basil, in the origins of monastic life itself. No volumes with biblical texts are listed, except for an *Acts* that ostensibly merited inclusion because of its formal resemblance to hagiographic narratives. Works of scientific or literary interest are also absent, while their actual presence in the collection of the newly reformed monastery of Marchiennes (after all, only a very minor institution at that time) is evidently less certain than that of biblical manuscripts. Despite all that is presumably or definitely missing, the interest of the compiler in demonstrating the ideological homogeneity and Benedictine orientation of the monastic library is evident.

A lack of evidence also makes it difficult to assess what books the reformers found essential to the reformed communities and whether their attitudes to monastic book use were in any way innovative. Apparently Richard, although a learned man and keen to foster monastic education, was no bibliophile and was primarily concerned with the availability of liturgical handbooks[72] and the basic biblical and patristic texts for monastic use.[73] Eighteen manuscripts dating from before the twelfth century have been identified from Richard's

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72. Turcan-Verkerk, "Entre Verdun et Lobbes," 182–83, and Turcan-Verkerk, "Scriptorium."

73. There is little evidence of Richard's interest in classical authors; see Turcan-Verkerk, "Entre Verdun et Lobbes," 184, for indications that during Richard's first decades as abbot in Verdun few classical titles figured in the monastic library. This corroborates the notion that Wichard of Saint-Peter's interest in the classics had very little to do with his association with the reformist movement, and a great deal with local educational and intellectual tradition; see chapter 5.

mother abbey of Saint-Vanne in Verdun, most of which date from the first decades after the reform of that abbey. Although significantly lacking in works by Gregory the Great and by pagan authors, their contents indicate that reformed monastic life relied on a traditional mixture of biblical and patristic literature:[74] Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianze and John Chrysostomus, Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Alcuin's *De trinitate*, complemented by mathematical and astronomical treatises, Benedict of Aniane's *Concordantia regularum*, a handbook of ecclesiastical law, modest treatises on doctrine and catechization, an evangeliary, a florilegium, and a collection of hagiographic narratives.[75] Although these manuscripts undoubtedly offer but a glimpse into the early-eleventh-century additions to the library of Saint-Vanne, they at least indicate that Richard strove to create a core collection that was hardly different from those found in nonreformed monasteries.[76] Unfortunately, the fact that so few contemporary booklists or modern catalogs of manuscripts are available makes it difficult to verify this and to carry out research on the impact of the reforms on other communities. From Lobbes, we have an extensive catalog of the conventual library dated 1049.[77] Although it is certainly one of the most important eleventh-century documents of this kind, its contents withstand attempts to discern significant additions or changes made to the collection during and after Richard's abbacy, and to associate them with the ideology of the reforms, or with any specific reformist policies.[78] Catalogs and booklists from the monasteries of Saint-Amand,[79] Saint-Vaast in Arras,[80] and Saint-Laurent in Liège,[81] all three of which were directly involved in the reforms, date from the twelfth century and present the same methodological problems as the list from Lobbes.

Common sense, as well as the example of Roderic's dealings with his monastic library, suggests that the prereform collection of books at Marchiennes was not replaced in toto by a new one. While a number of volumes were created in the aftermath of the reforms (for example, the aforementioned Douai, BMDV, 849), and older volumes were dismantled and reassembled to create new books considered suitable for use by the new communities

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74. See the material presented in Paulmier-Foucart and Wagner, "Lire," 12–13.

75. Ibid., 16–17.

76. See Wagner, "Richard."

77. See Dolbeau, "Bibliothèque."

78. Such objectives are less evident in the contemporary booklists from Lobbes (972–990 and 1049; edited in *Corpus catalogorum Belgii* 4:252–54 and 255–69); and Anchin (late eleventh century; Gessler, *Bibliothèque scolaire*).

79. Edited in *Cabinet*, ed. Delisle, 2:448–58.

80. Edited in Grierson, "Bibliothèque."

81. *Corpus catalogorum Belgii,* 2:113–14.

(manuscript 506 itself being the most notable example), attempts to identify some of the surviving manuscripts from Marchiennes with the titles in the booklists have shown that at least a few may have belonged to the prereform library of Marchiennes or, it may be hypothesized, to that of any monastery in which the reformers worked. The dramatic circumstances of the reform at Marchiennes also prevent us from extrapolating the conclusions one may draw from this list to other houses. Communities such as Lobbes, where the transition to a new regime was less eventful or where a rich library was already in place, nurtured a more complicated relationship with their past and former book collections, which is likely to have had repercussions on the nature and composition of the libraries at these institutions once they were reformed.

While hagiographic policies and those relating to scriptorial activity were in-strumental in creating a sense of solidarity and common purpose in reformed communities, critical analysis of contemporary evidence reveals that such policies were implemented far less brutally, or immediately, than has previ-ously been assumed. The hagiographic production, manuscripts, and booklist of Marchiennes, for instance, provide us with unusually rich documentation of the complex considerations that determined a reformist abbot's agency in this domain of monastic culture. Existing hagiographic and scriptorial tradi-tions, the availability of a well-furnished monastic library, or lack thereof, and the embedding of a saint's cult in prereform legitimizing discourse—all of these factors determined to what extent abbots were at liberty, or felt the need, to intervene in these traditions. Thus, Abbot Roderic of Saint-Bertin may have been content to use the sumptuous manuscript produced around the year 1000 by his predecessor Odbert, whereas Leduin invested a great deal of human and material resources in the production of a very similar one for Saint-Vaast. Despite this intense activity, Leduin's behavior reveals a streak of conservatism that may not have been misplaced in the inevitably tense aftermath of the reforms. In addition to the fundamental conservatism of the reformers' views on monastic reading, the apparently circumspect way in which he seems to have introduced Mauront and Jonat as prominent saints in Marchiennes says a great deal about the reformer's attitude toward the "accumulated investments" of their institutions.

CHAPTER 7

The "Waning" of Reformed Monasticism

In his seminal article from 1986, "The Crisis of Cenobitism Reconsidered," John van Engen argued persuasively that the challenges facing traditional Benedictine monasticism between c. 1050 and 1150 had an invigorating effect.[1] Until then, the consensus had been that the sudden emergence of new forms of religious communal life in the mid- to late eleventh century was due to "old-style" monasticism's loss of its ability to meet the expectations of secular society and to impose on its members a way of life that corresponded in both spirit and practice with the norm of Benedict's Rule.[2] As van Engen showed, this argument derives largely from the accounts of reformist authors, who relied on a narrative theme that postulated decline as a necessary condition to the reforms of the early twelfth century, and from criticisms by representatives of the new orders regarding the real or perceived excesses of traditional Benedictinism. Under the influence of various factors, including the reform movement within the church, demographic growth, the changing nature of the economy and of political power, and new expectations regarding the laity's involvement in religious practices, traditional monastic groups of the mid- to late eleventh century

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1. Van Engen, "Crisis."
2. Morin, "Rainaud"; Dereine, "Odon"; Leclercq, "Crise"; Cantor, "Crisis."

had successfully adapted their recruitment policies, changed their attitudes toward connecting with lay society, and began looking for ways to create suprainstitutional networks. Overall, society's response to these interventions was positive, and Benedictine monasticism grew dramatically, both as new foundations and in terms of recruitment. While the initial success of alternative forms of religious organization drew more attention from contemporary commentators, and while the voices of the critics of traditional monasticism were often louder than its defenders, Benedictinism reached the pinnacle of its expansion in the decades around 1100.

The county of Flanders is a good case in point. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the region counted six monasteries, all of which had been founded in the seventh century: Saint-Bertin, Saint-Vaast, Saint-Peter, and Saint-Bavo in Ghent; Saint-Amand; and the nunnery of Marchiennes. In the 1020s, Marchiennes was commuted into a male monastery, while houses of canons in Bergues-Saint-Winnoc and Denain were turned into Benedictine monasteries. Alongside these institutions were a considerable number of collegiate churches, houses of secular canons, and various other institutions, many of which had been founded or patronized by the comital dynasty. Then, from the mid-eleventh century onward, the religious landscape of Flanders was transformed. As the number of houses of secular and regular canons and other types of religious institutions exploded,[3] the number of Benedictine institutions increased, first gradually, then, as the turn of the century grew nearer, rapidly. Between the years 1060 and c. 1100, at least eight new ones were founded: Hasnon, Ename, Saint-Jean-au-Mont, Oudenburg, Saint-Martin in Tournai, Grammont, and the female monastery of Messines. Just across the border, the lay elites in some of Flanders' satellite counties were involved in founding, among others, the monasteries of Auchy-les-Moines, Ham, La Beuvrière, Andres, and the priory of Hesdin.[4] From neighboring Hainaut and Brabant, respectively, the abbeys of Anchin and Affligem exercised the most influence in Flanders and acquired several priories on its territory.[5] The wave of foundations continued for at least two decades beyond the year 1100; with some notable exceptions (Countess Clementia's foundation of the nunnery of Bourbourg an important one),[6]

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3. See Meijns, "Ordre"; and Meijns, "Réorientation."

4. See De Moreau, *Histoire*, esp. map 1; Delmaire, *Diocèse d'Arras*; and Gerzaguet, "Crises." For the many foundations between c. 1100 and 1120, see Vanderputten, "Crises."

5. Gerzaguet, *Abbaye d'Anchin; Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 231–38.

6. Schmitz, "Bourbourg."

institutions founded after the turn of the century were either created as, or soon converted into, male or female priories.[7]

In traditional accounts of the late-eleventh-century history of Benedictinism in Flanders scholars have argued that the newer foundations were created specifically as a response to the growing redundancy of traditional cenobitism, and that these communities were driven by, on the one hand, a strong apostolic zeal and, on the other, an interest in emulating the Cluniac customs.[8] At least in the case of one such foundation, namely that of Affligem, we now know that a chronicler writing in the mid-twelfth century projected apostolic leanings on the first community in an imitation of early Cistercian foundation stories.[9] As for the role of institutions like Anchin, Affligem, and Saint-Martin in the introduction of the Cluniac customary in the Low Countries, scholarly discussions have been plagued by muddy reasoning and a reliance on evidence that is both late and unreliable.[10] In addition, these accounts have generally looked at the history of the older Benedictine monasteries, those reformed or founded in the early eleventh century, as one that was marked by instititutional and disciplinary decline, a situation that was supposedly only remediated with the next "wave" of reforms in the early twelfth century. Certainly there were difficult phases in the histories of individual monasteries. But scholarship has displayed a tendency to rely on evidence of such phases to accommodate the apologetic discourse of reformist authors, which ignores the dynamics in institutional development following the reforms of the early eleventh century and postulates the necessity of those of the early twelfth.[11] Before claiming that the older Benedictine institutions were in a general state of crisis prior to the reforms of the twelfth century, we therefore need "to determine when . . . ruinations multiplied into an irreversible trend, as the 'crisis' interpretation suggests it did during the years 1050–1150, or when these represented isolated cases that awaited the next reforming abbot, bishop, or lord."[12]

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7. For the examples of the male priories of Saint-André and Bornem, see below. For further literature on the foundation of female monasteries and priories in Flanders, see Vanderputten, "Female Monasticism."

8. The relevant literature is summarized in De Grieck, *Benedictijnse geschiedschrijving*, 69–73.

9. The precise context in which the abbey of Affligem was founded has been the subject of intense debates; for the state of the art, see *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, 231–38.

10. For an extensive discussion of the evidence and of the twelfth-century Cluniac customaries from monasteries in the Low Countries, see Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform."

11. See chapter 1.

12. Van Engen, "Crisis," 275.

In this chapter, rather than trying to provide a general account of Benedictine history in late-eleventh-century Flanders, or to answer the now-redundant question "Was there a regional crisis of cenobitism?" I will look specifically at the dynamics of institutional development in the "older" institutions. Central here is the argument that there is no justification in the primary evidence to approach the eleventh-century history of traditional monasticism in this region merely as an intermediary period between two phases of reform.[13] Following a period of intense institutional challenges, caused among others by the loss of former patrons alongside "endemic" factors, several abbots of "older" houses initiated a process of restoration and reform that has so far eluded the closer scrutiny of scholars. For some monasteries, in particular the abbey of Saint-Bertin, the prudent restorative leadership of late-eleventh-century abbots paved the way for a restoration of former associations with highly placed patrons, the counts of Flanders in particular, and for a return to a leading role in regional monasticism. Importantly, the effects of these processes and developments were felt before there were any indications of the impending "wave" of reform, and largely—in a way that reminds us of the "path dependency" of institutional development in the early eleventh century—determined its course.

The Crisis at Saint-Bertin

Let us return one last time to Simon's account of the institutional past of Saint-Bertin. In reconstructing the abbey's institutional development and deconstructing the chronicler's story, we arrived in chapter 5 at the end of Roderic's abbacy (1021–1042). As illustrated in chapter 1, Simon's account of the years between the reform in 1021 and 1095 is centered on the continuity of reformist government and on the fact that, in essence, Abbot Lambert's reform of 1099/1100 was little more than an intervention to bring the modalities and instruments of Roderic's reformist policies up to date, and to remedy the inevitable relaxation of monastic discipline after nearly eight decades of tranquil institutional development. Thus, the tenures of Bovo (1042–1065), Heribert (1065–1082), and John (1082–1095) are represented as a period during which the community's leadership maintained, through their individual virtues as monks and their qualities as abbots, the standard of government set by the early-eleventh-century reformers.

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13. Vanderputten and Meijns, "Realities"; Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

By presenting a vision of monastic development that was relatively free of incidents, Simon's chronicle deliberately conceals from its readership an institutional reality that had been far from stable. The evidence relating to Bovo's government in particular is heavily manipulated. In the text, he is described as an abbot "who was an outstanding imitator of [Roderic's] virtues and inclination toward the divine cult."[14] This, Simon seems to argue, resulted in a series of achievements that translated the impetus given by Roderic into institutional progress. One of Bovo's major achievements as an abbot was to begin rebuilding, in 1046, the abbatial church that had burned down in 1033.[15] During construction works on the site of the main altar, the body of Saint Bertin was discovered in a coffin made of lead. On 2 May 1052, on the Sunday of the week when a market was held for foreign tradesmen in the town of Saint-Omer, the saint's body was elevated. Bovo ordained that henceforth that day would be celebrated as a yearly feast, and he committed his account of the events to writing.[16] His successes were consolidated in 1057, when he obtained a papal privilege confirming, among other things, the abbot's free disposition of the abbey's properties and the right of free abbatial election and restrictions on the local bishop's access to the monastery.[17] Then, on returning from an unspecified mission to Rome, Bovo brought with him relics of Saint Denis, which he had received as a blessing at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis; following a procession with his community, he placed them with the body of Saint Bertin.[18] Finally, Simon describes the contents of the aforementioned 1042 agreement with the abbey's advocate in Arques, which he dates at 1056.[19] To Simon, the charter demonstrated Bovo's ability to keep the abbey's advocate in check and to successfully request the count's assistance in what was essentially a local dispute. Considered together, these achievements demonstrated how Bovo in every sense was an abbot who managed, in the relatively modest setting of his leadership of Saint-Bertin, to emulate the great reformers of the previous generation. Like them, he is

14. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 179.

15. Ibid. The starting date of the work is attested in Bovo's *Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 527–28. At the time of his death, works were still under way. On the deambulatory crypt that was also under construction, see Héliot, *Églises*, 1:421.

16. Bovo, *Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger; discussed in Ugé, *Creating*, 72–90.

17. The privilege is edited in *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 180–83; see Morelle, "Par delà," 53–65; also, Dereine, "Limites."

18. De Laplane, *Abbés*, 1:154, also mentions nails from the holy cross.

19. De Witte's transcription is in Saint-Omer, BASO, 803/1, no. 75, pp. 101–5; see Vanderputten, "Monks."

praised for his personal devotion to asceticism and prayer, strong internal leadership, and an ability to successfully interact with the outside world, both in the monks' interest and in that of society at large. The discovery of the patron saint's relics, and their subsequent exhumation, echo Richard's own staged discovery of the bodies of several saintly bishops at the abbatial church of Saint-Vanne in Verdun;[20] similarly, Bovo's authorship of a report of those events echoes Richard's activity as a hagiographer.[21] Less relevant to the early-eleventh-century reformers, but very much so to the Cluniac reformers of around 1100, the privilege granting exemption from episcopal interference in the abbey's affairs presaged, as it were, Lambert's reformist agency. Thus, Simon's account of Bovo's abbacy is molded to represent the latter's government as a crucial link between the ideal of abbatial leadership implemented by the early-eleventh-century reformers and that set by the Cluniac reformers of around the year 1100.

It may seem surprising that Simon neglects to mention a number of sources that further document Bovo's agency in safeguarding, restoring, and expanding the monastic estate.[22] In 1051, he and the count of Saint-Pol reached an agreement over the shared management of the Heuchin estate.[23] In 1054, the aging Gerbodo, advocate of Arques, and his wife, Ada, gave the abbey an alod comprising a third of the village of Oosterzele, where his brother Arnulf was lord.[24] Nine years later, Bovo would reach an agreement with that same Arnulf over the lifelong usufruct of the same property.[25] And in 1056, the monastic community requested, and was granted, a renewal of the 1015 privilege confirming its properties in the empire.[26] In addition to whatever was new about their contents, these documents are also significant in that they show how Bovo was keen—more so than his predecessors—to consolidate some of the crucial transactions from his abbacy in a written form and to obtain confirmation of older privileges. In this sense, too, his leadership mirrored that of Richard in his later years, and that of several

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20. See, among others, Wagner, "Collections," 504–10; and Goullet and Wagner, "Reliques."
21. See n. 16; on Richard's attitudes, see Healy, *Chronicle*, 45–47 and chapter 6.
22. In his account of the rediscovery of Bertin's body, Bovo also vaguely refers to a reunification of the community of canons of Saint-Omer and the monks of Saint-Bertin, even though this has proved difficult to substantiate; see Ugé, *Creating*, 85.
23. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 73, pp. 26–27.
24. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 201; also *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 75, pp. 27–28.
25. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 80, pp. 30–31.
26. Ibid., no. 78, pp. 28–29.

mid-eleventh-century abbots, such as Wichard of Saint-Peter and Malbod of Saint-Amand. However, as we have seen in chapters 1 and 3, that evidence was left out of Simon's chronicle for various reasons, some of which probably relate to Saint-Bertin's and Flanders' situation around 1100. By the end of the eleventh century, the count of Saint-Pol had become a major rival to the count of Flanders;[27] relations between the empire and Flanders had become less than friendly;[28] and Saint-Bertin had finally rid itself of the Gerbodo clan.[29]

But Simon's treatment of Bovo's leadership does more than present the evidence in such a way as to signify continuities in reformist leadership and airbrush out delicate political alliances of the past. The urge to connect two reforms at Saint-Bertin was so great, as was that of suggesting stability in institutional development, that Simon also avoided suggesting that, already during the latter part of Roderic's abbacy, an institutional crisis had been looming. As we have seen in chapter 1, the account of the fire at the monastery and the epidemic that ravaged the community in the 1030s was moved forward in the narrative, making it look like both events predated the real beginning of Roderic's reformist government. In reality, both happened right in the middle of it, and probably constituted a major setback, both psychologically and in a material sense, to Roderic's policies. Given the way in which the reformers conceived of the abbatial church as the principal meeting place of the monks with the outside world and a physical representation of their service to society, the destruction of the location where the relics of Saint Bertin were preserved and shown to pilgrims must have been a symbolic and material loss of catastrophic proportions. For instance, in his account of the elevation of Saint Bertin, Bovo himself wrote that, following these events, the abbey soon turned into a "thieves' den" and that discipline lapsed.[30] These comments, which Simon adopted and moved to his discussion of the abbacy of Hemfrid as a way of justifying the 1021 reform, undoubtedly present an exaggerated picture of reality. Yet it may have been no coincidence that the aforementioned tensions with Gerbodo, the monks' lay advocate in Arques, came to a head shortly after these devastating events. And as we have seen in chapter 5, the troubles at Saint-Bertin also created an opportunity never anticipated by the recently appointed Rumold of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc

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27. Nieus, *Pouvoir*.
28. See also chapter 3.
29. See chapters 1 and 3.
30. Bovo, *Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 517–18.

(1033–1068) to emancipate his community from Saint-Bertin. Thus, instead of ending his abbacy as a successful reformer, as Simon suggested, Roderic had been forced into the role of crisis manager, trying to salvage what was left of a decimated, financially and physically beleaguered, and psychologically traumatized community. Without the support of the abbey's former main patron, the count of Flanders, that process was going to be arduous.

Count Baldwin VI's 1067 charter for Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, the burgeoning production of hagiographic narratives at that abbey, and the more modest creation of new texts at Saint-Bertin provide a vantage point from which to assess the precarious situation of Saint-Bertin during Bovo's abbacy.[31] Both abbeys were situated in or very near centers of commerce, to which large numbers of potential patrons and pilgrims could be attracted. But whereas Rumold's efforts yielded significant wealth from property donations and other gifts, Bovo's efforts to stimulate the veneration of relics at Saint-Bertin were—to understate the facts—unsuccessful. As Karine Ugé has shown, and contrary to what Simon suggests, the rediscovery of Saint Bertin's body was a highly disputed affair. The principal reason for this was quite simple: the abbey already had relics of this saint, yet the newly discovered body was claimed to be complete; the discovery itself also may have been clumsily orchestrated. In his account of the events, Bovo himself indicates that ignorant laypeople (*vulgus minus intelligens*) reacted badly to news of the discovery,[32] and that ecclesiastical authorities as well as the abbey's main lay patrons reacted cautiously. The exhumation was delayed several times by prelates reluctant to approve of the ceremony, and when it finally took place, the count did not attend; only his spouse, Adela, was present.[33] Perhaps indicative of the meager rewards of the exhumation is the fact that the construction of the new church—admittedly a project of considerable amplitude—progressed slowly. Bovo himself died leaving an unfinished building; construction was further delayed when, in 1079, even before the roof was constructed, the new church burned down. For several years nothing happened, until work was resumed under Abbot John.[34] When the new church was eventually consecrated in 1106, it was the first time in seventy-three years that the monks of Saint-Bertin finally had at their disposal a fully functional abbatial church.[35] For much of the intermediary period,

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31. On the 1067 charter and the local hagiography at Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, see chapter 5.
32. Bovo, *Relatio de inventione et elevatione Sancti Bertini*, ed. Holder-Egger, 531.
33. Ugé, *Creating*, 87.
34. Simon, *Chronicon*, 199–200.
35. Ibid., 224.

the community had hardly been flourishing. The abbey's archives from the period between c. 1050 and the beginning of the 1090s contain no record of significant donations.[36] And while the 1056 and 1057 privileges certainly were successes for Bovo, they probably did little to change the monks' financial and competitive situation, at least not in the shorter term.

Besides yielding few material and symbolic rewards, Bovo's actions also created further ruptures in an already traumatized community. Apparently the monks perceived Bovo's dealings with the new relics of Saint Bertin as a project that grossly overstated his real achievements to restore the abbey to its tenth- and early-eleventh-century glory. Their reaction to the discovery was tepid, in some cases even dismissive.[37] At least one member of the community, a monk named Folcard, may have tried to counter Bovo's self-serving dealings with their patron saint by composing a hagiographic narrative that focused on the saint's childhood.[38] This failed to make much impact, and eventually Folcard was forced to leave the abbey. Like another monk of Saint-Bertin who, in 1041–1042, had composed the *Encomium Emmae reginae*, Folcard sought patronage with the Anglo-Saxon queen Emma or, possibly through the intermediary of the exiled Flemish clan of the Godwins, with Queen Edith. He was eventually introduced to Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1047–1061) and York (1061–1069), who managed to have him elected as abbot of Thorney sometime around 1068.[39] Goscelin, another monk from Saint-Bertin, also left the abbey sometime between 1058 and 1064, and he went on to produce a significant body of hagiographic work for, among other abbeys, Ely.[40] Some scholars have considered these authors and their work as witness to Saint-Bertin's status and efflorescence; but there are just as many reasons to consider their departure from the Flemish abbey as a brain drain caused by the uncertainties of current life at Saint-Bertin.

Reformed Monasticism and the Counts of Flanders

The above analysis of the case of Saint-Bertin yields anything but the stable image Simon portrayed of this abbey's development in the second and third

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36. In 1065, the monks received an alod in the county of Guînes from two brothers named Roger and Stephen (*Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 81, p. 31), and the next year they were given a piece of land from a man named Lidbert of Cosebronne (ibid., no. 82, p. 32).

37. Ugé, *Creating*, 86.

38. Folcard, *Vita quarta Sancti Bertini*, ed. *AASS Septembri* 2:604–13.

39. See Van Houts, "Flemish Contribution," 115–16; also Clover, "Folcard."

40. Van Houts, "Flemish Contribution," 115, n. 24.

quarter of the eleventh century. Some of the reasons for this instability were endemic, and were related to a series of misfortunes that befell the community, its specific economic, social, and political situation, and the unsuccessful way in which Bovo in particular tried to capitalize on the "accumulated investments" of his institution. But a number of general causes, relevant to all of Flanders' Benedictine institutions, also need to be taken into consideration. For one, the system of redemptive gift giving to monastic institutions floundered—at least as far as we can ascertain from the surviving documentation—and usurpations and disputes with lay officers were rife. Underlying these challenges to institutional continuity and stability was the loss of comital support. The reformed monasteries all suffered as the counts of Flanders became less involved with their former *Eigenklöster* and began to invest more in the patronage of houses of secular canons.[41] At Saint-Peter in Ghent, Baldwin V made one final donation for the souls of his father and mother in 1037. Following that, the abbey would receive no further such gifts for more than a century.[42] In fact, none of the former comital monasteries received any significant privileges or concessions, and the count appears to have been more interested in establishing and maintaining his fiscal and juridical rights as high advocate of these institutions than in maintaining or renewing a privileged association with them.[43] One of the causes of this estrangement was the fact that, from Baldwin VI onward, members of the comital family abandoned the tradition of using one particular institution as their familial necropolis. Rather than focusing on dynastic identity in their burial practices, they now shifted to a mode of conduct in which their individual personality and achievements became the focus of attention. The foundation of new ecclesiastical institutions and their use as personal burial places marked the transition of the count's power base from one that was essentially rooted in personal networks to a territorial one, rooted in institutions.[44]

Nevertheless, to pursue this policy the counts and their relatives needed considerable input from the established ecclesiastical elites, in particular the monastic institutions. We have already seen how the community of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc benefited from Saint-Bertin's difficulties and from its relative freedom to create competitive advantages. In 1055–1056, the abbot of

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41. See generally Meijns, *Aken*.
42. Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 357.
43. For an overview of comital privileges from the reign of Robert I, see Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 132; on the advocacy, see ibid., 132–33.
44. Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 371.

Saint-Bertin was among those ecclesiastical dignitaries who assisted in the foundation of the chapter of Saint-Pierre in Lille, which would become Baldwin V's final resting place.[45] In 1057, Baldwin's wife, Adela, called on the abbess of Denain to found her own Benedictine monastery of Messines, and its first abbess, Frisildis, was recruited from there.[46] Adela was buried at Messines, and while Denain quickly faded into obscurity, Messines flourished. Something similar, albeit on a less disastrous scale, happened with Saint-Amand. As we have seen in chapter 5, at the end of his life, Malbod, Richard's successor as abbot, was called on by Count Baldwin V to assist in creating a Benedictine monastery at Hasnon. With the help of Malbod's monks, the new community quickly gathered momentum, and its ascent was soon as steep as the decline of Saint-Amand. On 3 June 1070, the new church of Hasnon was dedicated,[47] and when Count Baldwin VI died on 17 July of the same year, he was buried there.[48] So was his wife, Richildis, who died in 1086.[49] In the meantime, the abbey of Saint-Amand was devastated by a fire in 1066, and the monks were forced to organize a translation of the body of their patron saint in order to collect funds for the construction of new buildings.[50] Malbod's successor, Fulcard/Lambert (1062–1076), managed to expand the monastic temporal, but nevertheless struggled to restore the abbey to its former glory. Along with the abbey's privileged political status, lay patrons' inclination to bestow the abbey with gifts also evaporated. Following the death of Malbod, donations almost ceased completely,[51] and the new abbot was unable to prevent a surge of alienations that would trouble the community for decades to come.[52] Very soon, Saint-Amand also became embroiled in a conflict with Hasnon over the mills both abbeys claimed to own on the River Scarpe.[53] While relations between Hasnon

45. Ibid., 357–59.

46. Huyghebaert, "Abbaye de Notre-Dame," 217; also Huyghebaert, "Abbesse Frisilde"; and Huyghebaert, "Adela." On Denain, see Gerzaguet, *Abbaye féminine*.

47. *Historia monasterii Hasnoniensis*, ed. Holder-Egger, 156–57; see Bozóky, "Politique," 273 and 282.

48. Declercq, "Entre mémoire dynastique," 362.

49. *Statistique archéologique*, 426.

50. Platelle, *Temporel*, 124–25; the journey was reported in the contemporary *Miracula Amandi in itinere Gallico*, ed. *AASS Februarii* 1:895–900. In 1060, the monks of Lobbes had undertaken a similar *circumlatio* in Flanders: it is reported in the *Miracula secunda Ursmari Lobiensis*, ed. *AASS Aprilis* 2:573–78. See Koziol, "Monks"; and Charruadas, "Principauté."

51. Platelle, *Temporel*, 150.

52. Ibid., 123–25.

53. Ibid., 123; the conflict is described in *De lite abbatiarum Elnonensis et Hasnoniensis anno 1055–1091*, ed. Holder-Egger, 158–60.

and Saint-Amand would never become as confrontational as those between Bergues-Saint-Winnoc and Saint-Bertin, it became clear that to regain appeal, the old Benedictine communities would have to invest significant energy in setting up a new, more dynamic, and adapted incarnation of the monastic ideal. Not much assistance could be expected from the counts of Flanders. In his *Life and Miracles* of Saint Winnoc, the hagiographer Drogo of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc recounts a story of how Count Baldwin VI showed his reluctance to take sides in a conflict between Malbod and a usurper of monastic property, even when the abbot appealed directly for his intervention.[54]

In the rare instances where the counts did directly favor a Benedictine institution, these were new foundations situated in the strategic regions to the east and in the economically crucial coastal area of Flanders. Three major foundations are to be noted along the banks of the River Scheldt. In 1063, Baldwin V installed a Benedictine community dedicated to the Savior[55] in Ename, on the site of a settlement (including a fortress, a commercial harbor, and two collegial churches) that until 1047 had belonged to the empire.[56] The abbacy was given to Gualbert (1063–before 1085), a monk recruited from Saint-Vaast, and in 1064, the count issued a charter to regulate the advocacy.[57] Another annexation in 1047 was the village of Dikkelvenne, where presumably a poorly documented religious community had existed since the eighth century. In 1096, Count Robert II took the initiative to move the abbey to the strategically situated town of Geraardsbergen, or Grammont, founded by Baldwin VI in 1067–1070.[58] The transfer took place with the support of Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai and Stephen, Lord of Boelare. Several other foundations were initiated by members of the local nobility and were subsequently appropriated by the counts. Around the year 1100, the chapter of the village of Bornem, in the former *pagus* of Waas, was "liberated" by Wenemar, castellan of Ghent and Bornem, and turned into a house of regular canons. Because of financial difficulties, around the year 1120 the monastery was converted into a Benedictine priory and given to the Brabant abbey of Affligem.[59] In 1084, in the coastal region, Bishop Arnold of

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54. Drogo, *Liber miraculorum Sancti Winnoci*, ed. *AASS Novembris* 3:275–84.
55. See, among others, Ostendorf, "Salvator–Patrocinium." See also chapter 5.
56. Milis, "Abbaye de Saint-Sauveur," 25.
57. *Cartulaire*, ed. Piot, no. 3, p. 5.
58. Van Bockstaele, "Abbaye de Saint-Adrien," 74–75. See also Blockmans, "Zoogenaamde stadskeure"; and Van Mingroot, "Stichtingsdossier."
59. The conversion into a priory was confirmed in 1121; see Verleyen, "Prieuré de Bornem," 14.

Soissons, Count Robert I, and Lord Cono of Eine founded the monastery of Oudenburg, not far from the village of Gistel.[60] A scenario similar to the early history of the priory of Bornem applies to the Saint-André priory near Bruges: initially founded as a monastery around 1110 and probably converted into a priory of Affligem in 1117.[61]

Only in the 1090s did Count Robert I, and in particular his son Robert II and the latter's wife, Clementia, start to show a renewed interest in Flanders' "older" monasteries. As we will see, Robert I supported Benedictine monasticism at the end of his life, partly for political reasons and partly because of redemptive concerns. His son Robert II continued that line of government, but it was Robert II's wife, Clementia, who actively supported a new, coordinated "wave" of monastic reform that eventually led to the introduction of the Cluniac customary at Saint-Bertin (1099–1100), Auchy-les-Moines (1101 or 1107),[62] Bergues-Saint-Winnoc (1106),[63] Saint-Vaast (1109),[64] Anchin (1111),[65] Marchiennes (1115/16), Saint-Peter in Ghent (1117), Saint-Amand and Saint-Bavo (c. 1120), and several other communities during the 1110s to 1130s.[66] Scholars generally regard the reforms of the early twelfth century as a transitional phase that saved many of the older Benedictine houses from institutional collapse. Yet there are few indications that these institutions had been on the brink of such a collapse; and in various ways the reforms were built on the successes of previous generations of monastic leaders. Considered individually, these successes had been far from spectacular; taken together though, they heralded the reemergence of several institutions as dominant players in the Benedictine landscape of the early 1100s.

Reform before the Reform

Scholarship from the last century and a half, while not always emphasizing the mismanagement of late-eleventh-century abbots, overall tends to confirm

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60. Huyghebaert, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre," 56–59; also Meijns, "Oprichting."

61. On the foundation and further history of Saint-André, see Huyghebaert, "Abbaye de Saint-André-lez-Bruges." In 1087–1089, the priory broke all institutional links with Affligem and became an independent monastery; see Vanderputten, "Episcopal Benediction."

62. Sabbe suggested an early date of 1101 but, according to Morelle ("Par delà," 74), c. 1107 seems more likely.

63. Sabbe, "Réforme"; De Smet, "Quand Robert II"; Kohnle, *Abt Hugo*.

64. Sabbe, "Réforme," 132–34.

65. Sproemberg, "Alvise"; Sproemberg, *Beiträge*.

66. On the role of Clementia, see Sproemberg, "Clementia"; Schilling, *Guido*, 33–34; and Vanderputten, "How Reform Began."

a process of linear institutional and disciplinary decline in these institutions. However, investigation of the history of reformed Benedictinism in Flanders after c. 1050 yields a more nuanced impression, one that sees a period of institutional troubles in the third quarter of the eleventh century being actively countered from the 1070s onward. Several decades before the first formal reform of a Benedictine institution, individual abbots, some of whom were strong proponents of the Gregorian reform movement, had already initiated restoration policies. Working with only limited support from secular or ecclesiastical authorities, these individuals successfully initiated a period of institutional growth that was continued and amplified—rather than actually started—during the "third wave" of reforms in the early twelfth century. Not all institutions went through such a phase. A good case in point is Marchiennes, where the reform of 1115/16 appears to have arrested a period of near-terminal decline due to Fulcard's abusive government (1103–1115).[67] Yet at Saint-Bertin, Lambert's reformist action, and the wide support he was initially able to recruit for it, was made possible in no small part by the restoration policies of his predecessors Heribert and, in particular, John. Likewise, the reform of Saint-Vaast in 1109 was preceded by the lengthy abbacy of Alold (1068–1104), who, in the final decade of his life, was able to acquire a series of privileges from Bishop Lambert I of Arras (1093/94–1115) and restore some of the abbey's temporal.[68]

Let us first look at Saint-Bertin. When Bovo died in 1065, the monk's primary concern was to do something about the abbey's precarious economic situation. Simon, although doggedly insisting on the continuities in reformist government, in his discussion of Heribert's government emphasizes the latter's previous expertise (acquired as a cleric, before he entered the monastery) in the administration of the abbey's temporal, and states that the monks allowed this argument to weigh heavily in their decision to elect him as abbot.[69] Heribert's abbacy (1065–1082), although not recognized as such by chroniclers and scholars, was just as much a reformist one in its objectives and in its execution as was Roderic's, or even Trudgand's and Odbert's.

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67. Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

68. Alold received charters from Gerard II of Cambrai, Lambert I of Arras, and Pope Paschalis II; they are edited in *Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, resp. no. 3.29, pp. 275–80; no. 3.32, pp. 285–87; and no. 3.36, pp. 298–301 (the latter two in the context of the abbey's recent destruction by fire); *Chartes des évêques d'Arras*, ed. Tock, no. 6, pp. 11–13; and *Cartulaire*, ed. Van Drival, 70–75. On Alold's relations with Lambert of Arras, see Kéry, *Errichtung;* and Giordanengo, *Registre*. Similar comments on close collaboration with the bishop of Arras are valid for the abbots of Marchiennes; see, for instance, *Chartes des évêques d'Arras*, ed. Tock, no. 9, pp. 15–17 (privilege from 1103).

69. Simon, *Chronicon*, 639.

After a period of decline far more acute (and, in any case, far better documented) than that which presumably occurred prior to the reform of 1021, he initiated a range of policies intended to reestablish Saint-Bertin as a major religious and political center. Crucial to that process was the resumption of building work on the abbatial church, which he was able to advance sufficiently to make possible the celebration of offices. Heribert also provided it with a sumptuous gold and silver candelabrum.[70] In addition, measures were taken to promote a stronger sense of solidarity and historical continuity within the formerly disrupted community. In 1075, he created a prebend to commemorate his two predecessors and himself as well as each deceased monk.[71] Without doubt, these investments had a significant impact on the abbey's resources; but it seems evident that he and his monks saw them as essential to re-creating the necessary environment for the celebration of Saint-Bertin's hagiographic legacies.

Heribert's policy of restoration, like that of his distant predecessor Odbert, also marks a shift in the relations with the abbey's lay officers. Confrontations and disputes with members of the local lay elites remained a going concern: a contemporary addition to the *Miracles of Saint Bertin* recounts a dispute with a man named Bodora, who worked for a local mayor but claimed the advocacy of the village of Caumont for himself.[72] But more important, the lay advocate was slowly phased out as a significant figure in the abbey's government. From the early 1060s onward, Gerbodo III, Lord of Scheldewindeke and the successor of Gerbodo II as advocate of Arques, gradually abandoned his claims on the advocacy of Arques. A charter from 1063 refers to a man named Rodbert as holder of that title,[73] and in 1066 Gerbodo effectively disappeared from Flanders to participate in the conquest of England, like many of his Flemish peers. Between c. 1067 and 1071, he is on record as earl of Chester; in 1071, he returned to Flanders to support Robert the Frisian in his campaign to overthrow Count Arnulf III (1070–1071), the underage successor of Baldwin VI (1067–1070). Apparently, Gerbodo himself killed Arnulf at the battle of Cassel, an act that forced him to go into exile. The advocacy of Saint-Bertin was subsequently taken over by other individuals,[74] only to return nominally some two decades later to the English descendants

70. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 189.
71. Ibid., 194–96.
72. *Miracula Sancti Bertini (continuatio III)*, ed. Holder-Egger, 520–21.
73. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 80, pp. 30–31.
74. Feuchère, "Avoués," 196–97.

of Gerbodo's sister and her husband, William I of Warenne, count of Essex. But regardless of who actually held that office, by that time the abbots of Saint-Bertin no longer relied on advocates to defend their interests and appealed directly to the castellans of Saint-Omer and the count of Flanders for juridical and military assistance.[75]

Despite all these successes and achievements, the monks' situation remained precarious. No major donations are recorded for this period,[76] and when the church burned down a second time, building activity came to a sudden halt.[77] Neither was Heribert able to reverse adverse processes set in motion under his predecessors. Three years after his election, the monks of Bergues–Saint-Winnoc for the first time chose an abbot from their own ranks rather than from the community of Saint-Bertin. All ties with Saint-Bertin, established at the reform in 1022, were severed, and the two institutions now competed for patrons and pilgrims. It is therefore not surprising to see that when an opportunity arose to renew the abbey's historical alliance with the counts of Flanders, Heribert jumped at it. During or very shortly after Robert the Frisian's campaign to overthrow his nephew, Count Arnulf III, the monks of Saint-Bertin apparently established a privileged connection with Robert. How they did so is unclear; but the fact that Robert in June 1072 issued his first charter as count during a formal session held at the abbey is significant, and was undoubtedly perceived as such by contemporaries.[78]

The impact of this renewed association was immediate. Also in 1072, Enguerran of Hesdin fulfilled a promise made by his father to found an abbey dedicated to Saint Sylvin at Auchy-les-Moines, not far from the town of Hesdin.[79] As head of a small county wedged between the much larger counties of Saint-Pol, Boulogne, and Flanders, Enguerran behaved as a faithful ally of the count of Flanders: in 1071, he sided with Arnulf III at the battle of Cassel, and at the end of the eleventh century, he was a member of Count Robert II's (1093–1111) curia.[80] Apparently intended as a dynastic

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75. Van Houts and Love, *Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, 74–75, 194, 242–46, and 258; and Van Houts, "Warenne View," esp. 116.

76. The archives contain just one document bearing witness to an acquisition by donation; see n. 36. In 1075, Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne, possibly a former monk of Saint-Bertin, also confirmed two altars in the monks' possession. See *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 192–94; also *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 83, p. 32.

77. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 224.

78. Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 40.

79. De Cardevacque, *Histoire;* Fromentin, *Essai;* Héliot and Rodière, "Église"; Delecroix, *Études*.

80. Nieus, *Pouvoir*, 65–68.

necropolis,[81] the abbey of Auchy-les-Moines was created in close collaboration with Saint-Bertin, where the relics of the patron saint Sylvin were being preserved. Relations between the two abbeys were shaped to reflect the county's relationship with Flanders. From 1072 to 1079 Auchy functioned as a subsidiary of Saint-Bertin;[82] and when, in 1079, Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne (1078–1081) issued a formal charter to confirm the foundation, he stipulated that the monks were to choose a candidate from Saint-Bertin if they failed to find one in their own ranks. Wary of a repeat of what had happened at Bergues-Saint-Winnoc,[83] in effect, Heribert and his successors appointed the new abbots themselves. At the beginning of the twelfth century, a papal privilege (issued no doubt at the request of Lambert of Saint-Bertin) formalized the free election of abbots, on condition that the monks restrict themselves to candidates from Saint-Bertin.[84] Another of Heribert's precautionary measures was refusing to hand over even the smallest part of Saint Sylvin's relics, once again to avoid a repeat of what had happened earlier at Bergues.[85] Thus, as in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the abbey of Saint-Bertin found itself involved in the territorial politics of the counts of Flanders. From the count's viewpoint, Saint-Bertin's dominance over Auchy undoubtedly reflected the political relations between the two counties. For Heribert, the entire operation consisted, in one part, of a way of reestablishing the abbey's historical connection with the comital dynasty. In another, it was a form of damage control, a way of compensating for the disastrous impact of Bergues's emancipation. The abbey's involvement in Auchy's so-called restoration, its tight control over the new institution's potential to attract pilgrims and patrons, and the formalized regulation of abbatial elections all guaranteed that the new abbey would not emerge as yet another high-profile competitor to Saint-Bertin's interests. Despite incessant attempts to emancipate themselves from Saint-Bertin, the monks of Auchy would never become a major player in regional monasticism.[86] The alliance with the Flemish institution even caused local supporters to turn away. In 1094, Count Enguerran and his vassals relocated the religious heart of the small county of Hesdin to the town of Hesdin by founding a priory

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81. Enguerran was buried in the abbatial church; see *Epigraphie du Département du Pas-De-Calais*, 5/1:3–4.

82. Delecroix, *Études*, 23.

83. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 197.

84. Delecroix, *Études*, 23–24.

85. Mériaux, *Gallia*, 250.

86. Vanderputten, "Crises."

dedicated to Saint George.[87] The new priory, which would become immensely successful in terms of attracting local patrons, would almost entirely supersede the old abbey in terms of political and social relevance.[88]

Thus, Heribert's time in office was not one of intense, sustained revival. Rather, it was one in which the abbot managed to give the monks a renewed sense of common purpose, laid the foundations for the restoration and consolidation of the abbey's temporal, intervened in the abbey's secular networks, and attempted to undo some of his predecessor's misguided decisions by looking for workable alternatives. In its methods and approaches to abbatial leadership, his abbacy bears more than a passing resemblance to that of the early-eleventh-century reformers. The similarities extended, deliberately so, into the next generation. When Heribert was elected as abbot, his future successor John was appointed as prior and was thus, for more than twenty years, in charge of managing the abbey's temporal.[89] John reaped the rewards of his and Heribert's achievements: his major feat as abbot (1082–1095) was to recommence the restoration of the abbatial church and refurbish it with wooden statues plated in gold and silver, stone sculptures, and carvings, as well as doing construction work on other monastic buildings.[90] Our ability, based on our understanding of the leadership of second-generation reformers, to profile John as a "reformist" abbot is also reflected in the fact that he apparently revived the scriptorium. In his chronicle, Simon mentions the production of a gospel containing the Old Testament from Genesis to Kings, a two-volume homiliary, Ephrem's *Liber pronosticorum*, a book of collations by the church fathers, Augustine's *Super Johannem*, and a passional "of immense weight."[91] In assessing the passional, he was not exaggerating. Less than half of the manuscript now survives as one severely mutilated volume and as various fragments pasted in more than twenty different codices.[92] Even in its present state, the manuscript weighs more than eleven kilograms. Investments

87. See *Cartulaire-chronique*, ed. Fossier; Nieus, *Pouvoir*, 65–67; Vanderputten, "Compromised Inheritance"; and Vanderputten, "Collectieve identiteit."

88. Vanderputten, "Collectieve identiteit." Saint-Bertin played no part in this foundation. Instead, it was the then-flourishing abbey of Anchin (founded in 1079) that owned the priory; see Gerzaguet, *Abbaye d'Anchin*.

89. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 198–99.

90. Ibid., 200–201. All that remains of these efforts may be four late-eleventh-century ivory plaques, each representing the four old men of the Apocalypse, which served as adornment to an altarpiece or a shrine, quite possibly that of Saint Bertin himself; see Gaborit-Chopin, Note on ivory plaques from Saint-Bertin, 306–7.

91. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 200–201.

92. Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 715/1. See Staats, "Partial Reconstruction."

must have been massive; but they hardly outweighed the anticipated benefits from Saint-Bertin's resurgence as Flanders' most significant Benedictine institution.

Similarly significant, and revelatory to the processual nature of the forgotten resurgence of Saint-Bertin of the late eleventh century, was the fact that John was able to further capitalize on the renewed association with the count of Flanders. As we have seen, the foundation of Auchy in 1072, in which he as prior had undoubtedly been involved, helped consolidate Count Robert's geopolitical interests. Apparently these events, but even more so the fact that the count sought to further consolidate his newly won position, explain why he and his successor Robert II showed more interest in the abbey's affairs than their predecessors. While Count Baldwin V had remained absent from the disputed translation of Saint Bertin in 1052, in 1088, Robert I did attend the rather less controversial—although symbolically and politically significant—deposition of the body of Saint Sylvin in a new shrine.[93] Robert I or II also intervened, possibly to mediate, in a dispute between the abbey and a man who claimed the right to fish in a lake called Mera.[94] John found these symbolically significant interventions crucial in his continued attempts to diminish further the involvement of the Gerbodo clan in the abbey's affairs. In 1087, he was able to reclaim from Gerbodo and Arnulf, the nephews of Gerbodo II, the Oosterzele alod that had been donated by their uncle and aunt in 1054.[95] In 1092 or 1093, the abbey further reclaimed its rights on Arques by buying back part of the *comitatus* of the village from a layman called Baldric.[96] The process was probably concluded when, in 1093, Robert I bestowed the abbey's rights and privileges on the village in a solemn charter.[97] This charter marked the beginning of a series of privileges and donations, the first important one of which was a privilege issued by Pope Urban II to confirm the abbey's possession of its altars.[98] Saint-Bertin was well on its way to becoming the most powerful of Flanders' monasteries.

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93. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 86, p. 33. Count Enguerran is not mentioned as being among those who attended the ceremony; Abbot Norbert of Saint-Sylvin is, but he significantly did not receive any relics to bring back to his own institution.

94. *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 207.

95. Ibid., 202–3.

96. Ibid., 205.

97. Ibid., 203–4.

98. *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 92, pp. 35–36. Further texts are listed from no. 93 onward.

John's successor, Lambert, who eventually introduced the Cluniac customary at Saint-Bertin, would benefit from the upsurge of good fortunes and comital support under his predecessor. Papal privileges received in December 1095 and March 1096 consolidated John's successes and surely would not have been granted were it not for the latter's previous achievements.[99] Another striking example of continuities in "protoreformist" government is one charter from 1096 recording the sale to Lambert of an alod owned by the brothers Arnulf and Gerbodo in the village of Roquetoire. The deal with the two brothers, who were the probable grandnephews of Gerbodo, and whose base of power lay in southeastern Flanders, concluded the emancipation of Saint-Bertin from this lineage of lay advocates. And in 1097, in the middle of a campaign in which he sought support for his attempts to reform internal discipline by associating himself with the main proponents of ecclesiastical reform in the region,[100] Lambert completed the monks' quest for a renewed collective identity based on the cult of saints by carrying out the translation of Saint Folcuin.[101] Following the disastrous elevation of Bertin in 1052 and the more successful re-enshrinement of Sylvin in 1087, that of Folcuin concluded Saint-Bertin's rehabilitation of the main saints venerated at the abbatial church. The list of attendants at the ceremony is revealing as to Lambert's double agenda. In the protocol that was eventually locked into the shrine, we find as witnesses Countess Clementia, deputized by her husband, then away on crusade; the prior of Watten, a hotbed of reformist action; the abbot of Ham; and Arnulf, archdeacon of Thérouanne and a fierce agent of ecclesiastical reform for more than two decades.[102] The reformist overtone of the event was restated when, in October of 1097, the countess and several prominent members of the ecclesiastical elite attended the dedication of the new church of Watten.[103] While the canons of Saint-Omer and those of the cathedral of Thérouanne brought along the relics of their patron saint, Lambert left those of Saint Bertin at home. Instead, those attending the dedication got to see the new shrine of Saint Folcuin, now invested with an unmistakable reformist meaning. But Saint Folcuin was also important

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99. Edited respectively in *Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Haigneré, vol. 1, no. 92, pp. 35–36, and *Cartulaire*, ed. Guérard, 214. On these documents, see Morelle, "Par delà," 65–72.

100. On the history of the diocese of Thérouanne in the late eleventh century, see Giry, "Grégoire VII."

101. See Vanderputten and Snijders, "Stability."

102. A transcription of the protocol is in Saint-Omer, BASO, 819, 150–52. On the strong reformist undertone of the translation of Saint Folcuin and subsequent ceremonies in which Lambert participated, see Vanderputten, "How Reform Began."

103. Tanner, *Families*, 141.

to Lambert and Clementia in another sense: Saint Folcuin was known as a distant relative of the early counts of Flanders, and thus his translation in 1097 not only reaffirmed the relation between the abbey and the counts but also symbolically confirmed the current count's claims to legitimacy.[104] A powerful, privileged alliance had now fully developed. Less than two years later, Lambert struck a secret deal with Clementia that initiated the Cluniac reform of Saint–Bertin and heralded a decade of unchallenged leadership over Flanders' Benedictine institutions.

Lambert made reform acceptable to the key players of the ecclesiastical and secular elites by behaving in much the same way as his predecessors. The initial phase of his government does not reveal any rupture with past modes of government; and when he initiated his plans for a change in customs, he relied on traditional symbols and scenarios to enact his intentions and rally support for them. Even his involvement with the reformers was not new. In December 1092, Count Robert was in retreat at the abbey of Saint–Bertin.[105] During his stay there, the Flemish clergy, then assembled at the provincial council of Reims, confronted him with a written complaint about his exercising regalia on the property of deceased clerics.[106] Among those who carried the letter were Lambert's predecessor John, provosts Walter of Saint–Omer and Bernard of Watten, and Abbot Gerard of Ham. Clearly, the abbot of Saint–Bertin, although perhaps not a major proponent of the ecclesiastical reform movement in Flanders,[107] was considered sufficiently representative of the clergy's attitudes toward the count's policies to confront him with a distinctly reformist agenda.[108] Presumably the delegation was well–timed anyway. Even though he had previously acted as a fierce opponent of the reformers, Robert's attitudes toward the Gregorian reformers may have been softened by the fact that he felt death approaching: he died on 13 October 1093.

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104. Vanderputten, "How Reform Began."

105. Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 125–27.

106. Ibid.

107. On the ecclesiastical reform movement in late-eleventh-century Flanders, see Meijns, "Without Were Fightings."

108. Simon claims that, in or around 1069, King Philip I of France appointed Heribert as abbot of Saint-Germain in Auxerre. Unwilling to be accused of simony, he apparently resigned in 1072 (*Chronicon*, 640). V.B. Henry has speculated that the king had appointed Heribert out of dissatisfaction with the election of Walter, a former monk of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (*Histoire*, 173–74). Local traditions at Saint-Germain, however, including the *gesta abbatum*, do not mention Heribert or his supposed appointment. As Noëlle Deflou-Leca points out, the only individual of that name who can be associated with the abbey in the eleventh century is Heribert II, bishop of Auxerre (1041–1054), who died many years after his resignation and thus is likely to have been a contemporary of Heribert of Saint-Bertin (e-mail message to author).

At least some of the privileges he issued in the following months to several of the county's monastic institutions refer to redemptive concerns as a motivation for the count's granting them, a sentiment that had not been evident in any exchanges between the "old" monasteries of Flanders and the counts since at least the mid–eleventh century. But these privileges were not the work of a desperate man on the brink of death. His son Robert II would continue this policy of rapprochement with both his territories' Benedictine monks and with the Gregorian reformers, thereby indicating that a structural shift in comital policies was taking place. Lambert's awareness of how much his predecessors, in particular Heribert and John, had contributed to Saint-Bertin's prominent position at the end of the eleventh century, and his reliance on traditional methodologies of monastic leadership to a large extent explain why his chronicler Simon carefully avoided suggesting that the reformers considered John a bad or lax abbot.[109] No doubt Abbot Lambert was dissatisfied with a certain degree of laxity in the monks' lifestyle and with their attitudes to personal property,[110] and no doubt he considered Cluny's customs the ultimate solution to the difficulties he experienced in imposing his will on the monks. Yet that seems hardly reason to call Lambert's predecessor "debonair," as Etienne Sabbe has done.[111]

Saint-Bertin's growing stature, and Count Robert I's reliance on Benedictine institutions in the consolidation and expansion of his power did not go unnoticed. Count Enguerran of Hesdin's motives for moving the ecclesiastical center of his small county from his 1072 foundation at Auchy to the priory of Hesdin must have borne some relation to the powerful alliance of Saint-Bertin and the counts. Even though Count Robert II supported the foundation of the priory, the count and his fellow founders formally transferred ownership to the abbey of Anchin, at that time situated in Flanders' rival county of Hainaut and thus outside the count's direct sphere of influence. Reacting to Saint-Bertin's growing influence in the region and the geopolitical consequences of its close connection with the counts of Flanders, Bishops Hubert and Gerard (1084–1099) of Thérouanne adopted a similar strategy of putting newly founded institutions just across the Flemish border under either the temporary or permanent care of non-Flemish monasteries. Nicolas Huyghebaert has suggested that Hubert's stated intention to introduce monks from the Norman abbey of Fécamp to the newly founded

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109. For this, see Vanderputten, "How Reform Began."
110. Simon, *Chronicon*, 648–49.
111. Sabbe, "Réforme," 122.

monastery of Saint-Jean-au-Mont near Thérouanne is one such example.[112] Likewise, Adriaan Verhulst has argued that the installation of monks from the abbey of Charroux in Poitou at Ham (in Guînes, 1084) and Andres (in Lillers, 1079) was inspired by a similar strategy.[113] Several lay founders were also actively seeking involvement from non-Flemish institutions in the creation of new monasteries situated very close to Flanders' borders. For instance, Ida of Boulogne recruited monks from Cluny for the foundations of Le Wast (c. 1096) and La Capelle (c. 1090), both of which originated in the context of attempts to consolidate Boulonnais power in recently conquered parts of Guînes.[114]

More or less orphaned from the active secular and ecclesiastical patronage of previous decades, "old-style" Benedictinism at Saint-Bertin soldiered on throughout the middle decades of the eleventh century. Bovo's overambitious attempts to generate new patronage are good, if somewhat spectacular, evidence of abbots' inability to change the tide by relying on grand gestures, and it looks as though his successors intentionally kept their ambitions in check to avoid any future fiascos. Similarly, Alold of Saint-Vaast's lengthy government was not remembered for its dramatic episodes, but for its eventual results. Traditional accounts claim that Baldwin V had taken over the leadership of the Arras abbey after the death of Poppo, who had briefly been abbot in 1047–1048 following the even briefer abbacy of John, who had succeeded Leduin in 1046–1047.[115] Poppo's successors at Saint-Vaast, Adelelm (1048–1059) and Herchembold (1059–1067), left few traces of their activity as abbots,[116] and on the latter's death, Alard, abbot of Marchiennes, attempted to usurp the abbatial throne.[117] According to the *Gallia Christiana*, the election of Alold in 1068 formally restored the regular abbacy; however, the lack of evidence regarding his policies in the first two decades of his reign may be telling as to the low profile his community was forced to adopt

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112. Huyghebaert, "Origines," 466–67.

113. Verhulst, "Fondation"; Beech, "Aquitanians," esp. 78 onward.

114. Tanner, *Families*, 140–42.

115. Leduin of Saint-Vaast died on 2 January 1047; see Van Mingroot, "Kritisch onderzoek," 286–87. It is possible that he was incapable of exercising his role as abbot as early as Lent 1046, since a John, abbot of Arras, signed a charter issued between 13 February and 30 March 1046 (*Chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, no. 0.12, pp. 344–45). John died a few weeks after Leduin's death (*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, 488). Count Baldwin acted promptly by giving the abbacy to the elderly Poppo of Stavelot, who immediately delegated the government of the abbey to a nephew of the bishop of Liege. Poppo then traveled to Marchiennes, another monastery given to him by the count, and died there in January 1048.

116. De Cardevacque and Terninck, *Abbaye*, 1:112–14.

117. *Gallia Christiana,* vol. 3, col. 395.

throughout this period. All evidence regarding his policy to consolidate the abbey's rights and properties in writing date from c. 1090 and beyond, and nothing at all appears to have been preserved for the twenty-two preceding years. Admittedly, some of this may be attributed to a fire that apparently ravaged the abbey shortly before 1090[118] and may have destroyed some of its archives. Nonetheless, it is remarkable that no legal documents whatsoever have been preserved between 1036 and the 1090s. Moreover, none of the documents from the final decade of the eleventh century and beyond refer to the loss of significant privileges or documents from the preceding decades. And as we have seen, similar observations can be made for Saint-Bertin, where—except for the privileges of 1056 and 1057—all the charter evidence from between 1042 and c. 1090 is of minor importance. Keeping a relatively low profile during the troubled decades of the late eleventh century by far was the best way for a struggling community to subsist and, eventually, outclass one's Benedictine competitors.

The Benefits of Quiet Resilience

Superficial reading of the evidence suggests that the results of the patiently implemented restoration policies of the abbots of the late eleventh century were ineffective, that abbots' often subdued reaction to the Gregorian reform movement was a sign of weakness, and that the reforms of the twelfth century initiated a necessary change of course. But when looked at from the perspective of abbots' intentions rather than that of the results, these policies can be seen as one of the factors that made possible the successful reformist abbacies of the early twelfth century. Three further cases—from Saint-Peter in Ghent, Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, and Saint-Amand—illustrate how much of what we interpret as a product of the early-twelfth-century reforms was a result of, or was at least made possible by, the action of late-eleventh-century abbots working very much on their own initiative and that of their ecclesiastical, mostly Gregorian, supporters. It is a testimony to these individuals' qualities as monastic leaders that, by the 1090s, they had gained the active support of the counts of Flanders, and Robert II in particular, even though the latter would become a partisan of the Gregorian movement only after the turn of the century and even though both Robert II and his father

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118. Ibid.

supported several bishops and abbots who had been accused by the reformers of simony.[119]

While the abbey of Saint-Bavo had a very checkered history throughout the later eleventh century,[120] that of Saint-Peter is more clear-cut. In 1059, Everhelm, nephew of Poppo of Stavelot and, at that time, abbot of Haut-mont (1048–1059), succeeded the reformist abbot Wichard.[121] His accession to the abbatial throne in Ghent was apparently simoniac, even though no explanation is given in the sources as to how this actually happened.[122] In 1064, Pope Alexander III (1061–1073) replied to a letter sent by the monks of Saint-Peter in which he asked Archbishop Gervasius of Reims to intervene, arguing that Everhelm had ejected several monks, dispersed the monastery's properties, and "polluted his life through adulteries and various crimes beyond human nature."[123] One of the monks who had been cast out from the monastery traveled to Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, where he may have been responsible for composing a *Life* of Winnoc that was heavily reliant on a reformist vision of the ideal abbot.[124] Everhelm, in an attempt to rebuke his critics, ordered the production of an apologetic *Life* of Poppo.[125]

Everhelm's death in 1069 prevented matters from being taken further. On his appointment, Abbot Folcard (1069–1088) immediately showed his reformist leanings. In 1070, he issued a regulation charter for the advocacy of Harnes,[126] and in 1081 obtained confirmation of the abbey's properties in England from William the Conqueror.[127] New life was injected into the rivalry with Saint-Bavo: the body of Florbert was translated again, new texts relating to Saint Amalberga and Saint Bertulf were written,[128] and yet another pamphlet was issued to demonstrate Saint-Peter's claims to the title

119. De Moreau, *Histoire*, 65–73; Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 113–34. On the troubled situation of the bishopric of Thérouanne following the death of Drogo, Dereine, "Gérard"; Dereine, "Prédicateurs"; and Meijns, "Without Were Fightings."

120. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 36–37.

121. Berings and Van Simaey, " Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 105.

122. Sabbe, "Deux points," 62–71; Huyghebaert, "Vita," 247–54.

123. *Chartes et documents*, ed. Van Lokeren, vol. 1, no. 140, p. 98.

124. Huyghebaert, "Vita," 237–40; Huyghebaert hypothesizes that this may be the monk Wer-ric, who would later act as a major propagator of the Gregorian reforms in Flanders and Brabant; see further, at n. 132.

125. See George, "Moine."

126. *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Gysseling and Koch, no. 116, pp. 213–14.

127. *Chartes et documents*, ed. Van Lokeren, vol. 1, no. 156, pp. 104–6.

128. *Vita Amalbergae virginis*, ed. *AASS Julii* 3:90–102; this was followed shortly afterward by an *Inventio, elevatio et translatio Sanctae Amalbergae virginis*, ed. *AASS Julii* 3:103–4. The *Vita Sancti Bertulfi Rentiacensis* (by Werric of Ghent [?], ed. *AASS Februarii,* 1:677–87) was written shortly after the translation of this saint in 1073.

of the original foundation of Saint Amand.[129] Whereas at Saint-Bavo, Abbot Siger (1066–1073), also an active propagator of hagiographic traditions, had been ousted by Count Robert I and replaced by Stephen of Egmond (1073–1076),[130] relations between Saint-Peter and the count were far more cordial. It could have been part of a deliberate strategy to gain support for Folcard's reformist government that, in 1070, the community became involved in Robert the Frisian's campaign to overthrow Arnulf III.[131] Relations subsequently must have remained good enough to explain why there were no indications of comital resistance when, in 1075, Werric, a monk from Saint-Peter, was mandated by the pope to spread the Gregorian reform in Flanders and Brabant.[132] Saint-Peter developed into a center, albeit still a fairly low-key one, of ecclesiastical reform, and became a refuge for at least one antisimoniac monk from Saint-Trond.[133] Although the abbey would be reformed only in 1117,[134] and real comital donations would not be granted for a long time, in 1102 Robert II issued a charter to Abbot Siger (1088–1108) stating that he would no longer intervene in the election of abbots.[135] Under Siger's leadership, the abbey also received a series of papal, royal, comital, and episcopal privileges that consolidated the community's ownership of its temporal.[136] Thus, like John and Lambert at Saint-Bertin, Folcard and Siger initiated a restoration policy coupled with a desire to become actively involved in a broader movement of religious and institutional renewal. It is a credit to their abilities as monastic leaders that, while pursuing these policies, they were also able to restore some of the privileged relationship their abbeys had previously enjoyed with the counts of Flanders.

Count Robert I's tolerance of antisimoniac action and propaganda depended very much on circumstances, as is shown by the example of

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129. *De certissima Sancti Florberti translatione*, ed. Holder-Egger, 642–43. The monks of Saint-Bavon had elevated the body of Macharius in 1067 (see the fanciful *Vita secunda, miracula et elevatio Sancti Macarii Antiocheni*) and after 1067 would compose the *Miracula secunda Sancti Bavonis* and the *Translatio sanctorum Livini et Bricii pueri Gandavum an. 1007*.

130. Berings and Lebbe, "Abbaye de Saint-Bavon," 36–37; also Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 131.

131. Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 106.

132. Werric would later be involved in the foundation of Affligem; see Dereine, "Spiritualité 'apostolique'"; and Dereine, "Prédicateurs." Dereine's observations on the apostolic nature of Affligem's foundation have been criticized and are now regarded as misjudged; see most concisely Despy, "Fulgence"; and Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform."

133. Huyghebaert, "Vita," 253–57; Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 81 (with references).

134. Declercq, "*Blandinium*," 81–82.

135. Sabbe, "Deux points," 61.

136. Berings and Van Simaey, "Abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin," 107.

Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[137] The reformers' campaign against simony affected the abbey when, in January 1078, Rumold's successor Ermenger was removed from his abbatial see at the council of Poitiers.[138] Count Robert then appointed Manasses, prior of Saint-Airy in Verdun, as the new abbot. Apparently he did so at the suggestion of Otfrid, prior of the regular canons in Watten (a community founded in 1072 on a former property of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc), at that time the hub of the ecclesiastical reformist movement in Flanders.[139] Saint-Airy in Verdun at the time was an important center of the ecclesiastical reform movement, and was the former institution of at least one other important abbot active in the Low Countries, the much-celebrated Fulgentius of Affligem.[140] According to the chronicle of John of Ypres, the appointment of Manasses divided the community, and some monks left the monastery.[141] Some went to Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne, who, as local *ordinarius*, refused to ordain Manasses, perhaps because of his ongoing conflict with the canons of Watten.[142] So did Hugo of Die, the papal legate and himself a major agent of the ecclesiastical reform movement in France and Burgundy.[143] Eventually, Robert successfully sent a mission to Rome to obtain the right for Manasses to carry the pontifical insignia.[144] In 1083, however, he forced Manasses out of the abbacy, thereby responding to accusations made by the abbot's own brethren that he had led the abbey into ruin. When questioned by the count, according to tradition, the abbot "argued manfully that not the count, but he himself was abbot, and that he, and not the count, would determine what he could and should do."[145]

Indignant, Count Robert sent Manasses away, and appointed as new abbot Ingelbert (1083–1096/1104), a monk of high birth and possibly Baldwin IV's grandson through one of his daughters.[146] In the first year of Ingelbert's

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137. On this episode in the abbey's history, see the *Chronica monasterii Watinensis*, ed. Holder-Egger, 173–74; also Huyghebaert, "Un légat"; Huyghebaert, "Sacramentaire"; and Meijns, "*Pauperes Christi*," 69–71.

138. Letter of Bishop Hugo of Die, legate of the papal see, to Pope Gregory VII, edited in Hugo of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, 419; see Verlinden, *Robert Ier*, 131. Pope Gregory VII revoked several decisions of the council but significantly did not intervene in the deposition of Ermenger; see Huyghebaert, "Sacramentaire," 43–44.

139. *Chronica monasterii Watinensis*, ed. Holder-Egger, 163–75; also Meijns, "*Pauperes Christi*."

140. On Saint-Airy as a reform center, see Hirschmann, *Verdun*, 2:535–39.

141. John of Ypres, *Chronicon Sancti Bertini*, ed. Martène and Durand, col. 584.

142. Giry, "Grégoire VII," 396–97.

143. On Hugo of Die, see Rennie, *Law*.

144. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:74.

145. John of Ypres, *Chronicon Sancti Bertini*, ed. Martène and Durand, col. 584–85: "Respondit viriliter non comitem, sed se esse abbatem et de suo, non comitem, sed se disponere posse ac debere."

146. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:77.

government, the monastery was consumed by fire, which destroyed thirty-four manuscripts.[147] Although he assisted in several ceremonies and received at least one donation,[148] his abbey slipped into a state of crisis. This crisis may have actually deepened when, on his deathbed, he confessed to having been the one who had defamed Ermenger.[149] This provided the abbot of Saint-Bertin with the opportunity to restate his institution's historical domination over Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, and to prevent the latter from reemerging as a significant competitor. In 1106, at the instigation of Bishop John of Thérouanne and with the support of Countess Clementia, the count was convinced to permit the reform of the abbey by Hermes, prior of Saint-Bertin. A contemporary historiographer noted that "this was the first reform of this monastery, *even though it had been begun by Ermenger.*"[150] While it is not hard to detect the author's bitterness at this turn of events, there is a possibility that this remark is our only evidence of a "reformist" policy on the part of Ermenger—similar perhaps to that of his contemporaries Heribert and John of Saint-Bertin[151]—and that Ingelbert's defamatory campaign was intended to squash any restorative policy that might have infringed on the count's prerogatives.

At Saint-Amand, the abbacies of Malbod (1013–1062) and Bovo I (1077–1085) were considered failures by their twelfth-century reformist successors. In chapter 5, we have seen how Malbod was condemned for having given the title of *ministerialis* to his brother Alen. Bovo was likewise denounced by Abbot Walter I (1121–1123) for having sold several items from the abbatial church's treasure to finance a yearly rent for the nobleman Amaury I of Landas.[152] In an eleventh-century context, such policies made perfect sense, as they temporarily consolidated relations with the local elites.[153] Bovo's initiative of paying a yearly rent was particularly clever, as it prevented the association with Landas from lapsing into a hereditary—and thus largely uncontrollable—one. In the meantime, he continued to battle with the

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147. Ibid., 77–78.

148. Ibid., 78–82.

149. Simon, *Chronicon*, 650.

150. *Chronique*, ed. Pruvost, 1:82: "Haec prima fuit hujus monasterii reformatio, licet ab Ermengero fuerit inchoata."

151. Huyghebaert, "Sacramentaire," 44.

152. Walter's charter is edited in *Diplomata Belgica*, ed. Miraeus and Foppens, 3:34–35; see Platelle, *Temporel*, 125–26.

153. Platelle, "Premier cartulaire," 303. A contemporary account of the dispute between the abbots of Saint-Amand and Hasnon over a mill on the Scarpe River reveals that the Landas family helped protect the former abbey's interests; Platelle, *Justice*, no. 3, pp. 419–21.

abuses from lay officers: in a charter from 1082, he explicitly condemned the usurpations of the abbey's lay provost.[154] Some years later, Abbot Bovo II (1107–1121) confirmed the association by giving a piece of land and some revenues to Amaury II in exchange for him protecting the abbey from attacks by another nobleman, Radbod of Rumez.[155]

It was Bovo's successor, Hugo I (1085–1107), who adopted a more diversified policy to repel attacks against the monks' properties and privileges. In 1107, two papal bulls issued by Pope Paschalis II confirmed the monks' ownership of several altars, listed the entire estate of the abbey, and confirmed
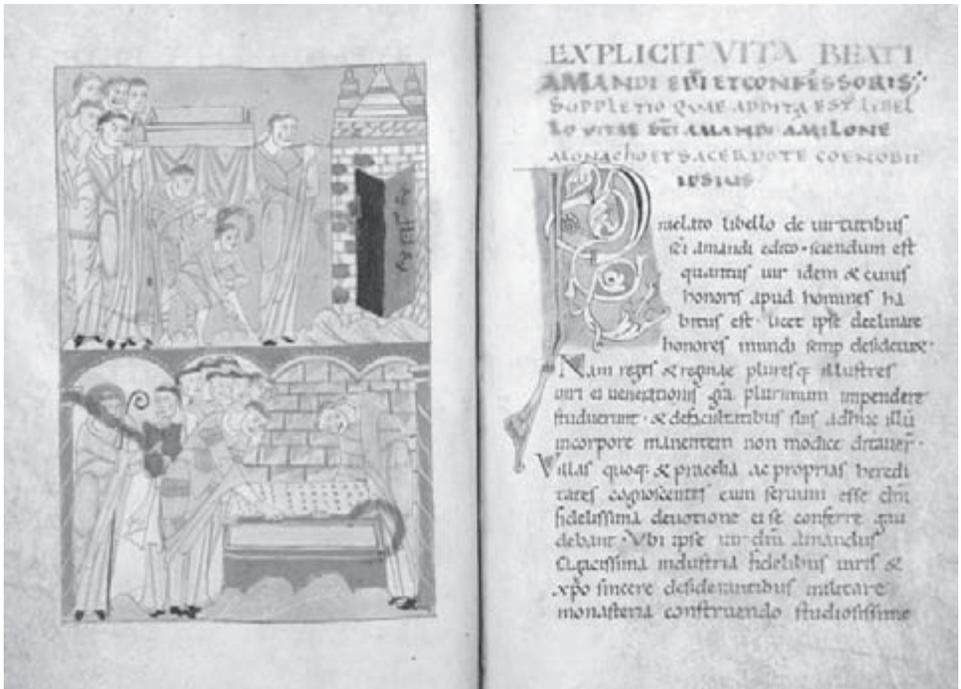
Burial scene of Saint Amand in a hagiographic manuscript from Saint-Amand, 1066–1107. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 502, 30v–31r. Copyright Bibliothèque Municipale de Valenciennes, photo Arkhênum. Reproduced with permission.

154. Charter edited in Platelle, *Temporel*, 419–21.

155. Ibid., 209; Platelle, *Justice*, 98. These events would not prevent Stephen, Amaury's brother, from disputing the abbey's exemptions relating to his estates (charter of Count Robert II of Flanders from 5 August 1111, edited in *Actes*, ed. Vercauteren, no. 50, pp. 126–29).

the community's liberties.[156] To celebrate and enforce this triumph, the body of Saint Amand was then given a solemn *circumlatio* in Brabant.[157] Such ritual demonstrations of the saint's lordly status corroborated the contents and iconographic program of a lavishly illustrated hagiographic manuscript conceived sometime after 1060 and devoted entirely to the cult of Saint Amand. According to Barbara Abou-el-Haj's analysis, the iconography of Valenciennes, BM, 502 represents the saint's spiritual and physical power in the face of recent challenges to the abbey's material integrity.[158]

Like Heribert and John of Saint-Bertin, Hugo paved the way for his successor's success in reconnecting with the counts of Flanders. His successor, Bovo II, maintained this double—hagiographic and juridical—course of action by simultaneously using documents and honoring the saint's imminent presence to confront his adversaries. In 1116–1117, Count Baldwin VII (1111–1119) visited the abbey on two separate occasions; had his feudal court condemn "evil men"[159] (the lay provost, the advocates, and the castellan of Tournai);[160] confirmed an oral agreement that his predecessors had witnessed between the abbot and Geoffrey, the advocate of the town of Saint-Amand; and issued two charters to provide the monks with a record of the two sessions.[161] To indicate how important these personal appearances were, Bovo issued a charter to defend his decision to spend the large sum of money required to organize these visits and placed them in the context of his rationalization of the abbey's government.[162] In 1117, he ordered the compilation of the abbey's oldest known cartulary.[163] Although its daily use would have been problematic because of the strict chronological order of the transcribed charters, the cartulary reflects a dynamic conception of institutional government through the selection of documents:[164] estates in Frisia that had recently been sold were not mentioned in the cartulary, nor

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156. See *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé and Loewenfeld, vol. 1, no. 6137, p. 730.
157. *Miracula [sancti Amandi] in itinere Bragbantino*, ed. Holder-Egger, 852–53. See also De Gaiffier, "Revendications."
158. Abou-el-Haj, *Medieval Cult*, 85–106.
159. Quoted from Bovo's charter from 1117 (Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 12 H 1, 103r–v).
160. The main purpose of the count's visit was to prevent the function of lay provost from becoming hereditary; see Bovo's charter from 1121 (Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 12 H 2, 14r–v). See Platelle, *Justice*, 62–63.
161. Charters from 5 October 1116 (edited in *Actes*, ed. Vercauteren, no. 80, pp. 179–80) and 6 October 1117 (ibid., no. 85, pp. 191–92).
162. Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, 12 H 1, 103r–v.
163. Platelle, "Premier cartulaire."
164. For a discussion on this transition, see Berkhofer, *Day*, 74.

were any legal actions that were no longer immediately relevant.[165] The remaining years of Bovo's abbacy were devoted to the acquisition of lucrative altars and tithes and concentration of the estates by exchanging and selling isolated patches in distant territories. It is likely that the cartulary served as a benchmark for future policies regarding the material wealth of the monastery.[166] In the meantime, the abbey probably adopted the Cluniac reformers' customs.[167] Like their peers at Saint-Peter and Saint-Bavo in Ghent,[168] later generations at Saint-Amand did not even bother to commemorate that transition. From an inner perspective, the process of reform had been going on for decades anyway, and the issues at stake were perhaps less acute than was the case in those institutions where the adoption of the new customary was staged as a rite of transition.[169]

It is significant that nearly all tenth- and early-eleventh-century Benedictine houses developed a reformist agency of their own before becoming part of the third "wave" of reforms in the early 1100s. A major part in this was surely played by the emergence of a relatively diffuse movement among the Flemish clergy promoting the ideals of the Gregorian reform. Many abbots, while pursuing their own abbey's restoration and attempting to stave off the growing competition from new monasteries and the exponential growth of houses of secular and regular canons, experienced considerable advantages from belonging to that movement and using the leverage, political and otherwise, of its networks. Several of the recently founded Benedictine houses, such as Affligem, Anchin, Saint-Martin, and others, were undoubtedly better adapted to respond to the changing expectations of urban populations and of lay society in general. Yet the powerful impetus stimulated by the Gregorian reform movement, and the support this generated from high-ranking ecclesiastical leaders, brought about a restoration trend in the older houses too. Despite all the setbacks, because these institutions were still considerable entities in terms of economic significance, hagiographic traditions, and social

165. Platelle, "Premier cartulaire," 311. Remains of contemporary chirographs found in twelfth-century bookbindings reveal how easily the monks discarded such documents; Morelle, "Metamorphosis," 183–84.

166. Platelle, *Temporel*, 212–13.

167. This can be deduced only from the fact that Abbot Absalon of Saint-Amand in 1129 was dispatched to the monastery of Lobbes to convince the monks to join Alvisus of Anchin's reformist movement; see Vanderputten, "Time," 55–56.

168. The reform of Saint-Peter is mentioned only in Simon, *Chronicon*, 655–56.

169. For evidence supporting the hypothesis that abbots staged the introduction of the new customary as part of a strategy to eliminate resistance against ongoing processes of reform, see Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform."

networks, their restoration generated considerable energies, something that did not go unnoticed among the higher ecclesiastical and lay elites. From the 1090s onward, abbots from various institutions were able, often for the first time in decades, to obtain significant episcopal, papal, and comital privileges and were actively involved in episcopal government.

Rather than being a major operation to save traditional monasticism and bring the monks back to the essence of the Benedictine ideal, the subsequent reforms of the early twelfth century resulted from a coalition of reformist agents, including abbots, bishops, and counts, aiming to consolidate processes initiated in the previous decade, or decades. How exactly that coalition was formed, how it functioned, and what its reformist agency implied for the monasteries in Flanders is beyond the scope of this book.[170] But it is important to note that the consensus reached by the participants of that coalition regarding the need for monastic reform was based not on one specific argument (for instance, a lack of internal discipline or the superiority of Cluniac customs) but on the fact that radical interventions in the internal and external organization of monastic institutions provided them with a means to pursue their overlapping goals. For abbots, that goal was multiple: to create more efficient and disciplined groups of monks, subject to the unquestioned authority of the abbot; to establish for their institution a position of leadership in Flanders' Benedictine landscape;[171] and to rearrange lay networks around their institution in such a way as to minimize the local elites' direct involvement in matters of government.[172] For bishops, it was to create stronger links with the monastic leadership and establish guarantees of that leadership's support in the exercise of episcopal office. For secular rulers, the goal was to penetrate deeper into the local power networks that had taken over monastic offices; establish or reestablish direct links with the monks themselves; and manage the financial, institutional, and intellectual resources of the monasteries in ways that benefited their own authority.[173] All three of these groups of actors undoubtedly shared a sincere conviction regarding the beneficial impact of reform on the communities concerned. But the formal introduction of Cluny's customs was not their primary objective; several of

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170. See Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty"; and Vanderputten, "Time."

171. It is hardly surprising to find Lambert's first reforms outside Saint-Bertin were those of Auchy and Bergues; Simon, *Chronicon*, 649–50, and the comments in Vanderputten, "Crises."

172. See Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

173. Vanderputten, "Crises"; Vanderputten, "How Reform Began."

the staunchest reformers initially pursued the establishment of more effective internal hierarchies and a discipline that was closer to the original spirit of Benedict's Rule by imposing stricter observance of the old customs.[174] And the reforms were not an end in itself; they provided the aforementioned coalition with the tools to enhance the impact of previously initiated policies and strategic alliances, consolidate competitive advantages over other institutions, and initiate the process of creating congregational structures.[175]

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174. Sabbe, "Réforme," 136–37.

175. On this process, which marked the development of Flemish Benedictine monasticism in the early twelfth century, see Vanderputten, "Time."

Conclusion

"Reform" remains something of a black hole in scholarly discussions of the history of monastic institutions. Like the astronomical phenomenon, the reform of a monastery is often perceived as a single event of huge consequence, which can be used as a reference point to both interpret and evaluate that institution's long-term development. Particularly for periods in history for which there are comparatively few written or other sources, it is tempting to allow apologetic narratives of reformist authors to determine the discursive framework in which evidence from before and after reform is discussed. Yet as chapter 1 has shown, these contemporary and near-contemporary accounts cannot be relied on to reconstruct monasticism's long-term development, and to explain what reform on the level of single institutions actually entailed. Any suggestion of decline and subsequent renewal—be it in the monks' discipline, the institutional management of monasteries, or the socioeconomic position of monastic groups—must be treated circumspectly. The same applies to the understanding that monastic leadership in the decades following a given reform constituted the implementation of a preconceived reformist program, and to the notion that reform always entailed a rupture with previous disciplinary and institutional realities. The root of this problem lies in the fact that reform, in addition to being a historical reality, also functioned as a literary theme, to which notions such as decline, renewal, and reconciliation were central.

The recognition since the last three decades of the asystemic character of reform movements in the tenth and early eleventh centuries has been beneficial. However, it has done little to correct the common misunderstanding that the reform of individual monasteries can be adequately explained as "exogenous shocks" triggered either by charismatic leaders determined to remediate the failures of previous abbatial leadership by relying on a set of unifying policies, or by ecclesiastical and/or secular rulers in pursuit of their own (symbolic, political, or redemptive) interests. Taking as my point of departure the early-eleventh-century reforms in Flanders, I have argued that this way of approaching the development of individual monasteries is inadequate, and that reform on that level can be understood only if it is placed explicitly in the context of the long-term development of each individual institution and its societal context. Whatever the objectives of those who initiated the reforms, every reform of a monastery was implemented differently and had different implications. But even within the same monastery, different reforms reflected different goals, carried different implications, and, most important, worked in a different internal and societal context. This is something that can be observed for the reforms of the mid-tenth century (as documented in chapter 2), but it is equally true for those of the early eleventh and the early twelfth.

The unique character of each reform, and of each instance of reformist leadership, may seem obvious to the casual observer. But too often scholarship has shied away from treating each of these as a unique case, presumably for fear of exposing itself to criticism regarding the representative nature of its findings. Admittedly it is difficult to escape the impression that the closer one gets to the institutional realities of reform, the less interesting—or perhaps representative—they seem to become as a historical subject. But as I have tried to show, such fears of allowing scholarly investigation to descend into a trivial *histoire événementielle* are unfounded. There is a reason for treating discussions on reform movements of this period, be they institutional or otherwise, differently from those of later centuries. Reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries was neither about creating a homogeneous *ordo monasticus* nor about implementing a reformist blueprint for monastic government in all the monasteries implicated. At least as far as the monasteries involved in the so-called New Monasticism of Lotharingia were concerned, it was impossible—on various legal, political, and practical grounds—to create a formal network of reformed institutions in which a high degree of uniformity was reached in matters regarding discipline, spirituality, internal organization, and relations with the outside world. First, we must take into account the transregional nature of the movement. Secular and ecclesiastical

rulers were not willing to accept the incorporation of their monasteries into a network where institutions were linked with each other in more than just a strictly personal way. Second, the reformers could not escape the fact that all the monasteries reformed carried with them a history that was both impossible and impractical to ignore. Even in the most extreme cases, like that of the evicted nuns of Marchiennes in 1024, the hagiographic, juridical, topographic, and other legacies of a monastery were deliberately incorporated into the monastery's new institutional and communal identity. The circumspect way in which monastic leaders treated such legacies, whether in the form of relations with secular lords, popular devotion, or otherwise, indicates that they were operating within confines a great deal tighter than scholars have so far been willing to accept. But as we have seen in chapter 4, it is also far from likely that first-generation supporters and their numerous "successors" and "disciples" ever intended to create homogenized modes of government based on abstract conceptions of what reformed monasticism was supposed to look like. Chapters 5 and 6 also showed how reformist leaders of the early to mid-eleventh century deliberately integrated in their methods of reform each institution's "accumulated investments"—including traditions regarding the local cult of saints, relations with the ecclesiastical and secular elites, documentary legacies, and so on—which steered their government in ways that could never have been foreseen by the first group of reform-minded abbots and their supporters. However, the social forgetting of monastic groups in later decades and centuries efficiently obliterated the monks' and scholars' understanding of two key processes: institutional development and reform itself.

That hardly means that it makes no sense to look at what the reformers had in common, or at what constituted the shared finality or "equifinality" in reformist methodologies. The reformers of the eleventh century shared the objective of creating specialized, and highly trained, communities of "super-monks," as well as instigating the best possible circumstances for these communities to perform their service to God. What set them apart from the reformers of the tenth century was their conception of abbatial leadership, which focused more emphatically on what monasticism could signify to society at large, and how they, as abbots, fulfilled a crucial role in managing the interactions between the monastery and the world. To make this possible, they deliberately saw each monastery as a world on its own, working with its historical traditions and legacies to gradually shape what they conceived to be the ideal monastery. Because of this, many of the concrete policies they pursued were hardly any different from those pursued by several of their "nonreformist" predecessors in the later tenth and very early eleventh

centuries. Often, much of what they did was to amplify these policies' implications and increase their efficiency. Making this possible were the personal networks to which they belonged that facilitated the exchange of personnel and know-how, the fine-tuning of certain methods of economic and social government, and the management of relations with lay and ecclesiastical patrons. But reformist leadership was linked in an even more intimate way with that of nonreformist abbots. As shown in chapters 3 and 7, many of the first- and second-generation reformers actually benefited from the concrete action of their predecessors, which had set in motion a process of restoration that in principle may not have been presented as a reform but, in its concrete results, was hard to distinguish from the objectives of the early-eleventh-century reforms. Similar comments may be made about the way in which the twelfth-century reformers relied on their comparatively ill-documented, and often dismissively treated, predecessors.

In addition to other things, these observations allow us to question the relevance of the centrality of reform in accounts of monastic history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as well as current ideas regarding the impact of reforms on the development of individual monastic institutions. They also help remind us that "reformist" government was a slow, cumulative process that can be properly assessed only when looked at from the perspective of how it related to institutional continuities, and to gradual processes of institutional change.

Benedictine institutions in the county of Flanders, c. 1000

Map labels:

NORTH SEA

Honte

Zwin
Bruges
Aardenburg
Antwerp
Scheldt

Saint-Peter and
Saint-Bavon Ghent

Furnes
Deinze

Bergues
Bourbourg
Yser
Ipre
Lys
Alost

Guines
Aa
Ypres
Courtrai
Audenarde

Cassel
Saint-Bertin
Saint-Omer
Messines
Scheldt

Boulogne
Liane

Aire
Lys
Lille
Tournai
Dendre

Thérouanne
Deule

Canche
Scarpe
Saint-Amand
Marchiennes (?)
Mons

Montreuil
Hesdin
Saint-Pol
Lens
Douai
Valenciennes

Authie
Saint-Vaast
Arras
Scheldt

Somme
Cambrai

Amiens

Legend:

Benedictine institutions;
towns; combined
Benedictine nunnery

Theoretical frontiers
of Flanders

0   40 km

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Principal Benedictine institutions in the county of Flanders, c. 1100

Map content:

COUNTY OF HOLLAND

Honte

NORTH SEA

Zwin

Bruges
Aardenburg

Antwerp

Oudenburg

Gistel

Furnes

Saint-Winnoc
Bergues

Saint-Peter and
Saint-Bavon — Ghent

Deinze

Scheldt

MERCK

Bourbourg

Aa

Yser

Ipre

Ypres

Courtrai

Lys

Ename

DUCHY OF BRABANT

Alost

Affligem

Guines
County of
GUINES

Saint-Bertin
Saint-Omer

Cassel

Audenarde

Grammont

Boulogne

Liane

Messines

Scheldt

County of
BOULOGNE

Saint-Jean-au-Mont
Thérouanne

Aire

Lys

Lille

Tournai

Saint-Martin

Dendre

COUNTY OF HAINAUT

Ham

Deûle

Canche

Montreuil

County of SAINT-POL

Auchy

Hesdin

C. of HESDIN

Saint-Pol

Lens

Douai

Marchiennes

Saint-Amand

Hasnon

Mons

Authie

Etrun

Saint-
Vaast

Arras

Scarpe

Anchin

Hamage

Denain

Valenciennes

Somme

Scheldt

COUNTY OF PONTHIEU

Cambrai

Amiens

Legend:
Benedictine institutions; towns; combined
Benedictine nunneries
Frontiers of Flanders and other frontiers

0 ————— 40 km

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❦ Appendix A

Overview of the Leadership of Benedictine Monasteries in Flanders Reformed in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries between c. 900 and c. 1120

Dates of abbatial governments are often tentative, especially for the tenth and early eleventh centuries. For references to the primary sources and publications used to create this overview, see the relevant notes in chapters 2–5 and 7.

The following abbreviations are used in the "Appointed" column: CO, appointed directly by the count of Flanders; AB, appointed by the preceding abbot; EP, appointed by the *ordinarius*; VA, appointed by third parties.

The following abbreviations are used in the "End of abbacy" column: D, died in office; AB, abdicated for unspecified reasons; ABIO, abdicated for illness or old age; ABM, abdicated to return to another monastery or to take the abbacy of a newly founded one; ABF, forced to abdicate; ABFS, forced to abdicate by a secular party; ABFE, forced to abdicate by an ecclesiastical party.

	YEARS IN OFFICE	ELECTED	APPOINTED	RECRUITED FROM THE LOCAL SECULAR ELITES	FORMER MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMUNITY	END OF ABBACY
Bergues-Saint-Winnoc						
Reform in 1022						
Roderic (1022–1029)	7	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint-Bertin)	ABM (Saint-Bertin)
Gerewin (1029–1033)	4	No	Yes AB	No	No (monk of Saint-Bertin)	D
Rumold (1033–1068)	35	No?	Yes AB?	No	No (monk of Saint-Bertin)	D
Ermenger (1068–1078)	10	Yes	No	?	Yes	ABFE
Manasses (1078–1083)	5	No	Yes CO	No	No (prior of Saint-Airy in Verdun)	ABFS (possibly relocated to Saint-Bénigne in Dijon)
Ingelbert (1083–1096/1104?)	13/21?	Yes	No	?	Yes	D
Ermenger (2nd term, 1104–1106)	2	No	Yes VA	?	Yes	D
Hermes (1106–1121)	15	No	Yes CO	?	No (prior of Saint-Bertin)	AB
Reform in 1106						
Marchiennes						
Reform in 1024						
Judith (attested 970s)	?	?	?	Yes?	?	?
Leduin (1024–1033)	9	No	Yes VA	Yes?	No (abbot of Saint-Vaast)	ABM
Alberic (1033–1048)	15	No	Yes AB	?	No (monk of Saint-Vaast)	D

Poppo (1048)	<1	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Stavelot)	D
Wido (1048–1068)	20	Yes	No	?	No (monk of Saint-Vaast)	D?
Alard I (1068–1090)	22	Yes	No	?	No (monk of Saint-Vaast)	D
Richard (1091–1102)	11	Yes	No	?	No (monk of Saint-Martin in Tournai)	D
Alard II (1102–1103)	1	Yes	No	?	No (monk of Anchin)	D
Fulcard (1103–1115)	12	Yes	No	Yes	No (monk of Hasnon)	ABFE
Amand (1115/16–1136)	20	No	Yes EP	Yes?	No (prior of Anchin)	D
Reform in 1116						
Saint-Amand						
Robert (887/c. 900–922/23)	?	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (duke of Francia, brother of King Odo)	D
Roger I (922/23–926)	3–4	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Laon)	D
Roger II (926–942)	16	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Laon)	D
Otger (942/50–952)	?	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No	D
Reform in 952						
Leudric (952–956)	4	No	Yes CO	Yes	Yes	D?
Genulf (956–968)	13	?	?	?	?	D
Rather (968)	<1	No	Yes VA	No	No	ABF
Gueric (968–996)	27	?	?	?	?	D
Radbod (996–1013)	17	?	?	?	?	D

(Continued)

	YEARS IN OFFICE	ELECTED	APPOINTED	RECRUITED FROM THE LOCAL SECULAR ELITES	FORMER MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMUNITY	END OF ABBACY
Reform in 1013						
Richard (1013–1018)	5	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint-Vanne and Saint-Vaast)	ABM (Saint-Vanne and Saint-Vaast)
Malbod (1018–1062)	44	No	Yes AB	Yes	Yes	D
Fulcard/Lambert (1062–1076)	14	?	?	?	?	D
Bovo I (1077–1085)	8	Yes?	No?	?	Yes (monk of Saint-Amand, temporarily provost of Hasnon)	D
Hugo I (1085–1107)	22	Yes?	No?	?	Yes (provost of Saint-Amand under Fulcard/Lambert; nephew of the latter)	D
Bovo II (1107–1121)	14	Yes	No	?	Yes (nephew of Bovo I)	D
"Reform" c. 1117–1120						
Saint-Bavo						
Arnulf I (before 937–948/965?)	?	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Flanders)	AB/D?

Reform in 948

Gerard (948–953)	5	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint-Gérard in Brogne and Saint-Peter in Ghent)	ABM (Saint-Gérard)
Wido (953–965)	12	No	Yes AB	No	No (nephew of Gerard)	D?

Personal union w. Saint-Peter (965–981)

Odwin (981–998)	17	?	?	Yes?	Yes (provost of Saint-Bavo)	D
Erembold (998–after 1110)	>12	?	?	Yes?	Yes	D
Othelbold (1019–1034)	15	?	?	?	?	D

"Reform" in 1034

Leduin (1034–1035/36)	1–2	?	?	No	No (abbot of Saint-Vaast)	ABM (Saint-Vaast)
Rumold (1035/36–1037?)	1–2	?	?	No	No (abbot of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc)	ABF
Folbert (1038/39/40–1066)	26–28	?	?	?	?	D
Siger (1066–1073)	7	?	?	?	?	ABFS?
Stephen of Egmond (1073–1076)	3	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Egmond)	ABFE?
Wichman (1076–1092)	16	?	?	?	?	ABFS?
Adelard (1092–1099)	7	?	?	?	?	D
Vulfric/Gualric (1099–1131)	32	?	?	?	?	D

Saint-Bertin

Fulco (892–900)	8	Yes	No	?	Yes (formerly abbot in 878–883)	D
Baldwin (900–918)	18	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Flanders)	D

(Continued)

	YEARS IN OFFICE	ELECTED	APPOINTED	RECRUITED FROM THE LOCAL SECULAR ELITES	FORMER MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMUNITY	END OF ABBACY
Adaolf (918–933)	15	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Boulonnais and Ternois)	D
Arnulf I (933–946/965)	13/32	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Flanders)	AB/D
Reform in 946						
Gerard (946–947)	<2	No	Yes CO	No	No	ABM (Saint-Gérard, Saint-Peter)
Wido (947/48–950)	2–3	No	Yes VA	No	No	ABFS
Hildebrand (950–954)	4	No	Yes CO	No	?	ABM
Regenold (954–961)	6	Yes?	?	?	?	ABIO
Adalolf (961–962)	c. 1	No	Yes CO	?	?	D
Hildebrand (962–964 or 971)	2/3 or 8	No	Yes CO	No	Yes	D
Baldwin (971/72?)	1	No	?	Yes?	No	?
Arnulf (972/73?)	1–2	No	?	Yes?	No	AB?
Walter (964 or 973–984)	11 or 20	?	?	?	?	D
Trudgand (985–986)	1–2	?	Yes (CO?)	No?	No (provost of Saint-Peter?)	D

Odbert (986–1007)	21	Yes	No?	Yes?	Yes	D
Hemfrid (1007–1021)	14	No?	Yes (VA?)	Yes?	?	D
Reform in 1021					
Roderic (1021–1042)	21	No	Yes CO	No?	No (monk of Saint-Vaast)	D
Bovo (1042–1065)	23	Yes	No	?	Yes	D
Heribert (1065–1082)	17	Yes	No	?	Yes	D
John (1082–1095)	13	Yes	No	Yes?	Yes	D
Lambert (1095–1123)	28	Yes	No	Yes?	Yes	D
Reform in 1099/1100					
Saint-Peter					
Robert II (892–923)	31	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Paris and brother of King Odo)	D
Arnulf I (923–941/965?)	18/42	No	No (lay abbot)	D?	No (count of Flanders)	AB/D
Reform in 941					
Gerard (941–953)	12	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint-Gérard in Brogne and Saint-Peter in Ghent)	ABM (Saint-Gérard)
Womar (953–980)	27	No	Yes CO	No	Yes (prior; also abbot of Saint-Bertin)	D

(Continued)

	YEARS IN OFFICE	ELECTED	APPOINTED	RECRUITED FROM THE LOCAL SECULAR ELITES	FORMER MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMUNITY	END OF ABBACY
Wido (980/81–986)	6	?	?	?	Yes (provost)	D
Adalwin (986–995)	9	?	?	?	?	D
Rodbold (1st term, 995–1029)	34	Yes	No	?	?	ABFE?
Richard (1029–1032)	3	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint–Vanne and Lobbes)	ABM (Saint–Vanne)
"Reform" in 1029						
Rodbold (2nd term, 1032–1034)	2	?	?	?	?	ABIO
Wichard (1034–1058)	24	No	Yes AB	Yes?	Yes	D
Everhelm (1059–1069)	10	No	Yes (simoniac)	No	No (abbot of Hautmont)	D (ABFE presumably pending)
Folcard (1069–1088)	18	Yes	No	?	?	AB
Siger (1088–1108)	20	?	?	?	?	D
Ansbold (1108–1115)	7	?	?	?	Yes (provost of Saint–Peter in Ghent)	D
Erembold (1115)	<1	?	?	?	?	D
Arnulf (1115–1132)	17	?	?	?	?	AB (ABIO?)

Saint-Vaast

Reform in 1117

Baldwin (892–912)	20	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Flanders)	D
Alchmar (912–931)	19	No	No (lay abbot)	Yes	No (local nobility)	D
Adalelm (931–943)	12	No	No (lay abbot)	Yes	No (local nobility)	D
Arnulf I (943–954)	11	No	No (lay abbot)	No	No (count of Flanders)	AB
Hugo III (954)	<1?	No	No (lay abbot)	?	?	?
Hugo IV (954)	<1?	No	No (lay abbot)	?	?	?
Reform in 954						
Hildebrand (954–961/62)	7 or 8	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Saint-Bertin)	ABM (Saint-Bertin)
Frameric (961/62 or 968–972)	4 or 10	?	?	No?	?	?
Malefrid (972–c. 988)	c. 16?	?	?	?	?	?
Falrad (c. 988–1004)	c. 16	?	?	?	?	?
Heribert (c. 1005)	?	No	Yes EP	?	Yes	?
Reform in 1008						
Richard (1008–1022)	14	No	Yes EP	No	No (abbot of Saint-Vanne)	ABM (Saint-Vaast and Lobbes)
Leduin (1022/23–1046/47)	c. 24	No	Yes AB	Yes	Yes	D

(Continued)

	YEARS IN OFFICE	ELECTED	APPOINTED	RECRUITED FROM THE LOCAL SECULAR ELITES	FORMER MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMUNITY	END OF ABBACY
John (1046/47)	<1?	?	?	?	Yes	D
Poppo (1047–1048)	<1	No	Yes CO	No	No (abbot of Stavelot)	D
Adelelm (1048–1059)	11	No?	Yes CO?	?	?	D
Herchembold (1059–1067)	8	No?	Yes CO?	?	?	D
[Alard (1067–1068)]	<1	N/A	N/A	?	No (monk of Marchiennes)	ABFE? Presumably a failed attempt at usurpation.
Alold (1068–1104)	36	Yes	No	?	Yes	D
Henric (1104–1130)	26	?	?	?	?	D

Reform in 1110

✤ Appendix B

Booklist of the Abbey of Marchiennes, c. 1025–1050

Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 506, fols. 46r–47v; reproduced here after the edition in Vanderputten and Snijders, "Echoes," 87–88. Shelf marks in square brackets contain possible identifications of surviving manuscripts.

Descriptio librorum Sanctae Rictrudis

1. Augustinus super Iohannem [Douai, BMDV, 255]
2. Expositio Gregorii papae in Ihezechiele [Douai, BMDV, 306]
3. Pars prima expositionis eiusdem Gregorii de moralibus in alio libro [Douai, BMDV, 300–303]
4. Tertiaque pars sive quarta earundem moralium in alio [Douai, BMDV, 343–44]
5. Deinde novissima in altero
6–7. Haimonis expositio super epistolas Pauli in duobus libris
8. Omeliae Gregorii de evangeliis in uno libro [Douai, BMDV, 307]
9. Item omeliae Bedae presbyteri legendae per revolutionem anni in alio codice
10. Liber Zmaragdi
11. Liber Paterii
12. Expositio Haimonis super Isaiam

13. Expositio Bedae de tabernaculo Domini [Douai, BMDV, 328]
14. Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini
15. Liber de sermonibus adventus Domini et nativitatis; atque quadragesimae
16–18. Item libri tres in quibus continentur sermones sive omeliae
19. Item liber unus de omeliis atque sermonibus
20. Liber de sermonibus paschae Sancti Augustini atque Pascasii de spiritu sancto
21. Liber de laude caritatis in quo est sinonima Isidori; atque vita Sancti Basilii [Brussels, Royal Library Albert I, 08714–9]
22. Vita Sancti Iohannis elemosinarii et Sancti Martini
23. Liber de vita Sanctae Rictrudis [Douai, BMDV, 849]
24. Liber iste de passione Sancti Dionisii
25. Liber actuum apostolorum [Douai, BMDV, 14]
26. Liber qui vocatur Diadema Monachorum
27. Vita Sancti Antonii
28. Vita Sancti Amandi atque Vedasti [(part of ?) Douai, BMDV, 857]
29. Liber de vita Sancti Ionati
30. Liber de passione Sancti Vincentii necnon Agathae virginis [(part of ?) Douai, BMDV, 861]
31. Liber passionalis
32. Item alius in quo continetur vita Sancti Martini
33. Liber de vita Sancti Leodegarii atque Gregorii papae
34–36. Regulae Sancti Benedicti tres
37. Liber Effrem diaconi
[38.] [erased]

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Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, 16961ter

Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 506

Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale), 170, 314, 506, 849, 856

Ghent, University Library, 224, 308

Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université, R4/G 847 Codex 4

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale), 311, 342bis, 745, 747, 748, 749, 750, 755, 803/1, 815, 819

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