This Dissertation Committee for Anna Lisa Taylor
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Poetry, Patronage, and Politics:

Epic Saints' Lives in Western Francia, 800-1000

Committee:

_____
Martha Newman, Supervisor

_____
Alison Frazier, Supervisor

_____
Jennifer Ebbeler

_____
Brian Levack

_____
Marjorie Woods

Poetry, Patronage, and Politics:

Epic Saints' Lives in Western Francia, 800-1000

by

Anna Lisa Taylor, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2006

For my parents, Elizabeth and Bruce.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was completed with all kinds of support from a large number of people. Thank you to my parents for years (and then more years) of unfailing encouragement, my long time friend and mentor Lisa Kallet for dragging me kicking and screaming to Texas, and to Al C., Mary Vance, and Samara Turner for keeping me happy and healthy.

The research for this dissertation was completed with support from the Mellon Foundation, the Bibliography Society, the Medieval Academy, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, and a Dora Bonham award from the University of Texas. The writing was funded by a Harrington Fellowship from the University of Texas. I wish to express my utmost gratitiude to all these organizations that saw the value in manuscript research and the investigation of neglected sources. This project could not have been completed without the kindness and assistance of the librarians at the Bibliothèque nationale de France at Richilieu, the Bibliothèques municipales in Valenciennes, Douai, Rouen, Saint-Omer, and Boulogne-sur-mer, the KBR, the BAV, and the Bodleian.

In many ways this is a project about ninth- and tenth-century students and their teachers, and the long erudite works that the former sent to the latter at the end of their formal education. Therefore, thanks especially to what has rightly been called the "perfect committee," Jennifer Ebbeler, Jorie Woods, and Brian Levack, for making this process so interesting and enjoyable, and above all, thank you to my wonderful advisors Martha Newman and Alison Frazier.

Poetry, Patronage, and Politics:

Epic Saints' Lives in Western Francia, 800-1000

Publication No. _____

Anna Lisa Taylor, Ph. D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2006

Supervisors: Martha Newman and Alison Frazier

Monastic authors in western Francia during the central Middle Ages composed and exchanged Latin verse saints' lives (*vitae metricae*) to create communities of saints, emperors, bishops, teachers, and students. These epic poems were sent to patons, excerpted in liturgy, and read in the classroom. By writing *vitae metricae*, the monks enhanced their own prestige, promoted their saints, flattered their patrons, and aggrandized their abbeys.

Table of Contents

List of Tables, Figures, and Illustrations

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum,* edito novissima (Paris: V. Palme, 1863-)
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*), 2 vols and supplement (Brussels: Société de Bollandistes, 1898-1901, 1986)
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (1866-)
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris: Editions du Dauphin, 1912-
KBR	Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/ Koninlijke Bibliotheek van Belgie
MGH AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*
MGH Ep.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolarum*
MGH Poetae	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevii*
MGH SRM	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1841-91)
RB	*Revue bénédictine*

Chapter One:

Introduction:

Poets, Patrons, Teachers, and Books

In a full-page illumination from an eleventh-century manuscript created at the northern French monastery of Saint-Amand, a monk labeled "Milo" shuffles sideways into the frame to present his work to a much larger seated figure whom the illustrator identifies as "Haimin" (figure 1.1).[1] Haimin reaches out one hand to take the work. The front of the book or pamphlet reads, in abbreviated form, "festa propinquabant nostri," the incipit of Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333), written c. 845-55.[2] The miniature on the verso of this folio again features Milo, the monk of Saint-Amand, and Haimin, from the nearby monastery of Saint-Vaast.[3] In this second picture, Milo and Haimin again exchange a pamphlet or small unbound book (figure 1.2). Haimin, still disproportionately

---

[1] Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 25, Poitiers-Valenciennes (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), pp. 403-05. See also, *Narrative Sources: The Narrative Sources from the Medieval Low Countries*, www.narrative-sources.be. Viewed 20 May, 2006. I have generally used the simplest available English version of the Latin names of poets and saints (for example, Haimin for Haiminus, Amand for Amandus). In instances where there is not a commonly used Anglicization of the name (Fortunatus, Germanus, Lupus), I have maintained the Latin. I refer to abbeys using their French names (thus Saint-Bertin, Saint-Amand, and Saint-Germain). Certain abbeys are commonly referred to by their place names, rather than the names of the saints to whom their first churches were dedicated, and in these instances I follow the convention (so, I refer to Hamage rather than Saint-Pierre in Hamage). In transcribing manuscripts, I have endeavoured to stay close to the original orthography, rather than imposing more classical spelling on the texts. In the verse saints' lives I have transcribed e with a cedilla as "ae" since the lives themselves alternate between the two usages.

[2] Milo, *Vita Amandi* in MGH Poetae 3, ed. Ludwig Traube (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 561-612. The BHL number refers to the reference given to each hagiographical text catalogued by the Bollandists in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Brussels: Société de Bollandistes, 1898-1901), 2 vols and supplement (Brussels: Societe de Bollandistes, 1986), and their website http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be.

[3] Although Haimin and Milo are not labeled in this illustration, the resemblance is unmistakable. A brief survey of the figures drawn by the artist of Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 shows that he depicts his human subjects with highly individualized features, and so the resemblance between the figures on fol. 77r and those on fol. 77v is not likely to be coincidental.

tall, sits at a desk, while in contrast to his obsequious demeanor on the previous page, Milo breezes in from the left hand side of the page. Both monks have a hand on the pamphlet, which is open towards the viewer.

These illuminations are on folios 77r – 77v of the late-eleventh-century 143-folio codex Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, a copiously illustrated book that contains a number of texts about Saint-Amand's patron saint.[4] These texts include Baudemund's seventh-century prose *Vita Amandi* (BHL 332), Milo's prose supplement to Amand's life (BHL 339), Milo's verse life, and the saint's *miracula* (BHL 345). Also included in the collection are the two letters exchanged between Milo of Saint-Amand and Haimin of Saint-Vaast concerning Milo's verse *Vita Amandi*. The two images on folios 77r and 77v are the visual counterparts to these letters. Milo's letter to Haimin (fols. 74v – 75v) with its formulaic professions of humility — the verbal equivalent of his meek posture in the picture — asks Haimin to correct his work. In the second illustration, corresponding to Haimin's response (*rescriptum*) (fols. 75v-76v), Milo appears to receive the corrected version.[5]

The other two illuminations that adorn the verse *Vita Amandi* likewise illustrate pieces of correspondence that preface and respond to the text. The illustration on folio 73r is another dedication miniature. It shows a monk presenting a thin, bound codex to a much larger seated individual (figure 1.3). Although these figures are not labeled, the

[4] Abou-El-Haj dates the manuscript to the years 1066-1107. Barbara F. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 86.
[5] Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints,* p. 427. Abou-El-Haj interprets the scene on fol. 77v as Milo receiving his work back from Haimin, and this interpretation is supported by the fact that the pair of illustrations follow and correspond to the pair of letters exchanged between Milo and Haimin (one that Milo sends dedicating his verse *Vita Amandi* to Haimin and the other containing Haimin's reply).

large crowned man is clearly the work's second dedicatee, Emperor Charles the Bald. The monk is presumably Milo's student Hucbald, who wrote two acrostic poems (featured on fols. 73v and 74r) dedicating Milo's *Vita Amandi* to Charles the Bald shortly after Milo's death in 872.

The fourth illustration also depicts the contents of a poem in visual form. In the manuscript, the verse life is followed by a short poem, the *Versiculi Vulfai in confirmatione operis*, in which the monk Vulfaius praises Milo's *Vita Amandi*. This text is prefaced on folio 117v by an illumination that takes up more than half the page (figure 1.4). The haloed Vulfaius sits at a writing desk.[6] In his right hand he holds a quill, in his left hand a scraper. While he writes upon a piece of parchment, composing his *Versiculi*, his eyes rest upon a bound codex, presumably containing Milo's *Vita Amandi*, which is open on a book stand to his left.

In these, the only four illuminations accompanying the verse life (or *vita metrica*) in this manuscript, the text of Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* is represented four times, twice as an unbound pamphlet and twice as a bound book. Twice it is depicted open and twice closed. In one case it is being read. In the other three scenes it is being exchanged between men of unequal status: a student and a teacher on folio 77r and folio 77v, a monk and an emperor on folio 73r. In each picture the action – exchanging, reading, and writing – is centered on the book. Although these illustrations show the *Vita Amandi's* readers and writers, they never depict its subject, Saint Amand. Rather, they remain focused on the uses of Milo's manuscript.

[6] Figure 192 in Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints,* p. 429. Abou-El-Haj notes that writer portraits often feature haloes whether the writers were saints or not. See Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints,* p. 36.

When we turn to the illustrations of the prose life by Baudemund (BHL 332) in the earlier section of the codex, we see a very different pattern. Of the 40 images in the codex, 32 belong with the prose life.[7] Therefore, unlike its verse counterpart, the prose *vita* is heavily illuminated. These images were created by the same artist who adorned the text of Milo's *Vita Amandi*, but they suggest a distinct set of interests.[8] With one exception, these illustrations all depict incidents from the saint's life. For example, Amand confronts a seven-headed demon on folio 7r, rescues a boy from a hairy yellow demon on folio 12v (figure 1.5), and confronts devil worshippers on folio 15r.[9] Only one illumination shows the production of the work. On folio 1v Baudemund is shown seated, quill in hand, with a book on his lap. (figure 1.6). This representation is the only picture of Baudemund's book in the manuscript, Valenciennes, BM, MS 502.

A roughly contemporaneous manuscript from the abbey of Marchiennes (several kilometers from Saint-Amand on the river Scarpe) shows a similar contrast between illustrations for prose and verse. Douai, BM, MS 849, like Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, is

---

[7] There are four illustrations in the codex that pertain to neither Baudemund's *Vita Amandi* nor Milo's version. The *Visio Sancte Aldegundis* (fols. 119v- 123r) is preceded in the manuscript by two miniatures, one depicting saint Aldegunde praying (fol. 118v) and the other showing Aldegunde's vision of Amand's ascent to heaven (fol. 119r). Amand's testament is preceded by an illustration of the witnesses to the testament (fols. 123v-124r). Folio 125v shows a figure writing. Abou-El-Haj identifies him as either Baudemond or Gillebert (also called Gislebert), author of the account of Amand's relics' traveling miracles (the *Miracula in itinere Gallico*) of 1066 (BHL 345). The latter identification is much more plausible since the *Miracula* are copied on the folios immediately following the portrait (fols. 126r-143v), and throughout this manuscript the artist prefaces texts with illustrations of their authors or contents. Fol. 123r contains a later line drawing of Amand and Baudemund. Abou-El-Haj, who interprets it as the scene in which Amand dictates his testament to Baudemund, dates this image to the early twelfth century. See Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, pp. 88-92, and figures 193, 194, 199, and 198.

[8] On these illustrations, see Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints, passim.*

[9] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements,* vol. 25*, Poitiers* [by A.F. Lièvre et Auguste Molinier]*, Valenciennes* [by Auguste Molinier] (Paris, E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1894), pp. 403-405. The illustrations from this codex are reproduced in Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*: the miniature from folio 7r is printed as figure 135 on p. 384, and that from fol. 15r as figure 153 on p. 397. The illustrations accompanying Baudemund's *Vita Amandi* are also reproduced in MGH SRM 5, eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), plates 3-18.

an illustrated collection of texts about its house's patron saints.[10] The illustrations in the Marchiennes codex are more crudely executed than those from Saint-Amand, and there are fewer of them (only eight pages in the manuscript feature pictorial decoration). Most of the illustrations simply show the saints arranged in different registers or scenes from Christ's nativity.[11] By contrast, the illustration preceding the *vita metrica* of Saint Eusebia does not depict the saint but the author or scribe of the saint's life.[12] In this miniature, the monk, kneeling in prayer, offers up a leaflet, while a hand reaches down from heaven towards the monk's head, perhaps representing the divine inspiration to which the poets so often appealed.

Like the ancillary written materials that accompany Milo's *Vita Amandi* – Hucbald's acrostics, Milo's letter, Haimin's reply, and the *Versiculi Vulfai* — the miniatures associated with the verse life in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 do not emphasize the saint, but the poem, and more specifically its donation and reception. André Boutemy, who virtually ignores the miniatures depicting Milo's book, shows that the artist who created the images in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 was a sensitive interpreter of the written text.[13] We need, therefore, to pay attention to the artist's choices. It is notable that he created a pictorial program for the metric *vita* and its related texts that emphasize the poem's composition, reception, and exchange, while omitting the saint entirely. In the images associated with the verse *Vita Amandi*, the book or pamphlet containing the *vita*

---

[10] C. Dehaisnes, ed., *Catalogue général de manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements,* v. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), p. 95. On this manuscript, see pp. 225 ff. of this study.
[11] Douai, BM, MS 849, fols. 1v and 2r features Christ's nativity; 29v, 33r, 71v, 72r, and 126r depict the saints related to Marchiennes.
[12] Douai, BM, MS 849, fol. 43r.
[13] André Boutemy, "L'illustrations de la vie de Saint Amand," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 10 (1940), 236.

metrica is depicted four times, its author is shown twice, and its readers (Haimin, Charles, and Vulfaius) are represented a total of four times. The single image of Baudemund's book shows it sitting nearly closed on its author's lap. By contrast, in each of the four images of the *vita metrica*, the book is central to the action: in three instances it is being exchanged, in the fourth it is being read and inspiring new verse (Vulfaius's *Versiculi*). Why is this book, specifically a book containing a verse saint's life, so central to the artist's pictorial program?

This study suggests that the anonymous artist of Saint-Amand represented the importance of metric saints' lives for monasteries in western Francia during the central Middle Ages, and he demonstrated some of the ways that the monastic authors of these works used them to create communities bound by participation in the production and reception of these verse *vitae*. By writing, reading, emulating, excerpting, teaching, memorizing, and exchanging these *vitae metricae*, monks (and sometimes canons) created and perpetuated specific kinds of "textual communities" characterized by the use of long, complicated, and erudite saints' lives written in epic Latin verse. [14] The four illuminations of Milo's *Vita Amandi* in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 convey several of the issues central to the production and consumption of verse saints' lives or *vitae metricae* in western Francia in the central Middle Ages. By depicting three generations of teachers and students (Haimin, Milo, and Hucbald), the illustrations suggest the importance of *vitae metricae* in educating monks and creating a community of scholars. Representing

[14] The term "textual communities" comes from Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 88.

Milo's *Vita Amandi* as a physical object that changes hands three times, the pictures also point to the ways that the exchange of *vitae metricae* created and cemented bonds of patronage, including imperial patronage. Further, by showing one reader's poetic response to the *Vita* (in the form of the *Versiculi* that Vulfaius writes), the illuminations reveal the dynamic aspect of *vitae metricae*; as Haimin says in his letter, the readers' envy of a verse life can spur them to compose their own works.[15] These themes – education, patronage, and the dynamic literary culture of *vitae metricae* – all recur throughout this study.

As the illustrative scheme of Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 shows, prose and verse *vitae* were considered to be distinct forms, and they functioned somewhat differently. Although some of the uses of verse lives overlapped with those of prose *vitae*, which might also retell the history of the abbey's foundation, and which could likewise be sent to powerful patrons, the *vita metrica* was nonetheless a separate genre with its own uses and features. The long Latin poems, usually written in dactylic hexameter, were read in the classroom by young monks, who would then absorb the epic story of a regional patron saint along with lessons in Latin grammar and metrics. Then – like Aeneas's travails – the saint's *gesta* would be inscribed in the student's mind through close iterative reading and memorization.[16] More evidence for the *Vita Amandi's* use in the classroom comes from its inclusion in the ninth-century schoolbook,

---

[15] Haimin, *rescriptum,* in MGH Poetae 3, pp. 566-67.
[16] On the ways that Augustine's boyhood reading of Virgil's *Aeneid* implanted itself in his mind, see Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), *passim*.

Valenciennes, BM, MS 414.[17] As works that were exchanged between teachers and students, monks of different houses, and monks and their powerful patrons, the *vitae metricae* linked their authors, donors, and recipients into real and imagined networks. The monks flattered their imperial and episcopal patrons by sending them long, erudite, highly classicizing poems. The poets demonstrated to their teachers and colleagues that both donor and recipient were worthy of inclusion in a dynamic literary and pedagogical culture that encompassed classical *auctores*, Christian poets, their own contemporaries, and future students and emulators. By focusing on the founding saint, each poem recast the house's origins in prestigious Virgilian epic form: the abbey stands in for Rome, and the saint for the long-suffering epic hero. Such poems enhanced the renown of the house, the poet, and the saint.

Vitae Metricae: A Review of the Scholarship

As these *vitae* functioned in different ways from their prose counterparts, so they also provide us with new insights into the ways that monks rewrote and reused their institutional past. Since the 1990s, a number of scholars have examined how monks used ritual, liturgy, cartularies, correspondence, annals, and writings about saints to create a "usable past" that both informed their own houses' institutional identities and their relations with allies, rivals, and patrons.[18] This investigation into the creative histories of religious institutions has been particularly fruitful for studies of medieval monastic

[17] A.-F. Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 25, Poitiers-Valenciennes (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), 373-74. I describe this manuscript on pp. 130-31, below.
[18] The term "usable past" comes from William Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

history in western Europe. A brief survey of some of the most important books suggests the varying approaches historians have taken within this school.

Sharon Farmer, Amy Remensnyder, Raymond Van Dam, Thomas Head, and Felice Lifshitz have explored the ways that authors from medieval institutions rewrote their histories to promote their houses' position and authority, especially in response to regional rivalries. In *Communities of Saint Martin*, Farmer argues that from the mid-eleventh until the mid-thirteenth centuries, the monks of Marmoutier and the canons of Saint-Martin in Tours shaped the legends and enacted the rituals concerning their patron saint not only to further their agenda in the outside world but also to define their own communal identities.[19] The houses of monks and canons celebrated and recreated their pasts in ways that expressed their shared desire for freedom from episcopal authority and also their rivalry with one another. In *Remembering Kings Past*, Remensnyder examines the ways that, during approximately the same time period, Benedictine monasteries in southern France rewrote their foundation stories to feature apostolic and royal founders. Remensnyder uses the concept "imaginative memory" to describe how the reshaping of the past reconstitutes identity and restructures social relations.[20] These legends should be read as neither fact nor as fiction, for although they are not historically accurate accounts of the houses' foundations and histories, they do have a relationship with, and an effect on, reality. Van Dam, in *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul,* considers the literature of saints' cults from the fifth and sixth centuries to show that it not only

---

[19] Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).
[20] Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 1.

expresses theological ideas (such as the notion of redemption) but also the quest for communal identity and the struggles for authority between kings and bishops.[21] Thomas Head, in *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, examines the changing roles that Orleanais narratives of ancient local patrons played during the Carolingian and Capetian dynasties.[22] In *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, Felice Lifshitz examines the manuscript evidence, as well as the hagiographical works relating to the saints of Rouen, to deduce the writings' political aims, which included promoting Christianity and enhancing the prestige of the archbishops.[23]

Patrick Geary and Rosamond McKitterick take a slightly different approach. They show that, in addition to yielding political insights, the ways that people reworked their past reveal the intellectual architecture of the readers, writers, and compilers.[24] Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance* explores how the writers and collectors of information (the "rememberers") of the eleventh century obliterated certain memories of the past while creating or enhancing others.[25] Geary also examines diverse literary, prosopographical, and iconographic evidence from several regions – Neustria, Bavaria, and Provence. When

---

[21] Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[22] Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[23] Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1995).
[24] By "intellectual architecture" I mean the cognitive structure that is built up by an individual's education, reading, and other experiences (such as performing the liturgy or living in accordance with a monastic rule), a cognitive structure that then informs how that individual interprets, integrates, processes, and creates information. I use the architectural metaphor to convey the idea that people's cultural formation does not only affect what they think, but also provides a framework for *how* they think. Therefore the arrangement and production of knowledge, not just its content, can vary immensely according to the individual's formation.
[25] Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

people's sense of continuity with the past is ruptured (for example, by Viking invasions), they recreate the past so that it is once again comprehensible and relevant to the present.

Rather than focusing on the religious institutions or ecclesiastical authorities of a region, Rosamond McKitterick looks at a much larger picture, namely the ways in which the members of the Carolingian dynasty used a number of sources — the Old Testament, barbarian history, and classical history — to construct their own identity and justify their rule.[26] *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* is especially noteworthy for this discussion, because McKitterick focuses not just on the writing of texts, but also on the compiling and copying of codices. McKitterick observes that the copying of old texts and the assembly of codices were as significant as the composition of new works. In addition to her intensely codicological approach, she includes the cognitive aspects of memory in her consideration of how readers and writers used the past. Thus she unites two recent approaches to medieval memory, that which deals with the creation of a communal past and that, exemplified by the work of Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory*, which focuses on the architecture that underlay medieval memory and creativity.[27]

These works offer insights for the scholar of verse hagiography. Farmer, Remensnyder, Van Dam, Head, and Lifshitz all show how the hagiographical writings of a town or region, placed into their historical contexts, can reveal new perspectives on local political and social relations. More importantly, these historians suggest that

---

[26] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[27] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). On the two strands of scholarship on medieval memory, see Faith Wallis, "Ambiguities of Medieval 'Memoria,'" *Canadian Journal of History/ Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 30 (1995), 77-83.

although the rewriting, illustrating, or copying of hagiographical texts may not provide new evidence about the saint or the saint's time period, they provide us with copious other information about the issues and agenda of the communities that produced and used them. For example, when a monastery was engaged in conflict with secular lords, the monks of the house might write saints' *vitae* and *miracula* that emphasized the subordination of secular authorities to their patron saint. In his metric *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248), Johannes of Saint-Amand stresses the subservience of King Dagobert to Saint Amand, and criticizes other kings who treat saints without proper respect. Johannes was writing around the turn of the millennium, when the overbearing and oppressive Count Baldwin IV of Flanders was meddling in Saint-Amand's affairs and ecclesiastical matters more generally.[28] The ways in which saints' *vitae* were rewritten or copied also provide us with evidence of how the readers and writers thought about their own past. It is noteworthy, however, that, with a few exceptions, all these excellent studies omit *vitae metricae*.[29]

There are several reasons for the modern scholarly indifference toward *vitae metricae*. As François Dolbeau notes, many *vitae metricae* are unedited, so that their very existence tends to be known only to specialists. Historians interested in the study of saints have, moreover, preferred the prose versions on which the metric redactions are based,[30]

---

[28] Johannes *Vita Rictrudis,* 1.249-58 and 2.342-59. See Chapter Four of this study, pp. 173-74, for a discussion of Johannes's representation of sacred and secular power.
[29] See p. 15, below, for the exceptions.
[30] François Dolbeau, "Un domaine négligé de la littérature médiolatine: les textes hagiographiques en vers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 45 (2002), 129-31; Peter Godman, "Latin Poetry Under Charles the Bald and Carolingian Poetry," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, eds. Janet Nelson and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 293. Godman points out that Carolingian poetry in general has been neglected.

reflecting the scholarly prejudice that sees prose literature as factual and verse as a fictional form unsuitable as historical evidence.[31] Some scholars have assumed that the prose *vitae* were rewritten in verse form merely to cast the saints' lives in better Latin style.[32] Lifshitz, for instance, dismisses the composition of *vitae metricae* as a matter of "mere grammar."[33] Others have found verse *vitae* inexplicable. Baudoin de Gaiffier, in his article on the audiences of eleventh-century hagiography, describes the verse lives as a pathology, "métromanie pieuse," and as a pretension, a "branche assez artificielle de la littérature hagiographique."[34]

As the historians of "imaginative memory" have shown, however, the fact that a work is a redaction does not make it less telling or significant. Nor does the desire to rewrite a saint's life in a more grammatical manner explain why an author chose to compose hundreds or even thousands of lines of metric Latin, when such a redaction could be accomplished much more easily in correct Latin prose.

Although *vitae metricae* drew on the tradition of prose hagiography and were sometimes paired with prose *vitae* it is nonetheless clear that their readers and writers thought of them as something different and did not consider them to be interchangeable with prose *vitae*. When a verse life had been lost, an extant prose text could not replace it; readers and writers assert that a new *vita metrica* is required. Thus, Heiric of Auxerre, writing around 875, claims that the prince Lothar was distraught when he discovered that an

---

[31] Jennifer Ebbeler, personal correspondence.
[32] Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographic' Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994), 99.
[33] Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre," p. 99.
[34] Baudoin de Gaiffier, "L'hagiographe et son public au xie siècle," in *Miscellanea Historica in honorem Leonis Van Der Essen* (Brussels: Editions Universitaires, 1947), p. 136.

earlier metric *Vita Germani* had been lost, and he demanded that Heiric write a verse replacement (BHL 3458).[35] Similarly, in the next century, the eighteen-year-old Walther of Spire bemoans the loss of Hazecha's verse *Vita Christophori*, and supplies a verse replacement (BHL 1776).[36] Clearly, both Heiric and Walther were justifying their compositions by claiming that they were necessary. Nonetheless, the fact that these justifications were at all plausible implies that these poets and their readers, like the illuminators of the codex Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, thought of prose and verse *vitae* as different kinds of texts that existed for different reasons.

One of the few articles to look specifically at *vitae metricae* corroborates the evidence of the illustrations of Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 that the verse texts are fundamentally different from their prose counterparts. In his comparison of the prose and verse *vitae*, the French scholar of poetry Jean-Yves Tilliette shows that the authors of the *vitae metricae* from the ninth to eleventh centuries do not just write verse redactions with stylistic improvements but thoroughly transform the prose sources.[37] François Dolbeau, in his recent call for scholarship, examines manuscripts of *vitae metricae* and outlines some of the probable uses of the verse lives, especially noting their composition at the

---

[35] Heiric, *Epistola* to *Vita Germani*, in MGH Poetae 3, p. 431.

[36] Walther, *Passio Christophori*, in MGH Poetae 5/1, ed. Karl Strecker, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1939), pp. 210-63.

[37] Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Les modèles de sainteté du ixe au xie siècle, d'apres le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques," in *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI)*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 36 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989), pp. 381-406; Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," pp. 129-39. Tilliette has also written a number of articles that include discussions of verse *vitae*. Tilliette, "Le xe siècle dans l'histoire de la littérature" in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil, Royaume capétien et Lotharingie, Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987: La France de l'an mil*, eds. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 93-98; Tilliette, "La poésie métrique latine. Ateliers et genres," in Iogna-Prat et al. (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil*, pp. 103-109; Tilliette, "Un art du patchwork: la poésie métrique latine (xie - xiie siècles)," in *Théories et Pratiques de L'écriture au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1988), pp. 59-73.

end of a student's education.[38] Michael Lapidge discusses the later Anglo-Saxon material,[39] and Mario Chiesa deals with poems from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[40] There are also some articles on individual metric *vitae,* often written from a philological point of view.[41] Work on late antique verse and medieval verse more generally is also useful for understanding *vitae metricae*. Philip Hardie's monograph on later Roman epic, Michael Roberts's studies of late antique epic, and Peter Godman's work on Carolingian poetry provide useful insights into the structure, language, themes and functions of *vitae metricae*.[42] Peter Godman's and Gernot Wieland's discussions of the twinned style – the *opus geminatum* or the *geminum stilum* – in which a prose text

[38] Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 137.
[39] Michael Lapidge, "Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24-5 (1989-90), 249-60.
[40] Mario Chiesa, "Agiografia nel Rinascimento: esplorazioni tra i poemi sacri dei secoli XV e XVI," in *Scrivere di sainti, Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia Napoli, 22-25 ottobre 1997*, ed. Gennaro Luongo (Roma: Viella, 1998), pp. 205-226.
[41] H. Walther, "Fragmente von metrischen Heiligenviten aus dem XIIten Jahrhundert," *Speculum* 6 (1931), 600-606; François Dolbeau, "Fragments métriques consacrés a S. Melaine de Rennes," *AB* 93 (1975), 115-25; Michael Lapidge, "Bede's Metrical Vita S. Cuthberti," in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), pp. 77-93; Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Métrique carolingienne et métrique auxerroise; quelques réflexions sur la vita Sancti Germani d'Heiric d'Auxerre," in *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830-901*, eds. Colette Jeudy, Dominique Iogna-Prat, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), pp. 313-327; Peter Christian Jacobsen, "Die Vita s. Germani Heirics von Auxerre: Untersuchungen zu Prosodie und Metrik," in *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*, eds. Jeudy et al., pp. 329-51; Michael Lapidge, "The Lost 'Passio Metrica S. Dionysii' by Hilduin," *Mittellateinische Jahrbuch* 2 (1987), 56- 79.
[42] Philip Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985), Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Godman and Oswyn Murray, eds., *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

(such as a saint's life) is paired with a verse equivalent – also shed light on the composition of *vitae metricae.*[43]

A few scholars interested in the construction of monastic identity have drawn on verse saints' lives. Thomas Head discusses Rodulf Tortaire's verse *Passio S. Mauri* (BHL 5790), and acknowledges the importance of *vitae metricae*: "lives of saints, in particular the distinctive literary genre of verse lives, were as important as miracle collections."[44] Karine Ugé, in her study of Flemish monastic culture, draws on verse lives but not in a systematic manner. For example, she discusses Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248) but not the anonymous verse life of Rictrude's daughter Eusebia (BHL 2737).[45]

Ritva Jonsson, Gunilla Björkvall, and Andreas Haug have looked at how *vitae metricae* could be excerpted and redeployed in liturgy. Jonsson, in her investigation of versified liturgy, examines how lines of certain verse lives were excerpted and used in the versified office.[46] Björkvall and Haug also examine this topic, looking at the extent to which meter was emphasized when the poetic excerpts were set to music.[47] The celebration of a saint's feast, and particularly that of a patron, is one of the ways that monks or canons expressed their institution's identity, and so the use of *vitae metricae* in

---

[43] Godman, "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum: From Aldhelm to Alcuin," *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215-29; Gernot Wieland, "Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography," in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 113-33.
[44] Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints,* p. 285; Rudolf Tortaire, *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, eds. Marbury B. Ogle and Dorothy M. Schullian (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1933).
[45] Ugé, Karine. *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005), pp. 127-30.
[46] Ritva Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968).
[47] Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Early Medieval Versified Offices," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 278-99.

this context suggests how liturgists could use the verse texts to constitute their community through ritual. For the most part, however, the few scholars who have examined *vitae metricae* have done so from a strictly philological perspective and they have not asked how such texts were deployed in the re-creation and imaginative use of a monastery's past.

*

This study argues that monastic authors from the central Middle Ages used *vitae metricae* to constitute communities both inside and outside the cloister: in the classroom, the royal court and the scriptorium. As noted above, hagiography can tell us about both the intellectual architecture and the external social and political realities of its readers and writers. Therefore, in my study of verse hagiography I look at both the inside and the outside of the text. I consider the *vita metrica* both as a literary artifact and as a physical object, that is, as part of a codex. And I examine how, as both a text that was read and an object that was exchanged, the *vita metrica* operated in the cultural and political milieux inside and outside the cloister.

Reading the *vita metrica* for form and content, I consider how the author conceived his epic poem in relation to previous texts and traditions. I investigate the format and the tropes he deploys to create an authoritative voice for himself and his composition as he produced an epic foundation story for his house. I take particular notice of the ways that the author talks about himself, his sources, the process of composition, and his poem. Like the illustrations in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, the *vitae metricae* themselves are often highly metareferential. The poets and their readers often

use agricultural motifs – a bee gathering nectar, a farmer sowing seeds — to talk about the composition and reception of their texts. And although we might not initially recognize them as such, these tropes present a kind of literary theory that has much to tell us about the methods of the reader and the writer. Further, because some manuscripts contain both the *vitae metricae* and the letters and poems that readers wrote in response to them, I consider both the composition and the reception of the works.

Examining the codex as a physical object, I look for clues about the intended and actual use of the work. I consider its size, the quality of vellum, the penmanship, miniatures, decorations, use of color, annotations, and signs of wear, together with the evidence from letters and the text itself, to place the poem in its historical context. I discuss how the *vitae metricae*, as texts and as objects, functioned in the world, considering why and by whom they were composed, copied, taught, exchanged, read, and excerpted.

These distinctions between the *vita metrica's* content and form, on the one hand, and its function, on the other, are somewhat arbitrary, since form and content influence a text's function. For example, when a poet generates a new narrative of his house's foundation, embodied in a new and more awe-inspiring version of the founding saint and places it in erudite and ornate Latin verse, he probably intends this composition to impress the abbey's patrons. This is to make the obvious point that poets compose their works in particular ways because they have certain ends in mind. The observation is complicated, however, by the fact that other readers and writers could redeploy the poet's work for their own ends. Returning to the example of Milo's *Vita Amandi*, we see that

Milo dedicated it to his teacher Haimin, and that Hucbald chose to rededicate it to Charles the Bald. Evidence from authorial asides, letters, and codices shows that other verse saints' lives were also used and reused in various ways. Therefore, I am interested in both their creation and their redeployment of verse saints' lives. For example, in various places in this study, I discuss Milo's composition of the verse *Vita Amandi* in the mid-ninth century, Hucbald's dedication of that *vita metrica* to Charles the Bald in 872, the poet Johannes's allusions to it in creating his metric life of Amand's disciple Saint Rictrude, written around the year 1000, and the inclusion and decoration of the text in the luxury manuscript Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 in the later eleventh century.

As Milo's verse text, the focus of the artist's miniatures in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, links students and teachers, monks and patrons, authors and readers, so in my dissertation I explore *vitae metricae* that create communities linking the monastic classroom, the palace, and the scriptorium. Like Milo in the Valenciennes codex, other poets, too, gave their *vitae metricae* to teachers, students, and patrons. These gifts promoted the authors' own epic versions of their monastic pasts, demonstrated their houses' (and their own) erudition, and expressed and perpetuated their membership in a scholarly community of those who read and wrote *vitae metricae*.

A Brief History of the *Vita Metrica*

The term *vita metrica*, employed by the Bollandists, is not a title that authors or contemporaries give to these poems.[48] The authors usually describe their work as a *carmen*, a *vita*, or a *passio*, often specifying that it has been translated (*transfundere*) into heroic song (*heroicum carmen*).[49] In discussing individual works, such as the *Vita Amandi*, or the *Passio Dionysii*, I have maintained the traditional titles, but I refer to the texts as *vitae metricae* for the sake of convenience. I understand *vitae metricae* to constitute a genre, and I intend the term to encompass both metric lives and passions because, although *passiones* technically deal with a saint's martyrdom, the distinction between the two is largely arbitrary. For example, the *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL) discussed in Chapter Two details the saint's youth and life, just as a *vita* would. Often the only difference between a *vita* and a *passio* is the cause of death. The fifteenth-century *Parthenice Catharinaria*, which I discuss in the conclusion, deals almost exclusively with the saint's sufferings and death, rather than her earlier life, yet the work shares many generic features with the other verse *vitae* and is part of a series that its poet wrote on virgin saints including Mary who was not a martyr.

The Bollandists apply the term *vita metrica* (or *passio metrica*) to over 600 texts written in Latin metrical verse. Upon examination, these lives fall into two broad categories. Many are short – only one or two pages long — and are copied into the last folios of a gathering or a codex on a saint, apparently as an afterthought. They often only

[48] In the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-1901), and the *Novem supplementum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986).
[49] The rubric introducing Milo's *Vita Amandi* describes entitles the work the "Vita S. Amandi confessoris Christi de prosa oratione in heroicum carmen metrico stilo transfusa" (the life of Saint Amand, confessor, transformed from prose speech into heroic speech in the metric style).

exist in a single copy.[50] These short poems are quite different from the long complex epics that I investigate here. In this study, I use the terms *vitae metricae*, verse lives, metric lives, and epic lives interchangeably to refer to the long Latin poems about saints.

The *vita metrica* is a medieval (and Renaissance) genre with classical and late antique roots. *Vitae metricae* are most often written in dactylic hexameter, the meter of classical Latin epic poetry. In other ways too, most notably by copious allusions to Virgil and mythology, they show themselves to be the heirs of the classical tradition. They also derive from the late antique Christian poetry, such as the Biblical epics written by Juvencus, Sedulius, and Arator, and the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius (b. 348), his collection of poems on the martyrs.[51]

Although *vitae metricae* date at least as far back as Fortunatus (c.530-609), who wrote an influential verse *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624),[52] and Bede (672/3- 735), who wrote a verse *vita* of Cuthbert (BHL 2020), the genre flowered in the Carolingian period. Alcuin (c. 735-804), who wrote a verse life of the bishop Willibrord (BHL 8938), appears to have provided the stimulus for the production of *vitae metricae* on the Continent in the ninth and tenth centuries.[53] The evidence suggests two distinct clusters of scholars

---

[50] Examples of these short poems are the 128-line long verse life of Mary of Egypt (BHL 5421), found on the last folio of the twelfth century Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17429, fols. 107r-107v, the verse *Passio Agnetis* (BHL 164) at the end of the fourteenth-century codex, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4214, fols. 100v-101v, and a verse life of Alexis (BHL 294), found in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 1687, fols. 86v-89v (a twelfth-century fragment found at the end of a composite codex).

[51] Both Juvencus in the fourth century and Arator in the sixth translated sections of the Bible into Latin dactylic hexameter. Juvencus's *Evangeliorum libri* relates the gospels in verse, Arator's *De Actibus Apostolorum* versifies Acts. Sedulius's fifth-century *Carmen paschale* summarizes the Old and New Testaments. See Juvencus, *C. Vettii Aquilini Iuvenci Libri Evangeliorum IIII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886), and Sedulius, *Sedulii Scotti Carmina*, ed. I Meyers (Turnholt: Brepols, 1991).

[52] See Michael Roberts, "St. Martin and the Leper: Narrative Variation in the Martin Poems of Venantius Fortunatus," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), 82-100.

[53] Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 207-220.

writing *vitae metricae* during the ninth century (see the map, figure 1.8). Both trace their intellectual genealogy to Alcuin.[54] The first group, based around Alcuin's student Hraban Maur, is located at Fulda and Reichenau; the second, more diffuse group, which included students of Hraban's pupil Lupus of Ferrières, consisted of monks located in Flanders and in monasteries in the towns of Liège, Rouen, Laon, and Auxerre. The first group includes Hraban's students Walafrid Strabo, Candid, and Ermenric. [55] The second group includes most of the poets I examine in this study, including Milo, Heiric, and Johannes.[56]

Vitae Metricae as a Genre

In addition to their classicizing expression, meter, and allusions, the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages share a number of other characteristics. These verse texts are not mere redactions, which put the saint's life into prettier language, but rather are part of a genre with its own set of rules, or, as Jauss puts it, a "horizon of expectations."[57] Of course, poets can challenge these expectations, as Heiric does in the ninth century with his metrical experimentation and barely relevant *invocationes*. But the

---

[54] A third, shadowy group of verse hagiographers seems to emanate from Alcuin's students at York. See Michael Lapidge, "Aediluulf and the School of York," in *Lateinische Kultur Im VIII. Jahrhundert,* eds. Albert Lehner and Walter Berschin (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1989), pp. 161-78.

[55] A *vita metrica* is attributed to Strabo probably falsely, and printed in MGH Poetae 2, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), pp. 428-473. Candid's *Vita Eligii* is printed in MGH Poetae 2, pp. 96-117, and Ermenric's letter about writing a *vita metrica* is in MGH Ep. 3, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 536–80.

[56] This group also includes the anonymous poets who composed the passions of Benedicta (BHL 1088) and Cassian (BHL 1633), and Gunter (French Gonthier) of Saint-Amand, who wrote in the eleventh century. On the passions of Benedicta and Cassian, see John Contreni*, The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 144. For the intellectual genealogies at Auxerre, see Louis Holtz, "L'école d'Auxerre" in *L'école carolingienne,* eds. Iogna-Prat et al., pp. 131-33.

[57] Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), p. 88. Tilliette takes issue with the idea that the verse lives are simply redactions. See Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," p. 392.

shared features exhibit a remarkable continuity across a millennium of production. As Tilliette notes, *vitae metricae* are distinct from their prose counterparts, not just in meter, but also in themes and expression.[58]

While following the chronology of their prose sources in recounting the saints' lives and miracles, the poets of *vitae metricae* add theological digressions, and they locate the saint in Christian salvation history.[59] Tilliette notes: "la vie du saint n'est plus seulement la manifestation de la toute-puissance de Dieu dans un lieu et à une époque donnés; elle est un moment signifiant de l'histoire universelle."[60] Thus, the poets often begin with Jesus and the apostles, and look forward to the Last Judgment.

Dolbeau observes that the rhetorical exercises that students learned in the classroom influenced the composition of *vitae metricae*.[61] The fact that *vitae metricae* were often written by a young monk (or canon) at the end of his education explains why the poems employ devices such as amplification, (less commonly) abbreviation, and speeches written for the protagonists, which were part of a student's rhetorical training. When the poets transformed prose lives into verse, they drew on their education and to elaborate upon their sources with the result that *vitae metricae* are usually longer and more detailed than their prose counterparts. Another way that the *vitae metricae* reflect classroom practice is by the inclusion of numerous long speeches. One of the exercises of medieval rhetorical education was the composition of a speech from a literary character's

[58] Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," pp. 393-4.
[59] Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," pp. 393-4.
[60] Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," p. 395.
[61] Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 137.

point of view,[62] and the numerous speeches the poets place in the mouths of their saints and supporting casts echo this practice. A third way in which the classroom influences the texts can, perhaps, be detected in some of the other digressions in the *vitae metricae*. These digressions, on topics such as geography, astronomy, mythology, and philosophy, which emphasize the poet's own learning, also provide teachers with set topics for elaboration when using the text in the schoolroom. For example, Letselin's eleventh-century *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 708), from Saint-Arnoul in Crépy, in the diocese of Senlis, contains a digression on astronomy.[63] This *vita metrica* is followed in the eleventh-century schoolbook Paris, BNF, lat. 10851 by a *Descriptio Poli* (fols. 26v – 28r), a description of the constellations. Letselin's digression appears to reflect the same pedagogical interests as the *Descriptio*.

Another feature that the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages share is their choice of protagonists — they almost all feature founding saints. The most common of these founding saints are missionary bishops, like Amand and Germanus, but there are also *vitae metricae* about abbots and abbesses. A smaller number of the *vitae metricae* from this era feature martyrs.[64]

---

[62] Marjorie Curry Woods, "Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom," in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 282.

[63] Letselin, *Vita Arnulfi*, 3.817ff., in *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae ex codicibus monacensibus, parisiensibus, bruxellensi, hagensi, saec. IX-XII,* ed. William Harster (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), p. 117. The *Vita Arnulfi* is printed on pp. 86-126. On the manuscript, see F. Dolbeau, "Ancients possessions des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés a la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 218, and P. Lauer, "Les manuscrits de Saint-Arnoul de Crépy-en-Valois," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 63 (1902), 481-516.

[64] *Vitae metricae* from the central Middle Ages about martyrs include the *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL, no printed edition: see Chapter Two in this study), and the anonymous *passiones* of Benedicta (BHL 1088), Cassian (BHL 1663), and Quentin (BHL 7010). The *Passio Cassiani* is found in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12958, fols. 73r-76v; the *Passio Quintini* survives in Paris, BNF, lat. 14143, fols. 74r-82v; the *Passio*

The Texts

As the map of centers of metric hagiography (figure 1.8) shows, many *vitae metricae* were composed in western Francia in the early and central Middle Ages. I focus on a small number of *vitae metricae* composed in this region from about 830 to about 1000. I look at texts from the central Middle Ages, because that was a time of great cultural transformation and innovation.[65] It was also the golden age of metric hagiography.[66]

The area that is now Flanders, in particular, experienced a flowering of hagiographic experimentation, including versified liturgy, the first vernacular poem, and a number of *vitae metricae* (see map, figure 3.1).[67] The existence of a cluster of *vitae metricae* written and exchanged between houses with close ties to one another – Saint-Amand, Marchiennes, and Hamage (all on the river Scarpe); Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin in Ghent; and Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in Burgundy – makes the study more useful than an examination of unrelated houses because we can trace how poets responded to one another and how they expressed institutional filiation and rivalry through their *vitae metricae* and their correspondence about their compositions.

Benedicta is found in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8431, fols. 5r-20r. These three *passiones* are edited by Paul Von Winterfeld in MGH Poetae 4/1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 181-96, 197-208, and 209-231, respectively.

[65] Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 15. Geary coins the term "central Middle Ages," preferring it to "later Carolingian and post-Carolingian period," for the years 800-1100, which he notes is a period of immense cultural transformation and importance.

[66] Jean-Yves Tilliette, "La poésie métrique latine: Ateliers et genres," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil,* eds. Iogna-Prat et. al. (Paris: Picard, 1990), p. 103.

[67] See p. 117, below, for a discussion of the cultural florescence of Flanders in the ninth century. On the first vernacular poem, see the collection *La Cantilène de sainte Eulalie*. *Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes, 21 mars 1989*, ed. Marie-Pierre Dion (Lille: Agence Régionale des Services et de Coopération de la lecture... du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1990).

While I note other *vitae metricae* as ancillary examples throughout the study, I concentrate on this small group because the texts are so complicated and so interconnected that this cluster warrants an in-depth study. A broader study encompassing a larger number of texts would provide a survey of the genre, but it would not adequately locate the texts in their individual contexts. My aim is to consider each of them as products of particular circumstances, circumstances which their poets sought, in turn, to shape by composing epic verse.

*

This study consists of four main chapters, each of which looks at a different *vita metrica*, the community in which it was written, and its wider context. The chapters progress in chronological order, from the ninth to the late tenth or early eleventh centuries. Examining the texts in this order allows me to observe how the later *vitae metricae* respond to and excerpt their predecessors, thus demonstrating the continuity between the earlier and later texts. The first of these chapters examines a text composed at Saint-Denis just north of Paris around 830. The next three chapters examine verse lives from the ninth and tenth centuries that were composed at and for houses on the River Scarpe in what is now northern France.

Chapter Two looks at the verse *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL) and argues that it is designed to elicit imperial patronage for the poet, arguably Hilduin abbot of Saint-Denis, and his abbey. The poet enhances his saint by giving him eastern origins and attributing to him a spectacular posthumous miracle. The poet aggrandizes his abbey by depicting

one of its books as a relic capable of causing healing miracles, and he subtly enhances his own prestige by linking himself to a lineage of poets that goes back to Orpheus.

In Chapter Three, I examine the manuscripts of Milo of Saint-Amand's *Vita Amandi*, a classroom text that was later dedicated to the emperor. In this chapter I argue that Milo appropriates for himself the charismatic authority that he attributes to Saint Amand, and that other monks, namely Hucbald of Saint-Amand and Heiric of Auxerre, use the notion of conflated saintly and poetic authority to include their patron the emperor in an imagined succession of teachers and students, saints and poets, that began with Christ and the apostles.

Chapter Four, which focuses on Johannes of Saint-Amand's *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248), also looks at imagined genealogies and contemporary networks. In this chapter, I explore how the poems and correspondence exchanged between monks of different houses reveal the existence of a flourishing and far-flung intellectual community around the turn of the millennium. By writing a *vita metrica* that self-consciously alludes to both classical and Christian *auctores* and by sending it to other learned monks, the poet demonstrates that he is a worthy link in a chain of writers that goes back to Virgil and Ovid, and that he is a member of the contemporary scholarly network that exists between the monasteries of western Francia. By replying to his *vita* in an even more dense and allusive letter, Johannes's correspondent Rainer emulates the poet and proves his own place among his contemporaries and his predecessors.

Chapter Five investigates the symbolic ways that two rival abbeys, Marchiennes and its neighbor Hamage, express their affiliation and conflict through the verse lives of

their respective patrons, Rictrude and her rebellious adolescent daughter, Eusebia. Like the *vitae metricae* I discuss in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, the verse lives of Rictrude and Eusebia articulate notions of community, identity, and patronage. Unlike those *vitae metricae*, however, the *vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia were composed in a context of local political rivalries, in which a smaller house, Hamage, struggled to maintain its autonomy in the face of its more powerful neighbor, Marchiennes.

In my conclusion I leap ahead five centuries to look at Baptista Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria*, a verse passion of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, published in 1489. I compare it to the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages in order to cast the forms and functions of the earlier *vitae metricae* into sharper relief, to demonstrate the continuity and vitality of the tradition, and to suggest the transformations wrought by the new educational, political, and technological contexts.

The following chapters explore a number of key themes relating to the way that monks used *vitae metricae* to create communities and networks of patrons, scholars, saints, and students. They also examine the meta-referential nature of *vitae metricae*, exploring how the authors used their poetic language to discuss and enhance their own status and prestige, as well as that of their patron, and their monastery. Chapters Two, Three, and Four all engage with the conflation of the holy and the textual. Chapter Two discusses how the saint's books are likened to his relics, his holy body. The *vitae metricae* I study in Chapters Three and Four equate the poet's work (writing verse) with the saint's work (preaching), and therefore the *vita metrica*, as a text, becomes functionally equivalent to the saint's lived life. *Vitae metricae* in the central Middle Ages

had diverse functions: they were sent to patrons, read by monks, and memorized by students. Together these uses created networks, joining teachers and students, monks and patrons, poets and saints, the living and the dead, as the writers, readers, subjects, and recipients of the erudite epic poems.

Figure 1.1. Valenciennes BM, MS, 502, folio 77r. Milo presents his metric *Vita Amandi* to his teacher Haimin.

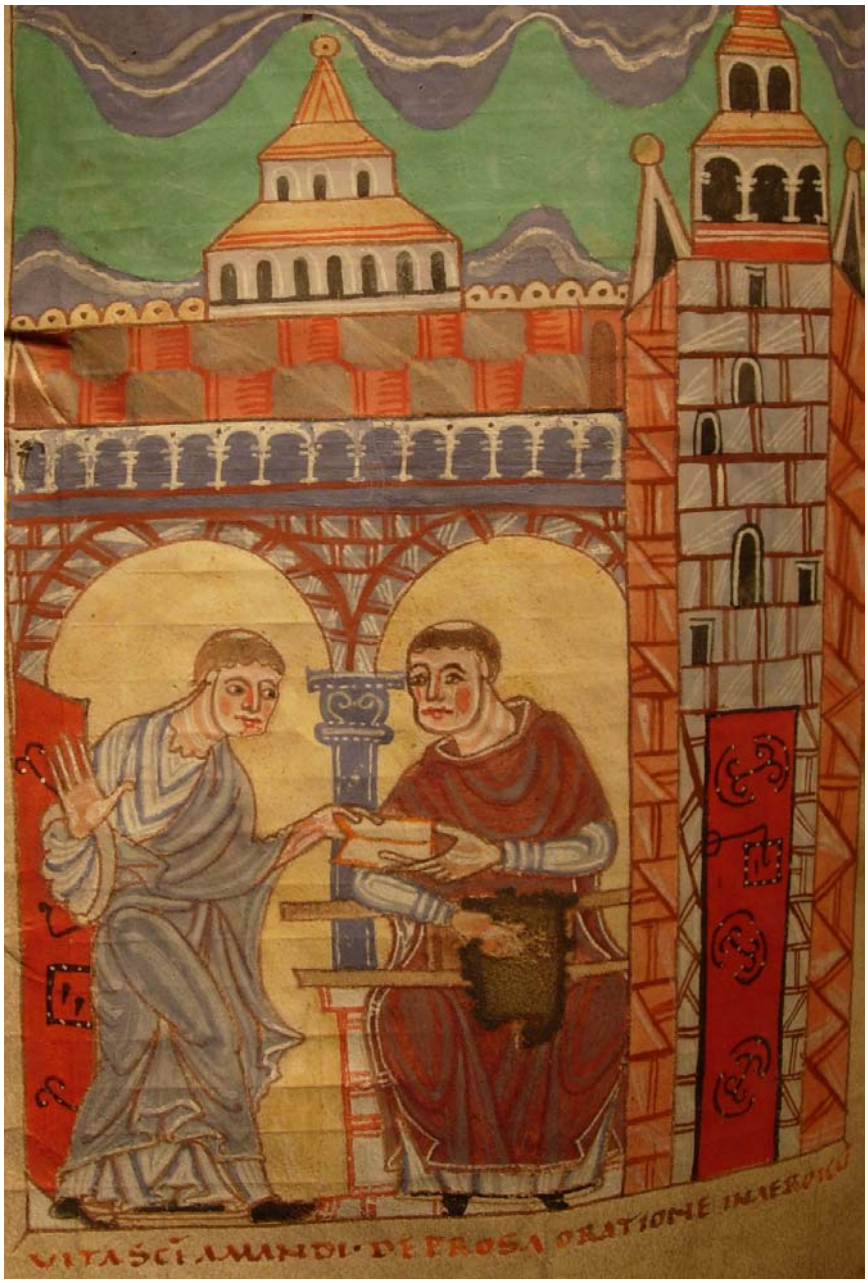


Figure 1.2 Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, folio 77v. Milo receives his *Vita Amandi* back from Haimin.

Figure 1.3 Valenciennes , BM, MS 502, folio 73r. Hucbald presents the metric *Vita Amandi* to Charles the Bald.

Figure 1.4. Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, folio 117v. Vulfaius composes his *Versiculi* in response to Milo's *Vita Amandi*.

Figure 1.5. Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, folio 12v. Saint Amand rescues a boy from a demon.

Figure 1.6. Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, folio 1v. Baudemund, author of the prose *Vita Amandi*.

Figure 1.7. Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 43r. Historiated initial O featuring the author or scribe.

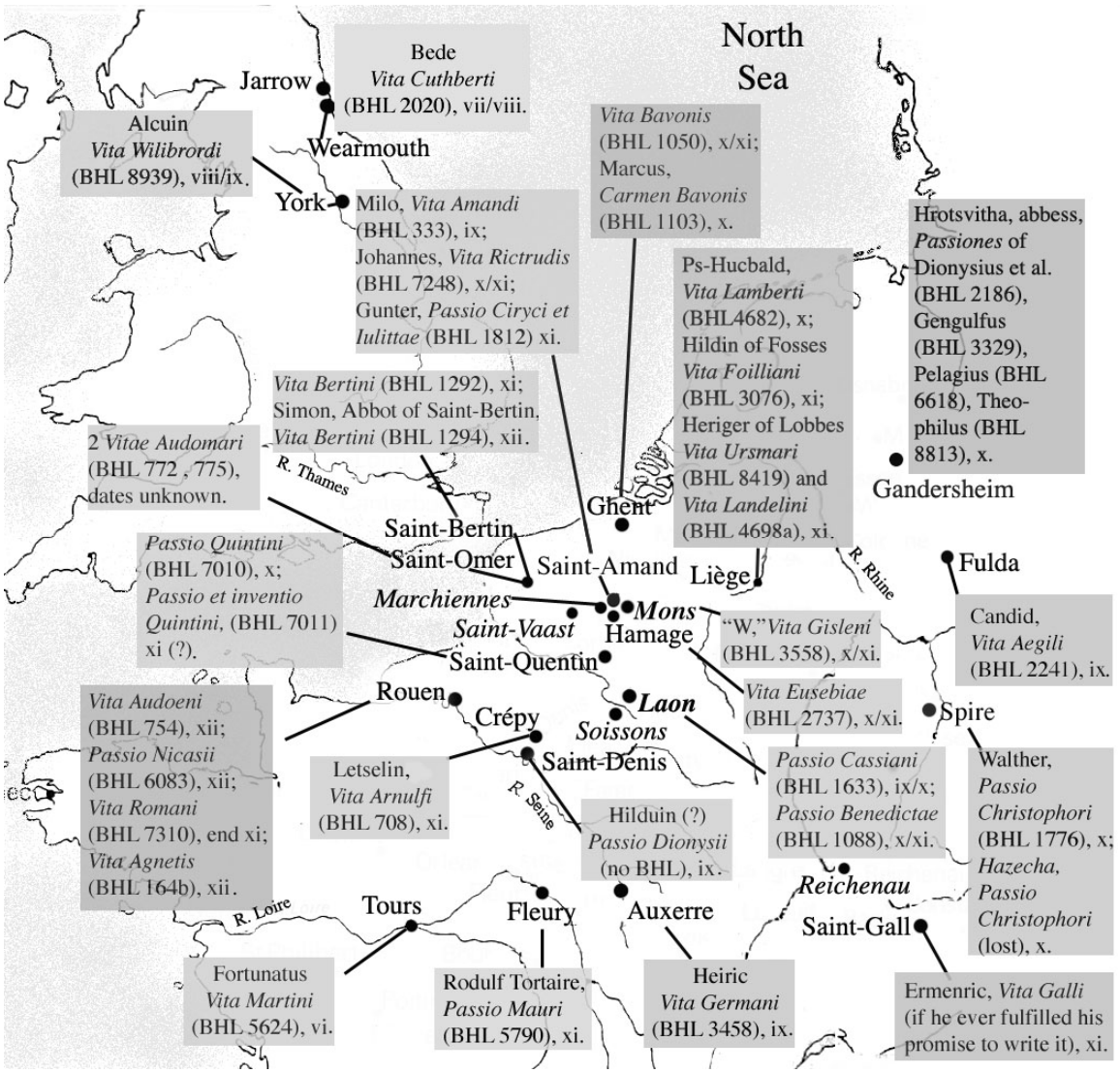


Figure 1.8. Centers of Metric Hagiography in Western Francia. This map shows places at which *vitae metricae* were written and read in the early and central Middle Ages. Italicized names indicate that *vitae metricae* were taught or read at that place, but not, to our knowledge, produced there. Bolded italicized place names indicate that *vitae metricae* are only tentatively assigned to these places. If an author is not given, the *vita metrica* is anonymous. The centuries are given in Roman numerals following the BHL number. For the anonymous *vitae metricae* the dates are approximate.

Chapter Two:

Books, Bodies, and Bones:

The Prose and Verse Passions of Dionysius

The Community of the Dead

The bones of dead friars ornament the walls and ceilings of the Capuchin crypts below Santa Maria della Immaculata Concezione on the Via Veneto in Rome. Thousands of vertebrae, ribs, and pelvises are arranged in decorative schemes. The bones, made into architectural elements, are a visual reminder of the institution's human past. As the Church is said to be built on the blood of the martyrs, the Roman Capuchin crypt is constructed with the bones of the dead members of the community. The remains of the dead friars share the space with the living, the friars and tourists. The ossuary for which this site is famous displays in a dramatic way how pieces of the community's past, dismantled and rearranged, create its contemporary identity.

The ossuary also links the viewer to the future. As a *memento mori*, it reminds the friar (or the car buyer who has wandered in from the Lamborghini dealership next door) that he or she, too, will soon be among the dead. The disinterred skeletons point to a more distant future, the end of time, when the dead will rise again. Thus, the crypts simultaneously connect the viewer to past and future, placing him or her in the wider narrative of Christian salvation history. The Capuchin bones, like more conventional written narratives about the past, convey a message, create a communal identity, and point to the future. The bone crypt, like other narratives, dismembers the remains of the

past and arranges them in new patterns. Like highly polished works of literature, the bones are both ornamental and meaningful, indeed ornament and meaning are inseparable.

If left in the ground, the Capuchin bones would be unseen and their meaning would be obscure. They would be illegible. Unearthed and arrayed in the crypt, they are rendered visible, given a context, and presented to the viewer. The message presented re-enforces the anonymity of burial, for the friars' bones are not labelled; they are anonymous and the skeletons are, for the most part, broken down into their components – walls of femurs, pelvises, skulls. The bones, stripped of all personal identity, represent the humility and self-effacement of monastic discipline.

Although this Capuchin community is constituted by the great anonymous crowd of the past, some communities used the remains of their "special dead," their saints, in a different way. In these instances, the saint was not simply one more anonymous monk from the community's past but its special patron, its founding figure, who underlined its claim to special status, privileges, and protection. Yet even the bones of the saints risked the loss of identity: they might lose their markers of special status, they might appear no different than the thousands of other human remains interred in holy places. In the stories told about their remnants, however, dead saints could stave off loss of identity through supernatural means – incorruptibility, a vision leading to an *inventio*, miracles at their burial sites – but such prodigies needed to be commemorated in some form (an oral story, a sculptural program, a poem) to pass into the memory of the community and thus into our historical record. A dead saint might have more agency than the anonymous ordinary

dead, but even so his or her remains could only tell their stories when enshrined by human artifice. Without such stories, the relics were simply "bags of bones."[1]

The elaborate Capuchin ossuary on the Via Veneto is one way that the heirs to the dead gave meaning to their spiritual ancestors' remains. The Capuchins placed the bones in a context that expressed the relationship of the dead to the living and the continuity between the two groups. Other religious communities used different means of story telling — conventional crypts, reliquaries, miracle stories, saints' lives, ritual, and liturgy — to make meaning of their saints' remains. This chapter is not about the bones of the Capuchin monks in Rome, however, but the relics and stories of a Benedictine religious community north of Paris. At Saint-Denis the physical and literary *memoriae* of a saint gave meaning to relics; books and narratives became relics. This chapter explains the process of enshrining holy remains in human artifacts in order to tell the stories about the past, stories that provide the community with identity, patronage, and prestige. It shows how writers, architects, artisans, and — particularly — poets spoke and sang for the holy dead.

The prose passion of Saint Dionysius (BHL 2175) written by Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, in the 830s and the verse redaction (no BHL) attributed to the same author are the subjects of this chapter. Dionysius (Denis in French), the martyred first bishop of Paris, was patron of Saint-Denis, and also the special patron saint, *peculiaris patronus* of

[1] Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1990), p. 32.

the emperor Louis the Pious, to whom Hilduin sent at least one of the passions.[2] I argue that in the verse and prose passions of Dionysius, and in a letter to the emperor that accompanied the prose text, Hilduin manipulates the image of his house's eponymous saint Dionysius to aggrandize his saint and his abbey, and to enhance his status with emperor Louis the Pious.[3] The *passiones* and the letter show that Hilduin exploits the symbolic potential of his saint's literary and physical remains by using and developing ideas about relics in two distinct ways. First, he draws on ideas that go back to Scripture, which equate the book with the body, and he uses these ideas to support his spurious identification of Dionysius of Paris with the Greek theologian Dionysius the Areopagite. Second, he makes Dionysius a cephalophore: a martyr who carries his own decapitated head to his burial place.

Following a brief introduction, this chapter falls into three main sections; it closes with a coda on the saint's literary afterlife. As an introduction to Hilduin's two passions of Dionysius, and to the letters that accompany the prose passion, I survey their manuscript and print histories, the tradition of secondary scholarship, and the passions' narrative. I conclude the introduction by discussing the historical context of their composition at Saint-Denis in the ninth century. The body of the chapter falls into three main sections, on books and bodies, on headless saints, and on poets, respectively. In the

---

[2] Dionysius's feast day is October 9. For an introduction to Dionysius, see Maria Chiara Celletti, "Dionigi l'Areopagita," and Carlo de Clerq and Pietro Burchi, "Dionigi, Rustico ed Eleuterio," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 4 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1964), cols. 634-37 and 650-62. Specific works on the saint's cult and passions are noted below.

[3] Dionysius's feast day is October 9. On Dionysius, see Maria Chiara Celletti, "Dionigi l'Areopagita," and Carlo de Clerq and Pietro Burchi, "Dionigi, Rustico ed Eleuterio," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 4 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1964), cols. 634-37 and 650-62.

first section, on books and bodies, I discuss the advent of the codex of the Areopagite's writings at Saint-Denis in 827 (the codex is now Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437) (see Figure 2.1). By presenting the newly arrrived codex of the Areopagite's works as a miraculous object akin to a relic, Hilduin transforms an unassuming little book into a powerful religious artifact. Further, Hilduin uses a story about the book's miracles to lend credence to his conflation of the book's supposed author, Dionysius the Areopagite, with his own western Dionysius. He melds eastern and western saints to endow his monastery's patron with a prestigious apostolic and literary tradition. By excerpting and enshrining the Greek codex in new narrative settings – his *passiones* — he makes it accessible and meaningful for his readers and, most importantly, for his imperial patron. I suggest that if the codex is a kind of relic, then the texts that enshrine fragments of it function analogously to reliquaries. The poetic text, in particular, functions as an ornamental reliquary for the textual relic that it contains (the literary *memoriae* of Dionysius), and like other reliquaries, it becomes holy through sustained contact with its contents.

In the second section of this chapter, on the headless saint, I examine another way that Hilduin engages with ideas about relics to depict his saint: by making him a cephalophore. I discuss the power and uses of the cephalophore for the hagiographer. By representing Dionysius as a cephalophore, in effect a walking relic, Hilduin graphically illustrates the efficacy of the saint's remains and the importance of the abbey that houses them. By enacting the first pilgrimage to his posthumously chosen burial site, Dionysius underlines the importance of his cult center. The cephalophore is more than just a

memorable image suitable for popular veneration.[4] Because of its singular nature – the holy man's ambulant remains – the figure also allows writers to address issues key to the central Middle Ages' preoccupation with the cult of relics.[5] The "pre-eminent emblematic property" of the corpse allows the writer to make claims about resurrection, translation, immortality, writing, books, and poetry.[6]

In the third section, on poets, I suggest that the cephalophore, with its classical resonances, is a particularly appealing figure for the author of the metric passion. It allows the poet to place himself in a long and prestigious literary tradition that alludes to the classical roots of his own poetic discipline, while simultaneously Christianizing those pagan origins. As is fitting for both a cephalophore and a textual relic, Hilduin's Dionysius had an active literary afterlife. In the coda to this chapter I note several texts that draw upon Hilduin's saint for their own purposes.

The verse *Passio Dionysii* expresses some of the same themes and concerns as the ninth- and tenth-century *vitae metricae* that I discuss in later chapters. Like other *vitae metricae*, Hilduin's verse *Passio Dionysii* was written at a royal abbey dependent on imperial patronage, and it features a dramatic retelling of the life and death of the house's eponymous saint. Like the other texts in this study, the metric *Passio Dionysii* and the associated writings exhibit a self-conscious textuality. In this example the author

---

[4] On the problems of associating cephalophores with popular religious expression, see discussion below.
[5] On the centrality of relic cult to the religiosity of the central Middle Ages, see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 17 and *passim.*
[6] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), p. 218. Keren-edis Barzman drew my attention to this work.

understands the idea that codices were objects as well as texts, and as such could possess talismanic power.

A related theme, which occurs in several *vitae metricae* from the ninth century, is the conflation of the saint and the poet. Hilduin's identification with Dionysius is slightly different from the conflation of poet and saint that we see in Chapters Three and Four, because Hilduin subtly identifies his saint with another figure from the past, the first poet of Greek and Roman mythology, Orpheus. Although other writers identify themselves with their saints, and place the saints in a lineage of holy men that goes back to the apostles, they do not locate their saints in the tradition of classical poets. Hilduin, by contrast, makes the decapitated saint Dionysius part of a tradition of poets that extends from the mythical classical past right down to his own work.

Like the writers of other metric saints lives, Hilduin uses the language of Virgilian dactylic hexameter to give his house an epic and heroic foundation story. Hilduin proves his originality by creating or embellishing the story of a posthumous foundation. In this chapter, as in later ones, we see that verse hagiography was not a merely decorative art or a peripheral pyrotechnical display of erudition. Rather, *vitae metricae* responded to, reflected, and even influenced the political relations among authors, religious houses, and patrons. Thus, I argue, *vitae metricae* need to be understood as material objects functioning in each of these contexts. Just as Hilduin's metric passion drew on and transformed the traditions about Dionysius, Hilduin's text was itself excerpted in turn. Later chapters further explore this theme: the light-fingered and allusive nature of medieval literary creativity.

Later chapters in this dissertation deal with images – metaphorical and miraculous – of agricultural fecundity: the sown field, the honey bee, the sprouting tree. The most striking image of this chapter, however, is less charming and bucolic: the decapitated ambulant saint. This apparently macabre figure seems far removed from the images of animal and vegetal life, but like them it expresses ideas of transformation, salvation, and the sanctity of the poetic endeavor.[7]

While the *vitae metricae* featured in the other chapters are profoundly different from their prose sources or counterparts, Hilduin's prose passion and the verse text are very similar.[8] The prose and verse versions are extremely close in structure, themes, and expression.[9] They are, therefore, some of the best evidence for the medieval tradition of *geminus stilus* or *opus geminatum*, the pairing of verse and prose texts on the same topic.[10] The closeness of the prose and verse texts clearly demonstrates that the *vita metrica* was not a genre that was always clearly demarcated from others. Many of the key themes, characteristics, and tropes of *vitae metricae* are also found in prose texts, and — as we will see throughout this study — verse and prose lives influenced, alluded to, and

---

[7] On the link between vegetal images and corpses as medieval images of resurrection, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 2-17.

[8] Heiric's metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) differs considerably from its prose source, Constantius of Lyon's late fifth-century prose *vita* (BHL 3453). Similarly, there are important differences between the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia (BHL 2736 and 2737) both in terms of the narrative and perspective. On the *vitae* of Germanus and Eusebia, see Chapters Three and Five of this study.

[9] Michael Lapidge, "The 'Lost Passio Metrica S. Dionysii' by Hilduin of Saint-Denis," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1987), 70.

[10] On "twinned" works, see Peter Godman, "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum: From Aldhelm to Alcuin," *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215-29 and Gernot Wieland, "Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography," in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 113-33. For Hraban Maur's discussion of his verse and prose work *In laudem sanctae crucis* ("gemino stilo ... opera") see MGH Ep. 5, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 384. On the *libelli* of Saint Cuthbert composed "metro et prosa," see MGH Ep. 1, pp. 405-06.

drew upon one other. Hilduin's verse *Passio Dionysii*, with its interspersed prose passages, is particularly persuasive evidence for the permeable boundaries of the genre of metric hagiography, and more than any other chapter, this one is about the close relationship of prose and verse *vitae*.

Nonetheless, if verse and prose lives had been completely interchangeable and had served identical functions, the difficult and time-consuming composition of verse hagiography, with its limited readership and circulation, would not have persisted throughout the Middle Ages into the early modern period. Therefore, we must pay attention to the subtle but significant differences between the verse and prose versions of the *Passio Dionysii*, since these variations point to some of the ways that verse and prose lives were considered different from one another. The verse *Passio Dionysii*, like metric lives in general, is more ornamental than its prose counterpart. But its literary qualities are not simply decorative. Like the Capuchin ossuary discussed in the introduction and like the jeweled crypt that Hilduin built at Saint-Denis, which I address below, the decoration is key to the meaning contained within. I argue in this chapter that the text itself functions as a reliquary.

Manuscript and Print History

Hilduin wrote a prose passion of Saint Dionysius, and probably also its verse redaction. The prose passion is extant in numerous manuscripts dating from the tenth to

the fifteenth centuries.[11] The manuscripts are currently spread across the libraries of western Europe; 30 of them are in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The passion was printed in early editions by Mombritius, Galenus, and Surius, and excerpted by Levillain in his early history of Saint-Denis.[12] There is no critical edition. Surius's edition is reprinted in the *Patrologia Latina*, which is the version I use, since it is the most accessible.[13]

The prose passion is accompanied in some of the manuscripts by three letters. (For more detailed information on the contents of these manuscripts, see Figure 2.2.) The first letter (BHL 2172) is from the emperor Louis the Pious to Hilduin, requesting that the latter compile a codex on Dionysius. The second (BHL 2173), which is of most interest to us, is Hilduin's reply to Louis. The third (BHL 2174) is Hilduin's address to his general readership (the *cuncti fideles*). The list of manuscripts on the BHL's website gives 19 witnesses of the first letter, 17 of the second, and 33 of the third: Ernest Dümmler, editor of the MGH, provides several more.[14] Hilduin's address to his readers (BHL 2174) most commonly accompanies the prose passion in the manuscripts, but the prose passion is often found without any of the letters, particularly in large manuscript lectionaries.[15] Generally, smaller manuscript volumes concentrating on Dionysius contain

---

[11] The BHL's online catalog lists 96 manuscripts of the prose *vita*. http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be, viewed 20 May, 2006.
[12] The BHL provides the following references Mombritius, I, 221v-30 (*deest lemma*); M. Galenus, *Areopagita* (Coloniae, 1563), fols. 80-123; Surius, *Acta SS* V (a. 1574), pp. 642-58 (1580), 725-740; X (1618), 116-30; Léon Levillain, "Etudes sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis a l'époque Mérovingienne," *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 82 (1921), pp. 15-18, 36-38, 50, 53-54.
[13] PL 106, cols. 25-30.
[14] E. Dümmler, ed, MGH Ep. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 325.
[15] For example, Brussels, KBR, MS 104 (3130), Vatican BAV MS Reg. lat. 523, and Vatican BAV MS Vat. lat. 6074.

some or all of the letters in addition to the prose passion.[16] Surius's early printed edition of the letters is reproduced in the PL.[17] The letters are also edited in the MGH Epistolae 5: this critical edition based on the collation of several ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts is the one that I use here for the text of the letters.[18]

In the early twentieth century, several French scholars devoted considerable attention to Hilduin's prose passion and its context at Saint-Denis. Gabriel Théry, in particular, concluded that the passion contained portions of Hilduin's lost translation of Dionysius the Areopagite's works.[19] Théry also argued that Hilduin was the first to conflate Dionysius, bishop of Paris, with Dionysius the Areopagite.[20] Other French scholars from the mid-twentieth-century, Loenertz and Levillain, have argued at length about the sources of Hilduin's prose passion without reaching a solution.[21]

---

[16] For example, Paris, BNF, lat. MS 10866, Paris, BNF, lat. MS 10847, and Paris, BNF, lat. MS 2445A.
[17] BHL 2172 is printed in PL 104, cols. 1326-28, BHL 2173 and 2174 are printed in PL 106, cols. 13-23.
[18] Dümmler bases his edition on the ninth-century manuscript, Cheltenham MS 16339, and the tenth-century Oxford Bodleian MS. 1276 (Laud. Misc. 549), which contain all three letters. For BHL 2174 Dümmler also uses the eleventh-century manuscripts British Museum MS Add. Misc. 22793 and Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 2873, as well as Munich MS. lat. 4608 from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and Berlin Philip MS. 1839 from the thirteenth.
[19] Gabriel Théry, "Hilduin et le première traduction des écrits du Pseudo-Denis," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 9 (1923), 23-39; P.G. Théry, "Le texte intégral de la traduction du Pseudo-Denys par Hilduin," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique du Louvain* (1925), 33-50.
[20] Gabriel Théry, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Areopagitisme au ixe s.," *Le Moyen Age* 35 (1923), 119-23.
[21] See Hilduin, *Rescriptum*, MGH Ep. 5, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 329. The extant prose passions of Dionysius, which could be Hilduin's sources, are BHL 2171 and 2178. BHL 2171 is printed in MGH AA 4/2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885 [1961]), pp. 101-05; BHL 2178 is printed in AASS, Oct. vol. 4, pp. 792-94. The anonymous passion of Dionysius, BHL 2178, known as the "Post beatam et gloriosam" from its incipit, claims that Dionysius was converted by Paul in Athens, but it does not explicitly call him the Areopagite, or mention the writings attributed to him. Scholars have debated whether Hilduin drew on this work or vice versa. The earliest extant passion of Dionysius, BHL 2171, known as the *Gloriosae* and misattributed to Fortunatus, does not suggest a Greek origin for Dionysius. In his letter to Louis, Hilduin claims that he draws several key details of his narrative of Dionysius from a book he calls the "libellus antiquissimus" (Louis, in his letter to Hilduin, also refers to a pre-existing work on Dionysius, which he calls a "libellum passionis"). The identity of this work was the subject of several long French articles early in the twentieth century by Loenertz and Levillain. Hilduin explains that he derived information from a *liber antiquissimus*: "Quoniam autem beatus Clemens huc eum,

Authorship of the Verse Life

The lone manuscript of the verse passion of Dionysius, Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley, MS 535 (S.C. 2254), contains no author's name. In 1987, Michael Lapidge identified Hilduin, author of the prose life, as the author of the verse life as well. His evidence comes from Sigebert of Gembloux in the twelfth century, who states that "Hilduinus abbas de Sancti Dionysii Pariensis scripsit ad Ludowicum imperatorem utroque stilo, id

---

uidelicet in Gallorum gentem direxerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam diuersissimis et crudelissimis afflictus suppliciis, ad Christum peruenerit, et quomodo caput proprium, angelico ductu caelestis militiae in celebratione exequiarum honoratus obsequio, ad locum, ubi nunc requiescit, detulerit, et quo ordine a Catulla quadam matrefamilias sit sepultus, libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem explanat" [the little very old book of his passion explains how, moreover, blessed Clement directed him (Dionysius) to this place, among the Gallic peoples, and how, afflicted by very cruel and varied punishments he came to Christ with the martyr's palm, and how, honored with angelic accompaniment of the heavenly host in celebration of his funeral procession, he carried away his own head, to the place where he now lies, and how, he was buried at the behest of a certain matron Catulla] (Hilduin, *Rescriptum*, MGH Ep. 5, p. 330). The main problem is that neither of the two prose passions of Dionysius (BHL 2717 and 2178) fits the criterion for being Hilduin's source. BHL 2178 is almost certainly a ninth-century text, and therefore, even if it preceded Hilduin, it would hardly be *antiquissimus* (see Loenertz for a discussion on the dating of this text). BHL 2171, while probably appropriately ancient, does not provide the information Hilduin ascribes to his source. (Positing the relationship of Hilduin's *Passio* to BHL 2171 is complicated by the lack of good print editions, lamented by Loenertz on p. 218). There are several possible explanations for this mystery. One possibility, given the highly variable manuscript tradition of BHL 2171, is that the copy Hilduin consulted *did* possess the features Hilduin attributes to his *liber antiquissimus*. (The BHL lists 25 manuscripts containing BHL 2171, including the following, which I have examined, Vatican City, BAV,Vat. lat., MS. 6074, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 3793, 3809A, 3820, 5296D, 5298, 5301, 5308, 11748, 16836, 17002, and Paris, BNF, N.A. lat 453. These manuscripts contain variations in grammar, vocabulary, and content. All the manuscripts I examined named Clement as pope and none of them named Catulla, although presumably Krusch based his edition of BHL 2171 on a manuscript which named the virtuous pagan matron, since her name appears in print.) A second possibility is that Hilduin, with his desperate desire to assign all aspects of his spurious composite saint to authoritative sources, used BHL 2171 and simply attributed to it features that it did not possess. (Levillain develops a more complicated version of this argument, in which Hilduin actually fabricated a new version of BHL 2171 to substantiate his point. While convincing and audacious acts of forgery in service of their community's history were not beyond the monks of Saint-Denis, this is a particularly contrived solution to the problem.) A third possibility is that Hilduin drew on a source that is no longer extant. On BHL 2171, 2178 and their relationship to Hilduin's prose *Passio*, see H. Moretus-Plantin, "Les passions de saint Denys," in *Mélanges offerts au R.P. Ferdinand Cavallera* (Toulouse: Bibliothèque de l'Institut catholique, 1948), pp. 215-30; Raymond J. Loenertz, "Le légende Parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite, sa genèse et son premier témoin," *AB* 69 (1951), 217-37; Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 66, n. 68. See also M. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (Paris: F. Léonard, 1706), p. clxiv; Spiegel, "Cult of St. Denis," p. 142. On eleventh-century fabrications of charters at Saint-Denis, see in particular Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 109-13.

est prosaico et metrico, vitam ipsius Dionisii" [Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis of Paris wrote to the Emperor Louis in both styles, that is in prose and meter, the life of this Dionysius].[22] Lapidge interprets this passage to mean that Hilduin wrote two passions in the "geminus stilus" or "opus geminatum" that paired verse and prose texts.[23] Aubert le Mire (Miraeus) asserted that a manuscript containing abbot Hilduin's prose and verse *vitae* of Dionysius existed at Gembloux in the seventeenth century.[24] Scholars have failed to find this manuscript among the dispersed holdings of Gembloux's library and have presumed the metric work to be lost.[25] Lapidge argues that the *passio metrica* preserved in the unedited manuscript Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 535 (S.C. 2254) is that of Hilduin.[26] This manuscript, from the late eleventh century, contains 2200 lines of Latin dactylic hexameter, divided into four books (and therefore in agreement with Miraeus's description).[27] Lapidge argues that this manuscript is an insular copy of the same text that Sigebert and Miraeus encountered at Gembloux. Lapidge suggests, on stylistic grounds,

---

[22] As a reference for his Sigebert quotation, Lapidge cites Robert Witte, ed, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus*. Krit. Ausgabe, Lat. Sprache und Literatur des MA.s 1 (Bern: H. Lang, 1974), pp. 76 and 132 (§ 82).

[23] Roughly contemporary "twinned" works include the prose and verse texts of Hraban Maur's *In Laude de Sancte Cruce* and the paired books of Candid's *Vita Eigili* (which Hraban instructed him to write on the model of *In Laude de Sancte Cruce*). On paired works in verse and prose, see Peter Godman, "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum: From Aldhelm to Alcuin," *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215-29; Gernot Wieland, "Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography," in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 113-33.

[24] Aubert Le Mire, *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus* in *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Antwerp: N.P, 1639), 71; Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 68.

[25] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 68.

[26] Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol 2, part 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), pp. 280-81. For a more detailed codicological analysis of this manuscript, see Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 68.

[27] The first part of the composite manuscript, fols. 1-38, contains only this text and two epigrams.

that the poem was composed in the ninth or tenth century.[28] Although the extant manuscript is from the late-eleventh century, the poem it contains must have been written before 960, since Hrotsvita of Gandersheim's *Passio S. Dionysii egregii martyris* (BHL 2186) draws upon it.[29] Further, as I argue below, a poem by Hilduin's later contemporary, Sedulius Scottus (fl. 848–859), also alludes to it.[30] There is no printed edition, critical or otherwise, of the verse *Passio Dionysii*.

The metrical *passio* follows the structure of Hilduin's prose *passio*, even incorporating non-metrical lists of *capitula* from the Dionysian codex.[31] It is hard to prove common authorship on stylistic grounds alone in such a consciously derivative genre, and so the similarities of structure and vocabulary do not prove common authorship but only that one writer drew on the other.[32] It is, however, unlikely that there were two metric passions of Dionysius, both divided into four books.[33] So, based on its profound similarities with the verse text, its ninth-century style, and its structural consistency with the book that Sigebert and Miraeus note, Lapidge claims that the Oxford manuscript contains Hilduin's lost metric *Passio* of Dionysius. Although Lapidge's

---

[28] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," 73.
[29] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," 75.
[30] Sedulius Scottus, *Mock Epillyon on a Gelded Ram*, in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 298-99.
[31] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 72.
[32] For example, as I discuss in Chapter Four, Johannes borrows large parts of Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) for his metric *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248).
[33] Sometimes there are two *vitae metricae* written about the same saint. Of these, the second is often a replacement when the first has been lost. This is the case with Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) and Walther's *Vita Christophori* (BHL 1776). Sometimes two different verse versions coexist. There are two verse versions of the *Vita Bertini* (BHL 1292 and 1294) and two undated *vitae metricae* of Saint Omer (BHL 772 and 775). Only some early medieval *vitae metricae* are divided into books, and it is fairly uncommon for a work to be divided into four. Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) is composed of six books, Milo's *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) of four, the anonymous *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737) and Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248) of two.

argument is persuasive, it is not definitive because the earliest reference to Hilduin's authorship is from the twelfth century, and, in at least one other instance, a prose and verse life of the same saint were mistakenly attributed to the same author.[34]

Even if the work was not written by Hilduin, we can be confident about the milieu in which it was composed. The author clearly had Hilduin's prose passion in front of him. Since the prose text was so widespread (see Figure 2.2), that does not in itself mean that the poet was a resident at Saint-Denis. Most verse lives, however, were written at the house of their eponymous saint, or nearby, which suggests a Sandionysian origin for the poem. Further, like the prose passion, the verse text adopts the perspective of Saint-Denis, emphasizing Dionysius's final miraculous journey to his burial place. It is unlikely that a redactor from another house would want to aggrandize the site of Saint-Denis while failing to mention his own house. Put together with the evidence from Sedulius Scottus's poem, which — I argue below — alludes to the verse *passio* and therefore necessitates a date in the first 60 years of the ninth century, this evidence strongly implies that, if not Hilduin, the poet was a monk of Hilduin's house who probably lived there during his abbacy. Therefore, even if Hilduin did not write the verse *Passio Dionysii*, he probably ordered or encouraged the verse redaction of his own work, which, along with his construction of the new crypt and the acquisition of new relics, was part of his ambitious scheme for promoting his abbey. Thus, although in what follows I assume that Hilduin was the poet, my argument is not contingent on this identification.

[34] On the misattribution of the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* to the same author, see Chapter Five.

The letters exchanged between Hilduin and Emperor Louis the Pious (BHL 2172 and 2173) never mention a verse passion, although they discuss several kinds of texts about Dionysius, including charters, hymns, and *lectiones*.[35] Composing poetry is time consuming, so it is likely that, Hilduin, writing the prose *passio*, supervising the production of Louis's manuscript, and continuing his reform and building projects, would have taken several years to compose 2200 lines of Latin dactylic hexameter.[36] If Hilduin was the author of the verse *Passio Dionysii*, and if, as Sigebert says, he dedicated the verse and prose *vitae* to Louis, then he probably sent the metric *passion* somewhat later than the prose version.

Although no dedication accompanies the verse *passio* in the surviving manuscript, it is highly likely that, as Sigebert claims, it was sent to the emperor. In the central Middle Ages, verse saints' lives and passions were sometimes sent to kings and emperors.[37] As monumental undertakings that demonstrated the author's erudition while flattering the recipient's culture and intellect, *vitae metricae* were gifts fit for kings. For Louis, who was famously adverse to pagan culture, the Latin epic was especially thoughtful, allowing him — in moments of leisure between quelling restive relatives — the pleasures of classicizing Latin verse in palatable Christianized form. In accordance with Louis's suspicion of the classics, Hilduin refers to the form of the poem as something inherently problematic that he, the poet, must guard against. For instance,

---

[35] For a discussion of the hymns, see Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 66, n. 60.
[36] Heiric of Auxerre took a decade to compose his metric *Vita Germani*, MGH Poetae 3, pp. 428-517. He began the work around 865 when Charles the Bald's son Lothar was his abbot and student at Saint-Germain and dedicated to Charles it in 875.
[37] As we will see in the next chapter, Charles the Bald was the recipient of both Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* and Heiric's verse *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Hilduin speaks of "lasciui ... modi fictaeque camenae" [lustful rhythms and contrived songs].[38]

Narrative Overview

Hilduin's prose and verse versions of the *Passio Dionysii* contain essentially the same narrative. As mentioned above, Hilduin conflates his Parisian Dionysius with the eastern saint and supposed mystical theologian Dionysius the Areopagite. Both Hilduin's prose and verse passions fall into three thematic sections. Hilduin derives the first section from sources on Dionysius the Areopagite, the second section from the writings falsely attributed to the Areopagite, and the third from the life of the Parisian bishop who was the traditional patron of Saint-Denis.[39] The first section deals with Dionysius's education, followed by his conversion by the apostle Paul in Athens. The second part of the narrative is a series of summaries and quotations from the letters and mystical theology attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. The third section deals with Dionysius's mission to convert the Gauls and his martyrdom. In this final section, drawn from the life of the Parisian martyr Dionysius, the saint and his companions Eleutherius and Rusticus are decapitated on the hill of Montmartre (named "hill of the martyrs" for this reason). Accompanied by a host of singing angels and illuminated by a celestial light, Dionysius then carries his own head for five miles to the site of Saint-Denis.

[38] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 36r.
[39] The codex Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 contains the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite.

Hilduin and Saint-Denis

The primary sources for the early history of Saint-Denis are charters of varying authenticity,[40] chronicles (the *Annales Regni Francorum*, the *Annales* of Einhard, and the *Annales Fuldenses*),[41] and hagiography, as well as architectural remains and manuscripts produced at the abbey. As a royal abbey, intimately bound up with the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian kings, and the home of such notable individuals as Abelard and Abbot Suger, Saint-Denis is the subject of much scholarship.[42] In 1625, J. Doublet published a history of the abbey, and in the early eighteenth century, Félibien published his monumental tome on Saint-Denis, which includes a detailed history and transcriptions of many charters relating to Saint-Denis.[43] In the nineteenth-century, F. d'Ayzac contributed a two-volume history of the abbey.[44] In 1890 Julien Havet revisited the

---

[40] Julien Havet, "Les origines des Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 81 (1890), 5-62; Léon Levillain, "Les diplômes originaux et le diplôme faux de Lothaire Ier pour l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 95 (1934), pp. 222-58; Jean Vezin, "Les faux sur papyrus de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in *Finances, pouvoirs et mémoire: Mélanges offerts à Jean Favier,* eds. Jean Kerhervé and Albert Rigaudière (Brest: Fayard, 1999), pp. 674-99.

[41] *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab A. 741 usque ad A. 829*, eds. G.H. Pertz and F. Kurze (Hannover: Hahn, 1895).

[42] Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). Panofsky edits and translates Suger's twelfth-century works on the abbey of Saint-Denis. There are copious works on various aspects of Suger's abbacy. For secondary scholarship on Suger, see Paula Gerson, ed., *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986); François Gasparri, "L'abbé Suger de Saint-Denis: Mémoire et perpétuations des oeuvres humaines," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, x^e^ – xiie siècles* 44.3 (2001), 247-57. On Abelard, see Edouard Jeauneau, "Pierre Abélard à Saint-Denis," in *Abélard et son temps. Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'occasions du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard (14-19 mai 1979)* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1981), pp. 161-73 and Louis Grodecki, "Abélard et Suger," in *Pierre Abélard – Pierre le Vénérable, Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du xiie siècle,* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1975), pp. 279-86.

[43] Jacques Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denis en France* (Paris: J. de Heuqueville, 1625); Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, pp. 42-57.

[44] F. d'Ayzac, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Impr. de Bonaventure et Ducessois, 1858).

abbey's origins and published an appendix of charters relating to the monastery.[45] From 1921 to 1930, in a series of articles published in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, Léon Levillain wrote an extensive survey of the Merovingian history of Saint-Denis, and, four years later, provided a discussion of some of its charters.[46] Thirty years later J. Formigé revisited the abbey's history.[47] A 1988 collection edited by Jean Cuisenier focused on the social and cultural history of the abbey and its village under Charlemagne,[48] and Janet Nelson discussed the burial of members of the Carolingian dynasty at Saint-Denis.[49]

Scholars have also studied specific aspects of Saint-Denis. In the mid-twentieth century, Sumner McKnight Crosby provided an overview of the architectural phases of the abbey in their historical context; more recently Jan van Der Meulen and Andreas Speer gave a detailed and critical account of the material.[50] Levillain examined the early

---

[45] Julien Havet, "Les origines des Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 81 (1890), 5-62.
[46] Léon Levillain, "Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis a l'époque mérovingienne," which appears in parts one through four in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*. "I: Les sources narratives," appears in vol. 82 (1921), pp. 5-116; "II: Les origines de Saint-Denis," in vol. 86 (1925), pp. 5-99; "III: *Privilegium et immunitates* ou Saint-Denis dans l'église et dans l'état," in vol. 87 (1926), pp. 20-97 and 245 – 346; "IV: Les documents d'histoire economique," in vol. 91 (1930), pp. 5-65 and 264-300.
[47] J. Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis: Recherches nouvelles* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960).
[48] For a brief summary of the abbey under the Carolingians, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Saint-Denis et les Carolingiens," in *Un village au temps de Charlemagne: Moines et paysans de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis du vii siècle à l'an mil*, ed. Jean Cuisenier (Paris: Éditions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), pp. 40-49. On the social history of Saint-Denis, see especially Alain J. Stoclet, "Le temporel de Saint-Denis du viie au xe siècle: la constitution du patrimoine foncier dans le Parisis," in *Un village au temps de Charlemagne*, ed. Cuisenier, pp. 94-105.
[49] Janet L. Nelson, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," in *Rituals of power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,* eds. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 131-84. On royal burials at Saint-Denis, see also Maryse Bideault, "Le tombeau de Dagobert dans l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis," *Revue de l'art* 18 (1972), 27-33.
[50] Sumner McKnight Crosby, *The Abbey of St.-Denis,* Yale historical publications, History of Art III (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); Jan van der Meulen and Andreas Speer, *Die Fränkische Königsabtei Saint-Denis: ostanlage und kultgeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Bucggesellschaft, 1988).

architecture of the site,[51] and there are numerous studies of various features of the later abbey church, including its sculptural programs and its glass.[52] B. de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin printed a seventeenth-century inventory of the treasures of Saint-Denis.[53] A number of scholars have edited and studied the liturgical works of Saint-Denis.[54] Jean Vezin worked on Saint-Denis's scriptorium and its links with other houses as demonstrated by its manuscripts.[55] D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda

---

[51] Léon Levillain, "Les plus anciennes églises abbatiales de Saint-Denis," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 36 (1909), pp. 41-68.

[52] P. Blum and S. Crosby, "Le portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973), 209-16; Caroline Astrid Bruzelius, *The 13th-Century Church at St-Denis*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 33 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); P. Gerson, "Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Facade of Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*, ed. Gerson, pp. 183-98; Anne Robertson Walters, "The Reconstruction of the Abbey-Church at St- Denis (1231-81): The Interplay of Music and Ceremony with Architecture and Politics," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 187-238. On the windows of Saint-Denis, see L. Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis: Étude sur le virtrail au xiiie siècle*, Corpus vitrearum medii aevi, France, études I (Paris: C.N.R.S, 1976); L. Grodecki, "The Style of the Stained-Glass Windows of Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint Denis*, ed. Gerson, pp. 358-69; J. Gage, "Gothic Glass: Two Aspects of a Dionysian Aesthetic," *Art History* 5 (1982), 36-58; M. Cothren, "The Infancy of Christ Window from the Abbey St.-Denis: A Reconsideration of its Design and Iconography," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), 398-420.

[53] B. de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le trésor de Saint-Denis, inventaire de 1634*, 3 vols (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1973-7); Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Le trésor de Saint-Denis à l'époque carolingienne," in *Un village au temps de Charlemagne,* pp. 69-77.

[54] H. Omont, " La messe grecque de Saint-Denys au moyen-âge," *Études d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* I (Paris: L. Cerf, 1896), pp. 177-85; R.P Andoyer, "Le Bréviaire de Saint-Denis-en-France," *Revue Mabillon* 1 (1905), 139-57, 195-210; P. Salmon, "Le texte biblique de l'évangéliaire de Saint-Denis," *Miscellanea Mercati* 1 (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1946), pp. 103-06; Michel Huglo, "Les chants de la <<missa graeca>> de Saint-Denis," in *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz,* ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 74-83; J.H. Brown, *A Thirteenth Century St.-Denis Psalter: MS. 11 in the Rare Book Collection of Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1976); R.-J. Hesbert, *Le Graduel de St. Denis: Manuscrit 384 de la Bibliothèque Mazarine de Paris*, Monumenta musicae sacrae 5 (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1981); Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St-Denis in France* (Spicilegium Friburgense, 32), 1990; Foley, "St-Denis Revisited: The Liturgical Evidence," *RB* 100:4 (1990), 532-49; Niels Krogh Rasmussen, "The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*, ed. Gerson, pp. 41-47; Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Anne Walters Robertson, "From Office to Mass: The Antiphons of Vespers and Lauds and the Antiphons Before the Gospel in Northern France," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, eds. Margot E. Fassler, Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 300-23.

[55] Jean Vezin, "Le *scriptorium* de Saint-Denis au temps de l'abbé Fardulfe (793-806)," *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes-études* 111 (1978/1979), 501-15; Vezin, "Le point d'interrogation, un élément de

examined the contents of its library and reading list.[56] Vezin and others discussed the forged charters of Saint-Denis.[57]

The survival of evidence and the wealth of secondary scholarship mean that Saint-Denis's early history is relatively well established. Early evidence for a religious house at Saint-Denis comes from the *Vita Genovefae* (BHL 3335), probably written in the sixth century. According to this text, around 475, Genevieve, another of Paris's patron saints, built a church to Dionysius and his companions over their tomb in the village of Catulacum, the later site of the abbey of Saint-Denis.[58] The *Vita Genovefae* takes for granted the existence of Dionysius' cult, suggesting that it was well-established by the time of writing.[59] Gregory of Tours mentions a community of *custodes* at Saint-Denis around 570[60] and a charter of Dagobert I from around 628 implies the presence of a religious community.[61] One of the earliest references to a community (either of monks or

---

datation et de localisation des manuscrits: L'exemple de St. Denis au ixe siècle," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 181-96; Jean Vezin, "Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria pendant le haut Moyen Âge," in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture, Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 29 September – 1 October, 1982*, ed. Peter Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 17-39; Jean Vezin, "Les manuscrits copiés à Saint-Denis en France pendant l'époque carolingienne," *Paris et l'Île-de-France, fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 32 for 1981 (1982), 273-87; Jean Vezin, "Reims et Saint-Denis au ixe siècle. L'ancêtre du manuscript 118 de la bibliothèque municipale de Reims," *RB* 94 (1984), 315-25.

[56] D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint Denis en France du ixe au xviiie siècle* (Paris: Éd. du CNRS, 1985); D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, "Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques: Contribution à la connaissance des anciennes bibliothèques bénédictines," *RB* 96 (1986), 271-326.

[57] Jean Vezin and Hartmut Atsma, "Les faux sur papyrus de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in *Finances, pouvoirs et mémoire: Mélanges offerts à Jean Favier* , eds. Jean Kerhervé and Albert Rigaudière (Brest: Fayard, 1999), pp. 674-99.

[58] Crosby, *The Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 41; *Vita Genovefae Virginis Parisiensis,* MGH SRM 3, ed. B. Krusch (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), pp. 221-27.

[59] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 41.

[60] Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, 71 in MGH SRM I, pp. 535-36.

[61] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 55.

the secular religious) occurs in a charter of 625 from Clothar II.[62] Dagobert was credited with imposing a monastic rule on the community, but other evidence suggests that this was actually accomplished by Clovis II and his wife Balthild around 650 (under this reform, the lay brothers took monastic vows while the clerics remained secular).[63]

Charters of exemption, immunity, and gift-giving show that, despite some setbacks, the abbey's wealth, independence, power, and favor grew during the seventh and eighth centuries.[64] By the seventh century, Dionysius' feast day (October 9) was drawing crowds of pilgrims, and Saint-Denis received the right to hold a fair on that day.[65] The community at Saint-Denis became the burial site for both Merovingian and Carolingian kings, including Dagobert I (d. 639), Charles Martel, and Pepin.[66] In 653, at the request of Clothar II, Landri, the bishop of Paris, gave the basilica its charter of freedom and, at some time between 657 and 664, the regent, Balthild, granted it royal

---

[62] Ed. Pertz, MGH, Dip. I, no. 10, p. 13; Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 55. The charter refers to *abbas* and *monachi*, which would seem to imply that the Saint-Denis was a monastic community, but Levillain has shown that the terms could also be applied to secular religious communities. See Levillain, "II: Les origines de Saint-Denis," (1925), pp. 52-62, 66-69.

[63] *Vita Balthildis*, 9 in Krusch, MGH SRM 2, p. 493; Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 56. The *Vita Balthildis* (BHL 905) states that for houses including Saint-Denis and Saint-Medard, Balthild " direxit ut sub sancto regulari ordine fratres infra ipsa loco consistentes uiuere deberent" [directed that the brothers inside this place should live in accordance with the holy order of the rule].

[64] On the setbacks, see Crosby, *Abbey of Saint-Denis*, p. 63.

[65] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 45; Imbart de la Tour, "Des immunités commerciales accordées aux églises du viie au ixe siècle," in *Mélanges à Gabriel Monod*, pp. 84-85; Levillain, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 91 (1930),14.

[66] *Chronica Fredegarii*, 5, 79; Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 49; Spiegel traces the growth of the connections between the community of Saint-Denis and the Carolingian and Capetian dynasties. See Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Cult of St Denis and Capetian kingship," in *Saints and their Cults*: *Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 141-68. See also A.T. Thacker, "*Peculiaris patronus noster*: The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages," in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, eds. J.R. Maddicot and D.M. Palliser (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 1-24. In his letter to Hilduin, Louis the Pious mentions Pepin's burial at Saint-Denis. See Louis, *Ep.*, MGH Ep. 5, p. 326. The *Annales Regni Francorum* state that Pepin was buried at Saint-Denis. *Annales Regni Francorum*, pp. 26-27 (for the year 768). Abbot Suger reiterates this point. Suger, *De Administratione*, in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. E. Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 44-45.

immunity.[67] (Forged eleventh-century charters antedate the community's grant of immunity to King Dagobert I.[68]) In the 680s, Thierry III gave the abbey a complete exemption from custom duties.[69] In the seventh-century *vita* (BHL 2474) of the gold smith saint Eligius (d. 660), the saint's friend Audoenus describes his work on Dionysius's shrine:[70]

> Eligius fabricauit et mausoleum sancti martiris Dionisii Parisius civitate et tugurium super ipsum marmorem miro opere de auro et gemmis.
> Cristam quoque et species de fronte magnifice conposuit necnon et axes in circuitu throni altaris auro operuit et posuit in eis poma aurea, retundiles atque gemmatas. Operuit quoque et lecturium et ostia diligenter de metallo argenti; sed et tectum throni altaris axibus operuit argenteis. ... ut paene singulare sit in Gallis ornamentum et in magna omnium admiratione usque in hodiernum diem.[71]

---

[67] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 60. The earliest surviving confirmation of this charter is that of Clovis II of 654, printed in MGH Dip I. p. 19-20. The charter of Thierry IV adds a clause concerning the free election of the abbot. See the edition in Havet, "Origins de Saint-Denis," pp. 60-61.

[68] Crosby *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 64; On the forgeries in Paris, BNF, MS N.A. lat. 326 (from 1061-64), see Levillain, "*Privilegium et immunitates*," pp. 245-55.

[69] Charter of Thierry III, 680-88 in *Les diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens*, eds. P. Lauer and C. Samaran (Paris: E. Leroux, no. 18); Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 59.

[70] This *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2474) is attributed to Eligius's friend and contemporary Audoenus of Rouen. According to the BHL, it is extant in 63 manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to the ninth century. The verse *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2478) is also attributed to Audoenus. Audoenus, known as Dado, was an associate of Saint Amand. He makes a guest appearance in the verse *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333), 3.277-90, pp. 594-95, and is himself the subject of a verse life (BHL 754). The verse *Vita Eligii* is extant in four manuscripts (the ninth-century Brussels, KBR, MS 5374-5375, fols. 130r-140v; the tenth-century Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 5327, fols. 166v-170r; the tenth-century Tours, BM, MS 1028, fols. 98v-105v, and the thirteenth-century, Brussels, KBR, MS 18421-18429 (3241), fols. 144v-148v). It is printed in MGH Poetae 4, ed. K. Strecker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), pp. 787-806. The verse *Vita Audoeni* is represented by one manuscript, the twelfth-century Rouen, BM, MS Y 41, fols. 230-250 (printed in PL 150, cols. 1189-92). It is not coincidental that this group of bishops — Audoenus, Eligius, Amand — feature in each other's *vitae* and biographies. Rather, they are the local patrons of the northern French religious communities that produced *vitae metricae*, and these communities expressed their relationships with each other through the narratives of their interacting patrons.

[71] Audonenus, *Vita Eligii*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4/2, pp. 688-89. The metric *Vita Eligii* (see note 70, above) does not contain a description of Saint-Denis. On the significance of gem descriptions, see Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). According to his *De administratione* and *De consecratione*, Abbot Suger continued the tradition of ornamenting every available surface in precious metals and gems. For descriptions, see *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. E. Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), *passim*, especially pp. 62-63; 88-89.

> Eligius constructed both a mausoleum of the holy martyr Dionysius in the city of Paris, and above it, a marble hut magnificently worked with gold and gems. He built a lid also, and the front part, which was a magnificent sight. And he also worked many of the boards on the circumference of the altar's throne, and placed golden apples on them, ornamented with beaten gold leaf and gems. He also carefully covered both the *lecturium* and the entrance with silver metal and also even the roof of the throne of the altar he covered with silver boards ... ornamented, so that it was quite unique among the Gauls and the object of everyone's great admiration still today.

Although hagiographic exaggeration, and the literary appeal of shiny surfaces may account for this description of the church's interior, the description also reflects Saint-Denis's reputation for wealth and display.[72]

Saint-Denis was the Carolingians' favorite abbey. In 754 Pepin the Short was crowned the first Carolingian king in the church of Saint-Denis and received royal unction there along with his sons Charles and Carloman from Pope Stephen II.[73] The dynastic coup had been achieved with the assistance of Saint-Denis's abbot, Fulrad (abbot ca. 749-84).[74] Charlemagne attended the dedication of the abbey's new church and gave it numerous gifts.[75] In addition to building a lavish new abbey church,[76] Abbot

---

[72] On the literary appeal of gem descriptions, see Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[73] The *Annales Regni Francorum* and Einhard's *Annales* both specify the date of Pepin's coronation in Francia, but not the church in which the ceremony was performed. See, Einhard, *Annales Regni*, 12-13 (for the year 754); Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, p. 76.

[74] Einhard, *Annales*, 13 (for the year 755); Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, pp. 76, 80. For the time span under consideration here (the reigns of Pepin to Louis the Pious) the abbots of Saint-Denis were Fulrad (749-784), Maginaire (784-79), Fardulph (797-806), Valton (806-814), and Hilduin (814-844). Hilduin was succeeded by Charlemagne's grandson Louis, Charles the Bald's cousin. After this abbot's death Charles the Bald became abbot.

[75] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, pp. 77, 80. On the dedication of the new church see Charlemagne's Diploma of February 24, 775, in MGH Dip. Kar. I, ed. M. Tangl (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), p. 133.

[76] On Fulrad's abbey church (a Latin basilica built around 775), see Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis*, chapters 6 and 7, and Jules Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960). Crosby reconstructs the church based on documentary and archaeological evidence. He describes the "colors of the mural decorations ... combined with the luxury of the furnishing, which included not only the contrasts between rich materials –gold, gilt, bronze, ivory, and marble – but also the carving of some

Fulrad left the abbey his extensive land holdings and, by the early ninth century, Saint-Denis held widespread domains throughout the Carolingian empire and beyond.[77] Successive kings confirmed the abbey's possessions and grants of immunity.[78] Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious adopted Dionysius as his special patron, and the monastery gained prominence. Louis refers to Dionysius as his "peculiaris patronus" and Saint-Denis as the monastery of "sanctissimorum martirum ac specialium protectorum nostrorum Dionisii pretiosi sociorumque eius" [of the holiest martyrs and of our special protectors, precious Dionysius and his comrades].[79]

Hilduin became abbot of Saint-Denis in 814 or 815.[80] By this time, there may have been around 150 monks at Saint-Denis:[81] it was a very wealthy community.[82] Saint-Denis was still divided between secular and monastic clergy, attempts by Hilduin,

---

surfaces and even the application of precious and semi-precious stones." See Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 165.

[77] Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 83; M. Tangl, "Das Testament Fulrads von Saint-Denis," *Neues Archives* (1907), 171-218. Fulrad bequeathed to Saint-Denis lands in what is now Germany. Charlemagne confirmed Saint-Denis' possessions in Italy. See Charter of Charlemagne, March 14 775, in MGH Dip. Kar. 1, ed. E. Mühlbacher, p. 135. Some highly tendentious charters refer to Saint-Denis's English possessions. See W.H. Stevenson, "The Old English Charters to St. Denis," *English Historical Review* (1891), 736-742. For the charters, see Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye*, pièces justificatives, xlii-xliii.

[78] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis*, 84; Levillain, "III: *Privilegium et immunitates,"* p. 57.

[79] Louis the Pious, *Ep. ad Hilduinum*, MGH Ep. 5, p. 326.

[80] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis,* p. 166. Two charters of Louis the Pious from December 1, 814, note Hilduin as abbot of Saint-Denis. Charters printed in Jules Tardif, *Monuments historiques, Cartons des Rois* (Paris: J. Claye, 1886), 77, no, 105-106; Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 58, n. 10.

[81] Charles the Bald set the number of monks at 150 in 862. See the charter of Charles the Bald, September 19, 862 in Félibien, *Historie de l'abbaye*, pieces jutificative, p. lxxii; Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 95.

[82] Due to the importance of Saint-Denis to the royal family, the abbey occurs frequently in Carolingian historical sources. Crosby compiles a list of the major texts; *Chronicarum Fredegarii continuationes,* ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 168-93; *Annales Fuldenses*, MGH SRM, ed. F. Kurze (Hannover: Hahn, 1891); *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH SRM, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1883); Nithardus (PL 116, cols. 46-75); Flodoardus (PL 135, cols 1-886); Ordericus Vitalis (PL, 188, cols. 1-985); Rodulf Glaber (PL 142, cols 611-698); Abbo S. Abbas Floriacensis (PL 139, cols 375-583); S. Fulbert Carnotensis Episcopus (PL 141, cols 187-371); Crosby, *Abbey of St.-Denis,* p. 75.

Benedict of Aniane, and Arnoul in the late 820s to reform it were largely unsuccessful. Monastic rule was imposed in 829, but around 830 the secular clergy revolted against it.[83]

Hilduin became arch-chaplain (*archicapellanus*) to Louis the Pious in 819 or 822 (a role Fulrad had also held).[84] Around the same time, he also became abbot of Saint-Médard in Soissons, Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, and Saint-Ouen in Rouen.[85] In addition to engaging in politics at the royal court, building projects, and reform efforts, Hilduin wrote and encouraged the writing of several hagiographical, historical, and theological works. As well as the passions that are the subject of this chapter, he may have participated in producing the *Miracula Dionysii* (BHL 2022) and the *Gesta Dagoberti*.[86] Hilduin knew the leading scholars of his day.[87] Through these contacts, he would have been in touch with poets who wrote verse saints' lives.[88]

---

[83] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis*, p. 82.

[84] Hilduin is first called the arch-chaplain (*summus sacri palatii capellanus*) in a charter of May 1, 819. See Tardif, *Monuments historiques,* p.112; Böhmer and Mühlbacher, *Regesten des Kaiserreichs*, p. 691; Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 58. Hraban Maur, *Commentaria in Libros IV Regum* (PL 109, 9), dating from 834, refers to Hilduin as *sacri palatii archicapellanus*, as does Sigebert's chronicle. See Sigebert, *Chronica*, MGH SS 6, p. 338.

[85] Lapidge , "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 58

[86] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis,* p. 167.

[87] Hilduin and Saint-Denis were connected to the leading Carolingian centers of verse hagiography and literary composition. One of Hilduin's concurrent abbacies was of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, a house that later produced several *vitae metricae*. The verse lives from Rouen included in the twelfth-century manuscript Rouen, BM, MS Y 41 (1406) are a passion of Nicasius (or Nigasius) Quirinus and Scubiculus (BHL 6083) on fols. 28r-32v; a *Vita Audoneni* (BHL 754) on fols. 230r-250r, a *Vita Romani* (BHL 7310) on fols. 51r-61v, and a *Passio* of Agnes (BHL 164b) on fols. 69v, 80r-83r. The *vita* of Romanus, which Lifshitz dates to the end of the eleventh century, is printed in PL 138, cols. 173-84, and excerpted in AASS Oct. 10, pp. 94-6 (Since these editions are flawed Lifshitz also appends a transcription to her dissertation, "The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen: The Political Uses of Hagiographical Texts," Columbia University, 1988). François Dolbeau says he is preparing an edition of the verse *Passio Agnetis*. See François Dolbeau, "Un domaine négligé de la littérature médiolatine: les textes hagiographiques en vers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 45 (2002), 130. Vezin discusses the links between Saint-Denis and numerous other houses including those at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Tours, Corbie, Reichnau, Saint-Emmeram, Saint-Gall, Fulda, and Reims. See Vezin, "Relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres," pp. 17-39; Jean Vezin, "Reims et Saint-Denis au ixe siècle. L'ancêtre du manuscript 118 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Reims," *RB* 94 (1984), 315-25. Evidence of a ninth-century liturgical book produced at Saint-Amand for Saint-Denis shows that Hilduin's

Scholarship on Hilduin generally recognizes him as a shrewd and ambitious individual.[89] In addition to Gabriel Théry's work on Hilduin, many of the writings on Saint-Denis, such as Crosby's book, also discuss the projects, political dealings, temperament, and achievements of the abbot.[90] Lapidge provides a concise and useful summary of his career.[91]

Like the monastery itself, Hilduin was a frequent recipient of Louis's largess.[92] Louis's ongoing patronage of Saint-Denis during the first decade and a half of Hilduin's

---

house was also associated with that epicenter of verse hagiography. The manuscript of Saint-Amand (now Rouen, BM, MS A. 566) is studied by Eric Palazzo, "Un *libellus missae* du scriptorium de Saint-Amand pour Saint-Denis, son intérêt pour la typologie des manuscrits liturgiques," *RB* 99 (1989), 286-92.

[88] There is copious evidence of Hilduin's connections with contemporary authors of verse hagiography and other poets. While it is doubtful that Hilduin was a student of Alcuin, who composed a metric life of Willibrod, he certainly knew Alcuin's star pupil, Hraban Maur. Maur, who encouraged his own student Candid to write a verse life, dedicated his *Commentarium in Libros IV Regum* to Hilduin. The poet Sedulius Scottus may have dedicated a poem to Hilduin. Another of Maur's students, Walafrid Strabo, who was appointed by Louis the Pious as his son Charles's tutor, also wrote verse saints' lives and was also linked with Hilduin. Hilduin was connected with other important abbeys, including Saint-Médard at Soissons, where Heiric of Auxerre's teacher Lupus of Ferrières taught, and Corbie, where he resided during his exile. On Hilduin's connections (or lack thereof) with Alcuin, Hraban, Sedulius, Strabo, and Ermenric, see Lapdige, "Lost 'Passio Metrica," pp. 56-58, 63. On Hraban, see Hraban Maur, *Commentaria in Libros IV Regum*, PL 109, cols. 9-10. Sedulius Scottus, Poem 76, MGH Poetae 3, ed. L. Traube (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 226-27; Léon Levillain, "Date et interprétation d'un poème de Sedulius Scottus," *Le Moyen Âge* 45 (1935), pp. 199-211. According to Walafrid Strabo's student Ermenric, Strabo intended to compose a verse *Vita Galli*. See *Ermenrici Elwangensis epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem,* MGH Ep. 5, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 566. There are two surviving letters from Lupus to Hilduin (letters 89-90); see *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières* trans. Graydon Regendos (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), pp. 108-110. Ferdinand Lot does not think that Lupus's correspondent is the same Hilduin as the abbot of Saint-Denis. See Ferdinand Lot, "De quelques personnages du ixe siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin," in *Recueil des travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot*, 2, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la ive section de l'école pratique des hautes études (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 461-95; Ferdinand Lot, "Sur les Hilduins: note rectificative," in *Recueil des travaux historiques* 2, pp. 495-99; Ferdinand Lot, "Les abbés Hilduin au ixe siècle," *Recueil des travaux historiques* 2, pp. 500-03.

[89] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis*, chapters 5 and 8; Théry, "Hilduin et le première traduction, pp. 23-39; Théry, "Texte intégral," pp. 33-50.

[90] Ferdinand Lot, "De quelques personnages du xie siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin," *Recueil de travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot* 2. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 461-95; Ferdinand Lot, "Sur les Hilduin au ixe siècle," *Recueil de travaux* 2, 495-99; Ferdinand Lot, "Les abbés Hilduins: note rectificative," *Recueil de travaux* 2, pp. 500-03.

[91] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," pp. 56-65.

[92] Charters cited in Lapidge, p. 58, n. 10.

abbacy is shown by the gift he sent, in 827, of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite (Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437), a Greek codex which he had received from emperor Michael of Byzantium. Hilduin, however, lost the emperor's favor, and was exiled in 830, a result of conspiring with Louis's son Lothar (with whom he had traveled to Rome in 824). Hilduin was recalled in 831 and restored to his abbacies (but not the arch-chaplaincy) by the negotiations of his student Hincmar.[93] Following his return, he continued his attempts to reform Saint-Denis,[94] and added an impressive new chapel onto Fulrad's church to house saints' relics, including those of the abbey's eponymous saint, Dionysius.[95] Hilduin's contemporary, the Irish monk Dungal, wrote about this chapel:

> Martyribus uenerandis busta ut trina coruscant
> Arcubus hinc totidem decorosus consonat ordo,
> Qui meliore novo ingenio rutilante metallo
> Fulti marmoreis decorantur rite columnis.
> Hos medio, extremos arcus hinc inde locatos,
> Ecclesiae Hilduinus cultor, egregius abbas,
> Struxit, cura cui semper potiora parare est,
> Praemia cuique deus est non peritura daturus.[96]
>
> As the triple tombs for the revered martyrs glitter,
> On this side, the pleasing order is matched in number by the arches,
> Which, supported on marble columns,
> Are duly adorned in glowing metal by a new and better skill.
> Hilduin, preeminent abbot, builder of the church,

---

[93] Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis,* p. 167.
[94] Charter of Hilduin, 832, ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale,* pièces justificatives, pp. xlix-l.
[95] On this chapel, see Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis,* pp. 168-87. An undated charter of Hilduin confirms that he undertook this construction. *Histoire de l'abbaye,* ed. Félibien, pièces justificatives, lvi. In this charter, Hilduin states: "ego... criptam ante pedes sanctissimorum martyrum nostorum ad laudem et gloriam nominis Domini, in honore sanctae ... Mariae omniumque sanctorum aedificaui, in qua multa pretiosissima sanctorum pignora... collocaui" [I built a crypt before the feet of our most holy martyrs from the praise and glory of the name of God, in honor of saint ... Mary and of all the saints, in which I collected many most precious remains of the saints]. Crook, "Enshrinement of Local Saints," p. 202.
[96] Dungal, MGH Poetae 2, pp. 664-65; Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 60. The roughly contemporary *Miracula* of Dionysius also note the construction of the crypt: *Miracula sancti Dionysii*, 2, 32, printed in Levillain, "Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," (1921), 65, n. 1, citing Mabillon, p. 357.

Constructed these things in the middle,
On this side the exterior arches were located.
Always it was his concern to provide better things,
And to whom God will give rewards that will not perish.

Hilduin was present at Louis' unusual second coronation at Saint-Denis in 834 and was probably involved in numerous other political matters.[97]

This, then, is the context of Hilduin's compositions. His prose passion and the accompanying letters are dated to around 835, that is, roughly nine years after the gift of the important Dionysian codex. The verse passion is undated, but, as noted above, we can assume that it was completed a few years later. Around 835, Hilduin was, once again, abbot of the Carolingian's preeminent monastic house. Hilduin's prestige, however, was lower than it had been before his exile, and he was no longer a member of the court.

Thus, when Louis wrote to Hilduin asking him to compile a codex of Dionysius's works from the materials at hand, Hilduin seized the opportunity to impress his patron. In the letter (BHL 2172), Louis asks Hilduin to collect the references (*notitia*) to Dionysius from a number of sources: Greek histories, other Greek books (*ex libris ab eo patrio sermone conscriptis*), Latin books, the little book of the saint's passion (*libellum passionis ipsius*), and the volume of ancient charters stored in the church in Paris (*in tomo cartis vetustissimis armario Parisiacae ecclesiae*).[98] Hilduin was to combine these into one text: "in corpus unum redigas atque uniformem textum exinde componas" [redact into one body and thence compose a uniform text]. The emperor then asks Hilduin to

[97] On Hilduin's probable participation in various councils and legislation and a more detailed account of his political career see Théry, "Hilduin et le première traduction,' pp. 23-39, and Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 59.
[98] This letter is BHL 2172. MGH Ep. 5, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 327, discussed by Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," pp. 61, 66.

send the volume (the *corpus unum*) along with hymns and readings for the Night Office of the saint, and a second volume (*alter uolumen*):

> His ita contextis volumus ... et gesta quae eidem subnexa[99] sunt, una cum ymnis, quos de hoc gloriossimo martire atque pontifice habes, et officium nocturnale subiungas. Sed et differenter ac cum integritate sui quaeque ex eo reperta sunt in altero volumine colligas, nobisque distincte et correcte transcripta quantocius dirigas aut presentes.[100]
>
> Thus, when these things have been collected, we wish you to unite them also with the *gesta*, which were added to it, together with the hymns, which you have, about that most glorious martyr and priest, and a Night Office.[101] But both differently and with an eye to completeness, collect whatever there is about him in a second volume, and send or hand it to us, copied out in a lucid and correct manner, as quickly as possible.

Louis goes on to say that he desires this collection since if he has a pledge or symbol (*pignus*) of the saint's presence he can take comfort in reading about, conversing with, or talking about the saint, wherever he might be.[102]

Hilduin replies (BHL 2173) that he has compiled the material Louis requested. He says that he found materials in Greek and Latin books (including references that he had previously been unacquainted with) about *dominus et patronus noster Dionysius*, and had collected them, as requested, into one book: "in unam collecta... poscitis" [you demand

---

[99] The MGH prefers the reading *subnixa*, but at least one of the manuscripts, the tenth-century Oxford Bodleian MS 1276 (Laud. misc. 549), contains the variant *subnexa*, which makes better sense.
[100] MGH Ep. 5, p. 327.
[101] The Night Office of the saint's feast day, celebrated in the evening or the early hours of the morning, was ornate and featured long readings. See Ritva Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968), p. 11.
[102] On *pignus* meaning relic, see Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus* in *Opera varia*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1993).

that they be collected into one (volume)].[103] Louis, it seems, would have to wait for his second volume (*alter uolumen*).

There are several intriguing features to this exchange. First, Louis requests two volumes from Hilduin, but Hilduin replies that he has collected the material he requested into *one* volume. Where, then, is the second volume? If we accept that Hilduin was the author of the verse life, then perhaps he was already contemplating writing the verse redaction and had decided that it would fulfill Louis's request for two books.

Second, although Louis notes the sources (Greek histories, the saint's writings, Latin books, charters, *gesta*, Night Offices) in detail and expresses his desire for a second volume on Dionysius, he does not explicitly ask his addressee to compose a new passion. Hilduin chose to interpret the emperor's request as a demand not just for a dossier on Dionysius but for a new *Passio Dionysii*. Louis also asked Hilduin to collect whatever information was found (*quaeque ... reperta sunt*) on Dionysius and assemble it into a second volume (*alter uolumen*). Like the prose passion, the verse life is a melange of Dionysian texts and information extracted from various sources, and although Louis did not explicitly request a verse text, he did ask that the second volume be collected differently (*differenter*), a condition the *vita metrica* certainly meets. As we shall see, by providing the emperor with new works in exchange for the Dionysian codex (Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437), the poet of Saint-Denis thus reinvests in an economy of patronage and exchange of books following his brief fall from favor.

[103] Hilduin, *Rescriptum*, MGH Ep. 5, p. 328

The third unusual thing about the exchange of letters is the language that Louis uses to talk about his patron saint and the writings on him. In asking Hilduin to assemble the material for the second volume, Louis uses language of reuniting disparate parts into a whole: "Sed et differenter ac cum integritate sui quaeque ex eo reperta sunt in altero volumine colligas" [but differently and with an eye to wholeness you gather the things that you found about him in another volume]. The emperor implies that the collected *uolumen* will function as a *pignus* (pledge or promise) of the saint's presence. He says he wants this second book (copied out in a lucid and correct manner) as soon as possible: "quoniam maxime valdeque dulcissimum *pignus* desiderabilis presentiae ipsius domini et solatioris nostri, ubicumque simus, habere nos credimus, si cum eo uel de eo aut ab eo dictis oratione, conlatione siue lectione conloquimur" [since we believe that we have the greatest and especially the sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of our lord and consoler, whereever we might be, if we converse with him, or about him, or in the prayers of speech, either in conversation or in reading] (my emphasis). The term *pignus* is frequently used of saints' relics. Louis clearly believes that the Dionysius is present in books by or about him, just as a saint is present in his relics, and that he can experience the saint's presence (*praesentia*) through reading and speaking.

At the time of Louis's request, the emperor implies that the *notitia* of Dionysius are scattered. Louis wants Hilduin to gather them (*colligere*) into one place. Like the cephalophore himself, Louis is concerned with the integrity of the holy *corpus*. As Dionysius gathered his dismembered head and took it with him for burial, Louis wants Hilduin to collect and reassemble both Dionysius's writings and those relating to him to

create an integral whole. In Louis's letter, books function like relics, as portable *loci* where a saint resides and through which his presence can be invoked by speaking and reading. The idea that books and bodies are interchangeable has a long classical, patristic, and medieval heritage, and, as we will see, it is an idea that Hilduin exploits in his re-creation of the saint in the prose and verse lives.

Books and Bodies

In 827, as noted above, Louis gave Saint-Denis a Greek codex, which had been sent to him by Emperor Michael. This codex, today Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437, contains the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite (see figure 2.1). A man named Dionysius, called the "Areopagite" after the Areopagus hill in Athens, appears in Acts 17: 13-34, where he is converted from paganism to Christianity by the apostle Paul. In the late fifth or early sixth centuries, an unknown writer claiming to be this Dionysius composed a series of mystical works.[104] Modern scholars call this latter figure, the late antique writer, pseudo-Dionysius, but in the central Middle Ages the identification of the first century Pauline convert with the theologian was not questioned. Therefore, in order to avoid introducing an anachronistic understanding of the distinction between the scriptural Dionysius and the anonymous writer who impersonated him, I will refer to the

[104] Andrew Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London: Continuum, 1989), p. 2. On pseudo-Dionysius in the west, see Edouard Jeauneau, "Denys l'Aréopagite, promoteur du néoplatonisme en Occident," *Néoplatonisme et philosophie médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Corfou*, 6-8 octobre 1995 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 1-23, and David E. Luscombe, "Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla," *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16-19 September 1986*, ed. Wolfram Setz (Hannover: Hahn, 1988), vol. I, pp. 133-152.

manuscript Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 as the Dionysian (rather than pseudo-Dionysian) codex, and the writings contained within it as Dionysian theology, since that was how they were perceived by the ninth-century audience.

Louis handed the codex over to Hilduin and his scholars for translation.[105] The unadorned little book written in Greek must have been a serious disappointment even though it was an imperial gift: it is completely without illumination or decoration.[106] The manuscript consists of 216 folios, 238 x 155 mm,[107] and contains the *Celestial Hierarchy*,

---

[105] *Rescriptum Hilduini abbatis ad serenissimum imperatorem Ludovicum* in MGH Ep. 5, p. 330; In this letter Hilduin speaks (rather vaguely) about Greek works (*autentici ... libri, Greca lingua conscripti*), which the eastern ambassadors had given to Louis and which Hilduin and his assistants translated (*interpretare*) at Louis's behest: Théry identified Hilduin as the first translator of the pseudo-Dionysian theology. Théry, "Hilduin et le première traduction," pp. 23-39. For descriptions of this codex, see Théry, "Etudes Dionysiennes," pp. 64-69; and H. Omont, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827," *Revue des Études Grecques* 17 (1904), 230-36; P.G. Théry, "L'entrée du Pseudo-Denys en Occident," *Mélanges Mandonnet* 2 (1930), pp. 23-30. Hilduin's translation proved inadequate and was effectively replaced by John Scottus Eriugena's translation of 858. John Scottus's Dionysian philosophy is a major feature of Heiric's verse *Vita Germani*. On pseudo-Dionysius's influence, see Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 116-22.

[106] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 59. Both Sigebert and the Saxon Annalist place Emperor Michael's gift of the Dionysian works in 824. Sigebert, presumably drawing on Hilduin, states "Legati Michaelis imperatoris inter cetera munera detulerunt Ludowico imperatori libros Dionisii Areopagitae, ab eo conscriptos de hierarchia, id est sacro principatu, petente ipso Ludowico de Greco in Latinum translatos" [The legates of Emperor Michael brought among other gifts to Emperor Louis the books of Dionysius the Areopagite that he wrote regarding the hierarchy, that is the holy government, which were translated, at Louis's request, from Greek into Latin]. The Saxon Annalist follows Sigebert closely. See Omont, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys," p. 231; Sigebert, *Chronica,* MGH SS 6, p. 338, and Annalista Saxo, MGH SS 6, p. 573. Michael, emperor of Byzantium, had perhaps sent the codex to Louis as a result of discussions at the Council of Paris in 825 in which the Franks opted to support the Byzantine position on iconoclasm. Hilduin was probably there in his capacity as arch-chaplain, and if so, he may have orchestrated the imperial gift, hoping for a book that would substantiate one of his pet theories – the identification of Dionysius the Areopagite with his house's own Dionysius, martyred first bishop of Paris. Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 59.

[107] H. Omont, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys," p. 235. I have seen this manuscript, but did not experience its miraculous qualities.

the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, the *Divine Names*, and the Areopagite's letters two to nine.[108]

After he was reinstated as abbot in 831, Hilduin needed to enhance his prestige. Louis's gift, the plain little codex, inspired the ever-resourceful abbot to transform it into something that would redound to the greater glory of his saint, his abbey and his own reputation, while also reaffirming the identification of the Parisian and Athenian saints called Dionysius. Hilduin did this in his reply to Louis's request for new works on Dionysius. In this reply, written around 835, he asserted that the book caused a spate of miracles when it was brought to the abbey where the saint's relics rested. Hilduin writes that Saint-Denis had received the genuine books (*autentici ... libri*) and a *Compendium*, written in Greek, which the steward of the Church of Constantinople and the ambassadors of emperor Michael (*echonomus ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione publica*) had delivered to Louis.

> Autenticos namque eosdem libros ... in ipsa uigilia sollemnitatis sancti Dionisii, pro munere magno suscepimus, quod donum deuotioni nostrae ac si caelitus allatum, adeo diuina est gratia prosecuta, ut in eadem nocte decem et nouem nominatissimae uirtutes in aegrotorum sanatione uariarum [*MGH*: uariam] infirmitatum ex notissimis et uicinitati nostrae personis contiguis, ad laudem et nominis sui gloriam, orationibus et meritis excellentissimi sui martyris Christus dominus sit operari dignatus.[109]

---

[108] Omont contains a description of the contents and notes folios that are missing. H. Omont, "Manuscrit des œuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827," pp. 235-36.
[109] Hilduin, *Rescriptum,* MGH Ep. 5, p. 330. Sigebert, presumably drawing on Hilduin or another source from Saint-Denis, also notes the healings. He states "libri Parisius in ipso sancti martyris festo missi, cum gaudio suscepti sunt; quod gaudium uirtus sancti martyris auxit, decem et nouem egrotis in ipsa nocte ibi sanatis" [The books (of Dionysius) were sent to Paris on the very feast of that holy martyr. They were received with great rejoicing, and the virtue of the holy martyr increased the joy since nineteen sick people were healed there on that night]. Sigebert, *Chronica*, MGH SS 6, p. 338. The Saxon Annalist repeats this information. *Annalista Saxo*, MGH SS 6, p. 573.

> For we received as a great offering, which was a gift for our devotion, as if conveyed from heaven, those same original books ... on the very vigil of holy Saint Dionysius [i.e. October 8]. Divine grace followed to such a degree that on the same night nineteen most noteworthy healings occurred. Sick people, both well known individuals and those who live close to our neighborhood, were cured of various illnesses. Lord Christ deigned to work for the praise and glory of his name, through the prayers and merits of his most excellent martyr.

In this anecdote, Hilduin draws out the notion of the saint's books as relics, which was implicit in Louis's letter, and describes the book's acting just like the saint's corporeal remains. Just as relics brought into proximity with one another might incite each other to perform miracles, when Dionysius's book and bones are brought together in the same abbey, and probably in the same structure, they cause wondrous healings.[110] As the bones are the physical remains of the saint, so his books are the remains of his mind and have similar properties to his corporeal relics.

Hilduin makes a remarkable claim for the power of books. The saint's corpus of works and his actual corpus are likened to one another. It seems that, just as the saint is present in his relics, so he is present in the codex of his works. The book and the bones implicitly recognize each other, causing the miraculous healings, and supporting

[110] An example of relics calling out to one another is given by Paschasius Radbertus discussing the mass importation of relics into the Carolingian empire. He says "Nequaquam igitur dixerim sine causa miracula sanctorum longe diu in Christo quiescentium nuper coruscasse, quanta et qualia nunquam sunt audita a saeculo facta uno in tempore ad reliquias sanctorum: quia omnino, quasi in gallicinio, sancti hoc in regno huc illucque delati, se invicem excitarunt quasi ad concentum cantus" [Nor would I say that it is without reason that miracles of saints long asleep in Christ have recently begun to flash forth. Never before have so many and so great things been done at one time by the relics of saints since the beginning of the world, for everywhere saints in this kingdom and those brought here excite each other to song even as cocks at cockcrow (*or* the singing of chant)]. Paschasius Radbertus, PL 120, col. 1608; translation from Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 20.

Hilduin's claim that they belong to the same saint. Thus Hilduin's account of the miracles validates his spurious identification of eastern and western Dionysii.

The Feast Day

According to Hilduin, the book arrived *in ipsa vigilia sollemnitatis sancti Dionisii*, on the eve of the saint's feast day, and the healings occurred *in eadem nocte*. Hilduin does not specify whether the gift arrived on that day as a result of his own plan, by Louis's design, or through divine providence, but the timing is highly significant for several reasons that scholars have not fully explored. First, the arrival of the Areopagite's book on the eve of the Parisian martyr's feast day implies that the tradition identifying the two Dionysii already existed at Saint-Denis or that Hilduin was already working on conflating the two Dionysii. Second, the timing suggests that Hilduin or Louis had stage-managed the timing of the book's arrival at his abbey for optimal effect. Third, the fact that it was the saint's feast day explains the presence of a number of pilgrims, both people who were well known and those from neighboring regions (*ex notissimis et vicinitati nostrae personis contiguis*). Presumably there were more people present than the nineteen who received medical attention, and the presence of a number of outsiders can be attributed to the prosperous fair that Saint-Denis operated on the feast day, since it attracted trade as well as devotion to the saint.[111]

[111] Certainly, large crowds venerated Dionysius in later centuries. According to Abbot Suger's twelfth-century account, such was the crowding and intensity of emotion that adoration of the relics in the crypt could turn into hysteria. Suger, *De consecratione* in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. E. Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 86-89.

Finally, the timing of the book's arrival implies that the object was immediately incorporated into the ritual celebration of the saint's passion. By the twelfth century, and possibly much earlier, the eponymous saint's feast, starting on the eve of the previous day, was celebrated with specialized liturgy that included readings describing the saint's life and, particularly, his martyrdom: at least the twelfth- or thirteenth-century *liber ordinarius* of Saint-Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 526) notes a procession to the saint's altar and a mass performed there on his feast day.[112] *In ipsa vigilia* is not just a reference to a time of day, but to one of the night offices. In other words, it seems that the book arrived during one of the offices, quite probably during the night office in which the saint's martyrdom was being recounted. Since Hilduin had probably composed hymns in honor of Dionysius for the vigils, it is likely that the book was brought in during a ritual not only orchestrated but also authored by Hilduin.[113]

---

[112] E. Foley, "St.-Denis Revisited: The Liturgical Evidence," *RB* 100 (1990), 532-49. The *liber ordinarius* contains rituals specific to Suger's twelfth-century church. It is impossible to say whether the procession and mass reflect earlier practice or later innovations.

[113] Hilduin probably composed hymns in honor of Dionysius for the *uigilia* (Louis asked him to include hymns for the *officium nocturnale* in his volume on Dionysius), in which case these hymns would certainly include Hilduin's vision of Dionysius who was both Areopagite and cephalophore. Louis, *Ep*., MGH Ep. 5, p. 327. See also, Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 66, n. 60; Michel Huglo, "Les chants de la <<Missa graeca>> de Saint-Denis," p. 74; Gabriel Théry, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Areopagitisme au ixe s.," *Le Moyen Age* 35 (1923), 119-23; the hymn from Antiphonary of Compiègne, printed in René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta* 7) (Rome, 1963), pp. 312-14 and PL 78, cols. 807-08.Huglo suggests that the liturgy of Dionysius from the late-ninth century Compiègne antiphonary (PL 78, cols. 807-08) is Hilduin's text. This Office draws heavily on the early *Passio* (BHL 2171) but does not feature the cephalophory or the saint as Areopagite, and it seems likely that Hilduin, as a staunch promoter of his vision of Dionysius, would have instituted a liturgy that included his innovations. Théry notes that the hymn "Coeli cives adplaudite" has parallels with Hilduin's prose *Passio Dionysii* and argues that Hilduin speciously attributes the hymn to Eugenius of Toledo when he in fact composed it himself (this hymn identifies Dionysius as "Areopago Athenae," but does not mention the cephalophory). Théry's argument, that Hilduin is the originator of the doctrine of "Aréopagitisme," would, of course, be undermined were Théry to date this hymn to an earlier time. The hymn is printed in MGH AA 14, ed. F. Vollmer (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905) p. 282.

Although he does not state it explicitly, Hilduin's language — *in ipsa vigilia* — strongly implies that the codex was not simply brought to the monastery and quietly deposited in the library, but rather was ceremoniously introduced into the church as a relic would be translated during the celebration of the saint's feast. In Hilduin's story of the miracles, the codex does not function as a text but as a material object, specifically, a relic. Hilduin undoubtedly expressed his ideas about the miraculous nature of the Dionysian codex in other forms as well; unfortunately little remains of the crypt he built, and we cannot recover his liturgy, ritual, and sermons. The letter to Louis, then, is our main source for Hilduin's construction of the miraculous book.

Miraculous Books

Hilduin's Greek codex is part of a long line of miraculous books, going back at least as far as the Sibylline oracles. "The magical properties of books are universal," and perhaps strongest when they are in an unknown (or largely inaccessible) language and become "unreadable artifacts inflated with mystical importance."[114] There is a particularly strong insular tradition of miraculous books. Bede tells of Irish manuscripts made into an anti-venene:

> ... uidimus, quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerant, et ipsam rasuram aquae inmissam ac potui datam talibus protinus totam uim ueneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumsisse ac sedasse tumorem.

[114] Michael Olmert, *The Smithsonian Book of Books* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1992), pp. 23, 29. On the symbolic weight of documents in general, see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*. 2nd ed (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 254; Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 5.

> ... we have seen how, in the case of people suffering from snake-bite, the leaves of manuscripts from Ireland were scraped, and the scraping was put in water and given to the victim to drink. These scrapings at once absorbed all the strength of the spreading poison and assuaged the swelling.[115]

In a kind of sympathetic magic, the process of scraping, used by scribes to erase their writing, could also erase the effect of the poison when the manuscript shavings were administered to the victim. Joseph F. Kelly's article on the connection between books and sanctity in Ireland gives other charming examples of book-related miracles.[116] When Saint Kevin dropped his psalter into a lake, an otter retrieved it for him,[117] whereas Saint Ciaran of Colmacnoise's book was rescued by a cow.[118] Ciaran also had an obliging stag who carried his books in its antlers and served as a convenient book stand for large books,[119] and a fox who used to convey a psalter between Ciaran and his teacher.[120] Certain holy books, such as the 300 copied by Saint Colomb Cille, protected themselves by remaining dry when submerged.[121] Other books were thought to protect their

---

[115] Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrace and R.A.B. Mynors (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), I, 1, pp. 20-21. Colgrace and Mynors's translation. Olmert recounts a similar story, from the seventeenth century, in which the seventh-century *Book of Durrow* was dipped in water to make cow medicine. See Olmert, *Smithsonian Book of Books*, p. 99.

[116] Joseph F. Kelly "Books, Learning and Sanctity in Early Christian Ireland," *Thought* 54 (1979), 253-61.

[117] Kelly "Books, Learning and Sanctity," p. 255.

[118] *Life of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise*, in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, Anecdota Oxoniensia Medieval and Modern Series no. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890), p. 275.

[119] *Life of Ciaran,* pp. 268, 274. In the same article, Kelly recounts the story of Saint Mochua who used a fly to keep his place in the book (the fly walked along under the line and functioned as a bookmark until the next time Mochua consulted the book).

[120] *Life of Ciaran*, p. 266. One day the fox began eating the book and was hunted down by hounds. The fox took refuge with Ciaran and both fox and book were saved.

[121] *Life of Ciaran*, pp. 274, 275; *Life of Colomb Cille* in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore,* 176; Kelly, "Books, Learning and Sanctity," pp. 254-55.

bearers.[122] Living saints used books, like other accoutrements such as staves, to perform miracles, including driving out monsters, healing the sick, and ending droughts.[123]

Even after the saints' deaths, their books continued to perform miracles. The miracles wrought by Saint Cuthbert's Gospels provide a later parallel to the codex at Saint-Denis. At the beginning of the twelfth century the monks from Lindisfarne, relocated to Durham, opened Cuthbert's coffin and found the undecayed body of the saint with his head resting on a copy of the Gospels. The bishop Flamard showed the book to the lay people on that day, and it began performing miracles. It was then kept on the altar of Durham Cathedral until 1540.[124] Cuthbert's Gospel book, removed from the saint's coffin, resembles the empty reliquary ("le reliquaire sans reliques") discussed by Dierkins, which retained the contagion of sanctity even after the saint's remains were transferred to a new container.[125] The Gospel book, enclosed in the coffin with Cuthbert, was akin to one of his relics. There are other examples of relics that are not part of the

---

[122] Kelly, "Books, Learning and Sanctity," pp. 254-55. One of the manuscripts preserved at Fulda contains the (appropriately gouged) book that Saint Boniface used to defend himself (unsuccessfully and thus hardly miraculously) against the pagans who killed him. See Olmert, *Smithsonian Book of Books*, p. 9. On the use of staves to perform miracles, see Chapter Five.

[123] Kelly, "Books, Learning and Sanctity," pp. 256 -57. According to John of Salisbury, Cuthbert healed the sick by laying the Gospel of John upon them. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, Book 2, c. 1 (col. 416a) cited in Mynors, "Stonyhurst Gospel," p. 358, n.1.

[124] See Olmert, *Smithsonian Book of Books*, pp. 9-10. Two *translationes* of Cuthbert are extant, one written before 1122 and the other in the 1160s and 70s. See C.F. Battiscombe, *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), p. 3. For the codex that contains a twelfth-century inscription identifying it as the book found beneath Cuthbert's head, see R.A.B. Mynors, "The Stonyhurst Gospel," *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert,* ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), p. 357.

[125] Alain Dierkens, "Du bon (et du mauvais) usage des reliquaires au Moyen Age," *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles: Actes du colloque international del'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4-6 septembre 1997*, eds. Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius, Hagiologia études sur la sainteté en occident - Studies on Western Sainthood, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 240, 248-52. Like the empty reliquaries that Dierkens discusses, the crypts from which Quentin and his associates were elevated in the thirteenth century may have been venerated even after the relics were removed. See Ellen M. Shortell, "Dismembering Saint Quentin: Gothic Architecture and the Display of Relics," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 36.

saint's body, most obviously contact relics, such as clothing or (to use a later example) the comb that supposedly belonged to Hildegard von Bingen.[126] The codex Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 is, of course, different from these contact relics in that there is no suggestion that it belonged to Dionysius. Its holy significance derived not from its ownership, but from the fact that it conveyed the inspired contents of the saint's mind. Given the strong insular presence at the Carolingian court and at Saint-Denis, it is likely that Hilduin was aware of the English and Irish traditions of book miracles; they may have informed his decision to present the story of the miraculous book.[127]

The equation of book and relic is also given force by the Christian tradition of Christ as the Word. As the Word of God is made flesh, so the words of the saint (the Dionysian theology contained in the codex) become akin to a relic, that is, the saint's incorrupt flesh and bones. Numerous classical precedents attest to the conflation or confusion of authors' bodies and books. Classical authors describe the ways that a book can substitute for a physical person or a body. In one dramatic example, at the beginning of his *Tristia*, written in exile, Ovid addresses his book, telling it to go on its (poetic) feet and visit the sights in Rome that he is no longer able to see. Ovid envisions his embodied

[126] For Hildegard's comb, see van Os, *Way to Heaven*, pp. 156-57, figures 187 and 188. Schmitt discusses miracles performed by an image and a hat in the thirteenth century. See Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," 158. On *brandea*, relics that derive their sanctity from contact with the saint, see Henri Leclerq in *DACL* 14., Fasc. 2 (1948) 2294-2359, sec. 13.

[127] Insular scholars in Francia included Sedulius Scottus, who was probably a friend of Hilduin's, and Dungal. See Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," pp. 60, 63-64.

books as his sons, and warns the *Tristia* to avoid its wicked brother, the *Ars Amatoria*, which was the cause of his exile.[128]

Another example of the blurring of body, book, and relic occurs in Prudentius's version of Saint Cassian's passion. Cassian, patron saint of teachers, is killed in the arena by his pagan students, who use their writing implements as weapons. Thus, Cassian's body, written upon in his own blood by his students' styli, becomes in death a book for the faithful to read: Prudentius's verse passion explicitly calls the martyr's body a page and the blood ink.[129] In Heiric's verse *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458), written in the 970s, the saint describes life in the terms of writing or reading a book: "Post inconstantis permensa uolumina uitae/ ... patriam donatur cernere ueram" [after completing the chapters (or volumes) of our turbulent life, we can see the true homeland].[130] In these narratives, saints' bodies and lives are likened to books. Cassian's suffering body becomes a book, and Heiric describes the process of living in the terms of completing a book. By contrast, in Hilduin's account, the transformation works in the opposite direction: the book (the Dionysian codex) becomes something like a dead body, or a holy body part.

---

[128] Ovid, *Tristia*, in *Tristum libri quinque Ibis Ex Ponto Libri quattuor Halievtica Fragmenta*, ed. S.G. Owen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1915), 1.1. Other examples include Seneca the Elder and Pliny, who provide different interpretations of the relationship of books and bodies. In one of his *suasoriae*, Seneca imagines offering Cicero the choice of dying or having his books burned. In this example, the books operate as the writer's sacrificial double, whose destruction would obviate the need for the author's execution (Seneca, *Suasoriae*, 7). For Pliny, books can substitute for the physical presence of a person, or more precisely, reading a book is akin to knowing its author. Pliny recounts his friend Tacitus telling a new acquaintance "Nosti me, et quidem ex studiis" [You know me from your studies]. Pliny, *Epistularum Libri Decem*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 9.23.

[129] BHL 1625 (Prudentius's version of Cassian's passion). Hymn 9 in Prudentius Clemens, *Le livre des couronnes, dittochaeon, épilogue* (Paris: Société d'édition "les belles lettres," 1951), pp.112-16

[130] Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 1, 420-22, p. 449.

There are other ways, too, that relics and books were seen to possess similar properties. As Head notes, relics without a narrative are simply bones.[131] Relics were social products – they possessed individual identity and therefore gained significance because the communities that kept them agreed to attribute meaning to them.[132] Some relic-keepers mitigated against the threat that the holy remains might lose their identity by including *cedulae*, scraps of paper inscribed with the saint's name, in the reliquary with the relics. With the labels attached, the relics themselves could literally be read inside the reliquary.[133] Like Hilduin's Greek codex, these readable reliquaries were both text and relic.

Both relics and holy books were sacred objects, and in the Middle Ages important books often resembled relics: they were highly decorated, encrusted with precious gems and metals, and set upon an altar.[134] The costly ornamentation on the exterior of a reliquary was not an arbitrary display of wealth. Rather, it was ostentatious in the most literal meaning of the term, intended to show the power and glory of the saint inside. Only remarkable, jeweled exteriors were considered worthy of housing the saint.[135] The

---

[131] Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saint*, p. 32; Geary, *Furta Sacra,* p.5.
[132] Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Reliques et pouvoirs," in *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles*, eds. Edina Bózoky and Anne-Marie Helvétius (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 259; Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p.151.
[133] In the catalogue for an exhibition of relics, the appropriately named van Os shows numerous examples of such *cedulae*. See Henk van Os, *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: de Prom, 2000), p. 146, figure 175; 161, figure 192.
[134] Nicoletta Giovè Marchioli, "I libri del tesoro," *Tesori: Forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V-XI)*, eds. Sauro Gelichi and Cristina La Rocca (Roma: Viella, 2004), pp. 257-88.
[135] Some later reliquaries make use of ostrich eggs, coconuts, and sea urchins as signifiers of rarity and wealth. Among the Irian Jaya, where pigs rather than gold are the ultimate signifier of wealth, relics are made from mud, tusks, and pigs' teeth. Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p. 153. On strange reliquary vessels, see van Os, *Way to Heaven*, p. 117 (for fourteenth-century egg reliquaries); p. 140 (a coconut relic), p. 160 (a sea urchin), and pp. 96-97 (ancestral pig relic).

reliquary both communicated the meaning of its contents and derived its own meaning from those contents.[136] The reliquary, like a hagiographic narrative, transformed the bones into a saint. Along with hagiographical stories, rituals, architecture, and other artwork, the reliquary created the social recognition necessary for a functioning saint: "c'est le reliquaire qui fait le relique."[137] Some reliquaries even communicated the saint's story in narrative illustrations.[138] The remarkable fifteenth–century reliquary of the child proto-cephalophore Saint Just is in the shape of his head supported by his hands. It thus depicts his miraculous posthumous gesture related in his passion: the martyred Just, sitting with his head in his hands, asked his father and uncle to take his head to his mother so she could kiss it. [139] Montgomery has pointed out how the role of this reliquary in ritual would implicate the viewer in the role of Justus's mother kissing her son's decapitated head, so that this reliquary not only tells a story but also conditions a ritual response.[140] Other simpler "speaking reliquaries" or "body part reliquaries," dating from the late ninth-century on, represented (or misrepresented) the body part contained

[136] Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p. 153.
[137] Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p. 151.
[138] Valeria's reliquary shrine depicts the saint's cephalophory. On the thematically related reverse of the shrine, the magi bear their own less macabre gifts to Christ. See illustrations in van Os, *Way to Heaven,* pp. 25- 27.
[139] Scott B. Montgomery, "*Mittite capud meum ... ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum*: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 48-64; *Passio Iusti* (BHL 4590), AASS Oct. vol. 8, pp. 338-339.
[140] Montgomery, "*Mittite capud meum*," p. 50. Saint-Denis possessed a similar reliquary head of Dionysius from the thirteenth century, which consisted of a head wearing a bishop's miter and supported by angels (presumably part of the angelic host that accompanied Dionysius on his cephalophory). Montgomery describes this as a "compressed and simplified" version of Dionysius's' cephalophory. See Montgomery, "*Mittite capud meum*," pp. 55-56. The head is now lost, but there is an engraving of it in Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale*, plate III (reproduced in Montgomery).

inside.[141] Saints' illegible remains were embedded in precious casing, which then communicated their significance to onlookers, who understood that the precious metals and gems and the workmanship of the casing signified the contents' power and sanctity. Precious stones had allegorical meanings that the viewer could decode.[142] The different stones had specific meanings, and the jeweled exterior looked forward to the heavenly Jerusalem, the golden-walled, gem-encrusted city described in the Book of Revelation.[143] The shining casing also mirrored the incorruptible glory of the saint within, which itself prefigured the transformed bodies of the end days.[144] Further, according to the Neoplatonic philosophy espoused in the Dionysian codex, contemplation of material things with the senses could lead a viewer to the transcendent.[145] Hilduin's spiritual descendent, the twelfth-century Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, expresses a similar idea on the meditative functions of gems embedded in architecture.

> Unde, cum ex dilectione decoris domus Dei aliquando multicolor gemmarum speciositas ab extrinsecis me curis devocaret, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum, de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, honesta meditatio insistere persuaderet, videor videre me ... ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri.
>
> Thus, when – out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God – the multicolored loveliness of the gems has called me away from external cares, and

---

[141] Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 20. Volume 36/1 of the journal *Gesta* is a special issue on body-part reliquaries (as they term speaking reliquaries). See in particular Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 3-7; Barbara Drake Boehm, "Body-Part Reliquaries: The State of Research," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 8-19.
[142] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 68-69.
[143] Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," pp. 52-53; Revelation 21:18-21.
[144] Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p. 153. Shortell describes the gilding of Saint Quentin's skull as "covering the bones with new flesh in a more perfect material, not subject to decay." See Shortell, "Dismembering Saint Quentin," p. 38.
[145] Foley, *First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey,* p. 267.

> worthy meditation has induced me to reflect on the diversity of the sacred virtues, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, then I seem to see myself, by God's grace in an anagogical manner, able to be transported from the inferior to the higher world.[146]

In short, the precious and richly ornamented reliquary ensured that the bones would be understood as saints' relics, and even conveyed information about the particularities of that saint, while the light from the cut and polished surfaces encouraged the viewer towards a mystical experience.

The reliquary both revealed and enclosed the saint, communicating the holy person's splendor and glory while often concealing the actual remnants.[147] The reliquary communicated not just the presence of the remains, but also the invisible meaning of those bones. The relics were promises (*pignora*) of the saint's presence and ultimate resurrection; they were "frammenti di eternità" (to use Canetti's evocative term), little pieces of the celestial and eternal, embedded in the mundane and temporal world.[148] The reliquary conveyed the general theological truths of resurrection and saintly efficacy as it reminded the viewer of the specific saint whose otherwise nondescript bones were lodged within. Thus the reliquary, like the bones within it, functioned as a *memoria* of the saint.[149] The reliquary interpreted the meaning of its contents and goaded the viewer to contemplate the power and glory of God revealed in His saint.

---

[146] Suger, *De Administratione*, 62-65. Panofsky's translation.
[147] Van Os, *Way to Heaven*, p. 104.
[148] L. Canetti, *Frammenti di eternità: Corpi e reliquie tra Antichità e Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2002).
[149] Schmitt, "Reliques et les images," p. 149. Writing in the early eleventh-century, Bernard of Angers notes that Saint Foy's statue is intended to preserve her memoria: "ob memoriam reuerende martyris ... simulacrum" [a likeness for the veneration of the martyr's memory]. He also refers to the reliquary as the "sancte uirginis pia memoria"[the pious memorial of the holy virgin]. Bernard of Angers, *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, ed. Auguste Bouillet (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1897), 1.13, pp. 48-49, cited in Stock, *Implications of Literacy,* pp. 70-71.

Crypts and reliquaries served certain similar functions, albeit on different scales. Reliquaries were constructed to look like crypts,[150] and the highly ornamented *cripta* that Hilduin added to the church of Saint-Denis was much like a reliquary. Consecrated in 832, it was built to contain the relics of Dionysius and other saints. In the eleventh century, Haimon describes the gems embedded in the crypt's walls (*criptula quaedam aureis gemmis extrinsecus decorata*).[151] As Hilduin's sly program of relic acquisition for Saint-Médard (discussed by Geary) and his construction of the new crypt at Saint-Denis show, the abbot of Saint-Denis was well able to manipulate the meaning and placement of relics to increase his communities' power and status and thus his own as well.[152]

Books as Relics and Reliquaries

The prose and verse *passiones* of Dionysius can be understood in an analogous manner to saints' reliquaries. Hilduin took the text of Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 – the sacred heart of the codex – and placed it in literary settings that communicated its importance. By translating the Dionysian text from Greek to Latin, and enclosing it in prose and – more significantly – in ornamental and prestigious verse form, Hilduin made

[150] Van Os, *Way to Heaven*, p. 116. See illustrations of reliquaries that are constructed like miniature buildings on p. 138, figure 167.
[151] Haimon, *Delectio corporum*, 5 in Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye*, pièces justificatives, p. clxviii. Crosby notes that the reference to *extrinsecus* does not refer to the external walls of the church (where the gold and gems would certainly convey the saint's wealth and glory but not for very long). See Crosby, *Abbey of St-Denis*, p. 177.
[152] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 40-46; 118-20.

it accessible, explained its meaning, and enhanced its status.[153] Hilduin describes how he encapsulates the story of the dead saint's cephalophory in verse:

> … praeclara dehinc tulerit uexilla triumphans
> Martyr post obitum existens baiulus horum
> Iam cantare libet, ac stricto claudere uersu.[154]
>
> Now it is permitted to sing and *to enclose in metric verse*
> How the triumphant martyr then bore the shining banners,
> Arising as a pall bearer of these things after death.

The verb *claudere* can mean 'to stumble,' and thus Hilduin could be expressing a humilty *topos* ("I am allowed to stumble in metric verse"), but it can also mean "to enclose" or 'to confine.' *Strictus uersus* is idiomatic for 'metric verse.' Since the adjective *strictus* itself means 'tight' or 'close,' the interpretation of *claudere* as 'to enclose' makes more sense. So, in the poem Dionysius the cephalophore is his own pall bearer (*baiulus*), and Hilduin, metaphorically, makes the case or tomb (the *strictus uersus*) that encloses the saint. In a parallel example from the verse *Vita Germani*, written about 40 years later, Heiric of Auxerre describes the poet's words as the *monumenta* (memorial or book, but also tomb) of the saint's *gesta*: "Gestorum michi dulce foret monumenta tuorum/ Et uitae totum plectro percurrere textum" [let me run sweetly through monuments of your deeds, and the whole web of your life]. [155]

Like the later goldsmiths who turned caliphate rock crystal bottles into reliquary vessels, or the artisans at Conques who transformed a Roman imperial mask into a house for Saint Foy's remains, Hilduin took the precious materials at hand (the saint's *pignora*,

[153] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v.
[154] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v.
[155] Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 1. 187-88, p. 444.

as Louis called them) and reworked them into something new and more fitting for his times. Like the artisan who created the rock crystal fish reliquary with insect legs for the relics of Mary Magdalene, Hilduin employed originally unrelated fragments from diverse times and places to create something at once unusual, memorable, and strikingly innovative.[156] Verse, in particular, was understood as a jeweled, decorative, and prestigious form.[157] Similarly, by taking fragments of the Dionysian codex (which had already demonstrated its power as a relic) and embedding them in verse form, Hilduin incorporated, exhibited, interpreted, and transformed the Dionysian corpus.

Hilduin's *Vita Dionysii* is unique among the *vitae metricae* that I have seen because it incorporates sections of prose within it, without putting them into verse. Manuscripts of other *vitae metricae* contain prose *capitula*, or summary lists of the headings of each book. The verse *Passio Dionysii*, however, like its prose counterpart, contains the translated *capitula* of another book - the Dionysian works. So, a reader skiming through Hilduin's *passiones* for *capitula* would find the chapter titles for Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy* or his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and would reasonably assume that these works were among the texts included in the book, although they are not.[158] But because they included the *capitula* from the Dionysian codex, Hilduin's verse and prose *Vita Dionysii* have a certain physical resemblance to manuscripts of the Dionysian corpus, or at least to translations of it.

---

[156] On the fish reliquary, see van Os, *Way to Heaven*, pp. 159-61, figure 192.
[157] On this *topos* in Late Antique verse, see Roberts, *Jeweled Style*, *passim*.
[158] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 10v, 11v.

In fact, the passions *are* in part translations of the Dionysian works. Both prose and verse passions contain Latin versions of letters from the Dionysian corpus. In the prose passion, these are prose texts (as one would expect) and in the verse *passio* they are (again, as one would expect) in verse, with one exception. In the verse *Passio Dionysii*, Hilduin has not versified Dionysius's letter to Apollophanius, but simply included the exact Latin text that occurs in the prose *Passio Dionysii*.[159] I have been unable to locate a Greek text for this letter, which is omitted from some collections of Dionysius's corpus, and it may be an apocryphal Latin addition to the Dionysian corpus, possibly invented by Hilduin himself.[160] (The fact that it is not included in the Greek codex Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 strongly suggests that the letter to Apollophanius is a pseudepigraphal confection of Hilduin's.) The poet also includes, in prose, Dionysius's letter to John the Evangelist, on Patmos.[161]

So, by including whole prose letters (albeit possibly a fake one), Latin verse translations of other letters, and prose *capitula* of Dionysius, Hilduin gives the verse *Passio* a strange and inconsistent quality. Blocks of prose interrupt the verse narrative, just as a whole section on Dionysius's literary works interrupts the story of his life. This text is a *vita metrica*, but it is also, in part, a translation and summation of actual Dionysian works. As we will see in Chapters Four and Five, it is normal for *vitae*

---

[159] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 15r. The PG, which prints the other letters in Greek, prints this letter only in Latin.

[160] Letter 11 is contained in full, in identical prose form, in both Hilduin's passions. It seems likely that Hilduin composed this letter and attributed it to the theologian, which would make it a pseudo-pseudo-Dionysian text. I am pursuing the anomaly of this letter in revisions of this dissertation for publication as a book.

[161] *Passio Dionysii* (verse) fol. 19v.

metricae to incorporate material from their prose sources, but they usually do so by transforming the source text into verse. As the manuscripts say, the prose *vita* is "heroicum carmen metrico stilo transfusa" [transformed into the song of heroes in metric style].[162] The tradition of transforming prose into verse was a basic school exercise and goes back to the late antique poets who versified scripture or wrote prose and verse versions on the same topics.[163] Hilduin therefore had precedents for the transformation of prose into verse, so when he left a section unaltered, that must have been a conscious decision. I argue that, given Hilduin's interests in relics and the reliquary nature of texts, Hilduin was deliberately and obviously including large pieces of Dionysian prose text, including the *capitula*, into his own verse narrative, because he saw his verse as a reliquary that enclosed the works and life of Dionysius. Like the bones in a monstrance reliquary, the holy Dionysian fragments could clearly be discerned from the precious materials surrounding them, even by a casual observer. Moreover, as is the case with a reliquary, the saintly Dionysian remains are less decorative and immediately impressive than the ornamented casing that emphasizes and reveals their holiness.

As noted above, Hilduin's compositions functioned as gifts in a network of exchange that included books and relics. Books, like relics, were important gifts that established ties of patronage.[164] Hilduin understood the importance of relics as gifts; his present of part of Saint Sebastian to Abbot Boso of Fleury caused great popular

---

[162] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, rubric to the proemium prefacing the *Vita Amandi*, in MGH Poetae 3, p. 567.
[163] See Chapter One of this study, p. 15.
[164] For examples of relics (specifically body part relics) as the currency of gift exchange, see, Thomas Head, "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 65 - 82.

excitement at the latter's cloister.[165] Books were, similarly, the object of exchange between important individuals and institutions, as Emperor Michael of Byzantium's gift of the Dionysian codex to Louis the Pious and Louis's "*munus magnum*" of that codex to Saint-Denis attest.[166] Gifts established reciprocal ties of obligation. Such reciprocity is implied when Louis sent that book to the abbey of Saint-Denis and, then requested two *uolumina* on Dionysius, thus binding his wayward abbot Hilduin into a network of favor, exchange, and obligation.[167] Hilduin transformed the Dionysian text of Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437 into a new and powerful narrative and sent it to Louis, returning the favor and expressing his role in the co-operative network. By composing a verse passion – a specialized and difficult work – Hilduin provided the emperor with something as great, or even greater, than the gift Louis had donated to his abbey.

Cephalophores: An Unnatural History

Dionysius is the most famous of the many cephalophores — that is, the saints who carry their own heads with them after death — and his posthumous journey inspired many imitations in later passions. It is impossible to say whether he was the first cephalophore, because the manuscript traditions for the early Middle Ages are so fragmentary. E.A. Stükelberg in his 1916 article lists the names of over fifty *Kopfträger*

[165] Adrevald of Fleury, *Miracula S. Benedicti*, lib. 1, cap 28, *Les Miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain (Paris: Ve J. Renouard, 1858), p. 65; cited in Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 146.
[166] See the discussion of the exchange of manuscripts of *vitae metricae* in Chapter One of this study.
[167] *Rescriptum*, MGH Ep. 5, p. 330. "Munere magno suscepimus."

and even this list is not complete.[168] One interpretation of the *Kephalophorenmotiv* attributes it to a naive and literalist interpretation of representations of decapitated martyrs, who were shown holding their heads to signify their mode of death.[169] (The literary motif of the saint carrying his head in his hands appears in John Chrysostom, although it is not certain that western sources derived it from him.)[170] Stükelberg argues that visual representations of cephalophores arose several centuries *after* the advent of cephalophore stories (which he dates to the eighth-century) and posits his own explanation. According to Stükelberg, people observed graves in which the contents had shifted, placing the skull in the vicinity of the hands and concluded that the saint had been carrying his head when he was laid to rest.[171] Both these explanations are problematic because of lack of proof (Stückelberg is only able to adduce a post-medieval example of such misinterpretation) and because they rely on an unexamined assumption about the stupidity and gullibility of medieval popular religiosity. In fact, the motif of the cephalophore is employed in erudite *vitae metricae* (and other texts) written by highly educated and theologically sophisticated individuals. Regardless of what prompted the

---

[168] M. E.-A. Stückelberg, "Die Kephalophoren," in *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* (1916). p. 78; M. D'Arbois de Jubainville suggests a Celtic origin for the motif. See M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, "Saint Denis portant sa tête sur la poitrine," *Revue celtique* 12 (1891), 166-67, and *AB* 12 (1893), 88. C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire* (Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1966 [1867]), pp. 761-66, also provides a long list of cephalophores as does P. Saintyves, "Les saints céphalophores," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99 (1929), 158-231. Coens, "Nouvelles recherches," p. 10, n.1 cites another list in the *Acta Sanctorum* in the commentary on the acts of Saint Bologna. In AASS Oct. vol. 7, p. 819.

[169] Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, trans. V. M. Crawford (University of Notre Dame Press, 1961[1907]), p. 81.

[170] Henschenius, AASS Mai, vol. 6, p. 38. notes that John Chrysostom, in his homily on Juventin and Maximin, emphasizes the intercessory efficacy of the martyrs by showing them offering their decapitated heads to God in their hands; see John Chrysostom, PG 50, col. 576; Cahier, *Charactéristiques des Saint*s, p. 766; Moretus Plantin argues that there were too few Hellenists in the West for this passage to be influential at an early date. Ph.H. Moretus Plantin, "Les Passions de saint Lucien et leurs dérivés céphalophoriques" (Namur: Secrétariat des Publications, 1953), p. 53.

[171] Stückelberg, "Die Kephalophoren," p. 76.

initial stories of cephalophory, it was a trope that was used in both popular and learned circles.[172] The fact that the cephalophore motif from an erudite *vita metrica* could also be incorporated into liturgy (for example, the Office of Saint Fuscien), which would then be heard by a wider audience of devotees come to revere the saint on his feast day, shows how arbitrary and impractical are the categories of popular and elite.[173]

Coens traces the evolution of the cephalophore narrative.[174] The earliest stories feature a decapitated saint's speaking head, which might provide instructions on the disposition of his corpse.[175] Thus, in a show of posthumous filial piety, the child martyr Just asks that his head be taken to his mother, who is delighted (BHL 4590).[176] Similarly, the earliest version of Dionysius's passion (BHL 2171), perhaps from the fifth century, contains a talking head, rather than a full-blown cephalophory. In this version, the tongues of the decapitated saints Dionysius, Eleutherius, and Rusticus continue to move, appearing to confess their faith, but there is no cephalophory: "reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt, tali ad dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putabatur lingua palpitans domino confiteri" [returning their bodies to the earth, they bore their blessed souls to heaven, they deserved to depart to the

---

[172] The poet who wrote the verse *Vita Eusebiae* says that he derived the story of his saint's father's cephalophory from *plebis opinor* (the opinion of the people). *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.172.
[173] Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 85, 93. The Office is printed by Jonsson on pp. 195-97. The versified Office of Fuscian, which includes a cephalophory, draws on the *Carmen de S. Quintino* (BHL 7010), and the *Carmen de S. Benedicta* (BHL 1088). Fuscien is one of the saints featured in the fragmentary *Carmen de S. Quintino*, preserved only in the ninth-century manuscript Paris, BNF, MS 14143.
[174] Coens, "Nouvelles recherches, " pp. 231-53.
[175] *Vita Iusti*, BHL 4590. This prose *vita* is contained in the tenth-century codices Brussels, KBR, MS 7984; and in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12598. The edition printed in AASS, Oct., vol. 8, pp. 338-339, by E. Carpentier, is based on the Brussels manuscript; see Maurice Coens, "Aux origines de la céphalophorie, un fragment retrouvé d'une ancienne Passion de S. Just, martyr de Beauvais," *AB* 74 (1956), 86-114.
[176] AASS Oct. vol. 8, pp. 338-39.

Lord with so great a declaration, so that, although they had been decapitated, their tongues were thought still to confess the Lord].[177] This text uses the Ovidian phrase *lingua palpitans* to describe the tongue's spasmodic jerking. The appearance of this term and other verbal borrowings in later passions show that later cephalophories trace their pedigree to the early *passio* of Dionysius.[178] In later stories, rather than simply telling shocked onlookers where to bury their bodies, Dionysius and other decapitated saints stand up and carry their heads with them to their burial sites.

Cephalophories are appended to narratives of some saints, as Coens says, to add a new "flower" to their crown.[179] The cephalophory is a particularly useful marker of sanctity when the saint's holiness or martyrdom is questionable. Of several ca. tenth-century accounts of Saint Adalbald's death at the hands of his in-laws, only one describes it as a martyrdom. This text, the metric *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737), is also the only one that depicts as Adalbald as a cephalophore. By making the murdered man immediately stand up and walk off with his head, the anonymous poet puts a seal of sanctity on his otherwise unremarkable death.[180]

---

[177] *Passio sanctorum martyrum Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii* (also called the *Gloriosae*), ed. F. Leo, MGH AA 4/2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), p. 104. Scholars have variously assigned BHL 2171 to any time from the fifth century to Charlemagne's reign, but it clearly predates Hilduin. Levillain gives a list of scholars subscribing to the different points of view. Levillain's reasons for attributing the *Gloriosae* (BHL 2171) to the fifth century include the fact that the early sixth-century *Vita Genovefae* (BHL 3335) draws on it as a source, and so the argument is reliant on the dating of this second text as well as the assumption that the influence flows from the *Gloriosae* to the *Vita Genovefae* and not in the other direction.

[178] Maurice Coens, "Nouvelles recherches sur un theme hagiographique: La céphalophorie," *Academie royale de Belgique, bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5e série, 48 (1962), 231-53. Hilduin's prose *passio* uses the term, although the verse version does not. *Passio Dionysii (*prose*),* cap 3, p. 46.

[179] Coens, "Nouvelles recherches," p. 10.

[180] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse) 1.170 ff. On this incident, and this poem more generally, see Chapter Five.

Of the numerous cephalophores of the Carolingian era, there are significant clusters around Auxerre, Paris, and Flanders — the very regions where *vitae metricae* were especially prevalent. The two hagiographical phenomena were popular in the same times and places and were part of the same hagiographical foment that characterized the central Middle Ages in western Europe. Several of the more prominent cephalophores – including Just, Quentin, and Fuscian — were victims of the pagan governor Rictovare, and their *passiones* form a literary cycle.[181] Some manuscripts – such as Paris, BNF, lat. MS 12598 – contain more than one cephalophory.[182] It seems that, whatever the origin of the cephalophore story, it evolved over time, gaining a standard set of elements. In its developed form, which we see in Hilduin's prose and verse passions, the decapitated saint stands up, collects his head and, illuminated by a bright light, leads his own burial procession. He is accompanied by a singing angelic host and a crowd of people who are converted by the miraculous nature of his ultimate journey.

The Uses of a Cephalophore

The cephalophore, the dead saint walking, is a powerful figure that Hilduin uses to express ideas about death, bodies, and sanctity. For example, the cephalophore demonstrates the power of God to resurrect the dead and prefigures the resurrection at the end of time. Gregory the Great makes the connection between the incorruptible remains

[181] Rictovare's victims included Quentin at Vermand, Crépin and Crépinien at Soissons, Valerie and Rufin at Bazoches, Fuscian, Victoiric and Gentien at Amiens, and Macre at Fismes. See Coens, "Nouvelles recherches," p. 12.
[182] Paris, BNF, MS lat 12598 includes prose passions of Fuscian (BHL 3226, 3229) and the proto-cephalophore Just (BHL 4590).

of a dead saint and the promise of eternal life: "Magna est enim corporis et cordis integritas, quae et in praesenti saeculo praestat gratiam et in futuro vitam largitur aeternam" [for great is the wholeness of the body and heart, which both exhibits grace in the present era, and grants eternal life in the future].[183] Since my focus here is on Hilduin and Saint-Denis, rather than the wider theological concerns of the ninth century, I will not focus on the apocalyptic implications of the cephalophore, who symbolizes and promises the ultimate resurrection of the dead, but on the more specific ways that Hilduin employs the cephalophory to increase the prestige of the saint and his abbey.[184] Hilduin uses the dead Dionysius in three related ways. First, his Dionysius demonstrates the efficacy and incorruptibility of his relics. Second, the head-carrying saint dramatizes the rituals of *translatio* and pilgrimage. Third, Hilduin's Dionysius shows the importance and sanctity of his resting place.

As a cephalophore, Hilduin's Dionysius demonstrates the power of his relics and also his continued presence in them. The cephalophore is a graphic manifestation of the way that relics continued to be in some sense "alive."[185] Saints continued to exist on earth and be present in their mortal remains; the saint was simultaneously present in his relics and also with God in heaven. As Peter Brown has discussed, saintly remains were points of contact between the human and divine realms.[186] Like living saints, relics occupied a space in this world but belonged to the next. Hilduin emphasizes that after the

---

[183] Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum,* MGH SRM I, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1885), p. 690.
[184] On medieval ideas about death and resurrection, see Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body,* passim.
[185] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 92. Bynum cites Jerome, Letter 108, ch. 23-27, PL 22, cols 900-904.
[186] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise And Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p.1.

martyrdom, Dionysius resided in both the earthly and celestial realms. Similar to a dismembered relic, his mutilated body remains on earth but his mind is in heaven: "Caelorum gremio sacra iam mente recepta" [now his mind was received into the lap of the heavens].[187] Like a relic, Dionysius is dead, and yet he acts *as if* alive. Hilduin says "corpus defunctum uiuentis currere more" [the dead body ran in the manner of the living].[188] Dead holy men (and women), similar to their living counterparts, act as miracle workers, missionaries, and patrons. But even by the standards of a saint, Hilduin's Dionysius displays a remarkable continuity in his pre- and post-mortem careers. As a walking relic, Hilduin's Dionysius is still able to strike fear into the impious, convert the unbelievers, and even, in effect, found and maintain a monastery by taking his remains to its site. Dionysius the cephalophore graphically exhibits another feature of relics: he is incorrupt. While an immobile saint must be excavated at a later time to prove his or her incorruptibility, Dionysius, the walking, singing martyr, shows that, despite the obvious mutilation, his body is not subject to the dissolution death habitually brings.

In addition to demonstrating the presence, power, and incorruptibility of his relics, Dionysius also models the conveyance of those relics. If the cephalophore is a kind of super-relic, then the cephalophory is a kind of *translatio* – that is, the ritual by which the

---

[187] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v. The bodies of Dionysius and his companions fall to the ground but their souls return to God (*retulere Tonanti*). *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33r.

[188] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 34r. The idea is expressed again on fol. 34v where the author says "in morem uiui defunctum pergere corpus" [the dead body goes forth in the manner of the living]. Hilduin's prose *passio* makes a similar claim, saying that Dionysius walked *in modum viventis* [in the manner of the living]. The prose also states "exanime corpus viventis currere more" [the dead body runs in the manner of the living] (col. 47, cap. 33).

saint's relics are brought to their resting place. The poet describes the spectacle of Dionysius's cephalophory:

> Caelitus ac micuit lux haud effabilis ulli
> Nec mora res populis digne celebranda patratur
> Presulis extincti subrectum namque cadauer
> Contrectante manu sacrum caput excipit ipsum
> Corpore quod secuit lictoris dira bipennis
> Angelicoque gradum ductu per plana regente
> Caelestisque simul lucis comitante nitore
> Ulnis mobilibus coepit uectare patenter
> Est et facta comes caelestis magna caterua....
> Nobile dum manibus caput effert forte cadauer
> Progrediens cliuo fuerat quo passus ab illo
> Donec ad usque locum uenit qui corpus obumbrat
> Numine diuino digne tegit atque sepultum
> At chorus ille sacer caelo directus ab alto
> Ymnis dulcisonis modulantius inter agendum
> Congeminat domino psallens praeconia summo
> Agmina sunt etiam caelo scandentia plura
> Aere sub uacuo sensus percepta uigore
> Gloria, Christe, tibi dulci modulantia uoce
> Alleluia simul crebro reboantia clarum
> Haec et plura satis quae non peruenit ad aures
> Assistens domino caelebs chorus ille canebat
> Auribus et uisu populi...
>
> A heavenly and indescribable light shone
> Without delay the deed is accomplished,
> to be worthily celebrated by the crowds
> For the corpse of the dead priest stood up,
> With a caressing hand he takes up that sacred head,
> Which the fearsome ax of the lictor had severed from his body,
> And with the angelic command leading his step across the plain
> At the same time, accompanied by the brightness of the heavenly light
> He began clearly to carry his head with his swinging arms
> And the celestial companion became a great company ...
> Until he comes to the place which conceals the corpse
> By divine will he hides the grave appropriately
> And the holy chorus guided from on high
> Redoubles its efforts with sweet sounding hymns,
> During the activity, singing in psalms the praises to the highest Lord.

> Many flocks are ascending to heaven....
> Glory to you, Christ, singing with a sweet voice,
> At the same time frequently shouting Halleluia,
> Accompanying the Lord, the heavenly chorus was singing
> In the hearing and sight of the people ...[189]

The prose version also contains an indescribable light (*lux ineffabilis*), a huge crowd, and an angelic chorus.[190] The cephalophory in the *Passiones Dionysii* is a well-orchestrated supernatural translation, complete with music, an angelic host, ineffable light, and public participation.[191]

The popularity of cephalophore narratives arose after Carolingian reforms mandated that relics be placed in all church altars, necessitating a great increase in *translationes*.[192] In the ninth and tenth centuries many other events — new building projects, Viking raids, and the discovery or theft of holy remains – also required the translation of relics. As noted above, Hilduin's narratives of Dionysius's cephalophory were composed around the time of the actual translation of Dionysius's remains to the new crypt. So, the cephalophory represents, in symbolic form, a real ritual event.

When a saint was introduced into a community, the *translatio* ritual incorporated the émigré saint into the social and institutional life of his or her new community. These ceremonies "provided the necessary pretext for the establishment of the full paraphernalia

---

[189] It is important that Dionysius hide his grave because the Romans were wont to dispose of martyrs' corpses so they could not provide a focus of Christian veneration. In earlier versions of the story, Dionysius's corpse, along with those of his companions, was thrown into the river, then rescued and buried by the matron Catulla.
[190] *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47. cap 22.
[191] On early medieval *translationes*, see Alan Thacker, "The Making of a Local Saint," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West,* eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 56, 65.
[192] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 20, 135.

of a cult: liturgical commemoration, including invocation, a feast-day, pilgrimage, and its attendant rituals."[193] The *translatio* rituals allowed a bishop or abbot to increase his own authority by paying homage to a predecessor or founder.[194] The *translatio* ritual (derived from the ritual of church dedication) consists of several stages, usually presided over by a bishop. First, the saint's tomb is opened (if applicable). Then follows fasting or a vigil, a procession of the relics to the church, a mass, and the saint's veneration.[195] The cephalophory was the supernatural equivalent to these mundane rituals.[196]

Like the transportation of the remains, the texts that recorded the circumstances of the saint's arrival (or transfer to an improved basilica) were also called *translationes.* Geary explores a *topos* of the *translatio* narrative, in which the author claims that the saint's relics were actually stolen from their previous home with the saint's consent. Geary shows that, despite some moral ambiguities, these *furta* narratives provided a "good story."[197] The cephalophory shares some of the *furta* narratives' functions; it also provides a memorable narrative for how Dionysius's remains arrived at their final

[193] Thacker, "Making of a Local Saint," p. 72.
[194] Thacker, "Making of a Local Saint," p. 71.
[195] Sigal, "Déroulement des translations," p. 221.
[196] A non-cephalophore could also perform his own *translatio*. According to Gregory of Tours, in his *de sancto Gregorio episcopo*, the deceased and incorrupt (*integra et inlaesa*) saint appears to have enacted his own translation in his newly built basilica. Tetricus, the builder of the basilica has called together a meeting of the presbyters and abbots to discuss the impending *translatio* when "subito et, ut credo, a Dei iussu opertorium sarcofagi motum est in una parte" [Suddenly and, as I believe, by the order of God, the *opertorium* of the sarcophagus was moved in one part]. Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* in MGH SRM I, pp. 689-90; John Crook, "Enshrinement of Local Saints, Francia and England," in *Local Saints and Local Churches*, p. 201. If there were any lingering concern about moving saints around, the cephalophory provided a response: if the saints enacted their own relic translations, who could object to the human practice of disturbing and moving relics?
[197] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 78.

destination.[198] Like the stories of pious thefts (which Hilduin's Dionysius narratives also contain), the cephalophory allows the religious institution to claim possession of a saint who had no biographical ties to the house, it shows the saint's approval for his or her new home, and it provides an engaging, memorable story. When the monks of Saint-Emmeram in Regensburg claimed that they had received the body of Dionysius in the mid-eleventh-century, they wrote a *translatio* that combined the tropes of the *furta sacra* narrative and the self-translating saint. In this version, "S. Denys accomplissait en quelque sorte une nouvelle céphalophorie."[199]

---

[198] Catulla's theft of the bodies of Rusticus and Eletheurius is described as "furtum laudabile" [praiseworthy theft] in Hilduin's prose passion (cap. 34, 48). The verse uses the same term (fol. 35v).

[199] Coens, "Nouvelles recherches," p. 31. The monks of Saint-Emmeram claimed that they had received the body of Dionysius, secretly stolen from Saint-Denis and, naturally, the Parisian monks disagreed. In the *Translatio S. Dionysii Ratisbonam* (BHL 2194), attributed to Otloh of Saint-Emmeram, the Regensberg relics prove their authenticity, and the dead Dionysius again demonstrates his concern for the completeness of his relics. The relevant section of the text, quoted by Coens, is as follows: "Binisque denique sacculis inuentis, in quorum uno caput, in alio uero ossa cetera separatim inuoluta fuerant, sacculum minorem in quo caput erat, ignorantes adhuc quid intus foret, aliquantisper a loculo procul posuerunt. Cum autem in sacculo maiori ossa uniuersa, excepto capite, inuenientes et, nondum minori enodato procul posito, caput penitus deesse estimantes, nimio luctu afficerentur, *subito ille in quo caput erat sacculus per se motus et elevatus a loco ceteris ossibus adiungebatur*. Quo enodato, Deo gratis egerunt et pro miraculi uisione et pro *corporis integri* inuentione. Tum vero caput aliaque ossa in uno sacculo posuerunt" [Finally, when the two little bags had been found, the head was in one of them, but the rest of the bones had been wrapped up separately in the other, and the men, who did not know up until this point what was inside it, for some time placed the smaller bag, which contained the head, at a distance from the spot [where the other bag was]. When, however, they found all the bones except the head in the bigger sack and it was not yet clear that the little sack had been placed a way off, thinking that the head was missing from within, they were moved by excessive grief. *Suddenly that little sack that contained the head moved itself by its own effort and, having been raised up from its place, it was united with the other bones*. When this had transpired, the men gave thanks to God both for the sight of the miracle and for the discovery of the whole body. Then the head and the other bones where placed in one bag]. *Translatio S. Dionysii*, #7, ed. L. Von Heinemann, "Die älteste Translatio des hl. Dionysius," *Neue Archiv*, 15 (1889), 331- 61. On the attribution to Otloh, see M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1923), pp. 100-01. That the monks of Saint-Emmeran adopted the story of Dionysius's cephalophory (and his identity as the Areopagite) is shown by their liturgy (discussed below). This hymn to Dionysius, *Alma lux siderum*, featured in two eleventh-century manuscripts, includes the verse "Qui portans proprium caput abscisum/ cantu angelico uenit subito/ ductus ad tumulum/ in Parisium" [Who carrying his own decapitated head, led by angelic song, came suddenly to his tomb in Paris]. Roman Hankeln, ed., *Historiae Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae St Emmeram, Regensberg, ca. 1050/ 16. Jh.* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1998), p. 2.

Geary notes that the *translatio* narrative has the tripartite structure of a rite of passage, characterized by separation, ordeal, and integration into a new community.[200] The cephalophore narrative features a more extreme version of this schema. The separation is quite literal – the saint's head is removed from body with a blunt ax (*obtunsa ... securis*) in Dionysius's case.[201] During his cephalophory the saint is active and resident in two worlds, heaven and earth, and in the final phase, he is incorporated (literally) into a new community through his burial and the celebration of his cult.

As a foundation narrative, the cephalophory outshone stories in which saints established houses during their lifetime. In its miraculous and dramatic nature Dionysius's selection of his burial place clearly trumps mundane foundations of abbeys by living saints. By conveying himself to his desired location, Dionysius shows his approval of his resting place. Since he is explicitly in heaven with God at the time of his cephalophory, the posthumous foundation must also be divinely ordained.[202] The divine sanction of the burial site is made explicit in the prose *Passio Dionysii* where Hilduin describes Dionysius walking "*ad locum, in quo nunc Dei dispositione et sua electione requiescit humatum*" [to the place in which he rested by God's disposition and his own choice].[203] The verse text similarly characterizes the choice of place as divinely

[200] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 154-55. See Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage,* trans. M.B. Vizedon and G.L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960).
[201] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 27r.
[202] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v.
[203] *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47, cap. 32.

sanctioned (*numine divino*).[204] The saint's choice imputes more favor to the house than if his remains had been purchased or presented as a gift. Further, the cephalophory could conveniently explain the presence of relics at a place (such as Saint-Denis) that the saint had not been associated with during his life.[205]

Relics attract pilgrims.[206] The pilgrims who visited Dionysius's *memoria*, his shrine, had their journey modeled for them by the journey of the saint and the crowd of converts: "All participants became symbols themselves, part of the entourage of the saints."[207] Since Dionysius, like other cephalophores, is accompanied on his last voyage by a multitude of people, he also leads the first pilgrimage to his resting place. Similar to the cephalophore, the pilgrim is a liminal figure, undertaking a rite of passage.[208] The pilgrim's journey through the wilderness is figured by the cephalophore's living death. Like pilgrims, who leave their homes to journey to the saint, the cephalophore – the walking dead saint-- exists between realms.

---

[204] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v. "Progrediens .../ Donec ad usque locum venit qui corpus obumbrat/ Numine divino digne tegit atque sepultum" [Going forth until he came to the place that conceals his body, righteously with divine approval he covered the grave].

[205] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 14; Montgomery, "*Mittite capud meum*," p. 48. In another example, the decapitated Saint Valeria carries her head to the altar where Saint Martial was celebrating the Mass (she and Martial were buried together and a church named for them built on their tomb). See illustrations in van Os, *The Way to Heaven,* pp. 25- 27, figures 15-16.

[206] John M. Howe, "The Conversion of the Physical World: The Creation of a Christian Landscape," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James K. Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 70.

[207] Howe, "Conversion of the Physical World," p. 70.

[208] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality" in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 27-51. Bynum shows that Turner's idea of liminality does not work well for medieval women, whose stories are characterized by continuity and the intensification of existing roles, rather than distinct stages separated by reversals of fortune. The idea does, however, apply neatly to the narratives of male saints, including the postmortem story of Dionysius.

Finally, Hilduin's dramatic version of Dionysius's death transforms a difficult theologian into a striking and memorable image which can easily be represented in art. His martyrdom is clear to all, the ineffable light that is a central metaphor in Dionysian theology becomes literal, and the onlookers are dumbstruck.[209]

> Martyris ut tanti uirtus meritumque pateret
> Eius et eximiae laudes per secula manerent
> Maximus asstantes cunctos inuaserat horror
> Caelitus ac micuit lux haud effabilis ulli[210]
>
> So that the virtue and merit of so great a martyr might be revealed,
> And in order that the outstanding praises might endure through the ages
> Almighty dread struck all who were standing there
> And an indescribable heavenly light shone upon him.

In the moment of ultimate mystical experience, in which the saint's spirit joins God in heaven, the saint's inaccessible mystic theology, based partly on the idea of the ultimate inability of language to express the nature of God, is replaced by his miraculous and simple confessions of faith and then by his singing of hymns: "lingua palpitans Jesum Christum Dominum confiteri" [the jerking tongue confesses Lord Jesus Christ].[211] Dionysius travels to his chosen burial place "sine cessatione hymnis dulcisonis Deum

---

[209] Both of Hilduin's passions abound in light metaphors. In the letter to Apollophanius, included in prose form in both the verse and prose passions, Dionysius cites John 1, saying "Quam ineffabiliter effero tibique infero quae est et uia ac uita, et uerum *lumen quod illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum*" [How indescribably I bear this, and I bring to you what is the way and the life, and the true light that illuminates every man coming into the world]. *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 15v, *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 33, cap. 14.

[210] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v. The prose version reads "eo amplius gloriae ipsius pateret triumphus, maximus cunctos honor assistentes inuasit, ac lux ineffabilis cunctis resplenduit" [the triumph of his glory was more well known, an awesome dread struck all who were standing there and an ineffable light shone on everyone]. *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47, cap. 32

[211] *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 46, cap. 31.

laudens" [ceaselessly praising God with sweet-sounding hymns].[212] As the cephalophore in general is a concrete representation of the incorruptibility and efficacy of relics, the specific cephalophore Dionysius is an eloquent, but simple and accessible rendition of his mystical theology.

The Saint and the Poet

The cephalophore, who emphasized his own holiness and that of his burial place, who demonstrated the power of the relics, and who dramatized the rituals of *translatio* and pilgrimage, was a useful figure for both prose writers and poets. The ornamental and elaborate style of the verse, however, makes it a particularly appropriate textual reliquary for the narrative of the dead saint's final journey. The cephalophory is more detailed in Hilduin's verse passion of Dionysius than in the prose.[213] While the verse version takes almost two folios to narrate the event, the prose is brief:

> Beatissimi Dionysii se cadaver erexit, sanctaque manu caput a corpore dolabra lictoris truncatum, angelico ductu gressum regente, et luce coelesti circumfulgente, pendulis coepit brachiis uectitare.[214]
>
> The corpse of most blessed Dionysius raised itself up, and with his holy hand, he began to carry the head, cut off from the body by the lictor's ax. Swinging his arms, he went with an angelic guide leading the way and a celestial light shining all around.

---

[212] *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47, cap. 32.
[213] Cephalophores seem to be a little more common in ninth- to eleventh-century verse lives and passions than their prose counterparts, and the cephalophories receive more attention in the verse versions. For example, as noted above, the protagonist's father Adalbald is a cephalophore in the verse *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737), but not in its prose counterpart (BHL 2736).
[214] *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47. cap. 22.

The prose version goes on to describe Dionysius's burial and to discuss the miracle of the cephalophory. All the same features are present in the prose version as in the verse – an angelic guide, the light, the heavenly chorus, and the crowds, but, as seen above, the verse allots more space to the incident, suggesting that the cephalophory was a particularly appropriate subject for verse.

Although the cephalophore was useful to both prose writers and poets, he was an especially appealing figure for the latter because of his parallels to the first poet of Greek myth, Orpheus.[215] The story of Orpheus would have been familiar to Hilduin, and other educated individuals through two widespread classical texts used in the monastic classroom: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Virgil's *Georgics*.[216] There are some obvious similarities between saint Dionysius and Orpheus – both are martyred by being decapitated. Orpheus's head floats away down a river, while Dionysius picks his up and carries it. After death, both dismembered heroes are divinely protected (Dionysius is in heaven with God, while Apollo and Dionysus watch over Orpheus). Both Dionysius and Orpheus journey to their burial places where they are revered for their miraculous powers. Orpheus, like Dionysius, is a liminal figure who navigates the realms of the

---

[215] On Orpheus, poetry, and death, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement* (London: Methuen, 1952); Charles Segal, *Orpheus: The Myth of the Poet* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1989); Elizabeth Sewell, *The Orphic Voice: Poetry and Natural History* (New Haven: Yale, 1960); Marcel Detienne, *The Writing of Orpheus: Greek Myth in Cultural Context*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2002). For a Jungian approach to the myth, see the special issue of *A Journal of Archetype and Culture* 71 (2004) including the articles by Christine Downing, "Looking Back at Orpheus," 1-35; William G. Doty, "Orpheus, the Shamanic-Mantic *Kitharôdos* (Singing Lyre Player)," pp. 37-53; Robert D. Romanyshyn, "Anyway Why Did it Have to be the Death of the Poet? The Orphic Roots of Jung's Psychology," pp. 55-87; Linda Schierse Leonard, "Facing Finitude: Philosophical Reflections on Orpheus, Art, and Aging," pp. 113-26; Gianfranco Salvatore, "Orpheus Before Orpheus: The Myth of the Magic Citharode," pp. 171-91.

[216] Virgil, *Georgics* in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. Fredericus Arturus Hirtzel (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900), 4.453-527; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. R.J. Tarrant (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004), 10.1-142, 11.1-66.

living and the dead in ways that ordinary mortals cannot. Orpheus goes to the underworld and then returns to tell the tale, and even after bodily death he continues to sing. Likewise, Hilduin's Dionysius – a mystic who in life transcends the mortal realm to encounter the divine — continues walking and even singing after death.

Hilduin alludes to the story of Orpheus in subtle ways, which are more emphatic in the verse than the prose. For example, in a classicizing passage of the verse passion, not reflected in the prose text, the poet employs allusions to Virgil's description of Orpheus's death to depict the underworld. The description, in the verse passion, draws on the vocabulary of Virgil to create a classicizing version of hell, in which the Roman underworld is merged with the Christian flames and idea of punishment. Hilduin uses the terms *Tartarus* and *Styx*, and mentions the *Eumenides* (the furies) with their *angues* (snakes). In Virgil, Cerberus the dog of Hell is agape (*inhiare*), whereas in Hilduin it is Tartarus itself that gapes (*hiscare*).[217]

In another passage, the Christian poet uses a substantive derived from the verb *bacchari* to describe the men who kill Saint Dionysius.[218] *Bacchari* is a classical usage that appears in both Virgil and Ovid. The verb derives from the name of the God Bacchus

---

[217] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 29v; Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 470, 480-84.

[218] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 26r, 37r; *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 42, cap. 24; Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, rev. ed. (Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954); Charton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975 [1879]), p. 218; *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), p. 223. The verb is not included in the standard lexicons of medieval Latin. Neither Du Cange nor Niermeyer contain the word *bacchari*. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* and Lewis and Short define the verb as "to revel, rave, rant like the Bacchae." According to Lewis and Short, the verb can also mean "to celebrate the festival of Bacchus," "to go or run about in a wanton, wild, raving, furious manner," "to be furious, rage with fury, etc., to be impetuous." The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines the term as "to celebrate the rites of Bacchus," "to be the scene of Bacchanalian revels..." (clearly inappropriate here), "to act like a Bacchante, rave, rage, to speak in a frenzy, rant...," and "to wander, stray (in a state of frenzy or distraction)."

(whose Greek name is Dionysus, a near homonym of our saint) and his wild female followers the *bacchae* or *bacchantes*. In Virgil and Ovid it is the *bacchantes* who dismember Orpheus.[219] So, in his verse life, Hilduin likens the crowd (*caterva*) of the saint's killers, sent by the emperor, to the wild women who kill Orpheus: "Progrediturque celer bachantum more per orbem" [Swiftly the crowd goes forth through the world, raging in the manner of bacchantes].[220] Later the verse text describes the killers' madness in the same terms: "Dirus et ipse furor bachantum sane uirorum"[Awful too the very fury of the men, raging indeed].[221] The prose version describes the action in these terms only once: "bacchando progreditur" [it (the crowd) goes forth for raging like bacchantes].[222]

By likening Dionysius's death to that of the mythical bard, the poet Hilduin makes Dionysius a poetic figure, a kind of Christian Orpheus. Thus Hilduin places his own work in a tradition that goes back to both the New Testament Saint Dionysius and to the mythical pagan figure. In the *passio metrica*, Hilduin uses the term *uates* (priest or poet) to describe Dionysius, the same term that Virgil uses to characterize Orpheus in the underworld, and which metric hagiographers use to describe themselves.[223] Metric hagiographers including Hilduin, like their classical forefather Virgil, describe their poetry as song.[224] "At nos haeroum pro uiribus acta canentes/ Carmine uere dico

---

[219] Virgil, *Georgics*, 4. 520-23; Ovid, *Met*. 12.22-43.
[220] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 26r.
[221] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 37r.
[222] *Passio Dionysii (prose),* PL 106, col. 52.
[223] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 19r, 19v; Ovid describes Orpheus as *uates*. Ovid, *Met*. 10.12, 82; 11. 2, 8, 19, 27. In Chapters Three and Four of this study I discuss how poets identify themselves with the saints they write about.
[224] Most famously in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.1: *arma uirumque cano* [I sing of the arms and the man]. Hilduin also refers to his work as song in *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v. The poets of *vitae metricae* frequently refer to their process of composition as singing (*canere*), and their works as songs (*carmina*). For a few of the

nihilominus atque canoro" [but, singing the acts of the heroes according to our strength, nonetheless I speak truly and sing a melodius song].[225] Hilduin further likens Dionysius to a poet by describing him, especially in the *passio metrica*, as singing rather than speaking. For example, in the metric passion, Dionysius, being tortured, sings a hymn, "pulchrum modulanter concinit ymnum" [melodiously he sings a beautiful hymn], while in the prose text, he does not. Similarly a little later in the poem, Dionysius and Eleutherius sing a hymn "Gratificum domino resonant propensius ymnum"[more readily they sound out a hymn of thanks to the Lord], which goes unmentioned in the prose version. [226]

In a poem that includes blocks of Dionysius's prose, Hilduin nevertheless translates most of his excerpts of Dionysius's prose into verse form, thus making Dionysius speak as a poet.[227] In addition to presenting Dionysius singing like a poet, the verse version of the passion also emphasizes his decapitation more than the prose does, and makes his torture more protracted.[228] Finally the verse text also puts more emphasis

---

numerous examples, see Milo, *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333), *Proemium*, 16, 43; 1.103, 386, 428; 2.1, 9, 25, 365, 397; 3.1, 181, 209, 296, 419, 4. 334; and in the *Versiculi Vulfai in confirmatione operis* that follow the *vita*, *carmina* is the first word and *canendo* the second last. See also, *Carmen de sancta Benedicta* (BHL 1088), *Epilogus* 6, 12c, 15, 36c, 44; *Carmen de sancto Cassiano* (BHL 1633), I.30; Heiric *Vita Germani*, *praefatio* to Book 2, 30, Book 2, 51; *Vita Eusebia* (verse) (BHL 2737), 1. 211, prologue to book 2, line 36; 2.245.

[225] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 35r.

[226] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 29r, 29v.

[227] Introducing the letter to Dimofilius on fol. 16r of the *Passio Dionysii* (verse), Hilduin explains that he has decided to put it in verse (*Censuimus grata metri depromere lege*) for the wise reader (*lector ... sagax*). In the corresponding section of the prose *Passio Dionysii* (col. 34, cap. 15), Hilduin uses the verb *narrare* (*narrare censimus*), and suggests that the inclusion of the letter is useful for readers "in quorum manus fortasse plenitudo ipsarum non perueniet litterarum" [into whose hands an abundance of these letters will not fall]. So, in the metric *Passio Dionysii*, the poet transforms Dionysius's words into verse and deliberately changes the audience from those without access to Dionysius's *litterae* to the more elite *lectores sagaces*.

[228] Cf. *Passio Dionysii* (verse) fol. 37r and *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 42, cap. 24. In this passage the verse text, but not the prose, explicitly foreshadows the saint's beheading. The verse reads "Ceruicem

on his cephalophory.[229] Thus, the *passio metrica* highlights the elements – singing, decapitation, the posthumous activity – that make Dionysius most like Orpheus.

As Orpheus is a particularly appealing figure for poets, the writing, singing Dionysius is an appealing figure for Hilduin. The saint valorizes the writer's own activity, further enhancing Hilduin's prestige. In Hilduin's passions, writing is a major part of Dionysius's activity and, therefore, of his claim to sanctity. As we will see in later chapters, poets of *vitae metricae* commonly collapse their own work (writing the *vita* of a saint) with that of the saint (primarily preaching). Both saint and poet work to convert their audiences by spreading God's word, "spargens ... semina uerbi."[230] The saint's continuity, his or her earthly immortality through the ages is the poet's responsibility.[231] At the same time, the poet's works earn his own posthumous reputation. "Poetry – as both Virgil and Ovid understand – survives death and can confer immortality on singer and on the one sung about."[232] The saint converts multitudes during his or her lifetime, and after the saint's death the poet continues this mission by perpetuating the saint's story, spreading his own words as the saint had done, and continuing the work of conversion by providing examples for imitation or admiration.

---

curuare ... Cogeret atque sacrum" [he would compel the holy man to bend his neck]. The verse passage also states "Obtunsam flexa caperet ceruice securim" [he would receive the blunted ax with his bent neck]. For Dionysius's protracted torture, see fol. 30r.

[229] Cf. *Passio Dionysii* (verse) fol. 33v and *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 47, cap 32.

[230] *Passio Dionysii* (verse) fol. 20v; *Passio Dionysii* (prose), col. 38, cap. 17. See also the letter of Titus on fol. 19r.

[231] Rainer expresses this sentiment in a letter to the poet Johannes, discussed at length in Chapter Four. Rainer, Ep., MGH 5/3, ed. Gabriel Silagi (Leipzig : K. W. Hiersemann, 1937; repr. Munich: MGH 1979), p. 595.

[232] Downing, "Looking Back at Orpheus," p. 28. At the end of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid proclaims "uiuam" [I shall live]. Ovid, *Met.* 15.879.

Hilduin conflates his holy works with those of Dionysius. By incorporating large sections of Dionysius's writings into his own texts, and possibly by writing a letter and *attributing* it to Dionysius, he blurs the distinction between the literary output of saint and poet.[233] Also, in the meta-referential aside at the beginning of book three of the *passio metrica*, Hilduin says:

> Eloquium uocale iuuat modulosque canoros
> Hinc ad praecipua DYONISII gesta beati
> Et quibus enituit roseos aptare triumphos
> Ductus ab integro currat propensius ordo
> Martyris ut tanti clarescit passio mundo[234]
>
> It is pleasing to shape sonorous eloquence and melodius measures
> For the outstanding deeds of blessed DIONYSIUS
> And the rosy triumphs with which he shone
> Drawn out from a former state, let the order run more readily
> So that the passion of such a great martyr shines for the world

Here, in the last line of Hilduin's aside, the two senses of Dionysius's *passio* — the saint's actual martyrdom, and the text (*passio metrica*) which recounts it for the world — are indistinguishable.

Dionysius's Literary Afterlife

The cephalophore Dionysius presents an ambivalent message about the division of relics: he simultaneously demonstrates the power of the divided corpse and takes his dismembered head with him, evidently intent on keeping his body parts together. A poem, however, might be broken up, carried off, and reused without qualms. Just as

[233] On letter 11, see note 139, above.
[234] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 20r-20v.

Hilduin drew on a range of sources to create his text, so other writers excerpted the verse *Passio Dionysii*. As Lapidge notes, the short tenth-century *Passio S. Dionysii egregii martyris* (BHL 2186), one of several metric *passiones* composed by Hrotsvita, borrows from Hilduin's verse text.[235] In Hrotsvita's *Passio,* fragments of the original verse *Passio Dionysii*, which was itself a composite text, are incorporated into new lines. Hrotsvitha's use of the poem shows that, even though we possess only one witness of Hilduin's verse *Passio Dionysii*, at least one of its manuscripts travelled a considerable distance — as far as Hrotsvita's abbey in Gandersheim (see Figure 1.8).

A very different kind of verse text by one of Hilduin's contemporaries may also allude to the verse *Passio Dionysii*. As Lapidge notes, the scholar Sedulius Scottus dedicated a poem to a Hildwinus, probably Hilduin of Saint-Denis.[236] Sedulius also wrote another a poem, a classicizing mini epic on a gelded ram, which is relevant to this study. This humorous piece takes as its subject a humble sheep who lived a simple and holy life. The joke here is that a sheep's life of moderation and abstinence is like the life for which a saint is praised.

> Munera nec Bachi, non siceramque bibit,
> Non hunc ebrietas deflexit tramite recti,
> Non epulae regum nec prcerumque dapes.
> Illi pastus erat sollemnicus herba per agros
> Ac dulcem potum limphida Mosa dabat,
> Non ostri vestes rubei cupiebat avarus,
> Sed contentus erat pellica tunica;
> Nonque superbus equo lustrabat amoena virecta,
> Sed propriis pedibus rite migrabat iter.

[235] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," p. 75. Lapidge provides examples of parallels between Hilduin and Hrotsvitha.
[236] Lapidge, "Lost Passio Metrica," pp. 63 – 64; Sedulius, Poem 76 in MGH Poetae 3, pp. 226-27.

He never touched wine or drank cider.
Drunkenness did not turn him from the path of righteousness,
nor did the banquets of kings nor the feasts of great men.
His regular food was grass in the fields
and the waters of the Meuse provided his sweet drink.
He did not greedily seek raiment of scarlet and purple,
but was content with his woolly tunic.
He did not ride his horse in pride through the green pleasances
but made his way on his own feet, as he should.[237]

The sheep wore a coarse wool shirt and did not ride a horse, but went about on his own feet, as humble saints and sheep do. He protected his actual flock, just as a bishop would protect his metaphorical flock. The protagonist of this miniature epic is a parody of the grander subjects, the saintly bishops, who feature in grander poems, the full scale epic *vitae* and *passiones metricae*. I suggest that Sedulius did not parody a generic saint or metric saint's life. Rather, the unusual features of the saintly ram point to one particular target of his satire.

Sedulius's mock bishop is unusual in that he is also a martyr (he is killed by a pack of unjust dogs). Some early medieval verse passions feature martyrs, such as Saint Agnes (BHL 161) and Saint Christopher (BHL 1776), but very few of the martyrs – apart from Dionysius - are bishops, or abbots, or any other kind of saint who has a flock.[238]

---

[237] Sedulius Scottus, *Mock Epyllion on a Gelded Ram*, lines 106-14, in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. Peter Godman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 298-99. Godman's translation.

[238] There are a number of early medieval manuscripts containing metric *passiones* of virgin martyrs. For example, the metric *Passio Agnetis* (BHL 161) is contained in the ninth-century manuscript, Paris, BNF, lat. 14145, fols. 1r-8v, in MGH Poetae 6/1, ed. K. Strecker (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1951), pp. 108-120; the metric *Passio Benedictae* (BHL 1088) exists in an eleventh-century manuscript, *Paris*, BNF, lat. 8431, fols. 5r-20r (printed in P. Von Winterfeld, MGH Poetae 4, p. 209-231); the metric *Passio Luciae* (BHL 4994) exists in a tenth century manuscript Paris, BNF, MS lat. 989, fols. 41r-53r, as well as two twelfth-century manuscripts. Male martyrs are also represented in early medieval *passiones metricae*. For instance, the *Carmen de S. Quintino* (BHL 7010) appears in the ninth-century Paris, BNF, MS lat.

Despite their ardent desire for martyrdom, most of the founding bishops featured in early medieval metric lives, such as Amand and Germanus, die disappointingly natural deaths. The only metric life written in the early or central Middle Ages that I have found of a martyr-bishop is the *Passio Dionysii*. Therefore, Sedulius seems to parody not just any bishop but the martyr-bishop Dionysius, and not just any piece of verse hagiography, but the *Passio Dionysii* of his probable acquaintance Hilduin. Sedulius's account of the holy sheep's speech provides further evidence for this theory. Sedulius says that the sheep was also a mystic, who spoke mystical words: "'Báá' seu 'béé' – mystica verba dabat" [baa or bee, he was giving mystic pronouncements].[239] Aside from being quite funny – the sheep's incomprehensible bleating is interpreted as a mystical utterance – this passage also points to the gelded ram's being Dionysius. If medieval passions of martyr-bishops are unusual, mystical martyr-bishops are otherwise non-existent. A mystic is a contemplative, whereas the bishops of the early saints' lives were men of action. Only in the strange composite saint, Hilduin's Dionysius, fabricated from originally disparate *personae*, do the two kinds of saint coincide. Further, the sheep's *mystica verba* appear to be an allusion to the *mystica orsa* Hilduin attributes to Dionysius.[240]

The attributes of Sedulius's gelded ram are too specific to be a parody of saints in *vitae metricae* in general. Rather, I argue, Sedulius seems to be having a little fun at the expense of another member of Louis's court, at the incomprehensibility of Dionysian

---

14143, fols. 74r-82v, printed in MGH Poetae 4, 197-208. Walther of Spire's metric *Passio Christophori* (BHL 1776), written in the last quarter of the tenth century, is printed in MGH Poetae 5/1, ed. Karl Strecker (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1937), pp. 210-63.

[239] Sedulius, *Mock Epyllion*, line 116.

[240] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fols. 10v; 21v.

mysticism, and perhaps, by creating his own weird composite (the bishop-mystic-martyr-sheep), at the improbability of Hilduin's recently confected patchwork saint. Maybe this mock mini epic was intended for Louis's amusement (although unlike his father Charlemagne, and his son Charles the Bald, Louis is not known for his humor), but its existence and survival also suggests that Hilduin's poem was well known enough to be the object of a successful parody. For a reader *really* to get Sedulius's joke, he or she would have to be familiar with the metric *Passio Dionysii*. Like Hrotsvitha's allusions to the verse *Passio Dionysii*, the composition and survival of Sedulius's little poem suggests that Hilduin's verse passion of Dionysius was more popular than its manuscript tradition implies.

*

Hilduin composed prose and verse *passiones* of Dionysius to reaffirm his good relations with Louis, to promote himself, and to enhance his abbey's status. Hilduin used ideas about bodies and relics in two ways in his passions of Dionysius. As a cephalophore Dionysius is a useful figure because he demonstrates the miraculous and astounding behavior of his relics. As an active participant in establishing his own cult, he also models the appropriate behavior *towards* his relics. Between his death and his burial, Dionysius founds his own cult, sacralizes his chosen holy ground with his remains, enacts his own *translatio*, and performs – together with angels and a crowd of the faithful – the first pilgrimage to his tomb. By emphasizing the saint's power and the location of his remains, while providing a model for pilgrimage, the cephalophore motif encouraged pilgrims to visit the particular saint. The promotion of pilgrimage was particularly

important for Saint-Denis in the 830's since Hilduin had just built a costly new crypt to accommodate pilgrims. Thus the dead holy man provides the model for both church ceremony and popular pilgrimage, while underlining the significance of his cult center by giving the church built on his bones a posthumous foundation narrative. Hilduin transforms a difficult mystical theologian into a memorable and accessible figure who conveys a clear and coherent message about Saint-Denis. Finally, I have suggested that, as a cephalophore, Dionysius allows Hilduin to allude to another decapitated singing figure, the mythical first poet, Orpheus, and to place himself in a tradition of verse composition that extends back before the beginning of the Christian era. Through his death and cephalophory, Hilduin's Dionysius acts as relic, priest, pilgrim, and poet.

Hilduin also shows Dionysius's posthumous and continuing power by drawing on an ancient set of ideas that equate the body with the book. Hilduin claims that the Greek codex brought to Saint-Denis caused miracles and thus he cements his conflation of the two homonymous saints. The idea that a book, like a saint's body, retains its power after the writer's death was fitting for a poet whose earthly immortality was invested not in his physical remains but in his writings. The verse passion, in particular, was excerpted and recycled by other scholars in their own poems during the ninth and tenth centuries. The notion that the individual survives as a book, and will be granted immortality, even salvation or resurrection from it, has had a long shelf life.[241] In his epitaph, composed when he was 22, Benjamin Franklin, who worked as a printer, wrote:

[241] For a different and more recent interpretation of the trope of an individual's survival and resurrection through a book, see J.K. Rawlings, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (New York: Arthur A. Levine, 1999). In this, the second Harry Potter novel, Harry finds a diary belonging to Tom Riddle, the

The body of
B. Franklin Printer
(Like the cover of an old book
Its contents worn out
And stript of its lettering and Gilding)
Lies here, Food for Worms.
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new and more elegant Edition
Revised and corrected
By the Author.[242]

---

young Lord Voldemort. Through the diary, the evil Voldemort (who currently lacks a body) is able to assume corporeal form.

[242] *Benjamin Franklin's Funeral and Grave* on UShistory.org http://www.ushistory.org/franklin/philadelphia/grave.htm, viewed May 20, 2006.

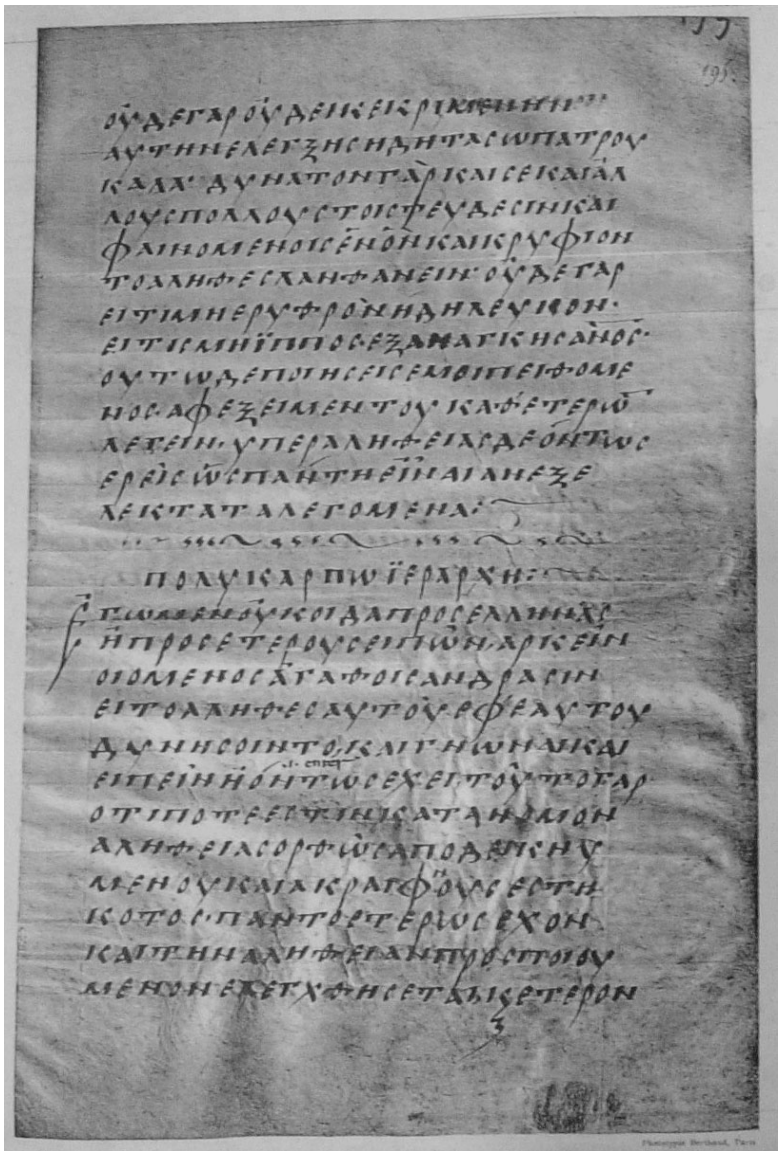


Figure 2.1 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS grec. 437, folio 195r from the codex of Dionysius the Areopagite sent by Emperor Michael of Byzantium to Emperor Louis the Pious. Photograph from H. Omont, “Manuscrit de S. Denys l’Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople a Louis le Débonnaire en 827,” *Revues des Études Grecques* 17 (1904), plate after p. 236.

Figure 2.2: Manuscripts of Hilduin's Prose *Passio Dionysii* and Letters

The following table lists manuscripts of Louis's letter to Hilduin (BHL 2172), Hilduin's reply to Louis (BHL 2173), Hilduin's letter to the faithful (BHL 2174), and Hilduin's prose *Passio* (BHL 2175). From the BHL website (http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be) and E. Dümmler, MGH Ep. 5, pp. 323, 325, 335 (items marked with an asterix are derived exclusively from the MGH edition of the letters, which does not note whether these manuscripts contain the prose passion). The folio numbers given by the BHL are sometimes vague (for instance, the same range of numbers is given to designate several of the texts on Dionysius). Since I have not seen most of these manuscripts, I have preserved the BHL's foliation. Many of these codices also contain other works on Dionysius (for instance BHL 2176), which I have not noted here, because there are so many of them that it would compromise the clarity gained by presenting this information in table form.

Dates	**City**	**Library**	**Shelf mark**	**BHL 2172**	**BHL 2173**	**BHL 2174**	**BHL 2175**
832-- 900	Chelten-ham*		16339 (Libri 626)	1v	--	21v-24v	?
901 –1000	Oxford*	Bodleian	1276 (Laud. misc. 54)	1v-3r	3v-11r	11r-12v	?
901 –1000	Chartres	BM	193 (507 5/B)	300v-311v	300v-311v	300v-311v	300v-311v
901 –1000	Tours	BM	1013	--	--	--	8v-19v
901 -1000	Milan	BA	P. 113 Sup.	--	--	136v-153r	136v-153r
901 -1000	Torino	BN	F. III. 16	--	--	--	95r-114v

901 -1000	Montpel-lier	FM	360	--	--	--	170r-185v
901 -1000	Saint-Omer	BM	342bis	--	--	--	63r-95v
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	lat. 13345	--	--	88v-114v	88v-114v
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	lat. 10866	81r-85r	85r-101v	101v-105r	105r-150v
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	lat. 10846	--	1r-10v	10v-14r	21v-75v
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	lat. 2873 A	1r-3r	3r-11v	11v-13r	13r-41r
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	lat. 18298	--	--	99r-122v	99r-122v
901 -1000	Paris	BNF	N. A. lat. 2164	--	--	1r-10v	1r-10v
951-1050	Vatican	ArchCap S.Pietro	A. 2 (Alias A)	--	--	--	258-259v
976-1025	Rouen	BM	U 055	--	--	--	114-128
976-1025	Vatican	Reg. lat.	523	--	--	--	201r-209v
1001-1200	Mona-censis*		lat. 4608	--	--	59v-61r	?
1001-1100	Paris*	BNF	10847	ff not given	--	ff not given	
1001-1100	London*	British Museum	Add. Msc. 22793	--	1-3v	3v-5r	?
1001-1200	Boulogne -sur-Mer	BM	25	--	--	--	teg.
1001-1100	Angers	BM	801	--	--	--	86v-103
1001-1100	Rome	ArchSGi ovLater.	A. 80 (Alias C)	--	--	--	169-182
1001-1100	Torino	BN	F. II. 10	--	--	--	198v-201r
1001-1100	Brussels	MB	506	--	--	--	1r- 23r
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 12600	--	--	213v-236v	213v-236v
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 5343	--	--	--	149r-156v
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 10847	1r-2r	2r-6v	6v-7v	8r-23r
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 17627	--	--	236r-260r	236r-260r
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 18300	--	--	1r-32v	1r-32v
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 18305	--	--	62r-62v	62r-62v

1001-1100	Paris	BNF	N. A. lat. 2179	--	--	322r-323v	322r-323v
1001-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 15436	--	--	29v-42r	29v-42r
1026-1100	Paris	BNF	lat. 11751	39v-48v	--	48v-50v	1r-39v
1050-1060	Angers	BM	121	--	--	--	141-145
1051-1150	Vatican	Vat. lat.	6074	--	--	--	142v-154r
1101-1200	Bourges	BM	31	--	--	--	107v-110r
1101-1200	Rouen	BM	A 53	--	--	--	111-113
1101-1200	Rouen	BM	U 2	96-110v	96-110v	96-110v	96-110v
1101-1200	Rouen	BM	U 20	--	--	--	87v-89v
1101-1200	Rouen	BM	U 32	--	--	--	135v-138
1101-1200	Brussells	KBR	104 (3130)	--	--	--	323v-326v
1101-1200	Angers	BM	805	--	--	--	98v-108
1101-1200	Naples	BN	codex VIII. B. 51.	--	--	--	23-24v
1101-1200	Paris	BNF	lat. 2445A	2r-3r	3v-9v	9v-10v	10v-28r
1101-1150	Verdun	BM	1	--	--	-	82r-83r, 83r-83v
1101-1200	Vatican	Vat. lat.	4854	--	--	--	89v-100v
1101-1200	Vatican	Reg. lat.	542	--	--	--	53r-57v
1101-1200	Trier	SB	388 (966)	--	--	--	168r-180v
1101-1200	Montpel-lier	FM	30	--	--	--	134r-141v
1101-1200	Brussels	MB	5	--	--	--	72r-78r
1101-1200	Brussels	MB	72	--	--	--	230v-240v
1101-1200	Saint-Omer	BM	715	--	--	--	105v-119r
1101-1200	Paris	BNF	lat. 5293	--	--	--	103v-108v
1101-1200	Paris	BNF	lat. 5570	--	--	--	tot.

1101-1200	Paris	BNF	lat. 2827	--	--	--	115r-143v
1101-1200	Paris	BNF	lat. 17006	--	--	118v-126v	118v-126v
1151-1200	Bruxelles	KBR	II. 1055 (3299) [Phillipps n° 4632]	--	--	--	115r-125r
1151-1200	Würz-burg	UB	MP.TH.F.124.	--	--	--	174v-190v
1151	Charle-ville	BM	254 III	--	--	--	112v-123r
1151-1200	Montpel-lier	FM	1 t. 2	--	--	--	129v-138r
1201-1300	Berlin*	Philipp.	1839 (once Metz 116)	--	--	469v-470	?
1201-1300	Arras	BM	573 (462)	--	--	--	60v-70v
1201-1300	Douai	BM	864	--	--	--	53v-71v
1201-1300	Mons	BM	26, 210, 8402	--	--	--	96v-105r
1201-1300	Brussels	KBR	7460 (3176)	--	--	23r-24r	24v-33v
1201-1300	Brussels	KBR	7483-07486 (3181)	--	--	--	73r-85v
1201-1300	Vatican	ArchCap. Pietro	A. 3 (Alias B)	--	--	--	15-18
1201-1300	Milan	BA	B. 33 Inf.	--	--	--	96v-102r
1201-1300	Trier	SB	1151, IV (965)	--	--	--	41v-49r
1201-1300	Trier	SB	1155 (1021)	--	--	--	130r-147r
1201-1250	Namur	BV	15	--	--	--	52v-63v
1201-1250	Saint-Omer	BM	716	--	--	61v-62r	62r-72r
1201-1300	Paris	BNF	lat. 5337	--	--	--	75v-87v
1201-1300	Paris	BNF	lat. 14293	--	--	182r-198v	182r-198v
1201-1225	Zwettl	ZS	14	<1009> 28v-37r	<1009> 28v-37r	<1009 > 28v-37r	<1009> 28v-37r
1230-1400	Vaticano	ArchCap. Pietro	A. 7 (Alias F)	--	--	--	292-294

1273	Angers	BM	123	--	--	--	193v-197v
1275-1300	Douai	BM	151	--	--	--	122v-124r
1301-1400	Arras	BM	344 (961)	--	--	--	153r-153v
1301-1400	Mons	BM, Wins	5	--	--	--	74r
1301-1400	Vaticano	Borgh. lat.	297	--	--	--	175v-181r
1301-1400	Namur	BV	2	--	--	--	217v-220r
1301-1400	Paris	BNF	lat. 2447	3r-17r	3r-17r	3r-17r	22v-76v
1301-1400	Paris	BNF	lat. 11759	--	--	148r-154v	148r-154v
1301-1400	Paris	BNF	lat. 5353	--	--	--	126v-134v
1301-1400	Paris	BNF	lat. 5360	--	--	--	166v-183r
1301-1400	Paris	BNF	N. A. lat. 1509	6-34	6-34	6-34	161-231
1366	Liège	BU	58 (210, t. II)	--	--	--	2r-12r
1401-1470	Bourges	BM	28	--	--	--	175r-178v
1401-25	Bourges	BM	34	--	--	--	108r-115v
1401-1500	Rouen	BM	U 17	--	--	--	173v-177v
1401-1500	Wien	ÖNB	Ser. N. 12754	--	--	--	30r-39r
1401-1500	Vaticano	Urb. lat.	61				48v-58v
1401-1600	Trier	SB	1164 (CCCLXV)	--	--	--	189v-195r
1401-1500	Köln	HA	W. 164 a	--	--	--	100v-106v
1401-1500	Paris	BNF	lat. 2873 B	3-16	3-16	3-16	21-66
1401-1500	Paris	BNF	lat. 17631	--	32r-33r	--	33v-60v
1450-1475	Erpern-burg	SchlB	7	21r-21v	21v-24v	24v-25	25-34r
1451-1500	Melk	SB	M. 7	<1009> 209r-226v	<1009> 209r-226v	<1009 > 209r-226v	<1009> 209r-226v

Chapter Three:
Black Seeds through White Fields:
Saints, Poets, and Princes in Milo of Saint-Amand's *Vita Amandi*

The area that is now northern France and Belgium was a site of liturgical, hagiographical, and codicological innovation in the ninth century. In particular, the dioceses of Tournai, Arras**,** and Cambrai (see map, figure 3.1) produced a number of novel works, such as versified liturgies and the very early vernacular poem, the *Cantilène* of Eulalia.[1] The area was also a center of scribal and artistic activity. The Franco-Saxon style of illumination was developed at the houses of this region, including Saint-Amand, Saint-Bertin, and Saint-Vaast.[2] The Bible of Charles the Bald, richly illuminated in this style, probably came from Saint-Amand, as did several impressive sacramentaries.[3]

The region also produced a number of *vitae metricae* (see map, figure 1.8). In addition to the verse lives of Saints Amand (BHL 333), Rictrude (BHL 7248), and Cyricus and Iulitta (BHL 1812) written at Saint-Amand, and the *vita metrica* of Rictrude's daughter Eusebia (BHL 2737), several other *vitae metricae* survive from this

---

[1] See the collection *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie*. *Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes*, 21 mars 1989, ed. Marie-Pierre Dion (Lille: Agence Régionale des Services et de Coopération de la Lecture... du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1990). On versified liturgy, see Ritva Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968), and Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Early Medieval Versified Offices," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography,* eds. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 278-99.

[2] Rosamond McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria in the Reign of Charles the Bald, 840 - 877," in *L'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia*, eds. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), p. 220.

[3] Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2. André Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand d'apres les manuscrits et les anciens catalogues," *Scriptorium* 1 (1946), 6-16. See also Jacques Guilmain, "The Illuminations of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald," *Speculum* 41 (1966), 246-60.

region. Poets at the monastery of Saint-Bertin, in the town of Saint-Omer, composed two *vitae metricae* of their founding saint (BHL 1292 and 1294), one of which is preserved in a magnificent, purple and silver, illuminated manuscript in the library at Bolougne-sur-Mer.[4] There are also two anonymous verse lives of Audomarus (BHL 772 and 775), patron of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer, which was both an offshoot and a rival to Saint-Bertin.[5] Two metric lives of Amand's disciple Bavo (BHL 1050 and 1053) probably come from Saint-Bavo in Ghent, and the verse *Vita Gisleni* (BHL 3558) may come from Mons.[6] There are also four *vitae metricae* from the diocese of Liège: the *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4682), sometimes misattributed to Hucbald of Saint-Amand;[7] the *Vita Landelini* (BHL 4698a), attributed to Heriger, abbot of Lobbes; the *Vita Ursmari* (BHL 8419), by the same author; and the *Vita Foilliani* (BHL 3076), which Hilin canon of Fosses wrote and dedicated to another poet, Sigebert of Gembloux, in the late eleventh century.[8]

---

[4] BHL 1292, the anonymous *vita metrica* of Bertin, is contained in the purple and silver manuscript, Boulogne-sur-mer, BM, MS 107, fols. 8v-28v. BHL 1294, the *vita metrica* composed by Simon, abbot of Saint-Bertin, is preserved in the twelfth-century manuscript Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS 146A, fols. 1r-12r. Catalogue information for the two manuscripts is contained in [no author], *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (in quarto), vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1872), pp. 638-39, and 663-64, respectively.

[5] The anonymous *vitae metricae* of Audomarus are preserved in late manuscripts. BHL 772 is found in the seventeenth-century Saint-Omer, BM, MS. 479, fols. 141r-146r and the eighteenth-century Saint-Omer, BM, MS 814, fols. 17v-46r. BHL 775 is found in the same two manuscripts on fols. 150r-152v and 52r-64v, respectively. The two *vitae* of Bertin, BHL 1292 and 1284, are found in twelfth-century manuscripts, Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS. 107, fols. 3v-28v, and Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS146A, fols.1r-12r, respectively. Both the lives of Bertin are also copied into the seventeenth- and eighteenth century manuscripts from Saint-Omer noted above.

[6] The lives of Bavo are edited in MGH Poetae 5, ed. K. Strecker (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1937), pp. 227-45 and MGH Scriptores, ed. O. Hotter-Egger, pp. 590-97.

[7] The *Vita Lamberti* is preserved in Brussels, KBR, MS 14650-14659 (3236), fols. 47r-60v. On this *vita*, see Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse*, pp. 130-31; J. Demarteau, "Vie de saint Lambert, écrite en vers par Hucbald de Saint-Amand, et documents du xe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégéois* 13 (1878), 396-417. Jonsson dismantles Demarteau's claim that Hucbald was the author of the verse *Vita Lamberti*.

[8] L. Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les "vitae" des saints merovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1907), table between pp. 436 and 437. The *Vita Ursmari*,

Chapters Three, Four, and Five below, look at *vitae metricae* composed in a small part of this region, namely those written at and for houses along the River Scarpe in the diocese of Tournai (see figure 3.1). These lives are especially interesting because they draw upon one another and because they respond to and express local political rivalries and affiliations. Because the houses, like their founding saints, are connected, the *vitae metricae* and the letters and poems that accompany them give us a particular perspective on the relationships among these monastic houses. This chapter and the next examine how monastic writers used *vitae metricae* to create communities that traversed time and space and included poets, saints, teachers, fellow monks, and the emperor. Both these chapters return to some of the themes of Chapter Two, specifically the use of *vitae metricae* in garnering imperial patronage, and the ways that poets and their readers use two images of great antiquity – the sower of the divine word and the bee gathering nectar – to talk about their work. The previous chapter explored how books by and about a saint were presented as functionally equivalent to his relics. Chapters Three and Four consider another conflation of the categories of the textual and the holy: how the poet's work is equated with the saint's preaching. Chapter Five looks at how the anonymous author of another *vita metrica* from the River Scarpe, the *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737), used the genre to express a different set of concerns. There I argue that the verse *Vita Eusebiae* responds to the local power struggle between two houses, Marchiennes and Hamage. While the *vitae metricae* discussed in the other chapters were intended to impress

---

contained in Verdun, BM, MS 77, fols. 3r-22v, is printed in MGH Poetae 5, ed. Strecker, pp. 172-208. Heriger's *Vita Landelini*, found on fols. 25r-32v of the same manuscript is printed in MGH Poetae 5, pp. 211-225. The verse *Vita Foilliani* from Brussels, KBR, MS 8928 is edited by P. De Buck in AASS Oct. vol. 13, pp. 395-408.

powerful or erudite patrons with the poet's talent, and therefore his house's intellectual prestige, I argue that the *Vita Eusebiae* is nothing less than a bid for survival by an imperiled house.

The fame of these poets and their verse corresponds to the wealth and power of their houses. The chapters that follow begin with the *Vita Amandi*, written by the renowned *magister* of Saint-Amand, Milo, and used by his even more celebrated student Hucbald. Chapter Four focuses on the *Vita Rictrudis* written at Saint-Amand for the smaller house of Marchiennes, by the less famous poet Johannes. Finally, Chapter Five, examines the anonymous verse and prose lives of Eusebia, patron of the tiny house of Hamage.

*

Composed ca. 845-55 at Saint-Amand, Milo's *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) is one of the most influential of the Carolingian *vitae metricae*.[9] Milo's verse hagiography was imitated at Saint-Amand by Johannes around the turn of the millennium and by Gunter in the twelfth century.[10] Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458), completed at Saint-Germain in Auxerre (Burgundy) in 875, also draws heavily on Milo's poem. In this chapter, I argue that Milo invests his protagonist Amand with charismatic authority and, by conflating the roles of poet and saint, arrogates that authority to himself. He subtly sets himself up in a lineage of *satores* — teachers and students, poets and saints — that begins with Christ

[9] On Amand, see Henri Platelle and Daniel Misonne, "Amando" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 1 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1961), cols. 918-23.
[10] On Johannes's metric *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248), see Chapters 4 and 5, below. Gunter's metric *Passio* of Cyricus and Iulitta (BHL 1812), is preserved in one twelfth-century manuscript, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2717, and printed in the *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1889), pp. 172-94.

and the apostles, continues with Amand and his disciples, and includes Milo and his own students. Other monks who were teachers – Haimin, Hucbald, and Heiric – extend this lineage to include the emperor and his sons.

Drawing on a scriptural image common in prose as well as verse hagiography, Milo likens the preaching saint to a sower who scatters God's word across the fields of the laity and plants a crop of virtue: "gentibus et variis diuini semina uerbi/ Spargeret" [he was scattering the seeds of the divine word upon various peoples]. [11] Milo uses a variation on this trope to describe his own work. He likens his words to black seeds and the pages to white fields, describing his process of writing as "nigra per albentes diffundens semina compos" [spreading the black seeds through the white fields].[12] The poet, like the saint, spreads God's Word through his divinely-inspired language. Through the repetition of the metaphor of sowing, Milo equates verse composition with the saint's salvific work of preaching.

Milo's identification of himself with the saint is only part of his broader vision in which he places saint, poet, and audience in a line of *magistri* and *discipuli*, teachers and students, going back to Christ and the apostles. As saints, through speech and act, imparted their virtue to the next generation of holy men and women, they likewise transmitted the virtue of their words to their other successors, the hagiographers, who, like Milo, were often also teachers. Milo, in turn, transmitted the *semina diuini uerbi* to

---

[11] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.38-39, p. 580. A few lines later, at 2.46, p. 580, he reiterates, "gentibus et sparsis sparsit pia uerba salutis" [he scattered the pious words of salvation among the scattered peoples]. For the crop of virtue, see Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.147-48, p. 591. "In populo, fecunda seges de cespite surgens/ Reddit centuplicem virtutem gramine frugem" [Among the people the prolific crop growing from the ground returned the hundred-fold crop, virtue from the shoots].
[12] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.448-50, p. 578.

his audience. The readers and students of *vitae metricae* could imitate the exemplar of the saint within the text. They could also pattern themselves after the example of the text's author by becoming poets and teachers themselves. The relationship of the readers to the poet was not simply one of imitation but of active emulation in which the readers attempted to compose poems that were denser, more learned, more ambitious, and more subtle than their models. Milo's verse inspired a future generation of would-be poets, creating a new crop of virtue, or at least verse, among the next generation of monks. The narrative of Milo's *Vita Amandi* features a chain of apostolic succession, where the *semina diuini uerbi* and virtue, emanating from God and the saints, are transmitted by saints and teachers. Milo's epic itself forms one more link in this chain. Through the medium of metric verse, the poet, like the saints and teachers who preceded him, molds his own *discipuli*, some of whom go on to rival their poetic forefather. Thus, the *Vita Amandi* concerns not just apostolic but also poetic succession.

Following Milo, three other monks — Haimin of Saint-Vaast, Hucbald of Saint-Amand, and Heiric of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre — exploited the possibilities in this chain of apostolic, poetic, and pedagogical succession by putting Milo's text to their own uses. Haimin uses the text to teach a new crop of monastic poets. Milo's followers — his student and nephew Hucbald of Saint-Amand, and the poet Heiric — extend the chain to include their imperial patron Charles the Bald, who sent his younger sons to be educated at Saint-Amand and Saint-Germain. Hucbald incorporates Charles into the lineage of teachers and students by writing two acrostic poems that rededicate Milo's *Vita Amandi* to the emperor in 872, after Milo's death. Heiric composes an even longer and more

ambitious *vita metrica* of his own abbey's patron saint, Germanus (BHL 3458). This *Vita Germani,* which draws upon Milo's poem, Heiric dedicated to Charles the Bald in 875. The concerns represented in these metric *vitae* prove that, by focusing on prose lives to the exclusion of poetry, scholars have missed not just an understanding of the authors' literary culture but the rich contexts of monastic history in which these texts are embedded.

Milo's *Vita Amandi*, like Heiric's *Vita Germani*, depicts a dynamic and living tradition of saints, poets, teachers, and students, a tradition that had meaning beyond the monastic classroom. Charles's sons, students at the royal abbeys, were also subsumed into this tradition of holy speech and verse. Like Saint Amand himself, Milo was a teacher of princes. By sending Charles the verse *Vita Amandi,* which conflates the identities of poet and saint and portrays the teacher-founder-saint Amand as the prince's second father, Hucbald implies that Charles's sons were part of the lineage of holy teachers and students, a chain of succession that linked Charles's dynasty to Christ, the apostles, and Milo himself.

In this chapter, I begin by looking inside the text, at the tropes and content of Milo's verse, and I end by looking at how Milo's *Vita Amandi* and Heiric's *Vita Germani* (which provides a useful parallel) could be used by monks both to educate the young and to garner imperial patronage. As we saw in the previous chapter, the form, content, and function of the *vita metrica* are thoroughly intertwined; it is Milo's theme of poetic and apostolic succession that Hucbald and Heiric develop in their quest for Charles's patronage.

Before examining how Milo arrogated the saint's role to himself, appropriated the saint's language, and created a scheme of apostolic and poetic succession, I provide some historical background on the *Vita Amandi* and propose a model for understanding the appropriation of saintly speech. First, I briefly summarize what we know about Saint-Amand in the ninth century. Next, I note the manuscript traditions, print history, and secondary sources that relate to the *Vita Amandi*. I also look at the cultural context in which it was composed, copied, and used, noting, in the chapter's second main section, the evidence for the role of *vitae metricae* in education. In the third main section of the chapter, I discuss how the idea of "charismatic culture" is useful for understanding how Milo and his fellow poets wrote about the saints.[13] In the fourth section, I turn to the *Vita Amandi* itself and consider the ways Milo uses the metaphor of the *sator* (sower) to conflate his own work and identity with the saint's speech. Next, I examine how the saint in the *vita metrica* functioned as an exemplar for the poet and the reader, even as the poet, who was also a teacher, functioned as a model for students to emulate. Finally, by comparing the *Vita Amandi* with Heiric's verse *Vita Germani*, a metric life produced under similar conditions, I suggest that the role of the royal abbeys in educating the king's sons underlies the conflation of saint and poet and the poet's appropriation of the saint's holy speech.

[13] The term comes from C. Stephen Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*: *Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1994), p. 4.

The Abbey of Saint-Amand: History

The *Vita Amandi* was composed and copied at the royal abbey of Saint-Amand, at the confluence of the Scarpe and Elnon rivers, in what is now the town of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux in the arrondissement of Valenciennes. Saint-Amand was the wealthiest and most powerful of the monastic houses of northern France. The French historian Henri Platelle has reconstructed the abbey's history in several books and numerous articles.[14] Platelle lays out the sources for the history of the house, which include later cartularies, hagiographic writings (including Milo's *sermones* on Amand's translation and elevation, BHL 342, 343, 343a), brief *annales*, lists of abbots, and codices produced from the scriptorium.[15]

According to the *vitae* about Saint Amand and later confirmations of the abbey's privileges, Amand founded the abbey in the seventh century on lands donated by King Dagobert (d. 639).[16] Little information exists about the house in the eighth century,

---

[14] Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines a 1340* (Paris: Librarie de'Argences, 1962); Platelle, Henri. "Les relations entre Saint-Amand et Saint-Servais de Maastricht au Moyen Age." *Revue du Nord: Histoire & archéologie, nord de la France, Belgique, Pays-Bas* 63.248 (1981), 7-13; Platelle, "La ville et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au Moyen Age," in *Terre et ciel des anciens Pays-Bas*. Recueil d'articles de M. le Chanoine Platelle publié à l'occasion de son élection à l'Académie royale de Belgique. Mélanges de science religieuse, numéro spécial (Lille: Faculté libre des lettres et sciences humaines, 1991), pp. 55-68; Platelle, "Les moines dans une ville d'abbaye: Le cas de Saint-Amand," in *Les moines dans la ville, actes du colloque de Lille 31 Mars et 1er Avril 1995*, Histoire médiévale et archéologie, vol. 7 (Lille: CAHMER, 1996), pp. 125- 38; Platelle, "Le premier cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand," *Le Moyen Age*, 62 (1956), 301-29; Platelle, "Les relations entre l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand d'Elnone," in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant* (xie siècle), ed. Gabriel-Ursin Langé (Lille: Facultés catholiques, 1967), pp. 83-106; Platelle, "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle," in *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie*. Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes, 21 mars 1989, ed. Marie-Pierre Dion (Lille: Agence Régionale des Services et de Coopération de la Lecture... du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 1990), pp. 18-34.

[15] For a full discussion of these sources, see Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, pp. 10-18.

[16] On the difficulties of the diplomatic evidence, see Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 35.

however, and many of the abbots are known only by name.[17] Beginning in the ninth century, there is more evidence for Saint-Amand's prosperity, intellectual capital, and connections. Saint-Amand was a royal abbey, receiving gifts and charters of exemption under the Carolingians.[18] Royal land donations increased the abbey's already widespread holdings.[19] The Carolingian kings participated in the selection of abbots, who were often drawn from secular clergy or the laity.[20] Charles the Bald's son Carloman became abbot of Saint-Amand from 867 to 871, until his revolt against his father and Charles's violent repression of it.[21]

The abbey underwent several renovations in the Carolingian era. Abbot Arno's late eighth-century restoration of the chapel in the cemetery and the elevation of Amand's tomb to protect it from floods are both noted in metric inscriptions by Alcuin.[22] In 809, the abbot Rotfrid undertook more renovations, exhuming Saint Amand's body from the crypt and placing it in a new sarcophagus.[23]

Saint-Amand was one of most important intellectual centers in Francia in the ninth and early tenth centuries,[24] as evidenced by its school, library, and scriptorium, as well as by the renown of its teachers, Milo and Hucbald. The monastic school at Saint-Amand was intended for oblates, but it also attracted the sons of kings. [25] Charles Martel

---

[17] Boutemy, "Scriptorium et la bibliothèque," p. 7; Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 49.
[18] McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," p. 219.
[19] McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," p. 219.
[20] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 53.
[21] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, pp. 58-59.
[22] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, pp. 54-55; Alcuin, MGH Poetae 1, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 305-08.
[23] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 55.
[24] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 64.
[25] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 64.

sent his son Jerome to school at Saint-Amand.[26] Despite the fame of Saint-Amand, its teachers, and its students, we know little about the school. The contents of the library show that it was well equipped to provide books for the classroom. Although the library catalogues from Saint-Amand are considerably later (from the eleventh and twelfth centuries), the library's earlier contents can be pieced together from extant codices.[27] In the ninth century, the holdings were biased toward the Classics (including Virgil, Terence, and Pliny), the grammarians, and the ancient literary theorists (including Priscian, Donatus, Cassiodorus, and Isidore).[28] Platelle argues that the classical and pedagogical focus of the ninth-century collection reflects the interests of Milo and Hucbald.[29] The library possessed books from numerous other houses. McKitterick notes books from Fleury, Tours, Rheims, Corbie, West France, Mainz, Saint-Vaast, the lower Rhine, England, and other places north of the Seine River, showing that Saint-Amand had intellectual ties, manifested through book exchange, with the other major intellectual centers of the Carolingian world. [30]

The book trade between Saint-Amand and the other abbeys went both ways. The abbey housed a renowned scriptorium, which produced luxury editions for the royal court as well as school and library books for the monastery's own use.[31] One of the most famous books from the Saint-Amand scriptorium is the second Bible of Charles the

---

[26] Platelle, "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle," p. 24.
[27] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 67.
[28] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 68.
[29] Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye,* p. 68.
[30] McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," p. 227.
[31] McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," p. 218. Valenciennes, BM, MS 414, discussed above, represents a manuscript intended for local consumption.

Bald.[32] André Boutemy, Rosamond McKitterick, and Patrick McGurk have all studied the impressive output from this establishment, which, as noted above, was a pioneer of the Franco-Saxon style of manuscript illumination.[33] At this house, characterized by royal patronage and a flourishing intellectual and scribal culture, Milo composed one of the most accomplished of the Carolingian *vitae metricae*.

*

Milo's *Vita Amandi*, composed in four books of dactylic hexameter, is based on the prose *vita* attributed to Amand's later contemporary Baudemond (BHL 332).[34] Milo omits several important episodes from Baudemund's *Vita Amandi*, such as Amand's consecration of Saint Gertrude (daughter of King Pepin I), and adds others, including Amand's patronage of his disciple Saint Bavo. Milo acknowledges that he omits incidents from the saint's life:

> Pluribus et quanquam studuissem pangere uerbis
> Gesta uiri, quiuisse tamen non cuncta notare
> Confiteor: nec enim tam parua peregit, ut ullis
> Dicere sufficiam scriptis aut promere metris.[35]
>
> Although I strived to compose the deeds of the man
> In many words, nonetheless, I confess that I was not able
> To record them all: for he did not accomplish such paltry things,
> That I could tell them in any written words or display them in meter.

---

[32] Andre Boutemy, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand," *Scriptorium* 1 (1946), 6-16; Patrick McGurk, "The Ghent Livinus Gospels and the Scriptorium of St. Amand," *Sacris Erudiri* (1963), 164-205; McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," pp. 201-34; Marie-Pierre Dion, "Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle," in *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie,* pp. 35-52.
[33] McGurk discusses the Bible Saint-Amand produced for Charles while McKitterick and Dion consider works destined for a more local and humble audience in addition to the scriptorium's luxury products. See McGurk, "Ghent Livinus," pp. 164-205; McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria," pp. 201-34; Dion, "Scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye," pp. 35-52.
[34] Baudemund, *Vita Amandi*, ed. Bruno Krusch in MGH SRM 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 428-49..
[35] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 4.334-37, p. 505.

Milo's *Vita Amandi*, like its prose counterpart, contains the usual hagiographical themes of noble birth, parental resistance, good works, visions, and preaching. Amand was born to noble parents, Serenus and Amantia, in Aquitaine. As a young man, he journeyed to the monastery on the island of Yeu, where he routed a serpent. His father attempted to persuade him to leave the monastery, but Amand refused, went to Tours, and prayed at Saint Martin's tomb that he might lead a life of pilgrimage. There he was miraculously tonsured, and he entered the clergy. He then went to Bourges, the city where Saint Austrigisilus was bishop and Sulpicius was archdeacon, to live in a cell and practice mortifications. Next, Amand made a pilgrimage to Rome. There a guard threw him out of the church of Saint Peter where Amand was holding a vigil. Peter then appeared to Amand outside the church and told him to go back to Gaul and preach, which Amand did. After Amand was ordained as a bishop, he set about his missionary activities and good works, which included redeeming and educating captured Christian youths, rescuing a boy from a demon, and calming a storm at sea (with Saint Peter's assistance). The rest of the *vita* consists of episodes recounting Amand's missionary work, miracles (especially healings), foundations, and relations with other holy men and women. Amand proselytized in Ghent, where he converted the pagans by reviving a hanged criminal; among the Slavs across the Danube, where he hoped for martyrdom; and among the Basques. He founded churches and monasteries, and he installed his disciples as bishops and abbots across northwestern Francia. Even after he was appointed to the episcopal see of Maastricht, where he found the clergy intractable, he continued to travel and preach.[36]

[36] In his prose *Suppletio* to the *Vita Amandi,* Milo includes Martin's letter of encouragement to Amand in

Several episodes stand out among Amand's *gesta*. The first expresses his relation to royal authority. Dagobert, King of the Franks, exiled Amand for criticizing the king's polygamous lifestyle. When Dagobert had a son, he begged Amand to return to baptize the boy. Amand refused until the king sent Amand's friends, the saints Audoenus (Dado) and Eligius, to persuade him. This incident illustrates Amand's moral authority, the author's conception of the correct relation of secular to sacred authority, and Amand's close links to his holy contemporaries, Audoenus and Eligius. Another episode that shows Amand's relations to other saints describes his friendship with Saint Gislenus. After his long and miraculous life, Amand died, and his soul was taken to heaven.

Manuscripts, Print Editions, and Secondary Sources

Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* is extant in at least five manuscripts. As noted in Chapter One, epic *vitae* are usually transmitted with a series of ancillary texts, and that is the case here. Prefacing the *Vita Amandi* in most manuscripts are Milo's letter dedicating the work to his teacher Haimin, Haimin's reply (the *rescriptum*) to Milo, and Hucbald's acrostics dedicating the poem to Charles the Bald. The *vita* is followed by the *Versiculi Vulfai in confirmatione operis*, verses commending Milo's poem.

There are four medieval manuscripts of Milo's *Vita Amandi*.[37] The earliest surviving manuscript is Valenciennes, BM, MS 414, a late ninth-century codex of 106

---

dealing with the troublesome clergy of Maastricht (BHL 339); MGH SRM 5, pp. 450-85.

[37] There is also one post-medieval copy, Valenciennes, BM, MS 503, a sixteenth-century paper manuscript of Milo's *Vita Amandi* with the accompanying letters and the *Versiculi*. See A.-F. Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 25, Poitiers-Valenciennes (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894), pp. 373-74; Léopold Deslisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Heusden, 1969), p. 405.

folios measuring 245 x155 mm (figure 3.2). The *Vita* is preceded in the codex by Bede's *De arte metrica* (fols. 1r-22v) and a brief passage (written in an untrained hand) on the death of the Roman emperor Nero (fol. 24v). This copy of the *Vita Amandi* (fols. 25v-56v) is prefaced by Milo's dedication to his teacher, Haimin, and Haimin's response (fols. 23r and 23v, respectively), and is followed by the *Versiculi Vulfai* (fol. 57r). Milo's verse work, *De sobriete,* which Hucbald also dedicated to Charles the Bald in verse, follows (fols. 59r- 105v). This poem is glossed with a few interlinear notes in the scribal hand.[38] The poem *Conflictum ueris et hiemus* (fol. 106r) and an *abecdarium* (fol. 106v) finish the codex. [39]

Valenciennes, BM, MS 414 is the only extant copy of Milo's *Vita Amandi* that does *not* include the acrostic poems that Milo's student Hucbald appended when he dedicated the work to Charles the Bald, although it does contain Hucbald's dedication of Milo's other poem, *De sobriete*. The codex is without ornamentation or decoration, and there is little color. The first letter of each line in Milo's *Vita Amandi* is written in orange or brown ink accented with orange. There are a few green decorative marks on the *brevarium* of book three and on the two-line, green initial that begins book two. A later hand has written the alphabet on the last folio. To judge from the contents, penmanship,

[38] For example, there are interlinear synonym glosses on fol. 89r.
[39] For a description of this manuscript, see Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, p. 452. The *conflictum* is printed under Alcuin's name in MGH Poetae 1, ed. Ernest Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881) p. 270.

its annotations, and its lack of ornamentation, Valenciennes, BM, MS 414 appears to be a schoolbook.[40]

The second ninth-century codex, Brussels, KBR, MS 8721-8728 (3214), is a collection of works on Amand bound with Sulpicius Severus's *Vita* of Saint Martin.[41] The codex, of which 127 folios are preserved, contains Milo's *sermones*, Amand's testament, the *vita metrica* with the usual accompanying letters, acrostics and the*Versiculi*. It includes a hymn in praise of Amand, entitled the *Hymnus in laude beati Amandi iambico tetrametro editus* (No BHL). The codex also contains the *Miracula Amandi* of 1107 (BHL 347), written by the abbess Marsilia at Rouen to the abbot of Saint-Amand, recounting Amand's miracles in her town.[42]

The third codex is Copenhagen, Bibliotheca Tottiana, MS 520, a composite codex, which contains ninth-century fragments of Milo's *Vita Amandi*, followed by the *Versiculi Vulfai*.[43] The *Hymnus in laude beati Amandi iambico tetrametro editus* follows these two works. The eighteen-folio section of this codex that contains the *Vita Amandi*, the *Versiculi*, and the *Hymnus* (fols. 45r-63v) is unrelated to the rest of the volume.

---

[40] The inclusion of Bede's *De arte metrica* and three long poems (Milo's *Vita Amandi*, Milo's *De sobriete,* and the *Conflictus ueris et heimus*) suggests a book for teaching verse composition and comprehension.
[41] J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 5 (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1905), p. 188.
[42] On the ties between Saint-Amand on the river Scarpe and Saint-Amand in Rouen, see Henri Platelle, "Les relations entre l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand d'Elnone," in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (xie siècle),* preface by Gabriel-Ursin Langé (Lille: Facultés catholiques, 1967), pp. 83-106.
[43] Copenhagen, Bibliotheca Tottiana, MS 520 contains Milo, *Vita Amandi* 2. 298- 3. 15, 3 124 – 4. 416. The *Vita Amandi* is on fols. 45r-62r. The *Hymnus* ends on fol. 63v.

The fourth copy, Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, from the eleventh century, is a lavish manuscript of 143 folios from Saint-Amand.[44] This codex, which I discussed in Chapter One, contains a highly illustrated copy of Baudemund's prose *vita* of Amand as well as Milo's verse life and various other texts on Amand.[45]

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Bollandists have edited Milo's *Vita Amandi*, the letters, and the *Versiculi*, using manuscripts from Saint-Amand and Antwerp.[46] Migne reprints this nineteenth-century edition in the *Patrologia Latina*.[47] Traube's critical edition, based on a greater number of manuscripts and with a more detailed critical apparatus, is preferable to that printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Patrologia Latina*, and it is the edition I use here.[48]

There is almost no secondary scholarship on Milo's *Vita Amandi*. Barbara Abou-El-Haj examines the narrative emphasis in the illuminations in the manuscript Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, although she is interested in their relationship to Baudemund's prose *Vita Amandi* rather than Milo's poem.[49] Platelle mentions Milo, but his focus is on the political and economic history of Saint-Amand. Other medievalists who study the manuscripts and scriptorium of Saint-Amand are equally unconcerned with

---

[44] Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952-3), 257-58; Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, départements.* vol. 25 Valenciennes (Paris, E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1894), pp. 403-405.
[45] Lièvre, *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, pp. 403-05; Barbara F. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The illustrations are also reproduced in the plates at the end of MGH SRM 5.
[46] AASS Feb. vol. 1, pp. 882-98. I have been unable to identify the manuscript from Antwerp.
[47] PL 121, cols. 926-968.
[48] Milo, *Vita Amandi,* ed. Ludwig Traube, MGH Poetae 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 561-612.
[49] Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*; Abou-El-Haj, "Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. 502," *Art Bulletin* 61.3 (1979), 342-358.

Milo and his verse *Vita Amandi*, and in general his writings are much less studied than those of most famous student, Hucbald.[50] An examination of Milo's *Vita Amandi* can provide us with a crucial insight into the motives underlying the composition of *vitae metricae* and their essential role in both patronage networks and educational contexts.

Milo

Milo, who was born after 809, was a student of Haimin at Saint-Vaast and then a monk and *magister* at Saint-Amand.[51] We know very little about his life. He was succeeded as teacher at Saint-Amand by his nephew and student Hucbald. In addition to the verse *Vita Amandi*, Milo wrote the poem *De sobriete* and several prose works, including sermons on Amand (BHL 341b, 342, 343); his *Suppletio*, or prose *vita* of Amandus (BHL 339); and a *Miracula Amandi* (BHL 343b).[52] His epitaph at Saint-Amand celebrates his verse and prose composition:

> Milo poeta sophus cubat hoc sub marmore clausus,
> Carmine dulciloco qui librum sobrietatis
> Edidit et sanctum pulchre depinxit Amandum,
> Floribus exornans, metro prosaque uenustans
> Tanti pontificis palmam, caput atque coronam.[53]
>
> Milo, wise poet, lies here enclosed in marble
> He who produced the book on sobriety in sweet-sounding song

[50] Julia M.H. Smith, "A Hagiographer at Work: Hucbald and the Library at Saint-Amand," *RB* 106.1-2 (1996), 151-71; Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand," *Studi medievali* series 3, 35.2 (1994), 517-42; François Dolbeau, "Passion de S. Cassien d'Imola composée d'après Prudence par Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *RB* 87 (1977), 238-56; Dolbeau, "Le dossier hagiographique de S. Amé, vénéré à Douai. Nouvelles recherches sur Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *AB* 97:1-2 (1979), 89-110; L. Van der Essen, "Hucbald de Saint-Amand et sa place dans le mouvement hagiographique médiéval," *Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique* 19 (1923), 333-51, 522-52.
[51] Traube, MGH Poetae 3, pp. 557-58; Platelle, *Temporel de l'abbaye*, p. 66.
[52] Milo's prose works are edited by Bruno Krusch in MGH SRM 5, pp. 449-85
[53] *Tituli Elnonenses* IX in MGH Poetae 3, p. 679.

And who portrays Saint Amand beautifully
Decorating him with flowers, adorning in verse and prose
The palm branch of so great a priest, his head and his crown.

Milo dedicated *De sobriete* to Charles the Bald and the *Vita Amandi* to his teacher Haimin.[54] As noted above, after Milo's death in 871 or 872, Hucbald wrote the acrostic poems dedicating the *Vita Amandi* to Charles, as well.

Vitae Metricae as School Books

The twin dedications – to Haimin and Charles – indicate two of the key functions of Milo's *Vita Amandi* and other *vitae metricae*. In addition to being works that were sent to important men to win and maintain patronage, *vitae metricae* also functioned as educational texts in both monasteries and cathedral schools. The codicological evidence and comments by the poets themselves show that the *Vita Amandi* came from, and was used in, an educational milieu. As mentioned earlier, the earliest extant manuscript of Milo's *Vita Amandi*, Valenciennes, BM, MS 414, appears to be a schoolbook, and Milo, sending his work to his teacher Haimin, describes the *Vita Amandi* as a *praeexercitamen*, or school exercise. This term comes from the title of Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*, which contains thirteen exercises for rhetorical training adapted from Hermogenes. These exercises were used in the Middle Ages for teaching composition.[55] Given the popularity of the *Praeexercitamina* in the ninth century, and the facts that Saint-Amand possessed a

[54] *Glorioso regi Karolo Milo suplex* in MGH Poetae 3, pp. 612-13.
[55] Priscian, *Opuscula*, ed. Marina Passalacqua, vol. 1, *De figuris numerorum; De metris Terentii; Praeexercitamina* (Rome: Edizioni di sotria e letteratura, 1987), pp. xxix-xxx. Passalacqua identifies numerous manuscripts of the *Praeexercitamina*, including one from the late eighth century, twelve from the ninth century, three from the tenth century, and two that belong to either the tenth or eleventh centuries.

copy of it, and that it was a schoolbook, we can be almost certain that the teacher Milo would have been familiar with this text.[56] Thus, by labeling his *vita metrica* a *praeexercitamen*, Milo implies that his poem, like Priscian's works (and like Bede's *De arte metrica* included with the *Vita Amandi* in the earliest extant manuscript), was intended to teach composition to students.

Although Milo calls his *vita metrica* a "school exercise," he claims that he does not intend it to be recited by teachers. The address to the reader with which he begins book two is illuminating because, by arguing that his work is *not* meant for the classroom, he implies that the reader would expect a *vita metrica* to be used in such a manner:

> Non opus hoc orbis recitandum mitto magistris,
> Quorum sermo fluit torrentis gurgitis instar,
> Grandia qui oritoni ructantes uerba Maronis
> Vocis olorinae concentum gutture promunt
> Quique suum carmen, dum Musis suavibus aequant,
> Ostendunt uanum nullisque aptabile lucris.
> Non his ergo meos versus transmitto citandos,
> Sed monachis, quorum requiescit in ore salubris
> Thesaurus, psalmi et hymni seu cantica, Christo,
> Quae per templa canunt tonitrus velut ore boantes.[57]
>
> I do not send this work to be recited by the teachers of the world,
> Whose speech flows like a rushing stream,
> Who, belching out the lofty words of thunder-mouthed[58] Virgil,

[56] Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Heusden, 1969), p. 454. Delisle prints a twelfth-century library list from Saint-Amand. There was a copy of the *Praeexercitamina* in the library at Saint-Amand, at least by the twelfth century. Among other books featuring the works of Priscian, the list notes a codex containing *Priscianus de figuris numerorum, de metris Terentii, de exercitamentis, et liber de arte architectonica et geometrica, cum dialogo Albini et Karoli de dialectica et rethorica, et cum musica Otgeri et Enchiriadis*. Delisle identifies this listing with the extant manuscript Valenciennes, BM, MS 325.
[57] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.10-19, p. 579.

Bring forth the singing of the swan's voice from their throat
All of them, while comparing their own song to the sweet Muses,
Show it to be empty and capable of no gain.
Therefore I do not sent out my verses to be performed by them,
But by monks, in whose mouth lies quietly the health-giving treasure,
The Psalms and hymns or songs, for Christ,[59]
Which they sing through the temple, shouting from their mouth just like thunder.

In this passage, Milo sets up a contrast between the garrulity of teachers expounding Virgil and the quiet psalms and hymnody of monks. Unlike the quiet words of monks, the noise of the Virgilian teachers is not profitable (*nullis aptabile lucris*) for salvation. Later in this passage, Milo goes on to denigrate poetry by saying that the apostle Peter, who with his holy speech converts people *en masse*, is superior to all poets: "Petrus piscator populos piscando poetis/ Praefertur cunctis, qui sancto flamine plenus/ Vertit multiplices uno sermone cateruas" [Peter the fisherman, in fishing men is preferred to all poets; he who, filled with holy speech, converts great crowds with a single sermon].[60] This passage, which devalues poets at the expense of the apostle, is written in contrived poetic style (note the paromœon in the lines cited above), and is clearly a humility *topos*.[61] Milo also begins book three of the *Vita Amandi* by disparaging poetry.[62] In both examples, Milo rates the value of his work (poetry) below that of preachers, but he does so in a highly

---

[58] "Thunder-mouthed" is my conjecture for the meaning of the word *oritoni*. Jennifer Ebbeler has suggested that it might be a form of *orisoni* meaning "spine-tingling." Jennifer Ebbeler, personal communication, June 2, 2006.
[59] Paul F. Gehl, "Competens Silentium: Varieties of Medieval Silence," *Viator* 18 (1987), 138. The idea of the psalms and hymns reposing quietly (*requiescit*) in the monks' mouths accords with Gehl's suggestion that the singing of psalms was considered "a common, wordy silence."
[60] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.20-21, p. 579.
[61] Norberg defines paromœon as "sustained alliteration in which a series of two of more words – sometimes every word in a phrase or sentence – begins with the same letter." Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skulby (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2004), p. 188.
[62] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.27-31, p. 589.

literary way that undercuts the sentiment. Further, as we will see shortly, Milo uses the seed-sowing metaphor to liken his own (poetic) discourse to the saint's esteemed preaching, further subverting his apparent hostility to verse. Since Milo's disavowal of the teachers' recitation of verse is part of his denial of the value of poetry, and therefore part of his humility *topos*, we cannot take it altogether seriously. Further, it is difficult to know if this rejection of teachers and recitation is sincere or ironic because Milo, himself a teacher or aspiring teacher at this stage, sends this work to his own teacher, Haimin. In any case, Milo's passage suggests he recognized that texts such as his would indeed be used in the classroom.

Further evidence for the use of verse saints' lives in the classroom comes from the manuscripts of various other *vitae metricae*.[63] For example, the earliest manuscript of Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458), Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13757, like that of the *Vita Amandi* (Valenciennes, BM, MS 414), is a school text. It is copiously annotated with marginal and interlinear notes that elucidate points of grammar, meter, classical mythology, and history (see figure 3.3). While the earliest extant codex containing Milo's *Vita Amandi*, with its *probatio pennae* and alphabet, appears to be a student's copy, Paris BNF, MS lat. 13757, with its helpful notes written by the same scribal hand that copied the main text, seems to be a teacher's copy: Jeaneau even argues that it belonged to Heiric himself.[64]

---

[63] On *vitae metricae* in the classroom, see Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," pp.136-37.
[64] Édouard Jeauneau, "Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot," in *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830-901*, eds. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), p. 357.

The contents and glosses of several other manuscripts of epic *vitae metricae* show that they are also school texts.[65] For example, the ninth-century Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14143, which includes the anonymous verse *Passio Quintini* (BHL 7010), is a collection of *carmina,* often with teaching glosses.[66] The tenth-century copy of Bede's verse *Vita Cuthberti* (BHL 2020), Paris, BNF, MS lat. MS 2825, has interlinear glosses such as grammatical examples and notes on *computus* that suggest classroom use.[67] Other schoolbooks include the glossed eleventh-century codex, Paris, BNF, lat. MS 10851, containing Letselinus's verse *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 708),[68] and the twelfth-century Paris, BNF, MS, lat. 11341, containing the verse *Vita Eustachii* (BHL 2768).[69] The anonymous *Vita Agnetis* (BHL 161), marked with the rhetorical categories *propositio, invocatio, enarratio, apostrophus, allusio,* may also have been used in the classroom.[70]

---

[65] On schoolbook glosses, see Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England,* 3 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1991); Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[66] Printed in Wilhelm Harster, *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae. Ex codicibus monacensibus, parisiensibus, bruxellensi, hagensi, saec. IX-XII* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), pp. 52-63; complete edition in MGH Poetae 4/1, ed. P. Von Winterfeld (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899, pp. 197-208.

[67] Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* is edited by Wener Kaager in *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (Leipzig: Mayer and Muller, 1935). For catalogue information on this manuscript, see Bibliothèque nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins,* vol. 3 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1952). pp. 118-119.

[68] A print edition appears in Harster, *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae*, pp. 86-126. As is always the case, the print edition obscures the codicological evidence of the classroom text.

[69] Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. Durand, 1863-71), pp. 627-28. The codex Paris, BNF, MS lat. 11341, which also contains the *Speculum prelatorum*, and the *Vita monachorum*, appears to be a verse compilation for monks.

[70] A print edition appears in Harster, *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae*, pp. 38-51, and in MGH Poetae 6/1, ed. Karl Strecker (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1951), pp. 108-120. Dolbeau identifies the manuscript of the *Vita Agnetis,* Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14145, as a schoolbook. This particular manuscript, however, with its expensive vellum, fine hand, pristine condition, and lack of annotations (other than the Priscian rhetorical categories, which are written in the scribal hand), does not seem to be a school text. This manuscript is bound into a composite codex, so the other contents of the book do not provide us with any information on its function. *Vitae metricae* (like other texts), could be put to a range of uses, so the fact that the surviving copy of the *Vita Agnetis* was not used in a classroom does not discredit Dolbeau's observation

In his response to Milo's *Vita Amandi*, Haimin is ambiguous about whether he used the work in the classroom. Haimin says that, after he read the *Vita Amandi* twice and judged it doctrinally and metrically sound and eloquent, he guided his *fratres* in studying it. Taking up the trope of the river of eloquence, which Milo himself had used to denigrate the teachers who recite Virgil, Haimin characterizes his use of the *Vita Amandi*. Haimin is possibly being ironic in describing Milo's text using the same *topos* that Milo had applied, with negative connotations, to the maligned teachers. Haimin writes:

> ... non sine cautela deinceps totum id flumen fratribus, qui mecum sunt, quomodo sit nauigandum ostendi....hortor fratres nostros, qui in talibus studiis non abhorrent, munus hoc libenter suscipere et obsecro, ut satius uelint ad simile studium prouocari quam inuidiae facibus concremari. [71]
>
> ...not without particular caution afterwards I showed the brothers, who are with me, how this whole stream should be navigated .... I urge the brothers, who do not shrink from such studies, that they freely take up this work and I beseech them so that they might rather wish to be goaded to a similar study [or zeal], rather than burned up with the torches of jealousy.

So, Haimin tells Milo that he led the brothers through Milo's *vita* and encouraged them to emulate it.[72] Haimin does not specify if he guided the *fratres* who were with him by reciting it in the classroom or in a less formal setting. The status of the brothers who are with Haimin (*fratres, qui mecum sunt*) is also ambiguous. Haimin describes them as brothers, that is, fellow monks, rather than students. He does say, however, that he instructs them in reading the text (*quomodo sit nauigandum ostendi*), which suggests a hierarchical relationship.

---

that the division into the rhetorical categories suggests a classroom use for the *vita*. See Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 136. Letselinus's metric *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 708) in Paris, BNF, MS lat. 10851, which was clearly a schoolbook, is also marked with such categories.

[71] Haimin, *Rescriptum*, in MGH Poetae 3, pp. 566-67.

[72] Haimin, *Rescriptum*, p. 566.

Vitae metricae, which reconfigured the conventions of Latin epic poetry in Christianized form, were excellent supplements to the classical poetry taught in the medieval classroom. With their numerous digressions on philosophy, history, mythology, and geography, the *vitae metricae* were didactic texts. Unlike Virgil, whose recitation Milo derides, the saint's *vita* offered an edifying Christian exemplar. Further, because monks and canons usually composed verse about their region's patrons and founding saints, the *vitae metricae* provided the students with their house's foundation story, couched in the grandiose and memorable form of classical Virgilian epic. Along with lessons in grammar and metrics, the young monks and canons would imbibe the story of their spiritual family's origins.

While some *vitae metricae* were clearly recited by the teachers whom Milo criticizes, they were also read in other contexts. In the late eighth century, Alcuin discusses his three works on Saint Willibrord: his prose *vita*, his metric *vita*, and an *omelia*.[73]

> ..duos digessi libellos, unum prosaico sermone gradientem, qui publice fratribus in ecclesia, si dignum tuae uideatur sapientiae, legi potuisset; alterum Pierio pede currentem, qui in secreto cubili inter scolasticos tuos tantummodo ruminari debuisset. [74]
>
> I arranged two little books, one going along in prose speech, which could be read publicly to the brothers in the church, if, in your wisdom, it seems worthy, the other running along with a Pierian foot,[75] which should be meditated on by your *scolastici* only in their solitary little room.

[73] Alcuin, *Ep*., ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Ep. 4, pp. 174-5. Dümmler dates this letter to 782-97.
[74] Alcuin, *Ep*., MGH Ep. 4, p. 175.
[75] Pieria was home to an ancient cult of the Muses.

At this early date, the term *scolastici* does not refer specifically to students but to "learned ones."[76] The verb *ruminari* (to meditate, ruminate, chew over) and the phrase *in secreto cubili* (solitary little room, or cell) certainly suggest that this was intended for private devotional reading (*meditatio*) rather than instruction in a classroom.[77] Haimin's *fratres* may have ruminated over the text rather than hearing their *magister* recite it, but given that he guided them through it, their reading does not seem to have been *in secreto cubilo*.

In his *rescriptum*, Haimin expresses the hope that the *Vita Amandi's* readers will be goaded to emulation of Milo's work. So, Milo's *Vita Amandi*, which the poet sends to his teacher, is used to encourage another generation of monks to compose their own works, which could, presumably, be incorporated into the monastic curriculum in turn. Haimin's letter reveals the dynamic and competitive nature of *vitae metricae*, in which works produced from a monastic, educational milieu, could be incorporated back into it.[78]

---

[76] Although Dolbeau takes this passage as evidence for the use of Alcuin's text in a formal educational curriculum, the concept of a classroom as a separate place of learning within a monastery is anachronistic. Diem states "pre-Carolingian sources do not mention monastic schools ... as clearly delimited locations nor as separate institutions forming an integral part of monastic life." See Albrecht Diem, "The Emergence of Monastic Schools: The Role of Alcuin," in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, Groningen 1995, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), p. 30, and Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 137. On the term *scolastici*, see Mayke de Jong, "From Scolastici to Scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Élite," in *Alcuin of York,* eds. Houwen et. al., p. 48.

[77] On the verb *ruminare*, see Jean Leclerq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham, 1961), p. 73.

[78] If Haimin is to be identified with Heiric of Auxerre's teacher Haimo, as Traube and Manitius assert, then his hope that Milo's *Vita Amandi* would spawn a new generation of *vitae metricae* was clearly realized in Heiric's *Vita Germani*. I have been able to find no compelling reason, however, to equate Haimin of Saint-Vaast with the well known teacher Haimo of Auxerre. Nonetheless, Heiric had read Milo's *Vita Amandi* and makes numerous references to it (Traube cites these references in his edition of Milo's *Vita Amandi* rather than Heiric's *Vita Germani*). See Traube, MGH Poetae 3, p. 557; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters. Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft,* vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1911), p. 577.

Haimin's *fratres* were clearly at an advanced stage of their education if Haimin hoped that they would compose similar works. Presumably, they had already learned the basics of verse composition (from texts such as Bede's *De arte metrica*, bound with Milo's *Vita Amandi* in Valenciennes, BM, MS 414), and they were ready to compose their own poems.

As I argue repeatedly in this study, *vitae metricae* were often an object of exchange, a token of the transmission of both erudition and virtue, given to each other by teachers and students. In this instance, Milo says to Haimin that he sends him the *Vita Amandi* as if motivated by a debt of gratitude for Haimin's teaching: "susceptus a uobis uestra inmeritus merui iocundari allocutione ac melliflua perfoueri dulcedine, gratiarum actionem persoluo" [Since, although I was undeserving, I was taken up by you, I deserved to delight in your speech and to cherish the sweetness, I pay thanks].[79] Milo, sending his *vita metrica* to Haimin, says Haimin inflamed him with a passion for learning, and Haimin uses a similarly incendiary metaphor to describe his *fratres'* desire to imitate Milo's poem in turn.[80]

Haimin's *rescriptum* is not the only suggestion we get of ninth- and tenth- century poets encouraging or inspiring their students to emulation. In a variation on this theme, Candid Brun says that around 840, his teacher Hraban Maur instructed him to write prose and verse *vitae* of Saint Eigil on the model of Hraban's own prose and verse work *In laude sanctae crucis*.[81] While the teacher's work is not a *vita metrica*, Candid and Hraban

[79] Milo, *Ep.,* MGH Poetae 3, p. 566.
[80] Haimin, *Rescriptum*, MGH Poetae 3, p. 567.
[81] Candid, in MGH Poetae *2,* ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), pp. 94-95.

express a similar set of ideas about teachers goading students to the emulation of poetry and a student imitating a teacher.[82]

The epitaphs from Saint-Amand of Milo and his own student, Hucbald, imply that hagiographical production was central to the link between teacher and student. Each man's individual epitaph records his composition: Milo is said to ornament Amand in verse and prose; and Hucbald, in an epitaph that echoes a description from the *Vita Amandi,*[83] is noted for his songs and deeds of the saints (*edita sanctorum modulamina gestaque clamant*), which could be a reference to his (lost) verse hagiography or to his musical compositions.[84] The shared epitaph of the two men notes that they were both teachers and that Milo was the teacher of Hucbald:

> Philosophi simul hic pausant celebresque magistri
> Ecclesiae nostrae flores per saecula clari.
> Alter discipulus fuerat, didascalus alter.[85]
>
> Philosophers rest here and at the same time famous teachers,
> The bright flowers of our church through the ages.
> One was the student, the other the teacher.

Of all the things that could be celebrated about Milo, who was a prolific author of various verse and prose works, his epitaph, noted above, spends most time on his verse and prose hagiography (*Edidit et sanctum pulchre depinxit Amandum,/ Floribus exornans, metro*

---

[82] Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 136.
[83] The epitaph describes Hucbald as "simplex sine felle columba" [an unaffected dove without bile]; the line in Milo, using an animal metaphor to describe conversion, reads "dulces sine felle columbas" [sweet doves without bile]. *Tituli Elnonenses* IX, in MGH Poetae 3, p. 679; Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.123, p. 581.
[84] *Tituli Elnonenses* IX, MGH Poetae 3, p. 679. We have no extant *vitae metricae* for Hucbald. Jonsson effectively refutes Demarteau's claim that the anonymous *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4682) should be attributed to Hucbald. See J. Demarteau, "Vie de saint Lambert, écrite en vers par Hucbald de Saint-Amand, et documents du xe siècle" *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégéois* 13 (1878), 396-417; Jonsson, *Historia: Études sur la genèse*, pp. 130-31.
[85] *Tituli Elnonenses* X, MGH Poetae 3, p. 679.

prosaque uenustans). The individual epitaphs emphasize the monks' hagiographical writings. The shared epigraph depicts them as teachers (*celebres magistri*) and, more specifically, shows that the bond that they shared was that of teacher and student (*Alter discipulus fuerat, didascalus alter*). Although Hucbald was also Milo's nephew, that fact was not relevant to the monks of Saint-Amand when they came to commemorate the two men. The monks did not memorialize a familial relationship, but rather the succession of *magistri*, whose fame was founded on verse and prose hagiographic composition.

Candid's *Vita Eigilii* (BHL 2478) and Haimin's hope that the brothers would be provoked to a similar study (*ad simile studium prouocari*) point to another educational context for *vitae metricae*: They might be composed by young monks at the end of their education as a kind of senior project that displayed their education and perhaps even promoted their qualifications as prospective *magistri*. In addition to Candid's verse *Vita Eligii*, we know of several *vitae metricae* written during or soon after a student's education. Milo himself says that he was young (*iuuenis*) when he wrote the *Vita Amandi*.[86] In his dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald, Heiric says that he wrote the *Vita Germani* when he was just out of school, "recens a scolis."[87] The author of the ninth- or tenth-century *Passio Mauritii* (BHL 5751) says he was compelled to write a metric work, although "uix ad primas gradiar scolasticus odas" [as a student I had barely come to the first songs].[88] Walther of Spire's metric passion from the third quarter of the tenth century

[86] Milo, *Ep*., MGH Poetae 3, p. 566.
[87] Heiric, *Ep*. prefacing *Vita Germani*, MGH Poetae 3, p. 431.
[88]*Passio Mauritii,* ed. Karl Strecker, MGH Poetae 5/1, p. 101. Strecker notes two eleventh-century manuscripts; Wiener, MS, 952 (*ol*. Salisburgiensis), fol. 113ff, and Munich, MS, 18628 from Tegernsee, Teg. 628, fol. 109v, which contains the first 44 verses.

shows that cathedral schools also nourished the composition of *vitae metricae*.[89] Walther says he composed his tortuous verse *Passio Christophori* (BHL 1776) at the end of his studies, when he was eighteen. He claims he wrote it to replace the lost *passio* written by Hazecha, a fellow student of the bishop Baldric, at the end of *her* studies. As Dolbeau laments, the loss of Hazecha's student *passio* deprives us of information about the education of women and their composition of *vitae metricae*.[90]

Around 849, the young monk Ermenric of Ellwangen wrote a letter to his teacher Grimald (abbot of Saint-Gall, 841-871), in which he proposes composing a verse *Vita Galli*, in place of the one that his late teacher, Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), had intended to write.[91] Ermenric says that he writes this long letter, with its detailed discussions of grammar, metrics, and philosophy, because of the slowness of students and the lack of teachers.[92] The letter itself, then, is intended as a kind of teaching tool from which readers

---

[89] Walther, *Passio Christophori*, ed. Strecker, in MGH Poetae 5/1, pp. 10-78. Walafrid Strabo, teacher and aspiring verse hagiographer, had spent some time at Spire during the ninth century and had perhaps promoted the study of *vitae metricae* there.

[90] Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," pp. 129-30. We possess some metric passions by the nun Hrotsvita, including her passion of Dionysius and his companions (BHL 2186), and her passion of Gengulfus (BHL 3329). On nuns' education and literary activity, see David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995); Rosamond McKitterick, "Nuns' Scriptoria in England and France in the Eighth Century," *Francia* 19 (1992), 1-35; Alison I. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-century Bavaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[91] The letter is printed in MGH Ep. 3, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 536-80. On Ermenric's education, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning," in *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Michael Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 107. Dümmler dates the letter to 854, when the letter's addressee Grimald was arch-chaplain of Louis the German. It was written after Walafrid Strabo's death in 849 and before Grimald's death in 855. On Ermenric, see Von Wilhelm Forke, "Studien zu Ermenrich von Ellwangen," in *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 28 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969), pp. 1-104.

[92] Ermenricus, *Ep.*, MGH Ep. 3, pp. 556-57. Ermenricus says he writes "ob duas angustias instantes. Una est, quia cerno docentium raritatem, altera quia discentium crescere video tarditatem, intantum ut nec de talibus vel interrogare dignentur, et sic artes inscrutabiles ante discentibus vilescunt" [on account of two critical reasons. One is, because I perceive the rarity of those teaching, the other because I see the slowness

can glean information about verse composition and numerous other subjects: a letter *about* a *vita metrica* is itself written as an educational text. So, *vitae metricae* were written for, used in, and composed in response to monastic and cathedral education.

"Charismatic Culture" and *Vitae Metricae*

Stephen Jaeger's examination of a different set of educational practices – from eleventh-century cathedral schools – helps shed light on the contents and concerns of the *vitae metricae.* In *The Envy of Angels*, Jaeger provides a model of charismatic culture that is useful for understanding the representation of saints and their holy speech in Milo's poem. Jaeger argues that the paucity of good literature from the Cathedral schools of the eleventh century derives from the fact that *men*, not *books*, were both the central teaching texts and the most important product of these schools.[93] The great teachers, in their bearing, manner, and speech, that is, in their physical presence, embodied the virtues that they imparted to the students. Such men's bodies and actions could be read as models. They imparted virtue to their students by their very presence. [94] The biographer Possidius says something similar of his older contemporary Augustine of Hippo, stating that those people who heard him speak and knew of his way of life derived more benefit than those who read his writings.[95]

---

of those learning increasing so greatly that neither are they deemed worthy to ask questions about such things. Thus, for those learning, the unseen arts wither first].

[93] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 4.

[94] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 11.

[95] Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, 31.9 in *The Life of Augustine*, ed. and trans. Michele Pellegnino (Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1988), p. 130. Thank you to Jennifer Ebbeler for providing me with this reference. A later example is provided by Herbert of Boshom in his *Vita* of Thomas Becket: "Sed novum nostrum

The Carolingian authors of *vitae metricae* similarly portrayed teachers as embodiments of virtue. Alcuin and his student Hraban Maur, Carolingian teachers who were also poets, discuss the teacher's role as a model of mores. Alcuin advises: "Non solum uerbis ammoneant iuniores suos, uerum etiam bonis exemplis erudiant illos. Ergo magistri ... sapientia doctoris fulgeat in honestate morum" [Not only in words should you counsel the younger men, but even educate them with good examples. Therefore teachers, let the wisdom of the learned one shine through in the integrity of his manners].[96] Likewise, Alcuin describes Saint Vedast as a "magister uirtutum," who taught through his manners, words, and life.[97] Similarly, Hraban Maur states: "... in oratoribus Christi ... non solum sermo, imo etiam tota uita doctrina uirtutum debet esse" [in the speakers of Christ, not only speech but even the entire life ought to be an education in virtues].[98]

According to Jaeger, the twelfth century experienced a shift from "charismatic" to "intellectual" culture,[99] "from real presence to symbolic, from performance to representation."[100] As a result of this transformation, written works replaced living individuals as the central *documenta* (examples, teachings, or texts) of education.[101]

---

exemplar replicemus, et in ipso relegamus adhuc. Fructuosius quippe virtutum opera leguntur in viris quam in libris, quanto efficacior est vox operum quam sermonum. [Let us turn back the pages of our new exemplar (Thomas Becket) and continue to read in it. For acts of virtue are certainly read more fruitfully in men themselves than in books, just as deeds speak more effectively than words]. Herbert of Bosham, *Vita Thomae* 3.13, RS 67: 3, p. 208. Cited in Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 11, 378.

[96] Alcuin, *Ep*. 280, MGH Ep. 4, p. 437, cited in Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 399 .

[97] Alcuin, *Vita Vedasti*, PL 101, col. 666A, also mentioned in Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 399.

[98] Hraban Maur, *De clericorum instructione*, 3.27, PL col. 107, 406B cited in Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 399.

[99] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 4-7. For Jaeger's explanation of this shift, see pp. 199-216.

[100] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 7.

[101] On the meanings of *documentum*, see Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 11-12.

Books have the advantage of longevity, but they (and other representations) lack the vitality of the charismatic individual. Thus, Jaeger explains the written monuments of the twelfth-century Renaissance as an attempt to recapture, in textual and artistic form, the charisma of the eleventh-century's great and virtuous teachers and bishops.[102]

Jaeger explains that the student emulates the charismatic teacher just as the layperson emulates the saint.[103] Like the teachers in Jaeger's book, some of whom were canonized, saints taught virtue by example. The idea that a saint, like Christ, is an exemplar for imitation goes back to the early years of Christianity.[104] The saint emulates Christ, and the saint's follower imitates the saint in turn, creating a chain of pious emulation. The charismatic saint inspires emulation through his acts, his speech, and his life itself.

In Milo's *Vita Amandi*, the saint expresses his charismatic power through miracles, bodily mortification, and divinely inspired speech. Amand's spoken words are so effective that they themselves are often deeds. He uses his words to convert, calm, and rebuke. The pacifying effect of his words is so powerful that the terrified sailors at sea with him during a storm fall asleep in the boat when he tells them to trust in God.[105] Combined with the appropriate gesture – the sign of the cross – Amand's speech routs a

---

[102] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 9.
[103] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 9.
[104] Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe,* ed. Richard Trexler (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), pp. 183-94.
[105] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.239-41, p. 584.

serpent and exorcises demons.[106] Amand's word is a weapon; he is "uictor ui vincens uerbere uerbi" [the victor vanquishing by the weapon of the word].[107]

The saint, through speech, gesture, and holy presence, also invokes pious speech in others. When Amand baptizes Dagobert's son, Sigebert, the infant miraculously utters the word "Amen."[108] In another instance, Amand's speech and gesture compel a boy who is being drowned by a demon to call upon Christ and thereby save himself.[109] The saint's holy speech invests others with holy speech in turn. Thus, through his speech, he provokes emulation of his pious language.

Just as the twelfth-century authors responded to their charismatic predecessors of the eleventh century, the Carolingian poet Milo, like other verse hagiographers, sought to capture his patron saint's forms of authority and charisma, which were largely spoken, by writing a *vita metrica*. Verse lives were better than prose lives at capturing the saint's authority because, in keeping with their classical epic roots, they attributed a great deal of direct speech to their protagonists whom they cast as epic heroes in the mold of Aeneas. There are, however, several major differences between the twelfth-century writers and the ninth-century poet. First, the subject of Milo's poem, like those of *vitae metricae* generally, is not a figure of the previous century, but a far more distant forbearer. Ninth- and tenth-century *vitae metricae* usually feature Merovingian figures from the seventh century, and so the poets' knowledge of them came from what was already a long literary tradition. Milo was not attempting to capture and rival a recent past of charismatic

[106] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.176-98, p. 573.
[107] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.160, p. 582.
[108] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.310-40, pp. 595-96.
[109] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.141-67, p. 582.

individuals. Rather, he was drawing on and imaginatively reviving a far more ancient past, specifically the past of his monastery's foundation. Because Milo was writing about his founding saint, the impetus of the *vita metrica* was not overtly competitive, but reverential.

A second main difference between the authors who are the subjects of Jaeger's book and the poets of *vitae metricae* occurs in the complicated exchange of oral and written forms. Jaeger undermines any simple division between oral and literature culture, showing that the teachers and students of the eleventh-century Cathedral schools were highly literate, even while the efflorescence of their culture was primarily expressed through oral and experiential modes.[110] The saints' speech, as iterated in the *vitae metricae*, also defies a simple categorization as oral or literate. *Vitae metricae* represent their saints communicating and exercising power mainly through speech.[111] The saints use their divinely given eloquence to convert, advise, and persuade. The poets render the saints' powerful speeches in dactylic hexameter, the usual meter of classical epic and of *vitae metricae*. The contrived word order often necessitated by metrical verse makes the speeches (like the rest of the poems) difficult to comprehend aurally, implying that the saints' potent speech, transformed into poetry, is now a literary artifact comprehended through reading. The *vitae metricae* and the saints' speeches they contain, however, *were* read aloud. As discussed above, they could be recited in a classroom. Additionally, some *vitae metricae* were excerpted and used in the liturgy, which explains the presence of

[110] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 4.
[111] An exception is the *Passio Dionysii* discussed in the previous chapter.

vitae metricae in numerous legendaries.[112] It is probable that teachers would have recited the *vitae metricae*, including the saints' speeches, to their students. The saint's potent speech, recreated in literary poetic form, is once again recited for edification.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the teachers who recited the *vitae metricae* in the classroom were, sometimes, the very poets who had composed them. This points to the third main difference between the situation Jaeger discusses and the charismatic saints of the *vitae metricae*. The poet-teachers, like Heiric, wrote and then spoke the saint's words, conflating their own spoken language with that of the saint. This was only one of the ways that the poets collapsed their own identity into that of their patron saints. While Jaeger's twelfth-century writers sometimes looked back with disdain at the previous age, the Carolingian poets revered their saintly subjects and sought to appropriate, rather than challenge, their charismatic presence.

Thus, in some ways, the recreation or re-imagination of oral charisma in the *vitae metricae* is more complicated than the model Jaeger proposes for understanding the relationship of the twelfth-century authors to their predecessors. When the poets of *vitae metricae* write about great men (and less often women) from the distant past, they perform their texts orally in emulation of their holy subjects, and they attempt to conflate their own identity with those of the saints, and thus to appropriate their charismatic spoken authority. In the discussion of the *Vita Amandi* that follows, I will examine the

[112] Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse*, especially pp. 166-83; Björkvall and Haug, "Performing Latin Verse," pp. 278-99.

various ways that the poet Milo collapses the identities of poet, teacher, and saint and assumes the saint's authority while subtly setting himself up as an exemplar for imitation.

Spargens Semina Verbi: The Poet as Saint

The poet Milo conflates his persona with the saint in several ways. One method he uses is to apply the same metaphors both to the saint's holy work of preaching and to his own holy work of poetic commemoration. In Chapter Four, I examine one such metaphor, that of the bee collecting flowers, that Milo uses to represent the work of saint and poet.

An image that Milo uses even more frequently to characterize saints and poets is that of the *sator*, or sower, who scatters the seeds of the divine word (*semina diuini uerbi*). The image of the *sator* is scriptural in origin, referring to the parable of the sower, and it occurs in many Christian authors of verse and prose.[113] Milo applies the metaphor of the *sator* to God, the apostles, and Saint Amand.[114] He uses the unusual term "seminiuerbius," literally a sower of words, to describe Paul,[115] and in one of his distinctively alliterative lines, he describes Luke as "semina sancta serens sanctus

---

[113] Mark 4; Matthew 12:1-23; Luke 8:4-15. Some examples of the image of the *sator* used to characterize God as well as the apostles in later authors include Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* hymn 4, verse 7; hymn 10, verse 69; hymns 12, verse 45 and 85; Sedulius, *Paschale Opus*, book 4, chapter 20, p. 270, line 1; Prudentius, *Liber Apotheosis*, verse 74 (where he uses the term "*sator uerbi*"); and Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, book 2, verses 375 and 443, pp. 98 and 102. The image also appears in various commentaries by Bede : *In Cantica Canticorum* book 4, chapter 6, line 42; *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, book 1, chapter 3, line 2487, and book 3, chapter 8, line 312. Examples among *vitae metricae* are Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis,* 6; *Vita sancti Galli confessoris* (BHL 3253), MGH Poetae 2, p. 428 (line 8); *Carmen de sancto Landberto* (BHL 4682), MGH Poetae 4/1, p. 144 (line 41); Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 2.224-25, 4.403, pp. 458, 485. I have used the CETEDOC database for this search.

[114] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 4.492, p. 609. In his prayer at the end of the work, Milo addresses God himself as the sower, "alme deus, hominum sator atque redemptor" [nurturing God, sower and redeemer of men].

[115] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.185, p. 592.

sermone superno" [the saint sowing the sacred seeds with celestial speech].[116] As Tilliette notes, *vitae metricae* place their saints in the timeframe of salvation history, beginning with the birth of Christ and looking forward to the judgment day, when the saint's salvific work will show its full worth.[117] Accordingly, Milo's *Vita Amandi* begins with Christ's birth, death, and the work of his disciples, and then moves straight to the seventh century, placing Amand squarely in the tradition of the apostles. Immediately after describing how the apostles preached throughout the world, Milo notes that Amand was among their ranks: "de quorum numero confessor fulsit Amandus" [from whose number shone the confessor Amand].[118] Amand, like Paul and Luke, is a sower, a *sanctus sator*,[119] who travels far and wide disseminating the word of God. Milo describes how Amand "gentibus et sparsis sparsit pia uerba salutis" [scattered the pious words of salvation among the scattered peoples].[120] He emphasizes how widely Amand preaches: "Talia dona omnem spargebat sanctus in orbem" [The saint was scattering such great gifts over the whole world].[121] The result of this sowing is seen in the people to whom he preaches, who – likened to a field - bring forth virtues in response: "In populo, fecunda seges de cespite surgens/ Reddit centuplicem uirtutem gramine frugem" [Among the people, the prolific crop growing from the ground returned the hundred-fold crop, virtue from the shoots].[122]

---

[116] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.75, p. 570.
[117] Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," p. 395.
[118] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.83, p. 571.
[119] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.180, p. 592.
[120] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.46; also 2.38-39, p. 580.
[121] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.95, p. 582.
[122] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.147-48, p. 591.

In the tradition of the Roman poets, who equated themselves with their epics' heroes, Milo uses the image of the *sator* to conflate himself, subtly, with his holy subject.[123] Milo applies the image to himself as a poet by using it to describe his own form of spreading the divine word: writing verse. Milo likens his words to black seeds and the pages to white fields, describing his process of writing as "nigra per albentes diffundens semina compos" [spreading the black seeds through the white fields].[124] Elsewhere, Milo characterizes his own work using the gerundive of *spargere* (to scatter), the verb commonly used to describe the *sator's* activities: "scribere gesta uiri mundum spargenda per omnem" [to write the man's deeds so they are scattered through the whole world].[125] Milo uses the *sator* image to conflate his role as an author, disseminating the divine message or, more specifically, Amand's deeds and words, with that of the Amand and the apostles, whose medium was the spoken word.

In his response to the *Vita Amandi* (the *rescriptum*), Haimin implicitly acknowledges Milo's identification with Amand by noting his student's "noua uirtus" (new virtue), employing the same words Milo uses to address the young Amand.[126] Haimin signs off his letter saying "macte noua uirtute" [well done, with new virtue], while Milo addresses the young Amand with the words "Cresce, puer, virtute nova" [grow, boy, with new virtue]. When Milo refers to Amand this way, the young saint is at his studies, learning virtue: "In puerilis adhuc aetatis flore beatus/ Succrescens, studiis

---

[123] For a discussion on an analogous identification between hero and poet in classical Latin epic, see P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 100.
[124] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.448-50, p. 578.
[125] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.28, p. 579
[126] Haimin, *Rescriptum*, p. 567; Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.212, p. 573. The MGH editor notes the resonance.

uirtutum intentus honestis/ Corpore erat iuuenis, senior sed canus in actus [Blessed, still in the flower of youthful age/ Growing up, eager for worthy studies of virtues/ He was a youth in body, but a white-haired old man in acts].[127] By alluding to this passage, Haimin conflates Milo and Amand in a different way. Although Milo usually likens himself to Amand, who is a holy preacher and teacher, his own teacher Haimin alludes to Milo as a holy student.[128] Haimin simultaneously acknowledges the identification of Milo with Amand and reminds the poet of his subordinate status as a *discipulum* in relation to Haimin. Thus, both teacher and student recognize the conflation of poet and saint.

Saint as Teacher

Milo further emphasizes the association of the saint with his own persona by underlining Amand's role as a teacher. As noted, the authors of *vitae metricae*, including Milo, were often teachers or aspiring teachers. By emphasizing the saint's role as *magister*, they could exalt their own position and imbue it with his holiness and authority.[129] Milo depicts Amand as a teacher in both formal monastic settings and at large. Amand is described as the *magister* and his *monasterium* as a *scola* that produces learned and virtuous men for the Church.

> Sacra monasterii construxit claustra nouelli.
> Felix illa fuit sub tanto scola magistro,
> De qua multiplices procedunt iure sophistae,
> Pontificum numerosa cohors doctique patroni
> Ecclesiae, uerbis puri gestisque nitentes.[130]

[127] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.213-15, p. 573.
[128] Milo once casts himself as Amand's student, in the poem. See Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.102-19, p. 571.
[129] For example, Alcuin, Walafrid Strabo, Milo, and Heiric of Auxerre were all poets and teachers.
[130] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3. 135-39, p. 591.

He built the holy cloisters of a new monastery.
Happy was this school under so great a teacher,
From this place rightfully come deeply learned rhetoricians,
An abundant band of priests and learned patrons
Of the Church, pure of word and resplendent in deeds.

Amand is also the *magister* of King Dagobert's son, Sigebert, whom he teaches *lex divina*.[131]

The trope of the holy teacher of *lex divini* applies not just to Amand, but to the ultimate exemplar, Christ. Milo describes Christ as a *magister* whose *discipuli* – the apostles — become *magistri* in their own right, producing another generation of holy men and women through their preaching.[132] Christ is also the teacher who provides an example for Amand, who follows the "exempla magistri" by preaching on a boat.[133]

Like Christ, Amand as *magister* creates *discipuli* in his own mold. Milo writes that Amand was the *magister* and *praeceptor* of Bavo, abbot of Ghent.[134] Milo, following Baudemund, also tells us that Amand redeemed captured slave boys, educated them, and scattered (*spargere*) them far and wide as abbots, bishops, and holy men.[135] Thus, as Amand scattered the *semina diuini uerbi*, he also scattered *discipuli*.

Ex quibus eximias plures tenuere cathedras;
Pontifices sanctosque uiros actu ore venustos
Abbatesque almos audiuimus auribus auctos:
Talia dona omnem spargebat sanctus in orbem.[136]

From these men [the redeemed boys] he supported

[131] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3. 270, p. 594.
[132] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.376, p. 576.
[133] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.208, p. 583.
[134] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.374-75, p. 587.
[135] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2. 92-95, p. 581.
[136] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.95, p. 581.

many excellent bishoprics.
We heard with our ears of priests and holy men,
decorous in act and word,
And the increase of nurturing abbots:
The saint was scattering such gifts across all the world.

Milo addresses the places where Amand worked, telling them that they are blessed because the saint provided them with friends and patrons.[137] Thus, Milo creates for Amand a sacred geography peopled by his converts among the laity, dotted with his monastic foundations, and overseen by his holy *discipuli*.

Amand's ability to transform others is not limited to his lifetime. Milo implicitly includes himself among the saint's *discipuli*. At the outset of the poem, Milo invokes Amand's assistance in composing the poem, stating that if Amand can cause an infant to speak (the reference is to Sigebert, as the poem later reveals), then he can give language to Milo.

Quid faciam? loquar aut taceam pia gesta patroni,
Haec quia non possum conpinge carmine digno?
Sed trepidum spes illa iuuat, fiducia firmat,
Quod sanctus mihimet poterit praebere loquendi
Vires, qui ualuit mutis conferre loquelam
Sacratis precibus, cum spes hanc firma rogaret,
Cuius et in manibus speciosis regius infans,
Sermonem didicit quem numquam corporis usu,
Respondit modicumque fuit proferre Latina
Verba, sed Hebraicae deprompsit famine linguae
'Amen' dulce uiri complens pia uota precantis
Ergo, ut rite queam laudes ac gesta notare
Pontificis magni, diuini postulo supplex
Flaminis auxilium... [138]

[137] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.385-90, p. 587.
[138] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.102-15, p. 571.

> What should I do? Should I speak or keep quiet about these pious deeds of our patron, because I am unable to compose a worthy song?
> But this hope helps the fearful man, faith supports him
> That the saint will be able to supply me with the power of speech,
> He who was able to confer speech on the mute
> With sacred prayers, when strong faith was entreating him,
> And in whose splendid hands the royal infant learned the word,
> Which he had never used before.
> He replied and it was a small thing to bring forth
> Latin words, but he issued forth an utterance in the Hebrew tongue,
> 'Amen' completing the pious prayers of the praying man.
> Therefore, in order that I can righteously record the praises and deeds
> of the great priest, I pray as a suppliant for the assistance of the divine priest...

In this passage, the saint is implicitly a godfather to Milo, as he was to Sigebert, and also the one who bestows poetic speech upon him. Here, Milo characterizes himself as a infant and Amand as a teacher of holy verse.

Within the *vita metrica*, Amand not only creates holy men by teaching directly but also by providing them with an example. As an exemplar for imitation, through the medium of Milo's verse, the figure of Amand can also stamp his mold on a great number of *discipuli* through suceeding generations. Milo explicitly states that Amand should be imitated:[139] "tanta tui sumes tunc munera regis,/ Actus magnifici si nunc imiteris Amandi" [then you will receive such great gifts of your king/ if now you imitate the deeds of the excellent Amand].[140] Amand himself then shows how one might revere and emulate a saint. The young Amand goes as a pilgrim to Saint Martin's tomb in Tours, where he prostrates himself, weeps, and prays to the saint for direction: "Dirigat usque

[139] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.35-36, p. 569
[140] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.63-64, p. 580.

meos gressus in calle salubri" [let him guide my steps on the wholesome path].[141] There he is miraculously garbed in a clerical habit (*habitum cleri*), in effect receiving his investiture from Martin.[142] So, Amand himself is not only an example for imitation but he is also a model for how one might emulate a saint. Milo's Amand shows the reader how to model his or her life on a saint and provides a template.[143]

Because Martin brings Amand into the priesthood, the latter is the successor not of just any earthly bishop but of the great bishop of Tours. As discussed above, Milo also sets Amand up as the heir to the apostles and Christ himself. Moreover, Milo characterizes Saint Peter as Amand's special patron who relates to Amand as Amand relates to the laymen in his care.[144] These intertwined lineages of Christ and the apostles, Martin and Amand, Amand and the rescued *pueri*, do not end with Amand's Merovingian-era protégés. Milo – by appropriating the saint's role and language – casts himself as the heir to Amand's holy work. The other heirs to Amand, brought into being by Milo's text, are the *Vita Amandi's* audience, such as Haimin's *fratres* and perhaps Milo's students as well. Amand and Milo are part of an ongoing chain of teachers and students. Thus, as Milo claims, his compositions, unlike pagan verse, are part of a living tradition: "Functi functa canant: uiuens uitalia pange/ en meliora meo narrantur carmine

[141] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.293, p. 575.
[142] *Milo, Vita Amandi*, 1.300, p. 575.
[143] Heiric provides a similar model in his *Vita Germani*, when he narrates Germanus's voyage to the martyr Albanus's tomb. Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 4.5, p. 476.
[144] *Milo, Vita Amandi,* 2. 239-41; 2. 251-57, p. 573. Amand calms the sailors during a storm, and Peter in turn appears and calms Amand.

gesta" [The dead sing of dead things; living one, compose living things/ behold better deeds are told by my song].[145]

Poet as Exemplar

The saint, Amand, is only one model for the readers of the *Vita Amandi*. The other is the poet himself. We find a complex web of relationships in which the saint is the model for other saints, the reader, and the poet, and the poet is a model for other poets and aspiring poets. When we turn from the author of the text to one of its users, Haimin, we see Milo presented as an *exemplar*. As Haimin says in his *rescriptum*, he gave the poem to his *fratres* in the hope that they would imitate the work. Like the chain of saints patterning themselves after one another, and ultimately after Christ, there is — the *Vita Amandi* implies — a parallel (and overlapping) series of *magistri* and *discipuli* who are poets. Although Milo disingenuously disavows the pagan Virgil and claims, in verse, to follow the spoken, prosaic tradition of Peter,[146] he acknowledges his predecessors who wrote verse hagiography. In fact, he weaves his *textum* into the saintly histories of his predecessors and uses them to justify the limits of his own work. He says, for example, that he need not sing at length about Saints Dado, Eligius, or Bavo, since his poetic forefathers have done so already. He asks Bavo: "Quod loquor, agnoscis, quoniam tua gesta canuntur" [what do I say, since, you know, your deeds are sung].[147] Addressing

[145] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.27-28, p. 589.
[146] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.20-21, p. 579.
[147] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.365, p. 587.

Dado and Eligius, Milo notes that they have already "nourished" or "raised" (*nutrire)* their own poets:

> Pontifices sancti, meritorum luce corusci,
> Non mihi tam tenuis de uobis sermo mearet,
> Ni vos conspicuos scirem nutrisse poetas,
> Qui possunt trimoda uobis pipare Camena,
> Nobile et auratis carmen cantare cicutis.[148]
>
> Holy priests, glittering with the light of merits,
> I would not pass you by with such slight speech,
> If I did not know that you had nourished illustrious poets,
> Who are able to chirp the trimodal poem,
> And to sing the noble song with gilded pipes.

So, Milo excuses himself from writing about these other saints because they have nurtured their own *conspicui poetae*. Saints, then, do not only create saints as disciples, they also create poets.

Heiric, in his *Vita Germani* expresses a similar sentiment in similar terms when he wishes that Germanus's associate Saint Amator might nurture his own poets. In an apostrophe to Saint Amator, Heiric says "et te grandiloquos uellem nutrisse poetas,/ Qui tibi multicana possent garrire camena" [and I would wish you to nurture grandly speaking

[148] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.292-96, p. 595. Milo implies that *vitae metricae* of Eligius and Dado were written before his *Vita Amandi*. Since the manuscripts of the extant *vitae metricae* of Eligius and Dado postdate Milo's *Vita Amandi*, we cannot know whether they are the lives to which our poet alludes. The earliest manuscripts of the metric *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2478), which Sigebert of Gembloux attributes to the bishop's friend Dado (Audoenus), Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5327 and Tours, BM, MS 1028, are from the tenth century. (The *vita metrica* also appears in a thirteenth-century manuscript, Brussels, KBR, MS 18421-18429 [3241]). The verse life of Dado, attributed to Theodoric (BHL 754), is preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript, Rouen, BM, MS Y 41, that contains several *vitae metricae*. The *Vita Eligii* is printed in MGH Poetae 4, ed. K. Strecker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), pp. 787-806. On the Rouen manuscript of the metric *Vita Audoeni*, see Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements, vol. 1. (Rouen. E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1886), p. 407.

poets/ who are able to babble the harmonious songs].[149] Heiric juxtaposes the wish that Amator would inspire poets with a description of Amator as Germanus's spiritual father: "pater, ille tuus per Christum denique natus,/ Crede michi: magnae reputatur portio laudis,/ Cum patris in faciem nati laudatur imago" [father, this son of yours, was finally born through Christ/ believe me, the gateway is held in great honor,/ Since the image of the father is praised in the face of the son].[150] Just as a poet's work reflects glory upon a saint, so does the praise of the saint's disciple. In this passage, Heiric, like Milo, collapses the two kinds of lineage, one in which a saint produces more saints, the other in which he nurtures poets. Therefore, in Heiric's text, Amator is a kind of godfather to both the titular saint and the poets. The poet's praise redounds not only to the glory of his work's protagonist, Germanus, but also to Germanus's teacher, Amator.

Just as Milo explains his neglect of Dado and Eligius, other poets of *vitae metricae* justify their work with reference to their predecessors and thus link themselves to the tradition of poets writing about saints. In a variation of Milo's references to his (unnamed) forbears, Heiric, Ermenric, and Walther all name previous poets whose lost or unfinished work they seek to replace. Heiric and Walther both claim that they are writing replacements for lost poems. Heiric goes so far as to quote the correspondence of the author of the lost verse *Vita Germani* and his patron.[151] Ermenric claims he is writing a

---

[149] Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 1. 191-92, p. 444. Heiric's grandly speaking, or boastful (*grandiloqui*) poets chattering (*garrire*) are reminiscent of Milo's complaint, discussed above, about the teachers "belching (*ructare*) the grand words (*grandia uerba*) of Virgil." So, in this passage in which Heiric notes Germanus's holy lineage through his "pater" Amator and wishes that Amator would inspire poets, Heiric seems to allude to his own poetic source, Milo.
[150] Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 1.199-201, p. 444.
[151] Heiric, *Commendatio* to *Vita Germani*, pp. 429-30.

vita metrica that his teacher Walafrid Strabo would have written if he had lived longer.[152] Walther says that he writes his poem to replace the lost work of a fellow student.[153] Thus, these three young poets seek not only to capture the saint's charismatic authority in their *vitae metricae* but also claim to reconstitute the voices of the poets who came before them.

The succession of poets is complicated by the fact that the poets were often teachers, who, as we saw in the examples of Augustine, Alcuin, and Hraban Maur, also taught by word, example, and way of life. As both teachers and poets, the authors of *vitae metricae* impressed their mark on their students while themselves emulating the saint and encouraging their students and readers to emulation of both the saint and themselves.

The Teachers of Princes: Patronage and Education in the Royal Abbeys

In the preceding sections, we have seen how the poets of *vitae metricae* participated in and created multiple holy and literary lineages, expressed in the terms of *magistri* and *discipuli*. In these lineages, where Christ is the ultimate exemplar, writers, subjects, and readers are all both exemplars and emulators of their predecessors. Saints are models for future saints and for the poets who borrow their oral charisma; school teachers are models for students, who in turn become teachers; and poets are models for future poets. These overlapping lines of apostolic and poetic succession - the succession of those who spread the *diuina semina uerbi* – are further confused by Milo's

[152] Ermenric, *Ep*., MGH Ep. 3, p. 566.
[153] Walther, *Passio Christophori*, MGH Poetae 5/1, p. 64.

appropriation of the saint's role. The conflation of Amand and Milo complicates and enriches the lineages of the *diuina semina uerbi* in another way, too: as Amand was the teacher of Sigebert, Milo – his spiritual descendent and double — was the teacher at the monastic school to which Charles the Bald sent two of his sons. Thus *vitae metricae* create a lineage that not only ties teachers to students and poets to saints but also connects monasteries to their imperial patrons.

Charles's patronage of the provincial abbeys was, in part, based on their role in educating princes.[154] Charles sent some of his sons to be lay abbots and students at the provincial abbeys of Saint-Amand, Saint-Germain, and Saint-Médard. After his conflicts with his own brothers, he was well aware of the problem of having too many male heirs. Janet Nelson suggests that, as a result of his own fraternal conflicts, he attempted to dispose of his supernumerary sons by placing them in religious institutions.[155] In fact, there was a precedent for sending princes to monasteries to be educated - as mentioned above, Charles Martel had sent his son Jerome to Saint-Amand in the eighth century.[156] Charles the Bald sent two of his sons Pippin and Drogo to be students at Saint-Amand, where Milo composed their epitaph.[157] Charles also sent his son Lothar to be lay abbot at Saint-Germain. Another son, Carloman, was tonsured, probably at Saint-Médard in

---

[154] Heiric's claim that Charles had spread learning across his realm is an idealized description of Charles's patronage of provincial centers of learning. Heiric, *Commendatio* to *Vita Germani*, pp. 430.
[155] Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 226.
[156] Henri Platelle, "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle" in *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie: Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes, 21 mars 1989*, ed. Marie-Pierre Dion (Lille: ACCES, 1990), p. 24. Platelle cites as evidence the prose *Vita Arnulfi* signed by Hieronymus in Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 5327.
[157] MGH Poetae 3, pp. 667-68. Milo composed an epitaph for Charles the Bald's sons Pippin and Drogo, which suggests that they both died at Saint-Amand where presumably they had been students.

Soissons, where he became abbot before rebelling against his father.[158] These princes were often not only students at the monasteries but were also installed as the houses' abbots, making them both subject to and masters of the monks who taught them.

The royal abbeys' patronage, then, was bound up with the intellectual, cultural, and moral formation of the king's sons. Since *vitae metricae* functioned as classroom texts, these works were integral to that formation. Because the *vitae* were usually composed about the abbey's founding saint, the prince, like the oblates, would imbibe the house's foundation story at a young age in epic verse form. Like Virgil's dedicatee, Augustus, the potential heirs to the empire provided a royal audience for a grandiose epic. Thus, the princes' training in Latin grammar, metrics, and classical culture would be inextricably tied to the example of the house's eponymous saint as enshrined in prestigious verse form.

The *Vita Amandi* contained another message for Charles's sons. In the *Vita Amandi*, the saint becomes a "second father" and a teacher to the king's son. As Milo sets himself up as a holy teacher, like Amand, so Pippin and Drogo are, implicitly, associated in the text with King Dagobert's son Sigebert. Thus Pippin and Drogo, students at Saint-Amand, and probably students of Milo himself, were drawn into the pious and poetic lineage of *magistri* and *discipuli* that began with Christ. By identifying himself with the

[158] Carloman was given more abbacies, including Saint-Amand, Saint-Arnulf, Lobbes, Saint-Riquier, and, after Lothar's death, Saint-Germain but he remained unhappy with his clerical position. In 869, he rebelled and raised an army against his father in Lotharingia. In January 873, his father had him removed from the priesthood and condemned to death. This sentence was commuted to blinding. See Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin,* pp. 111-14; *Annales de Saint-Bertin,* ed. Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964), p. 79; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 226 –27, 231.

saintly teacher of a prince, Milo implies that Charles's sons are also part of this succession as well.

The Teachers of Kings

As Charles the Bald's own accession attests, younger sons could become king. The monks' protégés could, in fact, become rulers. A more direct way, however, that the teacher-poet could instill his ideas about his saint, his abbey, and the correct relations between holy and secular power, was by sending the *vitae metricae* directly to the princes' father, Charles the Bald. Scholars of medieval hagiography have shown that religious institutions produced hagiographic texts that, in their presentation of the relations between saints and powerful laymen, provided a model for contemporary relations between the religious house and sources of secular authority.[159] The interaction between the holy man and the king, count, or local lord showed the secular readers how they should treat the saint's house and warned of the consequences of inappropriate behavior. By sending *vitae metricae* to the emperor, the monks of these abbeys aimed their message particularly high.

After Milo's death in 872, his student, heir as *magister* at Saint-Amand, and fellow poet, Hucbald, sent the *Vita Amandi* to Charles the Bald. Only three years later, Heiric of Auxerre sent his metric *Vita Germani* to the king. The *Vita Germani*, which

[159] For a discussion of this scholarship, see Chapter One of this study, pp. 8-10.

also features a conflation of poet and saint, provides an interesting compararanda because Heiric explicitly places its composition in the context of a prince's education.[160]

In the dedicatory letter that prefaces the *Vita Germani*, Heiric, monk and teacher of Saint-Germain, tells of prince Lothar's anguish when he discovered that his abbey had lost its metric life of Germanus: "multa animositate correptus, quod tantum opus frustra hominum notitiae deperisset, per dies aliquot internis animi angoribus carpebatur" [overcome by much anger, because so great a work of human knowledge had perished in vain, he was seized by internal anguishes of the soul].[161] Lothar demands that Heiric compose him a replacement for the lost *vita metrica*, and Heiric obeys his student and young abbot, who dies long before the work is complete. In the dedicatory letter, in terms reminiscent of Milo's picture of the young Amand, Heiric depicts Charles's son as the *puer senex*, the saint who is old even in childhood: "annis puer, mente philosophus" [a boy in years, a philosopher in mind].[162]

Charles the Bald, whom Heiric flatters as a philosopher-king promoting culture and learning throughout the empire, was a particularly appropriate recipient of *vitae metricae*, since he had been educated by Walafrid Strabo, himself the author of *vitae metricae*.[163] Thus, Charles joins the chain of students and teachers of *vitae metricae*. It makes sense that Hucbald, also part of that lineage, would send Charles the *Vita Amandi*

---

[160] An example of Heiric conflating his own task with that of the saint includes 6.151-54 when Heiric likens himself, writing the final book of his long epic, to the weary Germanus carrying a burden.
[161] Heiric, *Commendatio* to *Vita Germani*, in MGH Poetae 3, p. 431.
[162] Heiric, *Commendatio*, p. 430. This presentation of the pious, monastic prince whose greatest interest is hagiographic literature is perhaps informed by the failure of monastic education at instilling humility in Charles's son Carloman, who had recently revolted. Heiric may have known Carloman when they were both students at Soissons.
[163] McKitterick, "Charles the Bald," p. 30.

to remind the king of his place in that tradition. Yet, the *Vita Amandi*, like the *Vita Germani*, contained another, more pointed, message for the king.

While the dedications to Charles flattered the king's intellect and patronage of learning (and implicitly attested to the quality of education his sons received at their respective abbeys), the *vitae* themselves offered another story in which the saint's God-given authority, manifested in his charismatic speech, was more powerful than the words, actions, or even military might of kings. The correct relation of king to saint, and thus implicitly of king to saint's house, like that of student to teacher, is subordination. In the *Vita Amandi*, like the *Vita Germani*, the saint, with whom the poet identifies himself, does not just use his potent speech to convert and advise but also to persuade, rebuke, and correct those who oppose him, such as the polygamous King Dagobert.

Thus, while the dedications to the *Vita Germani* and the *Vita Amandi* flatter the king, the *vitae metricae* themselves contain a more subversive message. Within these texts the saint, who stands for the poet, defeats sources of secular authority, including kings, by using the righteous language that God bestows upon him. The dedication supplicates the king, but the poem also reminds him, and his sons who were raised at the monastery, of the superior, divinely given power of the patron saint, which the poet also claims. Like the famous bishop saints, such as Amand and Germanus, the poets Milo and Heiric imply that, through their authoritative speech, they themselves are the purveyors of God's word, the *satores divini uerbi*, and the teachers not only of princes but also of kings. The dual functions of these particular *vitae metricae*, intended simultaneously for king and classroom, underline Milo's appropriation of saintly authority and charismatic

speech and, particularly, the creation of a chain of *magistri* and *discipuli* on the model of Christ and the apostles, Amand and his religious disciples, and Amand and Sigebert.

*

In my discussion of the poet Milo, I have examined the poet's persona, the image of the *sator* that he deliberately created within the text. I have looked at how Milo attributed spoken charisma to the saint and, by conflating himself with the saint, appropriated the saint's spoken authority in written form. Other than the comments in his correspondents' letters and a scattering of information from other sources, this persona is the only version of the poet that is accessible to us. Milo and the other poets who wrote verse hagiography were also students, teachers, and monks or canons who read and wrote the *vitae metricae*, sent them to patrons, and exchanged them with other writers. In other words, behind the *Vita Amandi's* Milo, who likens himself to a saint and creates a prestigious and authoritative succession for himself, is Milo, student and teacher of Saint-Amand. The tropes of poet as saint, the invention of the apostolic and poetic succession, and the subsuming of the Carolingian princes and the king within that scheme are not mere literary devices. Rather, they are means by which Milo, monk, teacher, and poet, told his monastery's history, repaid his teacher, impressed and admonished his patron, increased his own authority, expressed his rivalry with earlier poets, perpetuated his literary tradition, and addressed his patron saint. Milo deployed the idea of poetic and apostolic succession in order to place himself in a holy lineage and to promote not just the saint as a holy exemplar but also the writing of poetry as a sacred endeavor.

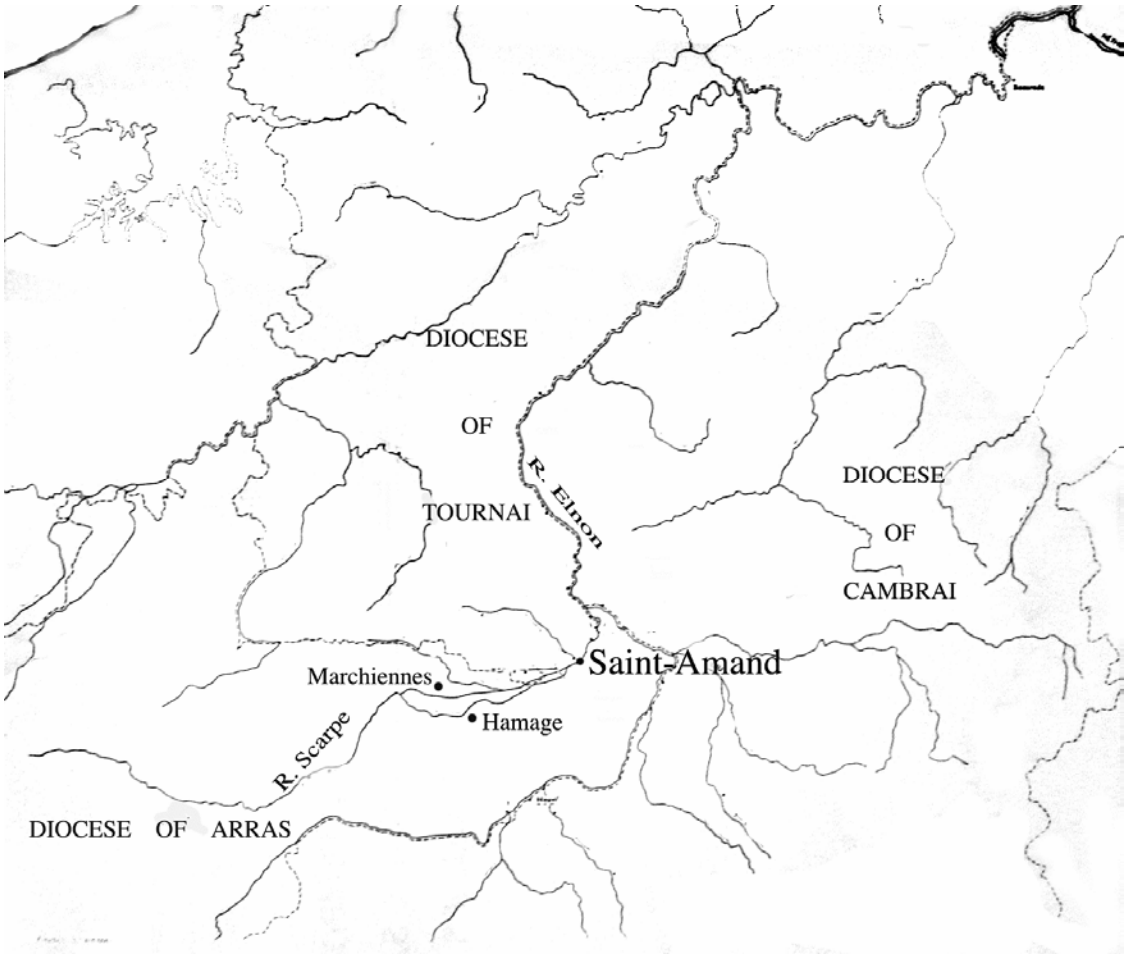


Figure 3.1: Monasteries on the river Scarpe, c. 1000. Based on the map "Possessions a l'epoque carolingienne" from Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye*.

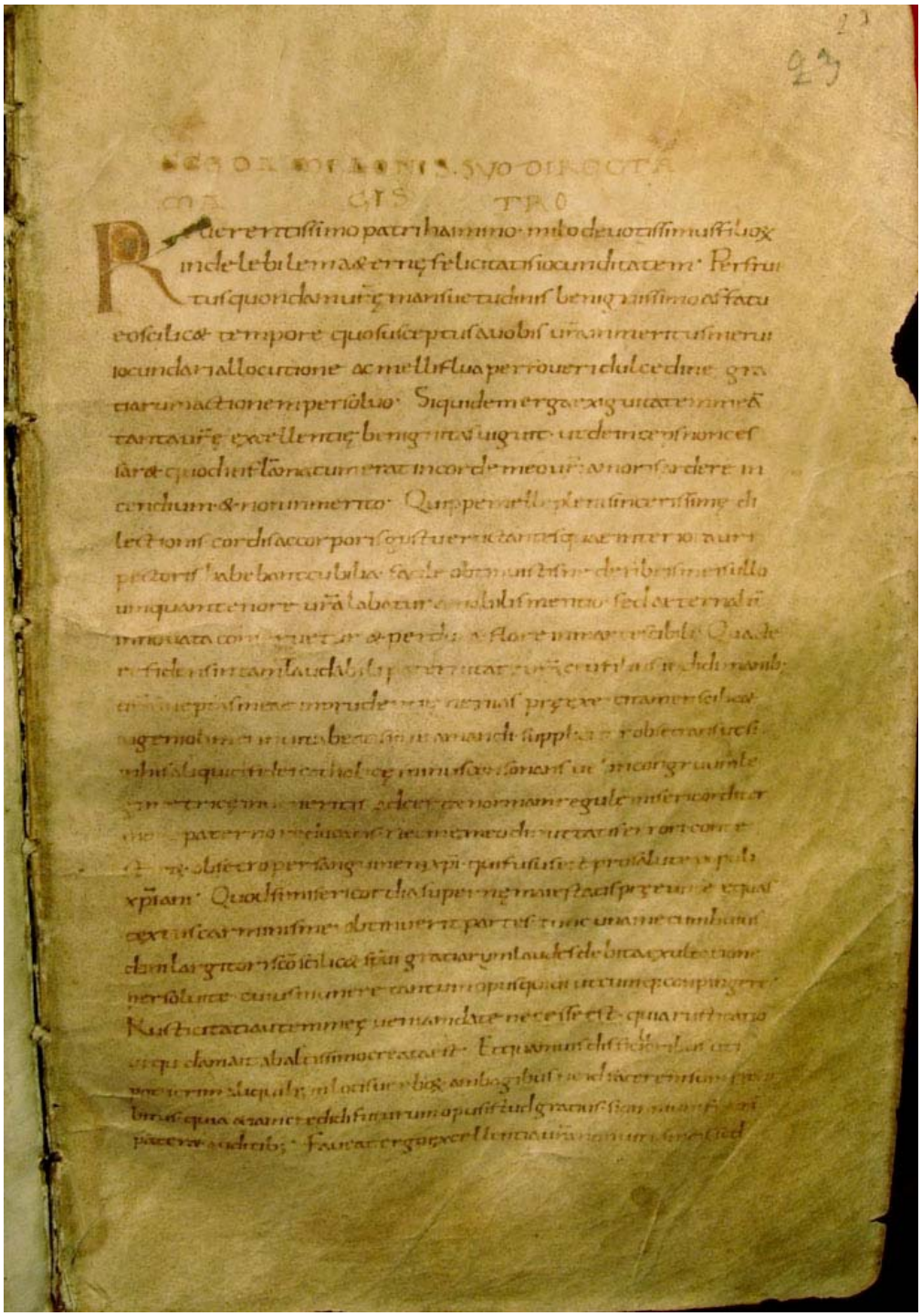


Figure 3.2 Valenciennes, BM, MS 414, folio 23r. Milo's letter to Haimin.

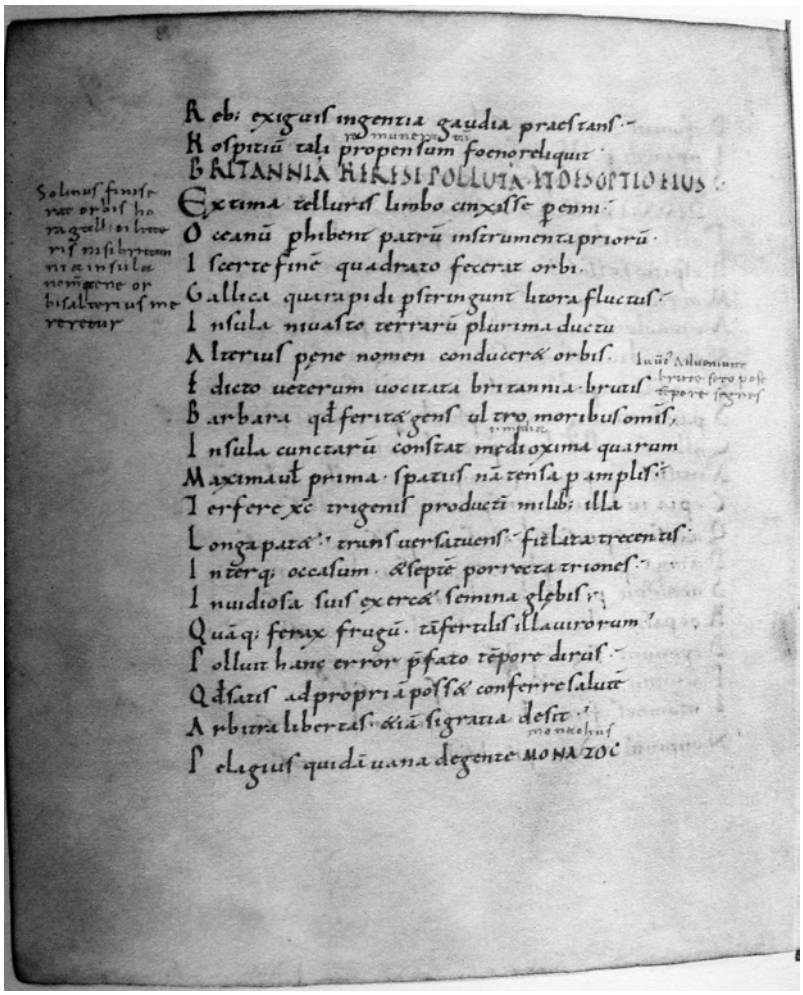


Figure 3.3: Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13757. Heiric's *Vita Germani* with marginal and interlinear annotations. Photograph from *Auxerre, Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artists dans l'Europe carolingienne ixe - xie siècles* (Auxerre: Conseil Regional de Bourgogne, 1990), p. 71.

Chapter Four:

Just like a Mother Bee:

Reading and Writing *Vitae Metricae* Around the Year 1000[1]

In the late tenth or early eleventh century, Johannes, monk of Saint-Amand, sent his verse *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248) to Rainer, a monk of Ghent who was the author of several works of prose hagiography.[2] Rainer replied in a short highly allusive letter, in which he likened Johannes to a mother bee (*mater apes*).[3]

> Denique quia aeternam uitam esurientibus, ueluti mater apes paradysi depasta flores, offertis canistrum dulcedine mellis refertum ac lumine fidei plenum satisque honeste ac lucide arte magistra decoratum, gratanter illud suscipimus sicut caelestem thesaurum aeternaeque memoriae commendare desideramus per omne aeuum...[4]
>
> In short, because, just like the mother bee who has feasted on the flowers of paradise, you bring eternal life to those hungering, you bear the basket overflowing with the sweetness of honey and filled with the light of faith and honestly and brightly adorned with the teaching art, we gratefully receive this just as a heavenly treasure, and we desire to entrust it to eternal memory throughout every age.

---

[1] I presented an early version of this chapter to the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, 2004. The bulk of this chapter was published as "Just like a Mother Bee: Reading and Writing *Vitae Metricae* around the Year 1000" in *Viator* 36 (2005), 119 - 148.

[2] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis,* MGH 5/3, ed. Gabriel Silagi (Leipzig : K. W. Hiersemann, 1937; repr. Munich: MGH 1979), pp. 565-96. Rainer (d. 1042), a monk of Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin in Ghent, composed a prose *Vita* (BHL 3555) and a *Sermo* and *Miracula* (BHL 3556) of Saint Gislen, printed in *AB* 5 (1886), 209-88. On the identity and dates of Rainer see A. Poncelet, "De Vita S. Gisleni auctore Rainero," *AB* 6 (1887), 218-233. On Rainer's abbey, see P. Schmitz, "Blandin (Mont-)," in *DHGE* 9 (Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1937), pp. 118-130.

[3] *Apes* is an alternative nominative singular form for the more common *apis*.

[4] *Epistula Raineri in confirmatione huius operis* (printed with Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* in Silagi's edition), MGH Poetae 5/3, p. 595. My punctuation.

Rainer combines diverse sources to form the striking image of the monastic author, Johannes, as *mater apes*.[5] In this 23-line letter, the reader Rainer, like the poet Johannes, draws on numerous authoritative works and melds them into his own text.[6] Through this practice he shows himself to be part of an erudite literary culture, whose members, like Johannes and other monastic verse hagiographers, produced texts that drew extensively on classical and Christian sources. In the previous chapter, we saw how the composition and exchange of *vitae metricae* demarcated a community of students and teachers that not only bound the monks Heiric, Haimin, Milo, and Hucbald to one another through their shared literary lineage, but also linked them to the emperor and his sons. In this chapter I look at the ways that the monks Johannes and Rainer, again through the composition and exchange of *vitae metricae*, participated in a competitive network of scholarly exchange and also placed themselves into a tradition of Classical and Christian *auctores* that reached back to Virgil.

To understand Rainer's bee simile, I examine the verse *Vita Rictrudis* to which it refers and discuss how the author Johannes uses the sources – the *flores* — that he gathers *ueluti mater apes*. After briefly introducing the manuscript tradition and the political context of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, I discuss Johannes's use of sources. Johannes drew heavily on *vitae* written by Milo and Hucbald also of Saint-Amand.

---

[5] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 35-39; Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 73-74, 84, 98-99. Carruthers and Greene discuss the bee as an image for creativity, memory, and composition but do not discuss the image of the mother bee.

[6] For a discussion of how Rainer used sources in his own hagiographic compositions, see Poncelet, "De Vita S. Gisleni," pp. 233-41.

Between 845 and 855, Milo wrote a verse life of Saint Amand (BHL 333), which does not mention Amand's protegee Rictrude at all. Milo's student Hucbald, who composed the acrostics dedicating Milo's *Vita Amandi* to Charles the Bald, wrote a prose life of Rictrude (BHL 7247) in 907.[7] I look at how Johannes borrows from these two *vitae*, along with other sources such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, to show how an author of a *vita metrica* could draw on his predecessors to create a poem that was simultaneously original and firmly grounded in the shared literary traditions of his monastic milieu. This discussion shows the subtle and complex ways in which a poet could manipulate his sources.

In the second part of the chapter, I turn to Rainer's response to Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*. By characterizing Johannes as a bee, Rainer comments on Johannes's use of sources. The bee gathering nectar from flowers and transforming it into honey to feed others is a way of talking about reading and writing. The image stands for a writer's collection and transformation of sources, that is, for the relationship between reading and composition. In other prose and verse *vitae*, bee imagery is used for the saint's acquiring an education in virtue and communicating this sacred learning to others. The readers and writers of verse hagiography use the *apis* image to talk about a number of relationships: those between saint and laity, between saint and hagiographer, between reader and writer, between poet and *auctor*. Each of these interactions is potentially fluid and ambiguous and the writers use the metaphor of the *apis* to express the dynamism in these

[7] Julia M.H. Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand," *Studi medievali*, series 3, 35 (1994), 520.

relationships. The *apis* is, thus, part of a poetic vocabulary for discussing teaching, learning, collecting sources, reading them critically, and composing new texts.

The bee is more than just a way of talking about reading and writing, however. As an image with a complex history, it is itself a way of alluding to a literary tradition. By deploying the metaphor of the bee, the writers and the readers who responded to them invoked a chain of references stretching back to scripture, the classical Latin *auctores*, the church fathers, and earlier hagiographers. At its most sophisticated, the bee metaphor in the medieval texts operates like the complex, multi-layered allusions of classical Latin verse, demonstrating the writer's familiarity with a whole series of previous authors.[8] So, by characterizing Johannes as a bee, and by alluding to numerous sources, Rainer demonstrates his *own* erudition showing that he too reads and writes like a bee. The allusive bee is a meta-referential image that simultaneously talks about *and* demonstrates how a writer draws on his reading.

The bee gathering flowers is not simply a charming pastoral image. It stands for a way of reading and writing by which individuals (like Rainer) inserted themselves into a literary tradition and a scholarly milieu. By alluding to a common set of *auctores*, which they had stored in their memories during their monastic education, these writers (who were also readers) demonstrated their membership in an elite and erudite literary community that spanned regions and generations. They paid homage to and competed

[8] For discussions of allusion in classical Latin, see Richard F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and his Texts: Studies in Intertextuality* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), and Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Irvine discusses Statius's composition of silver Latin epic in similar terms. See Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 83-84.

with their literary predecessors, locating themselves in a lineage of verse and prose hagiographical composition that connected them to both the *auctores* and the traditions of their own monasteries. Writers reworked the image of the *apis* to express their own concerns and display their own creativity. Their *vitae metricae* appealed to erudite monastic readers, like Rainer, who in turn became writers, drawing on the verse lives, along with other flowers of learning. In the previous chapter, we caught sight of an intellectual community of the ninth century participating in the reading, teaching, and exchange of Milo's *Vita Amandi*. Rainer's response to Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* suggests the continued existence, at the turn of the millennium, of a flourishing monastic literary community that privileged both tradition and creativity.

***Paradysi depasta flores*: Johannes's Context and Sources**

Johannes, a monk of Saint-Amand, wrote his epic verse *Vita Rictrudis* between 995 and 1012. He based his version of events on Hucbald of Saint-Amand's prose *Vita Rictrudis* written about a century earlier. As Johannes's correspondent Stephan says, "Hucbaldi... pedes dedisti" [You gave feet to Hucbald].[9] In over a thousand lines of epic dactylic hexameter, Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* tells the story of Marchiennes's first abbess, saint Rictrude (d.687).[10] According to Johannes's version of events, Rictrude was born into a noble family. Rictrude married Adalbald (also a saint) and the couple had four

[9] Stephan, *Rescriptio Stephani ad eundem Iohannem* (a letter attached to Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* and printed with it in Silagi's edition), p. 567.
[10] Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald," p. 520. On Saint Rictrude, see Rombaut Van Doren, "Rictrude" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 11 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1968), cols. 181-82.

saintly children, Eusebia, Clothend, Adalsend, and Mauront.[11] After Adalbald was murdered, the king tried to force Rictrude to remarry.[12] With saint Amand's help, Rictrude tricked the king into allowing her to take the veil, and she became abbess of the double house of Marchiennes, an abbey that Amand had founded and entrusted to his disciple Jonat.[13] Johannes reports only Rictrude's activities after her conversion to the religious life as they relate to her children. When her daughter Adalsend died, Rictrude repressed her mourning until a liturgically convenient time.[14] Rictrude also worried about her son Mauront's religious path and about the spiritual health of her headstrong daughter Eusebia. After Rictrude's conflict with Eusebia, which I discuss in detail in Chapter Five below, the verse *Vita Rictrudis* tells of Rictrude's death, her funeral, and her posthumous miracles.[15] In addition to the fairly skeletal biography of Rictrude, Johannes's poem tells of her family's encounters with the great Merovingian missionary bishops, particularly Amand (patron saint of Johannes's own monastery), Richarius, and Amatus.[16] Johannes also relates these bishops' interactions with royal authority, even when the encounters do not concern Rictrude at all.

Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* is extant in two early manuscripts: Douai, BM, MS 849 from the early eleventh century, and Douai, BM, MS 836 from the second half of the

---

[11] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.355 ff; 398 – 409, pp. 578-79.
[12] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.441 ff; 2,.44 ff, pp. 579, 882.
[13] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.57-133, pp. 583-84.
[14] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.166-90, pp. 585-86.
[15] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.467-527, pp. 592-94.
[16] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.207 ff., p. 574; 2. 24 ff.; 114 ff.; 203 ff.; 300 ff, pp. 582, 584, 586, 588.

twelfth century.[17] In both manuscripts, the *vita* is prefaced by three affiliated texts: Johannes's sixteen-line acrostic poem (BHL 7248a) dedicating the work to Erluin, bishop of Cambrai (998-1012); Johannes's letter to Stephan, a monk of Ghent; and Stephan's reply. In both manuscripts, the correspondence between Johannes and the monk Rainer follows Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*. Both the manuscripts come from the library of Marchiennes. Douai, BM, MS 849 was clearly composed for that abbey. The codex includes Hucbald of Saint-Amand's prose *vita* of Rictrude (BHL 7247), and verse and prose *vitae* of her daughter Eusebia (BHL 2737 and 2736, respectively), as well as two works on the seventh-century Saint Jonat, the first abbot of Marchiennes.[18] There are also several illustrations of Rictrude and her family.[19] Douai, BM, MS 836, which depends on MS 849 for Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, is a larger codex including numerous saints' *vitae* and *passiones* in prose.[20]

In his prefatory letter to Stephan, Johannes says that the bishop Erluin and some (unspecified) others had asked him to compose a verse life of Rictrude. The introductory letters to *vitae metricae* often state that a superior asked the author to write the *vita*,

---

[17] Dehaisnes dates Douai, BM, MS 849 to the late tenth or the eleventh century, which would make it almost contemporary with Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*. See C. Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général de manuscripts des bibliothèques publiques des departments*, vol. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), p. 595. Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* also exists in one seventeenth-century copy, Vatican City, BAV, MS. Barb. lat. 3385, fols. 201r-203v. Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* and the letters and poem that accompany it are preserved on fols. 93v-125v of Douai, BM, MS 849 and fols. 83v-92r of Douai, BM, MS 836.

[18] Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général*, vol. 6, pp. 595-96; A. Poncelet, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Duacensis," *AB* 20 (1901), 405. Douai, BM, MS 849 contains 129 folios and measures 220 x 190 mm.

[19] Folio 33r depicts saint Eusebia. Rictrude, her children, and Jonat (the first abbot of Marchiennes) appear on fols. 71v and 72r. On folio 126r, Rictrude, flanked by her four children ascends to heaven. Dehaisnes describes these miniatures as having "le caractère du xe siècle." See Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général*, vol. 6, p. 595. For a discussion of these miniatures, see Chapter Five of this study.

[20] Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général*, vol. 6, pp. 567-72; Poncelet, "Duacensis," p. 382. The codex is 233 fols. long and measures 450 x 300 mm. It is written in two columns in several different hands.

despite the writer's professed incompetence.[21] Therefore, Johannes's claim that he complied with Erluin's demands may simply be a humilty *topos*. From 995 to 1012 Erluin was bishop of Cambrai, the diocese containing Saint-Amand and Marchiennes.[22] Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders, had attempted to install his own uncle in the episcopate in 995 and, when that failed, he tried to undermine Erluin's power.[23] Further, Baldwin interfered in the internal affairs of Saint-Amand.[24] It is possible to read some hints of this conflict in Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, particularly in the theme of the correct relationship of secular and ecclesiastic authority. For example, like Milo, Johannes depicts the subordination of the king Dagobert to Saint Amand. Johannes also includes a rant against another king who had mistreated a saint by exiling him from his bishopric.[25]

There are suggestions of other political relations and maneuverings in the verse *Vita Rictrudis*. In certain places, Johannes expresses the preeminence of his monastery, Saint-Amand, over Marchiennes.[26] For example, Johannes emphasizes the priority of

---

[21] Heiric claims that the king's son Lothar requested the metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) and he dedicates it to Lothar's father, Charles the Bald; Alcuin dedicates his metric *Vita Willibrordi* (BHL 8938) to a bishop. The *topos* of the request allows the writer to emphasize the importance of his *vita* while humbly protesting the meagerness of his talents.

[22] BHL 7248a. Johannes's acrostic poem of dedication, omitted from Silagi's edition of the *Vita Rictrudis*, is printed in *AB* 20 (1901), 463.

[23] D.C. van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV, Richard of Saint-Vanne, and the Inception of Monastic Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *RB* 107 (1997), 132.

[24] On the involvement of Baldwin IV and his mother Suzanne in Saint-Amand's affairs, see Henri Platelle, *La temporel de l'abbaye de Saint Amand des origins a 1340* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962), pp. 119-21; Henri Platelle, *La justice seigneuriale de l'abbaye de Saint Amand: son organisation judiciaire, sa procédure et sa compétence du xi*e *au xvi*e *siècle* (Paris: Éditions Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1965), p. 58. The era of Suzanne and Baldwin, which partially coincided with Rathbod's abbacy at Saint-Amand, saw the loss of some of the abbey's possessions and the establishment of a community of canons within the abbey.

[25] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 8, in AASS Mai vol. 3, pp. 81-88; Johannes *Vita Rictrudis,* 1.249-58 and 2.342-59, pp. 575 and 589-90.

[26] On Marchiennes in the ninth and tenth centuries, see *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 2. cap. 26; *Miracula S. Rictrudis* (written by a monk of Marchiennes who draws on Hucbald) 1. cap. 2.11-14 and cap. 3, in AASS Mai vol. 3, pp. 90 – 95; Bernard Delmaire, ed., *L'histoire-polyptyque de l'abbaye de Marchiennes (116/1121), étude*

Saint-Amand by stressing, even more than Hucbald had, that Amand, not Rictrude, was the real founder of Marchiennes.[27] More generally, Johannes expresses the unequal relationship between Marchiennes and Saint-Amand symbolically by showing the subordination of Marchiennes's patron Rictrude to Amand, his own abbey's patron saint.[28] Saint-Amand, which had a renowned scriptorium, and enjoyed considerable royal patronage, clearly overshadowed Marchiennes.[29] Although Saint-Amand had suffered Viking raids in the late ninth century, and although it too would soon be subject to Richard of Saint-Vannes's reform movement, it was a far more prosperous and renowned

---

critique et édition (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 1985); M. Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Marchiennes.* Douai: Adam d'Aubers, 1854); Alex. Faidherbe, *Notice historique et critique sur l'abbaye de Marchiennes de 630 à 1024* (Lille Vanackere, 1856); Léon Spiret, *Histoire de Marchiennes: Son abbaye, son histoire* (Paris: Res Universis, 1993 [1898]); Henri Platelle, "Marchiennes" in *Catholicisme hier aujourd'hui demain* 8 (Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1979), pp. 414-16; Julia M.H. Smith, "A Hagiographer at Work: Hucbald and the Library of Saint-Amand," *RB* 106 (1996), 155-56; Karine Ugé, "The Legend of Saint Rictrude: Formation and Transformations (Tenth-Twelfth Century)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2000), 282; Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005). On Saint-Amand see, particularly, Henri Platelle, "La ville et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au Moyen Age," in *Terre et ciel des anciens Pays-Bas, recueil d'articles de M. le Chanoine Platelle publié à l'occasion de son élection à l'Académie royale de Belgique,* Mélanges de science religieuse, numéro spécial (Lille: Faculté libre des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 1991), pp. 55-68; Platelle, "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle" in *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie: Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes, 21 mars 1989*, ed. Marie-Pierre Dion (Lille: ACCES, 1990), pp. 18-34.

[27] *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 2. cap. 26; Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 16, p. 84; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.114-25, and 508-10, pp. 584 and 593; Ugé, "Legend of Saint Rictrude," p. 90. As he describes Amand giving Marchiennes to Rictrude, Hucbald states that Amand was the abbey's original founder. Unlike Hucbald, Johannes makes Amand the priest at Rictrude's funeral, which allows the poet to reiterate Amand's role as founder of Marchiennes. Ugé notes that according to the *Gesta* Rictrude had founded Marchiennes on her own land as a community of women. The *Gesta*, written by a cleric of Cambrai, only gives Amand an advisory role in the abbey's foundation and does not assert that it was first inhabited by men.

[28] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2. 21 ff, p. 584. In this passage, Rictrude relies on Amand's advice to outsmart the king.

[29] On Saint-Amand's scriptorium, see Patrick McGurk, "The Ghent Livinus Gospels and the Scriptorium of St. Amand," *Sacris Erudiri* 14 (1963), 164-205; Rosamond McKitterick, "Manuscripts and Scriptoria in the Reign of Charles the Bald, 840 - 877" in *Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo: l'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia,* ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), pp. 201-34; Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 85-106.

house than Marchiennes.[30] Marchiennes was initially a double house and still housed both *sorores* and *fratres* in 877, but by 1024 it may only have housed women.[31] It was in that year that the nuns were removed, for "turpiter viventes" [living disgracefully] according to the contemporary source, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.[32] The house was then turned over to monks as part of Richard of Saint-Vannes' monastic reform. There is little surviving evidence about Marchiennes during the tenth century, but the depredations of the late ninth century and the nuns' eviction in the eleventh have led scholars to believe that the abbey's situation was fairly desperate.[33] Karine Ugé suggests that Saint-Amand's intellectual dominance was so complete at the beginning of the ninth-century that the nuns and clerics of Marchiennes asked Hucbald of Saint-Amand to write a prose *Vita Rictrudis* for them in the hope of increasing interest in the monastery.[34] However, Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* does not seem to be primarily about attracting visitors, since he only mentions Rictrude's posthumous miracles (which would make her burial place a pilgrimage site) very briefly at the end of the work.[35] Johannes is slightly more interested in miracles than Hucbald, yet his *Vita Rictrudis*, written in verse, was not primarily intended to promote pilgrimage.

---

[30] Platelle, "Marchiennes," p. 414.
[31] *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve roi de France*, ed. M. Georges Tessier, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), n. 435, 471-74; *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 2. cap. 26. Charles' diploma of 877 refers to the sisters and brothers of both Marchiennes and Hamage. The entry in the *Gesta*, noting the nuns' eviction in 1024, refers only to female residents.
[32] *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 2. 26; *Miracula Rictrudis* 1, cap. 3.15-16; Platelle, "Marchiennes," pp. 414-16; Ugé, "Legend of Saint Rictrude," p. 282.
[33] Ugé, "Legend of Saint Rictrude," pp. 289-90.
[34] Ugé, "Legend of Saint Rictrude," p. 284.
[35] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 33, p. 88; Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald," p. 523. On Hucbald's hagiography, see also François Dolbeau, "Passion de S. Cassien d'Imola composée d'après Prudence par Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *RB* 87 (1977), pp. 238-56.

Nonetheless, pilgrims may have heard parts of the verse *Vita Rictrudis* because epic *vitae metricae* were excerpted in liturgy, and therefore, could be read in the presence of local lay people and pilgrims visiting a saint's house on his or her feast day. In this way, *vitae metricae* could reach a wider audience than the learned monks who composed them, and the monks, bishops, and emperors to whom they were sent.[36] Nevertheless, the limited distribution patterns of *vitae metricae* means they were restricted to a fairly small audience and were not primarily intended to publicize the monastery and its saint.[37] *Vitae metricae* were too erudite and obscure to be fully appreciated by any but highly educated individuals. As the metric *Vita Rictrudis's* brief manuscript history attests, they were usually read and copied by local monks.[38]

In general, Hucbald was not interested in miracles; rather he was concerned with saints as *exempla* who could provide moral instruction to his readers.[39] Smith has shown that the inhabitants of Marchiennes were an appropriate audience for Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*.[40] Hucbald used the *vita* as an opportunity to present scriptural discussions of marriage and virginity, and to offer models for the behavior of the various inhabitants of

---

[36] On *vitae metricae* in liturgy, see Ritva Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968); and Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Ealy Medieval Versified Offices," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 278-99.

[37] Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Les modèles de sainteté du ixe au xie siècle, d'après le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques," in *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI),* Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), p. 388.

[38] On the circulation of *vitae metricae*, see François Dolbeau, "Un domaine négligé de la littérature médiolatine: les textes hagiographiques en vers," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 45 (2002), p. 132.

[39] Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald," p. 524.

[40] Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald," pp. 525-26.

the double house: "Hucbald provided the double monastery of Marchiennes with a treatise on the status within the church of married women, widows, virgins and deacons."[41] Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis*, written almost a century later, evinces a different set of concerns from Hucbald's version. Gone are the discussion of virginity and the long justifications for marriage. These changes reflect a new audience — whereas Hucbald wrote for the nuns and clerics, Johannes, in his prefatory letter, simply says that he wrote for the *clerici*.[42]

In addition to positing a male readership for his *Vita Rictrudis*, Johannes also emphasizes the male origins of the abbey. Like Hucbald, he stresses that Marchiennes was originally intended to be a male house. While the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, written for bishop Gerard I of Cambrai in 1024-25,[43] say that Rictrude founded Marchiennes "ex propriis opibus et praediis consilio sancti Amandi" [from her own resources and estates, under the guidance of Saint Amand],[44] both Hucbald and Johannes relate that Amand had founded Marchiennes as a house of men, and had installed his disciple Jonat as the first abbot.[45] Johannes, unlike Hucbald, further justifies a male claim on Marchiennes by showing the continued presence of men in the double house. While Hucbald has the abbess Rictrude address only *sorores*, Johannes has her address *sorores* and *fratres*.[46] With its emphasis on the foundation of Marchiennes by Amand, Johannes's

---

[41] Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald," pp. 525-26.
[42] Johannes, *Epistola Iohannis ad Stephanum monacum Gandensem* (printed with Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* in Silagi's edition), MGH Poetae 5, p. 566.
[43] Van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV," p. 37.
[44] *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 2. cap. 26.
[45] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 16, p. 84; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.114-25, p. 584.
[46] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 21, p. 85; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.191-92, p. 586.

Vita Rictrudis reflects a proprietary, even predatory, attitude towards Saint-Amand's weaker neighbor. Saint-Amand owned many territories in the region; the prose and verse versions of Rictrude's life, both written by monks of Saint-Amand, may reveal that house's desire to evict the nuns and absorb Marchiennes' property.[47]

As discussed in the first chapter above, much recent scholarship has shown that religious communities told their histories in ways that they hoped would affect their present circumstances.[48] Elements in Johannes's narrative may well reflect Erluin's and Johannes's concerns about the relationships between different sources of authority in the diocese of Cambrai. It is possible to see in the relations between Marchiennes and Saint-Amand a context for the composition of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, and in the next chapter I will discuss how the composition of a *vita metrica* could reflect or attempt to influence power struggles between various monastic houses. Here, however, I focus on the way that an epic poem provides evidence for intellectual networks among the houses of Flanders.

Although the verse *Vita Rictrudis* reflects the writer's political concerns, and those of his house and bishop, Johannes did not simply compose it to effect a political agenda, promote patronage, or influence secular authority. When Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* engages with issues such as the relationships of secular and sacred authority, it does so for an audience composed of those who were educated enough to read and comprehend a classicizing poem, primarily the monks of Saint-Amand and other abbeys

[47] Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, eds. and trans., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 208 n. 52. McNamara et al. attribute such a motivation to Hucbald in writing his version of the *vita*.
[48] On these scholars, see the discussion in Chapter One of this study, pp. 8 ff.

including Marchiennes, and Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin in Ghent.[49] These were a community of scholars capable of decoding and appreciating the author's complicated and subtle use of sources. During their education, the monks had committed portions of Christian and classical texts to memory. They could draw upon these storehouses of remembered texts as they read highly allusive works, like Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*. In this chapter I explore the poem and its context as evidence for intellectual networks, communities of scholars who were bound by participation in a shared literary culture. This literary culture existed in networks of abbeys, and traversed generations and even centuries of literary composition.[50] By writing and reading, monks demonstrated their connections with monks in other houses and also with their predecessors. This culture was constituted by the recollection and skilled use of tropes from a shared set of sources.

*

Johannes's long poem draws on various sources, both Christian and classical. In addition to the Bible, and particularly the *Psalms*, Johannes alludes to the familiar medieval educational texts: Virgil, Prudentius, Juvencus, and the *Disticha Catonis*. He is most heavily indebted to the works of the two monks of Saint-Amand, Milo and Hucbald. Johannes takes phrases, lines, and even whole passages from the *Vita Amandi*. He draws less frequently on Milo's *De sobriete*, the poem that is transmitted along with the *Vita*

[49] In the tenth century some women also read and wrote *vitae metricae*. Walther tells us that Hazecha had written a metric passion of Saint Christopher, which had been lost (see Walther, *Passio Christophori*, ed. Strecker, in MGH Poetae 5/1, p. 64) and Hrotsvita wrote verse *passiones* of Dionysius (BHL 2186), Gengulfus (BHL 3329), and Pelagius (BHL 6618), and an *historia* of Theophilus (BHL 8123).
[50] These three abbeys (in modern northern France and Belgium) were all founded by Amand and his disciples. On the origins of Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin, see Ph. Grierson, "The Early Abbots of St. Peter's of Ghent," *RB* 48 (1936), 129-46 and P. Schmitz, "Flobert," in *DHGE* 17 (Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1971), p. 510.

Amandi in some of the extant manuscripts.[51] As noted above, Johannes's main source for the events of Rictrude's life is the prose *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7247) written by Milo's student Hucbald (who also drew on Milo's *Vita Amandi*).[52] Johannes also knew the anonymous prose and verse *vitae* of Rictrude's daughter Eusebia, written at the beginning of the eleventh century (BHL 2736 and 2737 respectively).[53]

On the surface, Johannes stays faithful to his main source, keeping to Hucbald's structure, his order of events, and even retaining his metaphors. For example, both Hucbald and Johannes liken the young saint Rictrude growing up among pagans to a rose growing among the thorns.[54] A closer reading reveals, however, that Johannes alters his source in numerous ways and supplements it with his other main source, Milo's *Vita Amandi*. Some of these alterations can be attributed to the demands of meter and the genre conventions of verse lives.[55] The format of the long poem in Virgilian meter also encourages the poet to use epic diction. For example, in a passage in which the bishop Richarius' horse goes wild, Johannes replaces Hucbald's *equus*

---

[51] Valenciennes, BM, MS 414 contains both the *Vita Amandi* and *De sobriete*. See previous chapter, pp. 130-31.

[52] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, pp. 81-88. In his prefatory letter, Hucbald claims that the nuns and clerics asked him to write the life.

[53] Deug-Su, "Vita Rictrudis," p. 572; Poncelet, "Duacensis," p. 405. The verse *Vita Eusebiae* is not fully published. AASS Feb. vol. 1, p. 304, contains an excerpt from book 1, on the death of Adalbald, and AASS Mar. vol. 2, pp. 450-42, contains all of book 2 except for the proloågue and epilogue. For the relationship of the verse *Vita Eusebiae* to the literary tradition, see figure 5.5. On these prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia, see Chapter Five of this study.

[54] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 5, p. 82; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.142, p. 573. Hucbald describes Rictrude "ueluti solet rosa de spinosis efflorere sentibus" [just as a rose is accustomed to flower from spiny briars]. Johannes says "uelut e spinis mollis rosa surgit acutis" [just as the tender rose grows from sharp thorns]. On the image of the flower among thorns applied to the Virgin Mary, see Rachel Fulton, "The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Make Better Prayers," *Spiritus* 4 (2004), 1.

[55] On medieval Latin metrics, see Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de la Chapelle Skubly (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), especially Chapters One and Two.

with the more evocative Virgilian *sonipes*,[56] and while Hucbald's Rictrude fears that the *serpentina* will assail Eusebia, Johannes's Rictrude fears the Virgilian *chelidrus*.[57]

Like Milo's *Vita Amandi*, Johannes's *vita* locates the narrative of his saint in the scheme of salvation history. One of the *Vita Rictrudis's* introductory poems, the *Prefatio sequentis operis*, recounts Biblical history, the redemption through Christ, and the evangelizing of the twelve apostles, which sets the stage for the missionary bishops who feature prominently in the *vita*.[58] Johannes's metric *Vita Rictrudis* also includes more prayers and invocations of the saints than Hucbald's prose version.[59]

Vitae metricae, as noted in Chapter One, include more direct speech than their prose sources, reflecting the lessons their authors learned in classroom composition exercises.[60] Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* includes several speeches not derived from Hucbald. Hucbald's prose version simply reports that King Dagobert begged Amand to be his son's teacher in divine law: "prostratus itaque eius pedibus Rex, veniam rogat, facillime impetrat. Fundit precem pro filio" (therefore, prostrate at his (Amand's) feet, the king asks for favor, and very easily obtains it. He pours out a prayer for his son].[61] In Johannes's version the king's groveling request is expressed in ten lines of direct speech.[62] This passage shows how Johannes drew on Milo's *Vita Amandi* to supplement Hucbald's narrative. Johannes repeats eleven lines verbatim from Milo's account of the

---

[56] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 22, p. 85; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2. 217, p. 586.
[57] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 25, p. 86; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2. 378, p. 590.
[58] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.1–58, pp. 569-70.
[59] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.269 –88, p. 576 (an invocation to Amand), 2.322-41, p. 586 (a prayer for Amatus's intercession).
[60] Tilliette, "Modèles de sainteté," p. 394. See pp. 22-23 of this study.
[61] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 8, p. 82.
[62] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1. 249-58.

same incident, and two other lines almost verbatim.[63] Yet into this citation of Milo, Johannes introduces one line that is very characteristic of his own style. Hucbald tended to string verbs together, but Johannes takes this characteristic even further.[64] In one line, Johannes has Dagobert beg Amand with seven verbs: "oro, precor, supplexque rogo, expeto, postulo, posco" [I beseech, I implore, and as a suppliant, I request, I seek, I pray, I ask][65] Dagobert's speech, with the line of beseeching verbs, allows Johannes to emphasize the king's utter abjection before the saintly power he had offended.

Like other writers of *vitae metricae*, Johannes elaborates upon his source. Johannes augments certain elements of Hucbald's narrative, such as the passage in which the bishops Audoenus (Dado) and Eligius persuade their friend Amand to return to Gaul and tutor Dagobert's son.[66] In this passage recounting the deeds of Amand, Johannes again supplements Hucbald's prose narrative with passages taken word for word from his other main source, the poetry of Milo.[67] Such wholesale borrowing is not mindless. As seen in the example of Dagobert's plea, Johannes marks the material with his own style. He also rejects one of Milo's distinctive flourishes, the entirely alliterative line.[68] So, he

---

[63] Milo, *Vita Amandi,* ed. Ludwig Traube, MGH Poetae 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), 3.267, p. 594 is identical to Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, 1. 253, p. 575. In the same passage, Milo's lines 3.269-78 are identical to Johannes's 1. 255-64. Johannes's lines 1.250 and 1.254 are almost the same as Milo's lines 3.265 and 3.268. Silagi notes Johannes's borrowings from Milo throughout his edition of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*.

[64] For example, in telling the story of Adalbald choosing Rictrude as his wife, Hucbald says "uidetur, diligitur, atque eligitur" [she is seen, she is esteemed, and she is chosen]. (Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 9, p. 82). Johannes says "cernitur, eligitur, blanditur, diligiturque" [She is seen, she is chosen, she is pleasing, and she is esteemed]. Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.358, p. 578.

[65] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1. 252, p. 575.

[66] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1. 294-306, p. 576.

[67] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1. 294-305, p. 576. Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 8 , p. 82 (Johannes takes lines 1. 294-305 verbatim from Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.302-314, p. 595, omitting Milo's line 3.308).

[68] Fortunatus, *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624 in PL 88, col. 363-426), also includes some highly alliterative lines (for example, 1.506). Milo's student Hucbald takes this tendency to a new level when he composes *Ecloga*

changes Milo's line, "praecelsi proceres Petrus Paulusque priores" [Peter and Paul, previous, preeminent princes][69] to "praecelsi proceres praeclara luce nitentes" [preeminent princes shining with a bright light],[70] substituting Milo's last two terms with words taken from elsewhere in the verse *Vita Amandi*.[71] Johannes also modifies one of his block quotations by adding extra historical material. In the passage leading up to Dagobert's request, Johannes replicates 23 entire lines of Milo. Into this passage, he inserts three of his own lines, repeating a point made by Hucbald, but not by Milo, namely that Dagobert had himself been educated by a holy bishop, Arnulf.[72] This coheres with Johannes's interest, noted above, in the relationships of bishops to kings.[73]

At other points, Johannes compresses the narrative, sometimes informing the reader that he is doing so. Leaving out Hucbald's defense of Rictrude, Mauront, and Eusebia after the account of their conflict, Johannes states, "plurima preteriens studio brevitatis, ad actus/ eximios sanctae mulieris rite recurro" [passing over many things in my zeal for brevity, I return duly to the exceptional acts of that holy woman].[74] Some of Hucbald's lengthy appeals to scriptural authority are passed over along with Hucbald's

---

de calvis, a poem consisting entirely of words beginning with the letter C. See Hucbald, *Ecloga de calvis*, ed. P. Von Winterfield, MGH Poetae 4/1, pp. 267-71.

[69] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1. 51, p. 570.

[70] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.61, p. 571.

[71] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.49, p. 580, as noted by Silagi in his edition of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*.

[72] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.223-28 and 232-47, pp. 574-75; Milo, *Vita Amandi,* 3.41-46 and 247-62, pp. 589, 594.

[73] Johannes also adds an unusual motif to Hucbald's story when he describes the miracle of the cane (used to beat Eusebia) bursting into leaf (*Vita Rictrudis*, 2. 433-36, p. 592). On this incident, see the next chapter of this study.

[74] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.465-66, p. 592.

characterization of Rictrude and his justifications for her behavior.[75] Unlike Hucbald, Johannes does not present Rictrude as a *mulier fortis* or a manly woman,[76] and in recounting the familial conflict, Johannes omits Hucbald's lengthy arguments for the sanctity of all three family members.[77] The demands of meter mean that Johannes cannot quote extensively from prose sources but he is not precluded from paraphrasing. Therefore, his choice to omit these elements of Hucbald's text is deliberate and significant.

The ingenuity with which Johannes manipulates his main source is revealed by his transformation of Hucbald's Virgilian citation at Rictrude's banquet.[78] The king (who is not named in either *vita*) has attempted to cajole or force the widowed Rictrude into marrying one of his *optimates*. After resisting his pressure for some time, Rictrude invites the king to a banquet, ostensibly to celebrate their reconciliation. After the eating and drinking, she gets up and asks the king if she might be granted leave to do as she wishes in her own house and in his presence. Thinking that she intends to propose a toast, the

---

[75] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, cap. 9. When Rictrude marries, Hucbald has a lengthy passage of scriptural justification, which, as noted above, Johannes omits.

[76] Deug-Su, "Vita Rictrudis," pp. 545-82; Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald," pp. 535-36; Julia M.H. Smith, "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780-920," *Past and Present* 146 (1995), 18-19. Deug-Su argues that Hucbald represents his unruly saint in a novel way as a masculine *mulier fortis*, but Smith shows that Carolingian hagiography often depicts feminine virtue in masculine terms. In section 14, p. 84, Hucbald shows Rictrude getting up to address the king at the banquet: "surgit, et non trepide sed constanter, non tepide sed feruenter, non segniter sed sagaciter, non muliebriter sed uiriliter" [She gets up, not fearfully but resolutely, not half-heartedly but fervently, not slothfully but shrewdly, not in a womanly manner, but manfully]. In section 19, p. 85, he describes her in the very masculine terms of a wrestler in the gymnasium, stripping down to wrestle the devil. This is highly reminiscent of the virgin martyr Perpetua's vision of herself becoming a man and overcoming the giant Egyptian in the arena. See *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des actes*, ed. Jacqueline Amat, Sources Chrétiennes 417 (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1996), 10.3-11 (pp.134-40). After the death of her daughter Adalsendis, in section 20, p. 85, Hucbald represents Rictrude's repression of grief as manly: "uirilis, tamen, ... animi robur muliebrem superauit affectum" [However, the manly... strength of her soul conquered her womanly emotion].

[77] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis,* 28-30, p. 87.

[78] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 14, p. 84; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.69-70, p. 583.

king agrees. She then takes out a veil that Amand has blessed and puts it on, signifying her commitment to monastic life. Outsmarted and furious, the king storms out of the house. In Hucbald's version, Rictrude's request to the king is preceded by two lines of verse from Virgil, the first from the *Aeneid,* and the second closely adapted from the *Eclogues*.[79] At this point in the narrative, Johannes uses the same first line, but in place of the line from the *Eclogues*, he substitutes a line of the *Aeneid*. Johannes's chosen line of verse, like the line it replaces, refers to wine at a banquet.[80] On the surface this substitution does little to alter the meaning of the passage. However, when we look at the context from which Johannes takes it, we can see the care with which he chooses the citation. The line Hucbald uses from the *Eclogues* features shepherds banqueting and offering libations to Bacchus. Johannes's line comes from Book I of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas and his men have arrived at Carthage and the queen, Dido gets up to give a toast. Dido's situation, feasting in her own home in the company of a prince and his men, is analogous to that of Rictrude. The background of the two women provides further parallels. Dido's husband had been killed by a family member and she had sworn not to remarry. Rictrude is not intending to give a toast, rather she is preparing to reject the entire worldly milieu of wine drinking and feasting and affirm her commitment to a monastic life. By contrast, Dido proposes a toast and, within a matter of lines, she begins to abandon her commitment to chastity and fall in love with Aeneas. Rictrude's action at

---

[79] Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.184, *Eclogues* 5.69. The first line, used by both Hucbald and Johannes, reads "Postquam uicta fames et amor compressus edendi" [After hunger had been satisfied and love of eating curbed]. Hucbald changes the line from the *Eclogues* slightly. Neither the editor of Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* in the AASS nor the translators, McNamara, Halborg, and Whatley, note the Virgilian origin of the lines of verse.
[80] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.724. "Crateras magnas statuunt et uina coronant" [They set up great wine bowls and garland the wine]. The editor, Silagi, notes Johannes's citation of these two lines of Virgil.

this point leads in the opposite direction from Dido's fatal concupiscence, toward her mortification of the flesh. Dido's choice leads to death, Rictrude's to eternal life. Given that the *Aeneid* was a standard text of medieval education, it is likely that many of Johannes's readers would have recognized this quotation and its context, and appreciated the subtle artistry of Johannes's characterization of Rictrude as the anti-Dido.

Rictrude was a difficult subject for a Carolingian *vita* simply because she was a woman. Smith has shown that Carolingian prose *vitae* of female saints were based on male models.[81] The male model of sanctity complicated the author's task because the male saints were usually bishops, who traveled, performed public miracles, and intervened in politics, while the female saints were cloistered nuns. In contrast to bishops' peregrinations (and martyrs' deaths, which were also the subject of Carolingian hagiography), the female saints' monastic stability and *vita contemplativa* were not compelling subjects for a story.[82] The lack of narrative action in the nun's life may explain the predomination of bishops and male relatives in *vitae metricae* ostensibly dedicated to female saints.[83] By including narrative episodes from the lives of saintly men, the hagiographer can introduce more plot into the female saint's *vita*.[84]

If cloistered female saints are difficult subjects for Carolingian prose hagiography, the problem is only compounded in a verse *vita*. Bishops are particularly good subjects for epic poetry because, like Aeneas, the paradigmatic hero of Latin epic, they travel about having adventures, encountering the supernatural, and overcoming

[81] Smith, "Problem of Female Sanctity," p. 18.
[82] Smith, "Problem of Female Sanctity," p. 22, 24.
[83] Smith, "Problem of Female Sanctity," p. 21-23.
[84] Smith, "Problem of Female Sanctity," p. 22.

adversity. Early medieval epic verse saints' lives are usually about bishops or martyrs. Bede, Alcuin, Heiric, and Milo all wrote epic poems on bishops.[85] Other epic poems about saints, such as the anonymous ninth-century *carmina* perhaps from Laon, feature martyrs, who also provide a dramatic story.[86] Fewer early medieval *vitae metricae* are about abbots,[87] and fewer still feature founding women. The extant *vitae metricae* of founding women written before the twelfth-century are, with the exception of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, about virgins.[88]

Writing a metric life of a widow presented a double difficulty for Johannes since neither prose hagiography nor epic poetry provided easy precedents for telling her story. This mismatch between the subject matter (a widow and abbess) and the genre (an epic *vita metrica*) might account for Rictrude's secondary role in his text. Many of the incidents, especially those involving Amand's confrontations with king Dagobert, are irrelevant to the story of Rictrude. In Johannes's verse redaction, Rictrude is less prominent than she is in Hucbald's prose. As noted above, Johannes is less interested

---

[85] Examples of *vitae metricae* about bishops are Bede's early-eighth-century *Vita Cuthberti* (BHL 2020), Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* (BHL 8938) from the late eighth-century, Milo's *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) from 845-55; Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) from 875, and, the *Vita Arnulfi* attributed to Letselin (BHL 708) from the eleventh century.

[86] Ninth-century manuscripts contain the metric *Passio Luciae* (BHL 4994, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 989) and the metric *passio* of Agnes (BHL 161, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14145). The anonymous metric *passiones* of Quentin (BHL 7010) and of Cassian (BHL 1633) are contained in the tenth-century manuscript Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12958. The metric *Passio Benedictae* (BHL 1088) is found in the eleventh-century manuscript Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8431. In the tenth century, Walther of Spire and Hazecha both composed metric *passiones* of Christopher (Hazecha's *passio* was lost by a careless librarian shortly after its composition), though in many ways Walther's *passio* (BHL 1776), resembles the life of an apostolic bishop, more than a typical martyr's passion.

[87] *Vitae metricae* about abbots include Candid's ninth-century *Vita Eigili* (BHL 2441) and the metric *Vita Bertini* (BHL 1292) whose earliest manuscript dates to the eleventh century. The metric *Vita Gisleni* (BHL 3558), cryptically attributed to the monk "W," is extant in an eleventh-century manuscript Den Haag, KB, MS 73 J 49, as well as a fourteenth-century witness, Brussels, KBR, MS II. 0986 (3291) [Phillipps n° 378].

[88] The eleventh-century manuscript Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 1202 contains the life of Benedict's sister Scolastica (BHL 7519). On the verse *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737), see Chapter Five of this study.

than Hucbald in justifying Rictrude's behavior or showing her masculine virtue. Unlike Hucbald's Rictrude, Johannes's titular saint is not at all manly. In fact her role as a mother is underlined.[89]

Johannes manipulates the sources on which he draws so heavily to compose his *vita metrica*. His sophisticated use of sources demonstrates his participation in a tradition of verse and prose hagiography and shows his familiarity with the core texts of the early medieval educational curriculum, especially Virgil. Johannes refers to earlier texts by incorporating sections of them into his own work. His reworking of Hucbald's Virgilian citation shows the subtlety with which a verse hagiographer could rework his sources. In the second part of the chapter, I move from discussing the general ways in which Johannes drew on his literary tradition to look at Rainer's response.

Veluti mater apes: Gathering the Flowers of Learning

The bee (*apis* or *apes*) gathering nectar, or in a kind of synecdoche, flowers, is a fairly common metaphor. Carruthers discusses the bee as an image for the relationship of memory to composition and creativity.[90] Like the bee gathering honey, the writer must gather sources, and then arrange and store them in small segments in the memory, as the bee stores honey plucked from flowers in the honeycomb or the "beehive of the heart."[91]

---

[89] This emphasis on family bonds is also a characteristic of prose *vitae* of female saints. See Smith, "Problem of Female Sanctity," p. 25.
[90] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 35-39.
[91] Berno of Reichenau (d. 1048) in his prose *Vita Udalrici* (BHL 8362) describes the bee depositing "flores sententiarum… in alueario pectoris sui" [the flowers of wisdom in the beehive of its own heart] (PL 142, col. 1187A). Alcuin similarly describes the saint depositing flowers in his heart in the prose *Vita Willibrordi*, eds. B. Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 7/1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1920), p. 119.4.

This image plays on the double meaning of *legere*, to pick or to read, as does the term *florilegium*, used of written anthologies.[92] This double meaning is concretized in Hraban Maur's *In honorem sancte crucis*, where fourteen purple flowers, with letters on each petal, form a cross in one of his acrostic poems.[93] To comprehend the acrostic, the reader literally has to read the flowers.[94]

A Senecan letter to Lucilius (*Ep.* 84) is not only Rainer's most obvious source in his letter to Johannes, but is also the key to his compositional method.[95] In this letter, Seneca discusses the proper use of sources. He advises his correspondent to synthesize the sources he has read into his own original writing:

> Apes, ut aiunt, debemus imitari, quae uagantur et flores ad mel faciendum idoneos carpunt, deinde quicquid attulere, disponunt ac per fauos digerunt et, ut Vergilius noster ait,
>
> liquentia mella
> Stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas.[96]
>
> .... Quidam existimant conditura et dispositione in hanc qualitatem uerti, quae ex tenerrimis uirentium florentiumque decerpserint, non

---

[92] Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 5.

[93] Hraban Maur, *In honorem sancte crucis*, in ÖNB, MS Vindobonensis 652, fol. 21v. I am indebted to Matthew Heintzelman for bringing a facsimile edition of this text to my attention. For a discussion of Hraban's *In honorem sancte crucis*, see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 99-131.

[94] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 163; Elaine Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 40-71; Fulton, "Virgin in the Garden," pp. 1- 23. Carruthers discusses the mnemonic and symbolic value of flowers and bees as marginal illustrations in illuminated manuscripts. Scarry looks at why flowers are useful images for organizing thought, and Fulton applies some of Scarry's ideas to examine flowers in late medieval prayer.

[95] L.D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 17. Reynolds discusses the manuscript tradition of Seneca's letters. There are numerous manuscript copies of the letters, including several from ninth-and tenth-century Francia (such as Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS 76.40; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus Latinus F.70.1; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici class. lat. 279, a manuscript, now in two parts, which Reynolds says was written around 900 in northern or north-western France; Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8658A; Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8540 from northern France, and Douai, BM, MS 285).

[96] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.432ff.

> sine quodam, ut ita dicam, fermento, quo in unum diuersa coalescunt.[97]
>
> As they say, we should imitate the bees, which wander around and pluck the flowers that are suitable for making honey, then they arrange whatever they have gathered, and distribute it through the honeycombs and, as our Virgil says, 'they pack in the flowing honey and stretch the cells with sweet nectar.' .... Certain men believe that the sorts of things, which the bees plucked from the youngest of the flourishing and flowering plants, are transformed [or translated], by preserving and arranging, into this substance [honey] not without a certain, if I may say so, fermentation by which the different materials are melded into one.

In this discussion, Seneca demonstrates his own method by quoting from Virgil and referring to Pliny.[98] He continues with the organic imagery, likening writers incorporating the sources they have read to the body digesting its food.

In his short and allusive passage on the bee, Rainer follows Seneca's advice, taking elements from his sources and distilling them into his own text. Many sources that would have been available to Rainer were particularly dense in bee and honey imagery.[99] Several passages of scripture associate imbibing knowledge with eating something that is

---

[97] Seneca, *Ep*. 84, 3-4. Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.1, which borrows heavily from this passage. According to Marshall, Macrobius's *Saturnalia* was known in the ninth century. See P.K. Marshall, "Macrobius," in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), pp. 233-34.

[98] Pliny, *N.H.* xii. I have omitted this section from my excerpt of Seneca.

[99] In tracing the sources for Rainer's letter in Christian medieval writers, I have relied on the CETEDOC database, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the *Mittellateinische Wörterbuch* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.* Many of the bee allusions are cited in G. Penco, "Il simbolismo animalesco nella letteratura monastica," *Studia Monastica* 6 (1964), 31-34, and Corbinian Gindele, "Bienen-, Waben- und Honigvergleiche in der frühen monastischen Literatur," in *Regulae Benedicti Studia*, Annuarium internationale 6-7, Hildersheim (1977-78), 1-26. Rainer certainly would have read some of the sources I discuss, such as the Bible, Augustine, Virgil, Cassian, and Prudentius. Other more obscure sources for bee symbolism, including saints' lives by near contemporaries, such as Berno of Reichnau's prose *Vita Udalrici* (BHL 8362), may not have been available to Rainer, and some eleventh-century works, such as Otloh of Saint Emmeram's *De quodam miraculo*, were composed after Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* and Rainer's response to it. While these later and more obscure texts cannot be counted among the direct sources for Rainer's use of the metaphor, they show how common the *topos* was, and they illuminate some of the ideas that the bee image evoked among the monastic milieu of western Francia in the eleventh century.

as sweet as honey. In Revelation, John describes the book that the angel gives him to eat, "erat in ore meo tamquam mel dulce" [it was like sweet honey in my mouth],[100] which is reminiscent of the *volumen* in Ezekiel.[101] In both instances, the consumption of the honey-sweet book is followed by an order to go and preach God's word.[102] Given that the Eucharist is Christ, who is also the Word, it follows that eating would be associated with divine knowledge (and salvation) in Christianity. Both Jerome and Hraban Maur associate honey in particular with scripture, or spiritual wisdom.[103]

The *paradysi flores*, the *caelestus thesaurus*, and the *canistrum* are also terms that occur in Scripture, or the commentaries and early Christian poetry derived from it. The "flowers of paradise" are so common that is impossible to be certain of Rainer's source for the term. Augustine, Paulinus Nola, and Sedulius all use the term *paradysi flores* or a close approximation of it. The expression occurs alongside other images of flowering and agriculture.[104] There are also variations on this term. In his letter 54, Jerome describes Deborah as a bee who had "scripturarum floribus pasta" [grazed on the flowers of scripture].[105] The *paradysi flores* stand in place of the secular sources that Seneca instructs Lucilius to gather.

---

[100] Revelation 10:9-11.
[101] Ezekiel, 3:2-3.
[102] On eating the book, see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 44.
[103] Jerome, *Commentarium in Ezekiel*, 3:5 (PL 25, col. 35D), Hraban Maur, *De Universo*, 22,1 (PL 111, col. 594C), Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 38, 44. The verse *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL), discussed in Chapter Two, also associates honey with learned speech: "Presul ... magnus caelesti lumine dignus/ Otia grata trahens et uerbi mella refundens" [the great prelate, worthy of heavenly light/ was drawing out his welcome leisure, and pouring out the honey of the word....] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 31v.
[104] Ambrose, *Exameron*, lib. 3, cap. 11, par. 48 (PL 14, col. 175), Paulinus Nolanus, *Epist.* 32 (CSEL 29, par. 17, p. 292, line 11), Sedulius, *Paschale opus*, 2. cap. 1, line 1, p. 197.
[105] Jerome, *Ep*. 54,17, CSEL 54, p. 484.

Like the honeycomb, the *thesaurus* is often a metaphor for the heart or mind where memories are lodged.[106] In scripture, the *thesaurus* is equated with a body of knowledge: it is the treasury of the heart, the treasury of God's teaching, or Christ's wisdom and knowledge.[107] Long before Rainer, Jerome makes the association between honey, representing wisdom, and the *thesaurus* as the storehouse of memory. Carruthers discusses Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel 3:5, in which he links the admonition to "eat the book" [which is as sweet as honey] with the contemplation (*meditatio*) of scripture in the treasury of memory:[108] "uero assidue meditatione in memoriae thesauro librum Domini considerimus" [truly by meditation we continuously contemplate the book of the Lord in the treasury of the memory].[109] Rainer has a precedent in combining the honey metaphor, the association of eating and learning, and the image of the treasury of memory. Rainer's use of the adjective *caelestus* to modify *thesaurus* also has late antique roots. The *caelestus thesaurus*, the heavenly treasury, placed in opposition to an earthly treasury, is another expression used widely by early Christian authors, commentators and poets.[110] Augustine is particularly enamored of the phrase.[111]

The word *canistrum*, the kind of basket used to carry flowers and sacrifices, is both biblical and classical, used in the Vulgate translation of the Old Testament and in another major source for bees, Virgil's *Georgics*, which features an entire book dedicated

---

[106] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 33-36.
[107] Luke 6.45, 2 Corinthians 4.7. Colossians 2.3.
[108] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 44.
[109] Jerome, *Commentarium in Ezekiel*, 3:5 (PL 25, col. 35D).
[110] For example, Lactantius *Divinae institutiones*, book 7, cap. 27, line 16 (PL 6, col. 818), Paulinus Nolanus, *Ep.* 34 (CSEL 29, par 3, p. 305, line 22), Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, PL 97, praed., line 87.
[111] Augustine, *Ep.* 122, line 24 (PL 33, col. 471), *De bono uiduitatis*, cap. 21 par 26 (PL 40, col. 448), *Sermo* 18, lines 64 and 79 (PL 38, col.130).

to apiculture.[112] Sedulius, in the elegiac distichs that preface his fifth-century epic *Carmen paschale*, associates the *canistrum* with honey and themes of eating, reading, and writing.[113] Sedulius was an author included in the medieval curriculum, and the number of correspondences between this passage and Rainer's letter show that Rainer was familiar with at least the beginning of this poem.[114] Like the classical poet Horace, Sedulius compares his own work to a modest dinner. While Horace contrasts his satire (*satura*, which is a kind of dish) to more grandiose verse, Sedulius compares his *carmen* to the *cenae* of the *nobiles doctores*. Concerning the latter, he advises a prospective reader, "in ipsis etiam ferculis pretiosa nimis uarietate gemmatis flauescunt nectareis sua mella cum ceris, et aureis adpositus in canistris colore metallo fauus adludit" [Even in these dishes, overly adorned with a precious variety, their honey grows golden with sweet wax (*cerea* can also mean wax-covered writing tablet) and the honeycomb placed in the golden basket shines with the metal color].[115] By contrast, Sedulius's own dinner is a lowly cabbage plucked from the seeds of a poor garden and served in an earthenware dish. Horace and Sedulius both compare their own works to overblown verse (implicitly epic). What looks like a humility *topos* is in fact a defense of the poet's own (supposedly) understated verse against the excesses of loftier forms of verse. Rainer, in appropriating the *canistrum* filled with honey (rather than the cabbage on the earthenware dish) to describe Johannes's work is, in fact, identifying Johannes with the other side of the

---

[112] Numbers 6:15, Leviticus 8:2; Virgil, *Georgics*, 4.
[113] Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* in Sedulii *Opera Omnia*, ed. Iohannes Huemer, CSEL 10 (Vienna: C. Geroldi filivm bibliopolam academiae, 1885), pp. 175-76.
[114] Carl P.E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 34; Irvine, *Making of Textual Culture*, p. 356.
[115] Sedulius, *Carmen paschale*, lines 175-76.

analogy, with the classical epic poets. He reinforces this identification by his description of the bee's *canistrum*.

While the poets in Sedulius's preface have dishes ornamented with precious gems, and gold baskets, Rainer's bee carries a *canistrum* decorated by the teacher's art (*ars magistra*).[116] The expression *ars magistra* used in the ablative comes from the section of the *Aeneid* in which Vulcan instructs the Cyclopes to make arms for Aeneas, including the pictorial shield, which is decorated with scenes from the future history of Rome.[117] Aeneas's shield (itself based on Achilles's shield in the *Iliad*) is a story within a story; it allows Virgil to tell the epic history of Rome within his narrative of Aeneas. Instead of a shield decorated with a mini epic, the bee, standing for Johannes, has a basket and, if we follow the analogy between decorated basket and decorated shield, his mini epic is not the history of Rome, but the foundation of Marchiennes. Rainer here shows that he can allude to the *Aeneid* just as subtly as his correspondent Johannes.

There are numerous other sources Rainer might have drawn on, such as Virgil's *Georgics*, Ambrose, Fortunatus, and Aldhelm.[118] Even if Rainer had not read Book 4 of Virgil's *Georgics* in its entirety, he still would have read parts of it excerpted in

---

[116] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.442.
[117] Virgil, *Aeneid,* 8.442. Heiric also uses the phrase *arte magistra* in his *Vita Germani*, 4.482, but I am unable to tell whether Rainer had read the *Vita Germani*.
[118] Ambrose, *Exameron* 5.21-22 in CSEL 32, pp. 191-93; Fortunatus, *Appendix Carminum,* Poem 22, lines 21-22, *Poèmes, Livres IX -XI,* ed. Marc Reydellet (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), p. 157; Aldhelm, *De laudibus uirginitatis* 6, PL 89, col. 107. On Aldhelm, see Augustine Casiday, "St. Aldhelm's Bees (De uirginitate prosa cc. IV-VI): Some Observations on a Literary Tradition," *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004), 1-22.

Priscian's *Institutiones*.[119] The *Institutiones*, a standard grammar book during the early Middle Ages, included 31 lines from book four of the *Georgics* as grammatical examples.[120] Medieval sources reiterate Virgil's ideas about bees: that they are parthenogenic, industrious members of a well-ordered society,[121] and thus, much like saints, they provide a model for imitation.[122] Aldhelm, in his prose *De laudibus uirginitatis*, follows Virgil's ideas about bees but likens their ideal social order to a monastery.[123] Such an identification was facilitated by the meanings of *cella* — both the cell of the honeycomb, and the monk's cell.[124] The monastery itself could be described as a beehive (*aluearium* or *apiarium*),[125] and the monk's recitations of the Psalms compared to the murmuring of bees.[126]

Other Christian authors took the classical idea of the bee as the gatherer of nectar and made the subject of its collection specifically Christian knowledge.[127] A later example comes from the prose *vita* of Saint Juliana (1193-1258) of Mont-Cornillon, in the diocese of Liège. According to the *vita*, she was ordered in a vision to set up a new

---

[119] Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Heusden, 1969), p. 454. According to the thirteenth-century library list of Saint-Amand, there were copies of Priscian's works at that monastery.
[120] Martha Dana Rust, "The Art of Beekeeping Meets the Arts of Grammar: A Gloss of "Columcille's Circle," *Philological Quarterly* 78 (1999), 365.
[121] Augustine, *Sermo* 11, *In sabbato sancto* 3, PL 46, cols. 819-20; Aelred, *Sermo* 19 *In nativ. B.M.V* in PL 195, col. 320C. See also Debra Hassig, "The Model Citizen: The Bee," in *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 52-61.
[122] Ambrose, *Exameron* 5.21 in CSEL 32, p. 192. Ambrose describes the bee as an *exemplum*.
[123] Aldhelm, *De laudibus uirginitatis* 6, PL 89, col. 107.
[124] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 35.
[125] Penco, "Simbolismo Animalesco," p. 32; Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum* 1,2 in PL 71, col. 1013; *Vita S. Guenolaei*, *AB* 7 (1888),220; Wurdestin, *Vita Winwaloei*, 6.
[126] Penco, "Simbolismo Animalesco," p. 33; Johannes of Saint-Arnoul, *Vita S. Iohannis of Gorz* (BHL 4396), 80, in PL 137, col. 280 I am grateful to Scott G. Bruce for bringing this text to my attention.
[127] Clement d'Alexandrie, *Les stromates,* ed. Claude Mondésert, Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1951), 1.11, 2.

feast and she charged a monk (another Johannes) to write the office. He composed the office from existing sources just like a bee:

> Percurrens igitur ille multorum sanctorum libros, sicut apis prudentissima diuinarum sentiarum flores legebat sacramenti corporis et sanguinis Christi sapientes, ex quibus intra semetipsum antiphonarum, responsoriorum, hymnorum et aliorum quae ad ipsum officium pertinet mella conficiens, ea in tabularum aluerario recondebat.[128]
>
> Therefore, running through the books of many saints, just like the wisest bee, he was reading the flowers of divine knowledge and the teachers of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. From these sources, inside himself he was confecting the honey of the antiphons, responses, hymns, and the other things which pertain to that office. He was storing these things up in the beehive of the writing tablets.

In this passage, the metaphorical bee's activity is for a particular end, the composition of liturgy, and although the bee makes the honey inside himself (*intra semetipsum*) the beehive he stores it in (or on) is comprised of wax writing tablets, which others can read and use.

The bee as the collector of knowledge occurs in *vitae metricae*. The metaphor of the bee gathering the flowers of learning, virtue, and wisdom is particularly applied to young men acquiring their education.[129] In his metric *Vita Eigili*, the ninth-century poet Candid represents Eigil's education in these terms:

---

[128] *Vita Iuliane* (BHL 4521) in C. Lambot, *L'office de la Fête-Dieu primitive* (Maredsous: Éditions de Maredsous, 1946). p. 30, cited in Jonsson, *Historia*, p.181.

[129] Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose), MGH SRM 7/1, 119.4 (BHL 8935), Hariulfus, *Vita Angelranni*, 3 in PL 141, col.1406A (BHL 472). In these two prose *vitae*, the themes of the bee seeking virtuous individuals to imitate and the bee seeking learning are combined in the bee's search for a teacher. In his prose *Vita Willibrordi* (BHL 8938), Alcuin describes the *beatus adolescens* Willibrord seeking out a teacher like a bee collecting flowers. In the prose *Vita Angelranni*, the young Angelrann, eleventh-century abbot of Saint-Riquier, seeks out teachers like a bee: "scrutatus est scholarum magisteria, more … prudentissimae apis, quae circuit diuersorum florum arbusta, ut mellis dulcore sua repleat receptacula." [He examined the teachings of the schools in the manner of the most prudent bee, who goes around the orchards of different flowers so that she might fill her containers with the sweetness of honey].

Utque apis esuriens primo cum tempore ueris
Enitens paribus uolitat per gramina pennis,
Campigenosque sibi certat dercerpere flores,
Altius inde uolans glaucas stridentibus alis
Nunc salices, nunc namque pyrum platanumque nitentem
Floribus ore legit, tiliam feruore recenti hinc
Mellifluam satagit caeco sub condere tecto:
Haud secus hic iuuenis librorum carmine primum
... pascitur...
Proficiens aetate simul sensuque sagaci
Pasci promeruit umbrati nectaris haustu.[130]

And as a hungry bee when, in the first days of spring, shining, it flies through the grasses with balanced wings and struggles to pluck the flowers sprung from the field, then flying higher on humming wings, now with its mouth it picks (*legere*) the gray willow, now the fiery plane-tree blooming with flowers, from here it buzzes about the honey-drenched lime-tree, with renewed vigor, to set it aside in its secret lair. No differently does this youth first ... graze on the poetry of books, accomplished in age and in acute wisdom, he deserved to feed upon the draught of shaded nectar.

As the editor shows, this passage is a concatenation of Virgilian and Ovidian allusions, suggesting that the young Eigil (a future saint, abbot, and teacher) was reading the classics.

In the mid-ninth century, Ermenric uses the floral imagery to talk about composing *vitae metricae*. The letter in which he proposes to write a *vita metrica* of Saint Gall does not explicitly mention the bee but talks of picking flowers and weaving them into a garland.[131] Ermenric combines the flower-picking metaphor with the late antique

[130] Candid, *Vita Eigili*, ed. Ernest Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), 2.20-31, p. 98.
[131] Ermenric, *Epistola ad Grimaldum Abbatem*, ed. Ernest Dümmler, MGH Ep. 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 566 (cap. 28) (cf. p. 573). "Liceat amoris causa uirtutum eius quosdam floscellos decerpere, et metriciis melodiis ceu floreum diadema capiti tuo conponere" [it should be permissible, from love of virtue, to pluck certain little flowers and with metrical songs to compose hem, so to speak, into a flowery crown for your head].

trope of poetry as a garland of different kinds of flowers, and perhaps alludes to the title of Prudentius's poem on the martyrs, the *Peristephanon*.[132]

Milo's *Vita Amandi* combines the garland and bee imagery. Given that Rainer was of the same intellectual circle as Johannes, and that there was an exchange of manuscripts between Saint-Amand and Ghent, Rainer was probably familiar with the popular and influential *Vita Amandi*.[133] Milo's first use of the bee image to characterize the saint emphasizes Amand's humility, describing him as: " apes prudens intendens floribus almis/ Exquirit violam, quae terrae proxima surgit" [the wise bee, intent upon the kindly flowers, /seeks out the violet, which grows close to the earth].[134] Amand seeks the flower that grows close to the earth but nonetheless colors the garments of kings. Milo then joins the image of flower collection, as Ermenric had, to that of weaving a garland.[135]

---

[132] Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

[133] Rainer, like Milo, uses compounds of the verb *pascere* (to graze) of the bee's activities. This verb is not commonly used to describe bees' gathering. Virgil employs it once in the *Georgics* (4.181). Of the verse hagiographers, both Candid and Milo use the verb (*Vita Eigili*, line 31; p. 98; *Vita Amandi*, 3.131, p. 591). For evidence of the connections between Ghent and Saint-Amand, see McGurk, "Ghent Livinus Gospels." I have not found evidence for the presence of a copy of Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* at Saint-Pierre. A manuscript of a prose *Vita Amandi* was in the library of Saint-Pierre by the twelfth-century. This manuscript, Ghent, Bibl. Univ., MS 224, which mostly dates to the ninth century, contains Baudemund's *Vita Amandi* (BHL 332) and other texts on the saint including Milo's *Suppletio* (BHL 339). In the eleventh century, the *Visio Aldegundis*, which draws on Rainer's *Vita Gisleni* (BHL 3555), was added to this codex. See "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae publicae civitatis et academiae Gandavensis," *AB* 3 (1887), pp. 168-69; A. Derolez, *Inventaris van de Handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent* (Gent: Uitgaven van de Centrale Bibliotheek, 1977), p. 20 and National Library of Scotland, *Treasures of Belgian Libraries* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1963), p. 18.

[134] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.308-10, p. 575.

[135] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.316-18, p. 576.

The wise bee comes from Athanasius's description of Anthony as *sophe melissa*,[136] an image which was adopted by Cassian and numerous others.[137] In these descriptions, the bee's prudence means that it is wise in carefully selecting honey (that is, virtue or wisdom) from a wide range of flowers or from "diuersos sacrorum librorum campos" [different fields of holy books].[138] *Prudens*, then, is having the quality of discretion, the ability to read critically, to assess the relative value of sources, and to choose those which are best.

In addition to using the *apis* image to represent Amand, Milo employs it to describe his own process of writing. In his second use of the bee metaphor, Milo applies it to his own work: "more apis excerpens scripturae germine flores, /Plurima praeteriens studio breuitatis omitto" [in the manner of the bee, plucking the flowers of scripture from the seed, I leave out many things, passing over them in my zeal for brevity].[139] Like a bee, Milo flits from flower to flower, choosing (*excerpen*s) flowers grown up from the bud of scripture. Milo juxtaposes this image with his description of Amand as a bee, underlining his conflation of the activities of saint and hagiographer. His description of

---

[136] Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, Sources Chrétiennes no. 400 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994), 3.4. Robert A. Boehler brought Athanasius's use of the bee image to my attention. Athanasius's *vita* of Antony was known in the west in two Latin translations, one by Evagrius who intensified the image of the wise bee, by labeling it *apis prudentissima* (PG 26, cols. 843-44, *Versio Evagrii*). See Gindele, "Bienen-, Waben- und Honigverglsiche," p. 7. For the influence of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*, see Jean LeClerq, "Saint Antoine dans la tradition monastique médiévale," *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), 229-47 and Christine Mohrmann, "Note sur la version latine la plus ancienne de la Vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase," *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), 35-44.

[137] Many sources refer to the *prudens* or *prudentissima apis*. See Iohannes Cassian, *De institutis ceonobiorum*, ed. Michael Petschenig, CSEL 17 (Prague: Tempsky, 1888), 5.4; Alcuin, *Ep.* 272 in MGH Ep. 4/2, ed. Ernest Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 431.9; Caesarius *Sermo* 207, 2 in CCCM 104, 830. The image is common in prose *vitae*. See Wolstan, *Vita S. Ethelwoldi* (BHL 2647) in PL 137 col. 87; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, MGH SRM 7/1, 119.4; Rainer, *Vita Gisleni,* 18, *AB* 5 (1886), 238; Berno of Reichenau, *Vita S. Udalrici* (BHL 8362), PL 142, col.1187 A.

[138] Alcuin, *Ep.* 272, in MGH Ep. 4/2, p. 431.9-14.

[139] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.280-88, p. 574. Johannes borrows line 1.281 from Milo.

Amand seeking the violet and weaving garlands is in the context of Amand appealing to Saint Martin – much as a hagiographer might — and adopting the religious life: "quicquid conspicuo uirtutum flore uigere/ Vidit, hoc proprios sitienter traxit ad actus" [whatever he saw flourishing in the bright flower of virtues, thirstily he added this to his own deeds].[140] Like the hagiographer, the saint seeks out *flores*, holy *acta* of the saints, to incorporate into his life.[141]

In Milo's third use of the image he again transforms a commonplace to represent the relationship between the saint and the populace. Milo depicts the people coming to Amand:

> Fit populi subito multus concursus ad ipsum.
> Feruere ut miraris apes per prata, per hortos
> Erga purpureos flores ac carpere morsu,
> Quod referant pedibus cara ad praesepia curuis:
> Non secus has uideas gentes insistere Amando,
> Conspicuo flori hieme atque aestate uirenti,
> Quo sacrosanctum ualeant baptisma referre
> Virtutumque dapes ut dulcia mella reportent,
> Quis mundi dominus praedulci pascitur haustu.[142]
>
> Suddenly a crowd of people rallied around him. Just as you wonder at bees buzzing though the fields, through the gardens, toward the purple flowers, and grabbing in their jaws what they carry with curved feet to their dear homes, no differently should you see the people thronging around Amand, a shining flower in winter and verdant in summer, so that they might be able to receive holy baptism and carry back feasts of virtues, like sweet honey, who the lord of the world feeds with the sweet draught.

---

[140] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.318-19, p. 576.
[141] In the twelfth century, Aelred of Rievaulx expressed a similar sentiment in his *Ascetica*: "ex dictis et exemplis sanctorum quosdam spirituales flores colligit" [from the words and examples of the saints she (the metaphorical bee] collects certain spiritual flowers]. PL 195, col. 320C. On the conflation of saint and hagiographer, see the previous chapter.
[142] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 3.123-31, p. 591.

The language here draws on Ovid and Sedulius and is highly reminiscent of Candid's description of Eigil's reading.[143] If Milo had not read Candid's *Vita* (and there is no evidence for its presence at Saint-Amand), he certainly draws from the same stock of images and sources.[144] In Milo's description, the saint is the flower and the people are the bees.[145] As the flower from whom the bees feed, Amand has metaphorically become the text that the people and the hagiographer gather. For the hagiographer, the *gesta* of the saint are some of the elements he collects to compose his text, whereas for the people in the narrative the living saint is their flower.

The idea that the metaphorical bee might gather his sustenance from people, rather than texts, occurs in Athanasius's life of Anthony, in which the young saint is described like a wise bee seeking out good men from whom he can gather different virtues.[146] Cassian, also in reference to Anthony, reiterates the idea that some people are "ornamented with the flowers of wisdom" (*scientiae floribus exornatur*), while other people have other strengths.[147] Therefore, says Cassian, the monk in search of spiritual honey (*mella spiritalia*) should be like a bee, taking the appropriate virtue from each

---

[143] The MGH editor identifies allusions to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 12.555 and Sedulius 1.47.

[144] Although Candid's *Vita Eigilii* is not featured in the thirteenth-century booklist from Saint-Amand, Milo's bee metaphor may contain an echo of Candid's use of the trope. There is a particularly close structural correspondence between Milo, *Vita Amandi* 3.122-31, p. 591, and Candid, *Vita Eigili* 2.20-31, p. 98. In both passages, after the bee metaphor, a line begins with "haud secus" or "non secus," and five lines later, one ends with *haustu*.

[145] Milo juxtaposes his image of the saint as flower with another agricultural trope, that of the *sator* (sower), who sows the seeds of the divine word. See Chapter Three of this study for a discussion of the image. Milo, *Vita Amandi,* 3.138, p. 591. "Multiplicem meruit fructum qui germine ab uno" [He deserved the bountiful harvest, which came from a single seed]. A few lines later (147-8) Milo continues, "in populo, fecunda seges de cespite surgens/ Reddit centuplicem uirtutum gramine frugem" [Among the people, a fertile crop arising from the earth returns a hundred times the harvest of virtues from the single stalk of grass].

[146] Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine*, 3.4. Bartelink, in his edition of the *Vie d'Antoine,* points out that the motif of the prudent bee is employed in the Latin tradition in Cassian's *De institutis*, 5.4.

[147] Cassian, *De inst.*, 5.4.

person and storing it away in his heart (*pectus*).[148] The *prudens* bee must be highly selective in choosing what things he takes (Cassian's verb is *deflorare*) from each flower (whether that flower is a person or a text). By taking different virtues from various individuals, we can assemble a composite idea of the perfect man (*uir perfectus*), who is worthy of imitation.[149] Cassian's advice on assembling an *exemplum* from disparate parts is therefore like Seneca's advice on composition. Both writers use the bee metaphor to express their preference for a whole composed of carefully selected and integrated components. Saints' *vitae* exhibit both kinds of exemplarity. They purport to represent individuals whose virtues should be imitated, but these representations, like the narrative as a whole, include elements reused from previous *vitae* and other texts.

Johannes also employs the trope of the holy man as flower in relation to the people. In his dedicatory acrostic, Johannes addresses bishop Erluin as "flos et gloria plebi" [the flower and glory of the people],[150] implicitly including his dedicatee among bishops and holy men, like Amand, who sustain their flocks with the divine word.[151] So, the flowers that the bee picks can be either texts or men, but in both instances, the bee is responsible for the careful selection of the blossoms and the composition or distillation of honey from them. By calling Erluin a *flos*, Johannes is suggesting that the bishop is worthy of the bee's selection. Cassian had spelled out the need to collect different virtues from different *flores* to form a composite picture of the *uir perfectus*. So, by calling him a

---

[148] Cassian, *De inst.*, 5.4.
[149] Cassian, *De inst.*, 5.4.
[150] Johannes, *Versus Iohannis ad episcopum Erluinum*, line 5. See also the epitaph of Milo and Hucbald, discussed in the previous chapter, which describes the two monks as *Ecclesiae nostrae flores* [the flowers of our church]. *Tituli Elnonenses* X, MGH Poetae 3, p. 679.
[151] Johannes, *Versus Iohannis ad episcopum Erluinum*, line 7.

flos, Johannes might be subtly implying that he has incorporated elements of Erluin's virtues into his own composite picture of the *uir perfectus*, namely the bishop Amand.

Johannes does not use the metaphor of the bee gathering flowers in his *Vita Rictrudis*, but he does employ a symbolic bee in one passage. Following Hucbald's version of the incident, he describes Rictrude's son Mauront being circled by a bee while Amand performs a mass.[152] In both Hucbald's and Johannes's versions of the story, Amand understands what the bee circling Mauront's head signifies. Johannes spells out the bee's symbolic meaning for his readership: the bee shows Mauront's grace and piety. In both versions, Amand, the saint, is able to read and interpret the symbolism of the bee.[153] Given the rich history of bee symbolism in late antique and early medieval literature, readers of either of the *vitae* of Rictrude might also have derived symbolic meaning from the bee's interest in Mauront. The bee is concerned with Mauront because the young man is a source of virtue, a metaphorical flower, like the paragons of virtue whom the "prudent bee," the young Athanasius, visits. Amand, as an observant reader who reads the symbolic meanings of natural phenomena, understands this. In very subtle ways, Mauront follows in his *patronus* Amand's footsteps in becoming a metaphorical flower, and Amand models for the reader how to read the divine significance in the natural and mundane world.

Rainer's use of the bee imagery in his own prose hagiography pulls together many different strands of the metaphor. Rainer wrote a prose *Vita* (BHL 3555), a *Sermo,* and

[152] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 12, p. 83; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.270-77, p. 588.
[153] On the symbolism of bees visiting a youth, see Gindele, "Bienen-,Waben- und Honigvergleiche," p. 8.

Miracula (BHL 3556) on Saint Gislen (Ghislain), one of Amand's contemporaries from the diocese of Cambrai.[154] One twelfth-century manuscript (Valenciennes, BM, MS 668) containing the *Vita*, *Sermo*, and *Miracula* was at Saint-Amand, suggesting the continued ties between Ghent and Saint-Amand.[155] Rainer wrote the *Vita, Sermo* and *Miracula* of Gislen (ca. 1000-1013) in roughly the same span of time as he composed the letter to Johannes (995-1012).[156] Therefore we cannot be certain that Rainer drew on, and alluded to, his own earlier work in composing the letter to Johannes. The letter and the works on Gislen might simply draw from his common pool of ideas. However, it is also possible that Rainer distilled down passages and expressions from his own *Vita, Sermo*, and *Miracula* of Gislen to compose his letter to Johannes. If Rainer composed his works on Gislen before he wrote the letter, then, by citing himself (among numerous other sources)

---

[154] *AB* 5 (1886), pp. 209-94. The *Sermo* and the *Miracula* share the BHL number 3556. Rainer sent the works to Rathbod. See *Epistola Raineri monachi ad domnum abbatem Rathbodum*, *AB* 5 (1886), 12. This letter is transmitted in three of the manuscripts that contain the *Vita, Sermo* and *Miracula*, Mons, BM, MS 27 (221), Mons, BM, MS 229 (222), and Douai, BM, MS 500. See *AB* (1886), pp. 210-11. A seventeenth-century library catalogue of Saint-Ghislain (Saint Gisleni in Cella in Hannonia) shows that the library had a copy of Rainer's *Vita Gisleni* ("Vita Sancti Gisleni per Rhainerum Monachum") as well as two verse *vitae* of their founding saint. See Antonius Sanderus, *Bibliotheca belgica manuscripta,* vol. 1 (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1972 [1641]), pp. 246-47.

[155] Johannes, monk of Saint-Amand, sent his *Vita Rictrudis* to Stephan and Rainer, both monks of Ghent. Rainer sent his works on Gislen to Rathbod who may have been the abbot of Saint-Amand. See Poncelet, "De Vita Gisleni," pp. 221-28, for a discussion of the identification of Rainer's correspondent Rathbod.

[156] In *Miracula Gisleni* 32, Rainer mentions the translation of Gislen's relics to Grandlieu, which occurred at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, so the works on Gislen must have been composed after this. Rainer's prefatory letter to Rathbod, implies that the *Vita, Sermo,* and *Miracula* were composed together. In his letter to Rathbod, Rainer states that the abbot had ordered him to set down the *vita* and *miracula* of Gislen (see *Epistola Raineri,* 212). If we accept that Rainer's correspondent was Rathbod, abbot of Saint-Amand, then the dates of his abbacy, 996 - 1013, provide *termini post* and *ante quem* for Rainer's works on Gislen (see Poncelet, "De Vita Gisleni," pp. 228-33, for a discussion of the date of Rainer's work). If the saint's translation to Grandlieu provided the impetus for the works' composition, then we can speculate that Rainer wrote closer to the beginning of this time frame. Heinzle dates the works to after 1020. See Joachim Heinzle, *Das Mittelalter in Daten Literatur, Kunst, Geschichte 750-1520* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1993), p. 73.

in the letter, Rainer weaves his own work into the tradition of hagiographic writing, as one of the flowers of learning

In his works on Gislen, Rainer uses the bee image three times.[157] In the *Vita Gisleni*, he describes people returning from the saint's oratory to their own houses, "ut prudens apes quaeque florum dulcia fert ad alvearia, sic deferebant ad sua claustra quaeque uirtutum germina, unde pascerentur fidelium corda" [As each wise bee bears the sweetness of the flowers to the hive, thus they were carrying off to their own individual monasteries seeds of virtues, from which they might nourish the hearts of the faithful].[158] Gislen here is not the bee as much as the flower, an identification made explicit earlier in the *Vita*, when Rainer describes Gislen, in his oratory, as "uirtutum flore … decoratus" [adorned with the flower of virtues].[159] The relationship between Gislen and those who visit his oratory parallels that of Amand and the laity, in Milo's text discussed above, but Gislen goes beyond feeding those who come to him since these bees not only receive sweet things (*dulcia*) but take this sustenance with them to nourish the hearts of the faithful (*corda fidelium*).

In a passage of the *Miracula* of Gislen, Rainer describes the monks as bees. This section draws on the idea of a well-ordered society of bees, featuring the division of labor, and reiterates Athanasius' and Cassian's points about the necessity of collecting honey from different flowers.

---

[157] Penco, "Simbolismo Animalesco," pp. 33-34.
[158] Rainer, *Vita Gisleni*, 18.
[159] Rainer, *Vita Gisleni*, 8. In other passages, Rainer also uses floral imagery, symbolizing virtue. For example, *Vita Gisleni prologus* (flower wreath imagery), and *Vita Gisleni* 3 (nectar from roses).

> … mentes accendunt igne diuini amoris, seque ita inuicem hortantur ad cotidianum crementum monachicae eruditionis, ut uideres aliquos, more apum pastos floribus, superni roris dulcia quaeque deferre ad aluearia communis mansionis, alios uero … mellaque certatim stipare in canistris atque dulcedine diuersorum florum caste pieque fetus educere.[160]
>
> They kindle their minds with the fire of divine love, thus they exhort one another in turn to the daily increase of monastic learning, with the result that you may see some, having feasted on flowers in the manner of bees, carrying away all the sweetness of heavenly dew to the hives of their shared dwelling, while others … in competition pack the honey in baskets and with the sweetness of diverse flowers raise up the young chastely and piously.

Again, the bee metaphor expresses an educational goal. But unlike Candid's young Saint Eigil, Rainer's bees, goading one another to improve their *monachica eruditio*, are not collecting sustenance for themselves as much as providing for the young. Here the bee is not just a model of learning but also of teaching.

These passages from the *Vita* and *Miracula* show many of the same themes as Rainer's letter to Johannes. The bees nourish the hungry and fill the *canistra* with honey. A passage from Rainer's *Sermo* on Gislen, provides an even closer parallel: "uelut apes paradisi depasta flores alueraria fratrum reuisens, totus mellifluus omnes hortabatur nec mortale sonans, ut gustarent quam suauis est Dominus" [just like a bee, having feasted on the flowers of paradise, looking again to the hives of his brothers, so the honey-voiced man, sounding forth in a manner that was not human, kept exhorting all to taste how sweet the Lord is].[161] In this passage, Rainer describes the saint, "like a bee having feasted on the flowers of paradise," in almost exactly the same terms as he describes the

[160] Rainer, *Miracula Gisleni,* 20.
[161] Rainer*, Sermo super miracula Gisleni,* 6.

poet Johannes. Like Milo, in his *Vita Amandi* discussed in Chapter Three, Rainer uses the same terms for the work of poets and the work of saints.

Elsewhere Rainer also collapses the distinctions between poet and saint, or at least the enduring remains of each. In the letter to Johannes, Rainer describes the metaphorical *canistrum* decorated with the *ars magistra*, but in his *Miracula Gisleni* Rainer depicts the actual urn (or *caelestis thesaurus*) that holds Gislen's relics decorated in this manner.[162] So, Rainer uses the same term, "heavenly treasury," to describe both the verse *vita* and the urn that contains a saint, and he describes both containers of sanctity, the urn and the poem, as being "decorated by the teacher's art." We saw how Milo conflates the roles of saint and verse hagiographer by applying the same image of the *apis*, just as he applies the image of the *sator*, to both the holy man and the writer. By reusing the same terms for the vessel that contains the saint's corporeal remains and the poem that tells of the saint's life, Rainer likewise collapses the distinction between saints, writers, and texts. Like the verse *Vita Dionysii*, which enclosed the saint in verse (*stricto claudere uersu*), Rainer implicitly equates hagiography with a container for the saint's remains. [163]

Although Rainer probably takes the idea of the hagiographer as the bee from Milo, this does not explain why he chooses in his letter to represent Johannes as a *mother* bee. In fact, the term does not gender Rainer in a feminine role so much as equate him with the liturgical bee who provides the sacrifice of wax for the paschal candle. While the term *mater apis* occurs in a few other sources, Rainer and Johannes would have been

[162] Rainer, *Miracula Gisleni*, 5.
[163] *Passio Dionysii* (verse), fol. 33v.

most familiar with it from the blessing of the Easter candle in the Gregorian sacramentary.[164] This passage celebrates the virtues of bees:

> Suscipe, sancte pater, incensi huius sacrificium uespertinum, quod tibi in hac caerei oblatione sollemni per ministrorum manus de operibus apum, sacrosancta reddit ecclesia …. Alitur liquentibus ceris quam in substantiam praetiosae huius lampadis apis mater eduxit. Apis ceteris quae subiecta sunt homini animantibus antecellit. Cum sit minima corporis paruitate, ingentes animos angusto uersat in pectore. Viribus inbecillis, sed fortis ingenio.
>
> Holy father, receive the evening sacrifice of this incense, which for you, in the solemn offering of wax through the hands of your ministers, from the works of the bees the holy church returns …. It is nourished by flowing wax, which the mother bee brought forth into the substance of this precious light. The bee comes before other animals which are subject to man. Although she is very small in her little body, she turns a great mind in her narrow chest. She is weak in strength but strong in ingenuity.

After describing the bees' industrious activities, including picking flowers (*legere flosculos*) and carrying them home, the benediction continues,

> Ibique aliae inaestimabili arte, cellulas tenaci glutino instruunt, aliae liquentia mella stipant, aliae uertunt flores in caeram, aliae ore natos fingunt, aliae collectis e foliis nectar includunt. O uere beata et mirabilis apis, cuius nec sexum masculi uiolant, foetus non quassant, nec filii distruunt castitatem. Sicut sancta concepit uirgo Maria, uirgo peperit, et uirgo permansit.[165]
>
> And here [at their home] some, with remarkable skill, build little cells with sticky gum, others compress the flowing honey, some turn flowers into wax, others form the offspring in their mouth [a reference to bees'

---

[164] Wettinus (d. 824) used the term *mater apis* in his prose *Vita Galli*, to describe men "ingenium exercebant in artibus diuersis" [exercising their intellect in diverse arts]. See Wettinus, *Vita Galli*, 6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4, 260. The term *apis mater* is also used by Rupert of Deutz (c. 1070 - 1129/30) in his *Liber de diuinis officiis*, in a passage that relies heavily on the blessing of the paschal candle. Baldric, in his *Vita* of Robert Arbrissel (BHL 7259), applies the term *mater apis* to Robert, whom he usually describes as *magister*. See *Vita*, 3, AASS Feb. vol. 3, p. 612. A thirteenth-century codex, Admont, SB, MS 759, contains a text, *De uocalibus animalium*, which also uses the term.

[165] Gregorian Sacramentary, 1022b, *The Blessing of the Easter Candle,* in *Le sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Deshusses (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1971), pp. 361-62.

> parthenogenic reproduction], some store up the nectar collected from plants. O truly blessed and marvelous bee, whose sex males do not violate, whose chastity offspring do not shake nor children tear apart! Just as the holy virgin Mary, conceived as a virgin, she gave birth, and remained a virgin.

In this blessing, the bees are, once again, industrious, well-organized and virginal. Only beeswax is appropriate for the paschal candle because, as the blessing makes clear, the wax, like Jesus, is produced by a virgin mother, the *mater apis*.[166] The bee's product – here the candle – likewise produces light. If Johannes is also a *mater apis* then the illuminating product of his labor is not a candle but a metric *vita*.

Rainer's use of the term from the sacramentary shows how thoroughly the monks imbibed the language of liturgy and stored it away in their memories. This blessing of the paschal candle in turn reflects how the authors of liturgy had gathered the flowers of their classical education.[167] The expression "ingentes animos angusto uersat in pectore" [she turns a great mind in her narrow chest] is from Virgil's *Georgics*.[168] Virgil writes "aliae liquantia mella stipant" in the *Aeneid*. It is one of the lines cited by Priscian and, as seen above, it is quoted by Seneca in his advice on composition.[169] So, Rainer combines two images of the bee (the bee as a writer and the mother bee) drawn from two sources, one classical and one Christian, that quote exactly the same line of Virgil. This blessing made on the night "in qua terrenis caelestia iunguntur" [on which heavenly things are joined to

---

[166] D. Germain Morin, "Pour l'authenticité de la letter de S. Jerôme à Présidius," *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature* 3 (1913), 58. For an early association of the imitation of the bee with the candle, see the letter to Praesidius attributed to Jerome and cited by Morin: "Id de cerei carmine disce: illud tibi de uariis floribus lumen exorna. Esto et ipse apes" [Learn this from the waxen song: embellish that light for yourself from diverse flowers. And you yourself be a bee].
[167] I am indebted to Alison Frazier for this point.
[168] Virgil, *Georgics* 4.83. Virgil puts the verb at the end and expresses it in the plural.
[169] Rust, "Art of Beekeeping," p. 366; Priscian, *Institutiones* 479.11-12.

earthly] shows how thorough was the synthesis of Christian and classical in monastic culture.

Aeterneque memoriae commendare desideramus per omne aeuum: Creating a Community of Memory

To read like a bee is to find one's own flowers. The bee gathering flowers is an allegory for a way of reading. Instead of being a passive recipient of the divine word, represented by the hungry (*esurientes*), the bee represents the active reader. The apian reader is like the people who swarm around Amand in Milo's verse *Vita Amandi*; the people gather wisdom from the saint just as the reader gathers it from the the *vita*. In the third to last sentence of his letter, Rainer likens Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* to flowers with which Rainer satiates his hunger. In relation to the first group of readers (the *esurientes* whom he feeds) Johannes is like a bee, but in relation to Rainer, Johannes's text is like a flower and Rainer is the active reader, the bee.[170]

Bees do not simply gather nectar, they also provide honey for others. When they collect flowers, the saints, monks and poets –Saint Amand, Saint Eigil, Saint Gislen's followers — do not simply stock their hearts, memories, or treasuries for themselves, but, like the recipients of God's honey-flavored books, they convey the word to others. Similarly, it is the task of the reader who gathers sources, following Seneca's model, to use them to compose new works of literature. Rainer, the authors of the paschal blessing,

[170] Underlining Rainer's implicit characterization of himself as a bee, he employs another derivation of the verb *pascere* recalling the term he had used to describe the mother bee collecting flowers. Rainer describes the mother bee as *depasta* ("having been nourished"). Having read Johannes's text, Rainer is concerned that, although revived, he should seem *impastus* (unfed).

and Johannes all read and write like bees, excerpting sections of their reading to create new works. Johannes could have expected a new generation of readers – and writers – to use his *vita metrica* just as he had employed the works of Milo and Hucbald. This is clearly what Milo's own teacher Haimin hoped for when he gave Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* to other *fratres* to goad them into imitation.[171]

As noted in the previous chapter, this dynamic process, in which the readers of *vitae metricae* drew on the flowers of their learning to write their own verse saints' lives, sometimes occurred in the classroom or at the end of a student's education.[172] As Candid's depiction of the young Eigil suggests, youth was the time when the monk would read most widely among the sources. Because education stressed memorization, it was also the time that the flowers of that reading were most likely to get stored away in the memory for future use. As texts often composed at the end of a student's education, *vitae metricae* could also be reincorporated into the curriculum that produced them. So, Ermenric proposed to write his verse *Vita Galli* to educate others.[173] Rainer hints at the educational function of the *Vita Rictrudis* when he describes the bee's basket decorated by the teacher's art.[174] The *vitae metricae* could be taught alongside classical and Christian epic poems and the *auctores* who were their sources. Through such education, the literary culture of the monks who read and wrote like bees was recreated in each generation.

---

[171] Haimin, *Rescriptum Haimini*, MGH Poetae 3, pp. 566-67.
[172] Baudoin de Gaiffier, "L'hagiographe et son public au xie siècle," *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Éditions universitaires, 1947), p. 135; Dolbeau, "Domaine négligé," p. 129.
[173] MGH, Ep., 3, pp. 556-57.
[174] Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.442; *Servii Grammatici in Vergilii Aeneidos librum octauum commentarius*. [442].

Vitae metricae were also read outside the classroom. Alcuin states that his metric *Vita Willibrordi* is meant to be read by the monks in their private chambers (*in secreto cubili*).[175] In describing the monks' private reading, Alcuin uses a digestive metaphor similar to Seneca's, saying that his *vita metrica* is to be "chewed over" (*ruminare*). As Alcuin's comment suggests, this kind of "digestive" reading could take place outside the classroom during the monks' meditative reading. Carruthers has discussed the term *ruminatio* as a metaphor for reading.[176] The term suggests an intense, and even physical process, as the words are pronounced under the breath (like a bee humming), committed to memory, and incorporated into the body.[177] Like Seneca, medieval writers sometimes associated this verb with the bee metaphor to suggest the digestion and transformation of sources.[178] Rainer's response to Johannes also suggests intensive, repetitive reading.[179]

Read in either the classroom or the *cubiculum*, the metric *Vita Rictrudis* would have been absorbed and committed to memory (*memoriae commendare*), preserving the history of Rictrude and Marchiennes through every age (*per omne aevum*).[180] Rainer says to Johannes, "... illustris prudentia nobilitat nobilem seriem uitae nobilis Rictrudis terque

---

[175] "In secreto cubili inter scolasticos tuos … ruminari debuisset." [It should have been chewed over by your learned monks in their private chamber.] Alcuin, in MGH Ep. 4, 175; Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1, pp. 207-220.

[176] Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* pp. 165-69. See also Philip J. West, "Rumination in Bede's Account of Caedmon," *Monastic Studies* 12 (1976), 217-26, and Irvine, *Making of Textual Culture,* p. 433.

[177] Johannes of Saint-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis Gorz,* 80 in PL 137, col. 280; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 164, 169.

[178] Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 76.2 in CCCM 103, p. 314; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 23, chap. 16 in CSEL 29, p. 174, line 12.

[179] Rainer, p. 596, "non sufficit meae deuotioni fraglantia tuorum florum semel recreasse esuriem animi." [It was not enough for my devotion that the scent of your flowers had once satisfied the hunger of my mind].

[180] In a similar vein, Alcuin speaks of memory being stored in the *thesauro litterarum.* Alcuin, *Ep.* 80, MGH Ep. 4, p. 122. On writing as the "guardian of history," and this passage of Alcuin in particular, see Irvine, *Making of Textual Culture*, p. 332.

beatae" ("your distinguished prudence makes known the noble course of the noble life of thrice blessed Rictrude).[181] The *Vita Rictrudis* frames the story of the abbey's foundation in a lofty and memorable epic form. By writing in the format of the *Aeneid*, Johannes casts the *vita* as a prestigious foundation story akin to the arrival of the Trojans in Italy. By drawing on Hucbald and Milo, Johannes weaves the text into his monastery's own prestigious literary tradition. Rainer's letter, with its image of the bee, concerns two kinds of *memoria*:[182] the art of memory that allows one to draw on the sources that form the basis of monastic literary culture (such as the *Psalms*, Virgil, and the liturgy), and the memory of the deeds of the saints, which the *vita metrica* conveys into the future.

The readers and writers whom I have been discussing express their place in an ongoing literary tradition through their use of their sources. Johannes quotes Milo at length, adopts most of his narrative from Hucbald, and through the latter, invokes a particularly apposite reference to Virgil. In his response to Johannes, Rainer more subtly alludes to his sources by deploying the trope of the bee, which allows him to invoke an array of writers, including Seneca, Virgil, Sedulius, and Milo. By combining the literary bee with the liturgical mother bee, Rainer represents Johannes synthesizing Christian *and* classical authors, prose and verse texts, and integrating them into a *vita metrica*.

The bee is not just a trope that alludes to a complex literary tradition but also a metaphor describing how a writer uses that tradition. It is therefore a meta-referential image that writers, including Candid, Milo, and Rainer, used in a highly self-conscious

---

[181] Rainer, *Ep.* p. 595.
[182] Faith Wallis, "The Ambiguities of Medieval 'Memoria,'" *Canadian Journal of History/ Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 30 (1995), 77-85.

way. The *apis* trope is a dynamic model for reading and writing. In the monastic literary culture of Johannes and Rainer, readers were also writers who constantly collected, transformed, and reused the material they had gathered. The bee is also a metaphor used to discuss preaching, teaching, learning, and acquiring virtue. Because it discusses all these activities, the trope collapses the roles of those who perform them: readers, writers, and saints. The saint and the poet are the bees and they and their *vitae* are also the flowers on which the reader feeds.

The readers and writers of verse hagiography discussed their work in language that was simultaneously poetic and ordinary, familiar from both their reading and their daily experience. That the image of the bee seems small, commonplace, decorative, or mundane should not obscure the fact that the writers used it to engage some of the issues at the heart of monastic life – the reading and composition of texts, the use of memory, the monks' relationship to the classical and Christian past, and the coherence of their intellectual community. The bee was memorable precisely because it was colorful, ornamental and familiar from the monks' daily life,[183] and useful because, for an erudite reader or writer, it invoked both a set of authoritative sources and a methodology of reading them. By using this trope, drawing it from the *thesauri* of their memories, the readers and writers of *vitae metricae* showed their participation in the traditions of verse and hagiographic composition.

[183] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 117; Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book*, pp. 40-71; Schmitz, "Blandin (Mont-)," p.126. Carruthers and Scarry both discuss what makes certain kinds of images memorable. Bees would have been a common sight to Rainer since, according to Schmitz, "les moines [of Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin] avaient de petits jardins qu'ils cultivaient eux-mêmes."

The monks, like Johannes and Rainer, who wrote and read *vitae metricae* were part of a scholarly community based on a shared set of texts that they committed to memory in the classroom and the choir. These readers and writers, the metaphorical bees, were not members of one physical community, located in the same place and time, but were part of a network of the living and the dead in which authority was vested in men and texts, Scripture and church fathers, missionaries of the Merovingian past and contemporary bishops, Virgil and liturgy, relics and *vitae metricae*. The sources are the *flores* from which the bees gather nectar to process into honey and store in the hive. In the logic of the bee metaphor, the *aluearium* stands for the school room, the monastery, and the memory. These places were the *loci* of the community of scholars constituted by reading and writing *ueluti mater apis*.

This literary culture was the product of men of the ninth and tenth centuries raised in monastic schools and imbued with the language of liturgy. It was by murmuring under their breath, ruminating upon the words, chewing and digesting them, that the monks were able to lay them away in the *thesaurae* of their memory, in the baskets of their minds, the beehives of their hearts.[184] As Peter de la Celle, bishop of Chartres, advised in the twelfth century, "lege tanquam apis et reconde in alveolo memoriae" [read like a bee and store it up in the little beehive of your memory].[185]

[184] Johannes of Saint-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis Gorz,* 80 in PL 137, col. 280.
[185] Peter de la Celle, *Ep.* I, 58, PL 202, col. 487.

Chapter Five:
Mothers and Daughters: Affiliation and Conflict in the Verse and Prose *Vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia

According to the tenth- and eleventh-century *vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia, Eusebia lived at the abbey of Hamage where her grandmother Gertrude was abbess.[1] When Gertrude died, Eusebia's mother Rictrude, fearing that her twelve-year-old daughter would be corrupted, brought her and all the other sisters of Hamage to live at the neighboring abbey of Marchiennes, where Rictrude was abbess. Eusebia disobeyed her mother and secretly returned to Hamage to perform the offices in the abandoned abbey. When Eusebia refused to desist from her nightly visits to Hamage, Rictrude ordered her son Mauront to beat the girl. According to three of the accounts, the stick that Mauront was using to beat Eusebia flew from his hand, planted itself in the ground and burst into leaf. After this miracle, and with support of the local bishops, Eusebia finally returned to Hamage with her community, where she presided as abbess until her death. Later sources minimize or even omit Gertrude's role in founding Hamage and treat Eusebia as the house's founding saint.[2] After her death, Eusebia became a patron of Hamage, while her mother was revered as the founder of Marchiennes.

---

[1] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis,* 9, AASS Mai vol. 3, p. 82; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.361-62; *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap. 3, AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 448; *Poleticum*, in *L'histoire-polyptyque de l'abbaye de Marchiennes (1116/1121), étude critique et édition*, ed. Bernard Delmaire (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985), cap. 13; *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.15. On Eusebia, see Mireille De Somer, "Eusebia," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 5 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1964), cols. 243-45.

[2] The fact that Eusebia is regarded as the founding figure of Hamage is reflected in the early eleventh-century *Gesta* of the Bishops of Cambrai, which describes Eusebia building the church at Hamage out of her patrimony, installing the nuns, and endowing the house. The *Gesta* reads "Nec procul hinc in uilla Hamatagia, beata quoque Christi famula Eusebia, predictae scilicet uirginis filia, ex rebus hereditariis

As I Deug-Su has pointed out, it is difficult for a hagiographer to balance the competing sanctity of mother and daughter in this narrative.[3] Either Saint Rictrude, as abbess, is correct in punishing her disobedient daughter, or Saint Eusebia is correct in piously maintaining Hamage's rites. There are extant two *vitae* of Rictrude and two of Eusebia that were written in the vicinity of Marchiennes in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. In the prose and verse *vitae* of Rictrude (BHL 7247 and 7248), written at Saint-Amand in the tenth century, the authors, respectively Hucbald and Johannes, treat the problem of Rictrude and Eusebia's conflict differently. Hucbald in the prose seeks to strike a balance between the two sides while Johannes in the verse ignores the problems posed by saintly antagonists. In the anonymous prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia (BHL 2736 and 2737, by different authors), the writers take the daughter's side. The verse *Vita Eusebiae*, in particular, presents Eusebia as a martyr who dies of her wounds, albeit years later.

The prose and verse *vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia feature masculine women as the founding figures in the stories of their communities' origins. I argue that the authors of the *vitae* of Eusebia write about the conflict between the two saints to articulate the relationship between the houses, which is symbolically expressed through Rictrude's violence and Eusebia's resistance. The verse *Vita Eusebiae*, and to a lesser extent its

---

aecclesiam struxit, quam sanctimonialibus constitutis, etiam ipsa abbatissa pro modo facultatis multa ope dotauit" [Not far from here (Marchiennes), in the house of Hamage, a blessed servant of Christ, Eusebia, daughter of the aforementioned young woman, constructed a church out of her inheritance. When nuns had been established there, she herself as abbess endowed the foundation with much wealth in accordance with her ability]. *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, book 2, cap. 27, ed G. H. Pertz, MGH Scriptorum (Hannover: Hahn, 1856), p. 461.

[3] I Deug-Su, "La <<Vita Rictrudis>> di Ubaldo di Saint-Amand: un'agiografia intellettuale e i santi imperfetti," *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 31.2 (1990), 545-582.

prose counterpart, rewrite the story of Eusebia to cast the adolescent girl as a powerful, almost masculine, patron who overcomes her adversary, her mother, by word and miracle and thus asserts her community's independence. As Sharon Farmer and others have shown, and as I have explored in earlier chapters, monks and canons did not compose works about their founding figures as exercises in antiquarianism or even simply for reasons of piety. Rather, among other things, the hagiographical texts were intended to shape the community's identity and influence contemporary political relations with other communities and secular lords. Farmer explores how texts about Martin express and attempt to control power struggles in medieval Tours; similarly, I argue in this chapter that the *vitae* of Eusebia are a product of local political tensions.[4] In fact, from my examination of the neglected history of Hamage, the two *vitae* of Eusebia appear even more complex and ambivalent than the narratives and rituals of Tours. They express not just the conflict but also the affiliation that existed between Marchiennes and Hamage.

Prose and verse *vitae*, as well as many other kinds of texts, express the rivalry between the two monastic houses. *Vitae metricae*, however, are special instances of such competitive texts because they are prestigious compositions, works that require considerable resources in terms of time and education to write. Therefore, for a small and embattled house to produce a *vita metrica* of its patron saint, as I argue Hamage did, is itself an act of defiance, akin to Eusebia's rebellion against her mother that the *vita metrica* of Eusebia narrates.

---

[4] Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours.* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1991).

In the previous chapter we saw how various writers used an agricultural metaphor, the bee, to discuss preaching and listening, reading and writing. I proposed that the image of the *apis* tied the readers and writers of *vitae metricae* into an intellectual community that transcended time and space. In this chapter, I examine a different way that *vitae* can express community identity. In the *vitae* of Rictrude and her daughter Eusebia, the relationship between the two monastic houses is expressed by the relationship between the two saints. As the bee stands for a whole concatenation of Christian and classical associations, in the narratives of Rictrude and Eusebia, mother saint and daughter saint stand for mother and daughter house.

My main focus is on the anonymous verse *Vita Eusebiae* but, like the *vitae metricae* discussed in earlier chapters, this poem is not an isolated work; rather, it is part of a tradition of prose and verse texts. Therefore, in addition to the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, this chapter consider a series of related texts: the prose and verse *vitae* of Rictrude, discussed in the previous chapter, and the prose *Vita Eusebiae*. Additionally, it examines other primary sources, including charters and chronicles, in order to illuminate the intertwined histories of Hamage and Marchiennes.

Before discussing the importance of the *Vitae Eusebiae* for Marchiennes and Hamage, I establish what we know about the composition of these anonymous lives. As background to my argument about the symbolic relationships between Rictrude and Eusebia, I discuss the verse and prose *vitae* of Eusebia, their relationship to the other texts about the saintly family, and the questions of their authorship and provenance. The first main section of the chapter begin lays out the manuscript and print history of the two

vitae of Eusebia and notes the secondary scholarship on them. I then consider the possible authors for the anonymous *Vitae Eusebiae* and posit a chronology for these two works. I discuss the relationship of the two *Vitae Eusebiae* to one another and to the two *vitae* of Rictrude (this information is summarized visually in Figure 5.5). Next I compare the perspectives of the two *Vitae Rictrudis*, written at Saint-Amand, a number of texts on Rictrude and Eusebia composed at Marchiennes, and the two *Vitae Eusebiae*: on this basis I argue that the *Vitae Eusebiae* are from Hamage and that they present Eusebia in terms more suited to an apostolic bishop than a twelve-year-old girl. The second main section of this chapter reconstructs the history of Hamage in order to posit a plausible scenario for the composition of the two *Vitae Eusebiae*. I explain why the verse rendition, in particular, was important for the imperiled house. Finally, the last main section considers the iconography of the first manuscript from Marchiennes, which includes both the prose and the verse *Vitae Eusebiae*. I argue that the survival of the divergent stories about Marchiennes's and Hamage's past is due to the polyvocal nature of the manuscript for which the compiler co-opted various texts and subsumed them into his own ideological scheme.

Manuscript and Print History

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hucbald's prose *Vita Rictrudis* is extant in several manuscripts, while Johannes's verse version exists in two medieval manuscripts

from Marchiennes, now held in the Bibliothèque municipale in Douai, northern France.[5] The earliest witness to the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia is Douai, BM, MS 849, an illustrated collection of *vitae* and *lectiones*.[6] According to Dehaisnes's catalog, this manuscript was copied at Marchiennes at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.[7] The inclusion of Johannes's prose *Vita Rictrudis*, which was written in 995 at the earliest, provides a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript.[8] It measures 230 mm x 190 mm, and each of the 129 folios consists of 21 lines of minuscule in a single column.[9] The 18 gatherings each consist of seven or eight folios; several folios are missing. There are red, blue, and green initials and some larger leafy initials.[10] The codex contains *lectiones* on the nativity and resurrection, a homily of Gregory, the anonymous prose *Vita Eusebiae*, the anonymous verse *Vita Eusebiae*, the anonymous *Vita Ionati*, Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*, Johannes' *Vita Rictrudis* and its accompanying material, and *lectiones* on Rictrude.[11] This is a unitary codex, copied at one time in a single

---

[5] Hucbald's prose *Vita Rictrudis* exists in two eleventh-century manuscripts: Douai, BM, MS 849, fols. 68v-93v, and Mons, BM, Wins 4, fols. 10r-23v; and in two twelfth-century manuscripts Brussels, KBR, MS 9119 (3221), fols. 147r-152r, and Douai, BM, MS 836, fols. 78v-83 bis. The text is also represented in the late-thirteenth-century Douai, BM, MS 151, fols. 161v-163v. Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis* is contained in the eleventh-century Douai, BM, MS 849, fols. 94r-125v and the twelfth-century Douai, BM, MS 836, fols. 83bisv-91r. It also exists in a seventeenth-century paper copy, Vatican City, BAV, MS Barb. lat. 3385, fols. 201r-203v.

[6] A. Poncelet, "Catalogus hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Duacensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 20 (1901), p. 405.

[7] C. Dehaisnes, ed., *Catalogue général de manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements,* vol. 6 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), p. 95.

[8] As discussed in the previous chapter, Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* must have been composed between 995 and 1012, the episcopate of Johannes's dedicatee, Erulin.

[9] Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général de manuscrits,* vol. 6, p. 95; Poncelet, "Duacensis," p. 405.

[10] For instance, the full page initial on fol. 33v.

[11] Dehaisnes, in his catalogue entry, lists the contents of Douai, BM, MS 849 as follows: *Lectiones duodecim ad matutinum in Natiuitate D.N.J.C*; *Lectiones ad matutinum in Paschale Resurrectionis D.N.J.C.*; *Omelia B. Gregorii*; fol. 31v: *Vita Eusebiae* (prose); fol. 43: *Vita Eusebiae* (verse); fol. 61: *Vita B. Jonati*; fol. 68v: Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*; fol. 93v Johannes's acrostic to Erluinus; fol. 94: Johannes's

scriptorium, and the saints represented by the texts and illustrations – Rictrude, her children, and Amand's disciple Jonat the first abbot of Marchiennes – show that it was intended for Marchiennes.[12] The codex contains several illustrations that appear to be drawn by the same hand as the foliate initials.

The large (460 x 305 mm) and heavy twelfth-century lectionary Douai, BM, MS 840 also contains both the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia, along with a large number of other saints' lives.[13] The copy of the metric *Vita Eusebiae* in this codex is dependent on Douai, BM, MS 849 and does not represent an independent tradition. In addition to appearing in the codices Douai, BM, MS 849 and Douai, BM, MS 840, the prose *Vita Eusebiae* is also extant in the twelfth-century manuscript, Brussels, KBR, MS 9119 (3221), and in a late-thirteenth-century manuscript, Douai, BM, MS 151, a codex that also contains Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* among other texts relating to Marchiennes.[14] The *Acta Sanctorum* prints the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, and sections of the verse *Vita Eusebiae*.[15]

Vita Rictrudis; fol. 125v, *Lectiones dominicae infra octavam S. Rictrudis*. See C. Dehaisnes, ed., *Catalogue général de,* vol. 6, pp. 95f.

[12] On the complications of Jonat, see I. Pagini, "Ionas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio." *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 29 (1988), 45-85.

[13] Poncelet, "Duacensis," pp. 394-98. The prose and verse *Vitae Eusebiae* begin on fols. 129v and 132v respectively. Poncelet lists 62 *vitae, passiones, miracula, translationes* and other works relating to various saints in this codex.

[14] Poncelet, "Duacensis," p. 363. The prose *Vita Eusebiae* is found on fols. 98r–100r of Brussels, KBR, MS 9119 (3221), and fols. 146v–148v of Douai, BM, MS 151.

[15] The prose *Vita Eusebiae* is contained in AASS Mar. vol. 2, pp. 447–450, and also in Act. SS. Belgii, 4, pp. 557-64. AASS Feb. 1, p. 304 excerpts book 1 of the metric *Vita Eusebiae*, and AASS Mar. 2, pp. 450–452, prints all of book 2 except for the prologue and epilogue.

The Secondary Sources

As noted in Chapter Four, Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* has been the subject of some scholarly investigation, while Johannes's verse redaction has been largely neglected. Barely any work has been done on the *vitae* of Eusebia. Léon Van der Essen briefly notes both in his book on Merovingian saints.[16] Deug-Su discusses them in his article on Rictrude.[17] Other discussions and editions of the works from Marchiennes, such as Bernard Delmaire's introduction to the *Poleticum*, mention the *vitae* in passing.[18] Karine Ugé, in her article on the uses of Rictrude's narrative from the tenth to the twelfth centuries mentions the prose *Vita Eusebiae* once, but not the verse *Vita Eusebiae*.[19] In her book, Ugé discusses the prose *Vita Eusebiae* briefly and mentions the verse version in passing.[20]

The *Vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia

The conflict between Rictrude and Eusebia, which is the focus of this chapter, is elucidated in four main texts: the prose *Vita Rictrudis* by Hucbald of Saint Amand, its metric counterpart by Johannes of Saint-Amand, and the anonymous prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia. Later works from Marchiennes that name Eusebia omit any mention of

---

[16] L. Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique* (Louvain: Bureaux du recueil, 1907), pp. 265-68.
[17] Deug-Su, "Vita Rictrudis di Ubaldo," pp. 545-82.
[18] Bernard Delmaire, ed., *L'histoire-polyptyque de l'abbaye de Marchiennes (1116/1121). Étude critique et édition* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985), p. 34.
[19] Karine Ugé, "The Legend of Saint Rictrude: Formation and Transformations (Tenth-Twelfth Century)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2000), 281-97.
[20] Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (York: York Medieval Press, 2005), pp. 127-30.

the strife.[21] I briefly discuss the authorship of the four *vitae* and then posit the chronology of the *vitae* and the relationship between them. I do this by comparing their language, narrative differences, and authorial asides.

Hucbald of Saint-Amand composed his prose *Vita Rictrudis* in 907 and Johannes, writing about a century later at the same abbey, based his metric version on Hucbald's *vita*.[22] The authorship of the prose and metric *vitae* of Eusebia is vexed. Unlike the *vitae* of Rictrude, these lives are not transmitted with an author's name, dedicatory letters, or any identifying authorial comments.

The twelfth-century *Poleticum* of Marchiennes, a brief history of the abbey followed by an enumeration of its possessions, states that both the prose and verse *Vitae Eusebiae* were written by the same author. In the *Poleticum*, which Bernard Delmaire convincingly dates to the first quarter of the twelfth century,[23] the anonymous writer excuses himself from describing the life and deeds of Eusebia "quoniam profundioris scientiae quidam et prosa et metro luculentissime edidit" [since a certain man of deeper knowledge related this most splendidly in prose and in meter].[24] The earlier of the two *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738) (written between 1133 and 1164) echoes this claim, but since this text excerpts large sections of the *Poleticum* wholesale, it does not constitute independent evidence for the common authorship of the poems.[25] The scholars Van Der Essen and Delmaire have accepted the claim that the two *vitae* of Eusebia were written

---

[21] For instance, the twelfth-century *Poleticum* (*Histoire-polyptyque*), noted on p. 227.
[22] On Johannes's use of Hucbald, see Chapter Four in this study, pp. 183ff.
[23] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 11-22.
[24] *Poleticum*, cap. 13, (fols. 127v - 128r).
[25] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque,* p. 14; *Miracula Eusebiae*, cap. 1, section 3 in AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 435; Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 267.

by the same author.[26] The author of the *Poleticum* does not name the "man of deeper knowledge" who supposedly wrote both *vitae* of Eusebia. This omission suggests that the identity of the author or authors of the *vitae* had already been forgotten in Marchiennes by the twelfth century. Therefore, we need to consider whether the writer of the *Poleticum* knew any more than we do about the identity of the author. Is the *Poleticum* correct in assigning a common authorship to the prose and verse *vitae* or was he was making an assumption based on the fact that the two *vitae* were transmitted together?[27] In order to assess the plausibility of the texts' common authorship, I will examine the evidence of the style and content of the two *vitae*.

The narratives of the verse and prose *vitae* of Eusebia are clearly related to each other. The order of events in them is almost identical, they share some vocabulary and, as I will discuss later, they express similar points of view.[28] Van Der Essen produces evidence of similarities in expression between the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* to support the argument of common authorship,[29] but the degree of verbal confluence proves only that one author read the other.[30] The nature of *vitae metricae*, which are almost always redactions of prose sources and are highly allusive, means that verbal resonances

---

[26] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque,* p. 74; Van Der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 268. Arguing that both *Vitae Eusebiae* were written by the same author, Van Der Essen, dismisses the one large plot discrepancy, the cephalophory of Eusebia's saintly father: "Cette ajoute se comprend dans une oeuvre, où l'auteur était maître de son sujet et de son style: la *Vita* en prose était tenue par la *Vita Rictrudis* dont elle reproduit servilement le texte."

[27] As noted above, the two manuscripts that contain the *vita metrica* of Eusebia — Douai, BM, MS 849 and Douai, BM, MS 840 — also contain the prose version.

[28] Van Der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 268.

[29] Van Der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 268. Van Der Essen points out that both *vitae* of Eusebia use the expression "capulo gladii, ille forte erat accinctus" in reference to the young saint's beating, both express numbers in similar ways, and both use unusual expressions (*anastasis, xenia, faex, alalagma*).

[30] For example, both *vitae* of Eusebia deploy a gem motif: *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), Prologue to Book 1, 1-10; *Vita Eusebia* (prose), cap. 5, p. 448.

show only that that the two writers worked within the same tradition, not that they should be conflated. In linguistic terms the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia are no more alike than Hucbald's and Johannes's *vitae* of Rictrude. Therefore, this evidence is inconclusive. When we turn to the differences between the two *vitae Eusebiae* we find more evidence for separate authorship.

There are numerous variations between the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae*. Some of these variations can be understood in the terms proposed by Tiliette, who points out typical generic differences between verse and prose *vitae*. Indeed, many of the features that the verse *Vita Eusebiae* adds to the prose narrative are precisely those that Tilliette identifies.[31] Classical allusions, direct speech, and interludes on astronomy and other topics, are all means by which the authors of *vitae metricae* amplify their prose originals and invest them with grandeur and moral didactic value. So, for example, the metric *Vita Eusebiae* contains far more classical allusions than the prose version as the author details the Trojan origins of the Franks and likens the familial conflict over Adalbald and Rictrude's marriage to the causes of the Trojan war.[32] Similarly, in the verse *vita*, but not in the prose, Rictrude's taking of the veil in the verse *vita* occasions an allusion to the "bicallem samii," — the "Samian Y" — a philosophical reference to the choice between the active and contemplative lives.[33]

---

[31] Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Les modèles de sainteté du ixe au xie siècle, d'après le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques," in *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli v-xi),* Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 36 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), p. 395.
[32] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.1-20.
[33] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.238. On the Samian Y in other genres, see M.A. Dimier, "La lettre de Pythagore et les Hagiographes du Moyen Age," *Le Moyen Age* 60.3-4 (1954), 403-18. Heiric of Auxerre, in his ninth-

Although some differences can be attributed to the variant features of verse and prose hagiography, narrative discrepancies cannot be explained this way. Unlike the prose *Vita Eusebiae,* the verse text depicts Eusebia's father, Adalbald, as a cephalophorous saint like Dionysius whom I discussed in Chapter Two.[34] Claiming to follow popular belief, the poet reports that the decapitated saint, accompanied by angels, carried his own head to his burial place.[35]

A less dramatic example of the poet's independence from the prose text occurs in the discussion of Rictrude's children. While the prose *Vita Eusebiae* (like Hucbald's and Johannes's *vitae metricae*) names all the children, the poet omits Adalsend's name, saying, "Tertia quae fuerit, tantummodo nomine pandit" [Who was the third, she exists only in name].[36] As we shall see later, the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* also differ in how they depict the violent showdown between Eusebia and her brother Mauront, who beats his sister at their mother's behest.

---

century metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458), provides a useful gloss of the allusion (MGH Poetae 3, p. 441). Heiric explains that the "Samian" is the Greek philosopher Pythagoras who likened human life to the letter Y. When one came to the fork in the Y, one branch led to the better way of life and the other to the worse. Heiric's gloss then adds a particularly monastic interpretation, "et haec significat actiuam uel contemplatiuam uitam" [and this signifies the active or contemplative life]. Letselin's metric life of Arnulf also refers to the Samian letter. See Letselin, *Passio Arnulfi*, line 158, in G. Harster, *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae* (Lepizig: Teubner, 1887), p. 91. The verse *Vita Eusebiae* does not borrow language from Heiric or Letselin in its mention of the Samian Y.

[34] Van Der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire*, p. 268.

[35] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.170 ff.

[36] This line is interlinear and written in a paler ink in D2.

The verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* vary not only in vocabulary and content but also in concerns expressed. The verse *Vita Eusebiae* mourns the loss of saints' *vitae* in a way that echoes (and amplifies) Hucbald's complaints in his prose *Vita Rictrudis*.[37]

> Sermo uetustatis, nihil amplius inde reliquit
> Et cur nescitur, multorum pauca feruntur
> In libris ....
> Aut si sunt scripta, situs haec absumpserit, aut quod
> Sustulerit casus, nam fertur gallica tellus
> Northmanica cede, populatu, perditione
> Olim deleta, uici, castella subacta
> Ecclesiae sacris incensae despoliatis
> Harum thesaurus sic deperiisse probatur
> Ornatus, uitae sanctorum † plurima † quaeque
> Supra quae praesens aetas dolet his caruisse
>
> As regards the speech of antiquity, nothing more remains from that time,
> And it is not known why, out of so many things, few are preserved
> in books ....
> Or if they were written, neglect destroyed them, or because
> disaster took them away, for they say the Gallic land was decimated
> by the slaughter, plunder, and destruction of the Northmen.
> They say that the villages and castles were destroyed,
> and that once the churches' relics were plundered, they were burned.
> And their splendid treasures were lost
> as were the lives of the saints, whose loss the present age mourns above all.[38]

In addition to its lamentations for the Viking destruction of both property and knowledge, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* shares other motifs with Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*. Like Hucbald, the author of the verse *Vita Eusebiae* uses a masculine wrestling metaphor to characterize Rictrude's spiritual battles after her enclosure, and like him, but unlike Johannes and

[37] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, cap. 1. *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.109-20. Hucbald reads "olim tradita litteris fuerint; sed insectatione Northmannicae depopulationis deperierint" [Formerly they (the traditions of Marchiennes) had been handed down in letters, but they were destroyed by the Northmen's depredations].
[38] This line is an interlinear addition between two other lines in a paler ink in the manuscript D2.

unlike the author of the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, the Eusebia poet actually emphasizes Rictrude's femininity.[39]

The differences in theme and content suggest that different authors composed the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia. Although some medieval writers – Hraban Maur, Candid Brun, Aldhelm, and probably Hilduin – wrote prose and verse texts on the same topic, a writer could also compose a verse version of an existing prose work, as Heiric did when he transformed Constance's prose *Vita Germani* into poetry.[40] If I am right in doubting the twelfth-century attribution of both *Vitae Eusebiae* to one author, then we must consider the authorship of each of these texts individually.

Some scholars in recent centuries have identified the author of both prose and verse versions, or simply the author of the verse text, as Johannes of Saint-Amand.[41] As a known poet from the region, he is an obvious candidate. But, since the verse *Vita Rictrudis* is securely attributed to him, we can test his authorship of the two *Vitae Eusebiae*. This comparison disproves the identification of Johannes of Saint-Amand as the author of either one or both of the *vitae Eusebiae*.

---

[39] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.268, refers to Rictrude's "fragilis sexus," while Hucbald represents Rictrude as a manly woman (14); Both Hucbald and the Eusebia poet use a wrestling allusion (*gymnasium*). See Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*,19, and *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 1.266.

[40] *Vita Eusebiae (*verse*),* prologue to book 2, 29. The verse *vita* refers to itself as "hoc opus geminum," [this double work] but does so at the beginning of book two of the poem, directly after the introductory poem to that book, and so "this twinned work" probably refers to the two books of the verse *vita*, not to the prose and verse *vitae*. On the *geminus stylus*, see Gernot Wieland, "Geminus Stilus: Studies in. Anglo-Latin Hagiography," in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 113-33 and Peter Godman, "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum: From Aldhelm to Alcuin," *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215-29.

[41] AASS, Mar vol. 2, p. 445. The AASS editor ascribes such a view to Beauschamp and Molanus.

Earlier I discussed the fact that the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* evinced different themes and concerns. When we compare the themes and concerns of the two *Vitae Eusebiae* with those of Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis*, we see that Johannes's interests are different again.[42] In the previous chapter, I proposed that Johannes addressed the relationship of sacred and secular power, as expressed through the interactions of king Dagobert and the bishops. The verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* do not express similar concerns about sacred and secular relations, even though there is ample opportunity to do so (for instance, when Rictrude takes the veil in a way that undermines the king's authority). The fact that the *Vitae Eusebiae* express a different set of interests from Johannes' *Vita Rictrudis* does not in itself disprove Johannes's authorship of the Eusebia texts, since a writer might compose different works for different purposes and audiences.[43] Nevertheless, when compounded with the lack of stylistic similarity, the limited verbal confluence, and the plot discrepancies, different authorship seems more likely.

It is easier to compare verse with verse than verse with prose: Johannes's literary style in his verse *Vita Rictrudis* is more fruitfully compared with that of the metric *Vita Eusebiae* than with its prose counterpart. The comparison reveals that Johannes's stylistic features are completely different from those of the Eusebia poet. As discussed in the previous chapter, Johannes employs a "patchwork" method of composition, incorporating

---

[42] Similar arguments preclude us from assigning the prose *Vita Eusebiae* to Hucbald (see AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 445). The content and ideology of Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* is quite different from that in the *vitae* of Eusebia, and, as Smith has shown, Hucbald is not interested in depicting miracles. Julia M.H. Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand," *Studi medievali*, series 3, 35 (1994), p. 524.

[43] See Smith on Hucbald writing for different audiences. Smith, "Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand," pp. 517-42.

large sections of other authors' verse into his work.[44] The verse *Vita Eusebiae* does not appear to employ Johannes' patchwork composition. Johannes's other significant poetic tics, such as his use of whole lines of verbs and half lines of alliteration, are also absent from the verse *Vita Eusebiae*.

It is harder to compare the prose *Vita Eusebiae* with Johannes's verse text, since an author's prose and verse styles can differ significantly. At some points Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis* has more in common with the prose life of Eusebia than with the metric *Vita Eusebiae*. For instance, in the story of Eusebia's beating Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* and the prose *Vita Eusebiae* use many of the same words, while the verse version employs a different vocabulary. The prose *Vita Eusebiae* reports the story as follows: "Ferunt aliud quoque tunc contigisse: a flagello dum illa corriperetur, excussam uirgulam terrae inhaesisse, et absque ullo succi incremento protinus fronduisse" [They say also that something else then happened: that while she was being chastised by the whip, the little rod was cast out and stuck in the ground, and without any moisture for growth, it immediately burst into leaf].[45] In the short passages that convey the miracle, both Johannes and the prose author use the terms *uirgula, excussus, flagellum, terra, haerere* (or *inhaerere*), *frondere*, and *succus*. By contrast, Johannes shares with the Eusebia poet only two related words in describing this incident. Johannes uses the word

[44] The term comes from Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Un art du patchwork: la poésie métrique latine (xie - xiie siècles)" in *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Âge* (Nanterre: Université de Parie X Nanterre, 1988), pp. 59-73.
[45] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap 9, p. 449.

uirgula, the diminunitive of the term *uirga* used in the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, and *infixa*, compound of *fixum,* used in the latter.[46]

Thus, despite some verbal resonances, the disparity in content still argues against Johannes as the author of the prose *Vita Eusebiae*. For example, Johannes includes the story, derived from Hucbald, of Rictrude's repression of grief at the death of her daughter Adalsend, whereas the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, like the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, omits this episode. As we will see shortly, the decision to include Rictrude's third daughter in the narrative and the exclusion of this incident from the two *vitae* of Eusebia is not simply literary, but also ideological. When we turn to look at the depiction of Rictrude's and Eusebia's relationship, we see even greater differences between Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* and the two *Vitae Eusebiae.*

Chronology and Relationship of the Texts

Unfortunately, this discussion has only revealed that Johannes did not write one or both of the *Vitae Eusebiae*; it has not yielded authors for the two lives. We can, however, deduce a little more about when and where these texts were composed by establishing the relationship between them and the two *Vitae Rictrudis*. Hucbald's prose *Vita Rictrudis* of 907 is the oldest of the four *vitae* I examine here, and as discussed in the previous chapter, it is Johannes's main source for his metric life. It is also clear, from the similarities noted above, that the prose *Vita Eusebiae* likewise draws on Hucbald. Van der Essen, in his complex family tree of hagiography from Northern France and Belgium,

[46] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.137, 139; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.435.

posits that the prose *Vita Eusebiae* draws upon Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* and that the verse *Vita Eusebiae* derives from the prose version.[47]

As noted above, Johannes's metric *Vita Rictrudis* shares some vocabulary and expression with the prose *Vita Eusebiae.* This sharing is particularly obvious when Johannes discusses the miracle of the staff, an incident that is not included in Hucbald's rendition of the story. The similar vocabulary used by Johannes and the prose *Vita Eusebiae* suggests that one of these accounts drew on the other. The evidence for the prose *Vita Eusebiae* being Johannes's source, and not vice versa, is twofold. First, Johannes relies heavily on existing written sources, mostly Hucbald and Milo, at practically every point. It would be quite out of character for Johannes to create an entire episode without written precedent. Johannes draws so heavily on his predecessors that it is reasonable to suppose that when he breaks away from Hucbald and Milo, he is relying on a different author rather than creating entirely new material himself.[48] Indeed, Johannes indicates that he is deriving the story of the blossoming staff from elsewhere by saying "additur huic aliud at uerum non minus istud" [something else is added to this, but that thing is no less true].[49] Second, the author of the prose *Vita Eusebiae* implies that no writer before him has written about the miracle of the staff: "et mirum cur qui alia scripsere, hoc eo modo posterorum subtraxerunt notitiae" [and it is surprising why those who wrote other things, in this way attracted the notice of posterity].[50] The prose author

---

[47] Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* table between pp. 436 and 437.
[48] For a fuller discussion of Johannes' method of composition and his reliance on Hucbald and Milo, see Chapter Four of this study.
[49] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.432, p. 591
[50] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap. 9, p. 449.

says he has drawn the story from popular belief, and he attributes this belief to an ancient tradition. "Est apud uulgus hoc quidem in opinione, quod ab eo ruminatur ex antiquitatis traditione" [Indeed it is the opinion of the common people that they ruminate upon this because of an ancient tradition].[51]

If we accept the anonymous prose author's implication that he was the first to record the popular tradition of the *uirgula* miracle in writing, then it follows that the prose *Vita Eusebiae* was the source for both Johannes's and the verse *Vita Eusebiae*'s versions of the miracle. It follows also that if Johannes drew on the prose *Vita Eusebiae* then that prose life must have been written before 1012, the *terminus ante quem* of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*. Since the prose *Vita Eusebiae* also drew on Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*, it must have been composed after 907.

How does the verse *Vita Eusebiae* fit into this tradition? Clearly it is related to the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, its source for the staff miracle, and as noted above, it draws on Hucbald. It does not have any obvious debt to Johannes's verse *Vita Rictrudis*. So, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* must also have been written in the tenth or eleventh centuries. The earliest manuscript, Douai, BM, MS 849, from the late tenth or early eleventh century supports a tenth-century date of composition for the two *Vitae Eusebiae.*

While we cannot assign authors to the *Vitae Eusebiae*, we can establish approximate dates for them. Furthermore, we can suggest their provenance through an examination of how their perspective differs from that of the two *Vitae Rictrudis*, and from that of later texts on the same saints written at Marchiennes. Since *vitae* (and

[51] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap. 9, p. 449.

particularly *vitae metricae*) from the central Middle Ages are almost always written about local saints (that is saints who founded abbeys in the area or those from farther afield whose relics were housed in local churches), the three houses that are likely to have produced *vitae* of Eusebia are Saint-Amand, Marchiennes, and Hamage. As we know, monks of Saint-Amand wrote two *vitae* of Rictrude for Marchiennes, and as the leading intellectual center of the region Saint-Amand is a reasonable location for the composition. Marchiennes and Hamage are candidates as well, because they are the houses associated with Eusebia. A comparison of works from Saint-Amand and Marchiennes, however, shows that they have perspectives on the relationship between the mother and daughter saints quite different from those expressed in the two *Vitae Eusebiae*. I know of no works that have been attributed to authors of Hamage, so we cannot compare the *Vitae Eusebiae* with texts from that abbey.

The two *Vitae Rictrudis* from Saint-Amand do not take sides in the familial conflict. Deug Su has written about the difficulties that Rictrude presented for Hucbald, chief among these that she was a saint in conflict with another saint.[52] If Rictrude is right to impose maternal and abbatial discipline on her daughter, then Eusebia is at fault for contravening the central monastic virtue of obedience. If Eusebia is correct in continuing to perform the liturgy at Hamage, then Rictrude's attempts to thwart her and her heavy-handed punishment of her daughter make Rictrude the familiar parental figure who tries to prevent the Christian child from practicing his or her religion under threat of punishment. Deug Su discusses at length how Hucbald attempts to balance the competing

[52] Deug-Su, "Vita Rictrudis di Ubaldo," pp. 545-582.

sanctities of mother and daughter so that neither is vilified at the expense of the other. Johannes, writing about a century later also at Saint -Amand, largely ignores the issue of who is right. The authors from Saint-Amand, writing for Marchiennes, are interested in establishing the sanctity of both Rictrude and Eusebia and the primacy of their own patron, Amand, in the foundation of Marchiennes, not in adjudicating the mother-daughter conflict.[53]

The later texts written at Marchiennes omit the conflict altogether. The twelfth-century *Poleticum*, and the *Miracula* of Rictrude and Eusebia (BHL 7251, 7252, 2738, 2738a) are all silent on the issue. In the texts from Marchiennes, Rictrude and Eusebia are both presented as local saints worthy of reverence. The earliest *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738) was written at Marchiennes between 1134-66, when Hamage was long-established as a priory of Marchiennes. This *Miracula Eusebiae* notes the successful healing of a monk named Bartholomaeus who visited Eusebia's tomb at Hamage. According to the twelfth-century narrative, Bartholomaeus arrives at Marchiennes with his complaint, and the brothers redirect him to Hamage:

> Fratres autem... hortati sunt ut ad sepulcrum memoratae Virginis pro sua infirmitate Deum et ipsam oraturus properat.... Hammaticum uenit: sicque fide plenus ad sepulcrum Virginis accessit, orauit, et obdormiuit, et a somno surgens sanus et incolumis Deum in sancta Virgine mirabilem collaudauit, et gratias agens recessit.[54]
>
> The brothers, however, ... urged the man, who intended to pray to God and the virgin about his ailment, to hurry to the tomb of the celebrated virgin.... he came

[53] Both the *Vitae Rictrudis* give Amand a pivotal role in the foundation of Marchiennes. In both cases, his interest in the place and desire to establish a community of men there precedes Rictrude's installation as abbess. See Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis,* cap. 17, AASS Mai vol. 3, p. 84; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.115-23, p.584.
[54] AASS Mar. vol. 2, cap. 3, p. 455.

> to Hamage, and thus, full of faith, he approached the virgin's tomb, he prayed, and he fell asleep. When he rose from his sleep healthy and unimpaired, he extolled God, marvelous in the holy virgin, and, giving thanks, he left.

The narrative does not suggest that Hamage posed any sort of problem for the author. Because Hamage was no longer a separate institution in competition with Marchiennes for regional patronage, its resident saint's healing powers could be touted. Therefore it was in the author's interests to promote pilgrimage to Hamage to visit Eusebia's relics, as much as it was to promote pilgrimage to Rictrude's relics at Marchiennes. The narrative therefore demonstrates the power of Hamage's relics of Eusebia, not the conflict between the two houses or the two saints. The other works, the twelfth-century *Miracula* of Rictrude and Eusebia (BHL 7251, 7252, 7252a, 2738a), also written at Marchiennes after its incorporation of Hamage, posit no discord between the patron saints of the two communities.

When we turn to the two tenth-century *vitae* of Eusebia, however, we see a very different picture of the relationship of mother and daughter saints. Both elevate their titular saint at her mother's expense. Although Rictrude's sanctity is not in question, it is minimized in comparison with that of her daughter. The verse *vita*, in particular, undercuts Rictrude's importance in subtle but significant ways. As mentioned above, it states that nothing is known about Rictrude's third daughter (Adalsend) other than her name. It is true that the two *vitae* of Rictrude and the prose *Vita Eusebiae* say nothing specific about Adalsend's life, but at her death they recount Rictrude's amazing fortitude

in deferring her grief to a liturgically convenient moment.[55] By ignoring this episode, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* omits an example of Rictrude's strength and piety. When Hucbald, Johannes, and the anonymous prose author show Rictrude repressing her tears over her child's death, they depict her as a masculine woman. Hucbald makes this explicit: "Virilis tamen, quod ei inerat, animi robur muliebrem superauit affectum" [Yet the strength of the manly mind, which resided within her, conquered her womanly emotion].[56] By failing to depict the saintly mother's masculine virtue, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* returns Rictrude to the womanly realm.

A second way that the verse *Vita Eusebiae* underplays Rictrude's importance is by heightening Adalbald's sanctity. Adalbald, Rictrude's husband and the father of the saintly brood, is noble and virtuous, but in most versions of the story he is not spectacularly holy. In contrast, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* describes his death at his in-laws' hands as a martyrdom, followed by a cephalophory. In language reminiscent of the verse *Passio Dionysii*, the poet describes the posthumous miracle:[57]

> Martyris, ambabus manibus caput accipit[58] atque
> Ulnis devuectat, non praedux ullus euntis,
> Angelicus tantum chorus hymnizans comitatur
> Usque locum tumuli...
>
> He took his head in both hands and
> carried it away in his arms, and there was not any leader of the walking martyr,

[55] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis,* 20, p. 85; Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis* 2.166-90, p. 585.
[56] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 20, p. 85.
[57] This passage of the metric *Vita Eusebiae* is reminiscent of the verse *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL), although it does not quote it. On fol. 33v, the verse *Passio Dionysii* describes Dionysius picking up his head and the angelic accompaniment: "Contrectante manu sacrum caput excipit ipsum .... At chorus ille sacer caelo directus ab alto/ Ymnis dulcisonis modulantius inter agendum" [With his grasping hand he takes away this sacred head .... while that holy chorus, guided from the heights of heaven, with sweet sounding hymns accompanies his journey...].
[58] Douai, BM, MS 840 (D2) reads *accepit*.

> only a chorus of angels, singing hymns, escorted him
> to the place of his tomb...

As discussed in Chapter Two above, a writer could add a cephalophory to a saint's narrative to impress a stamp of sanctity on the saint's death, especially if the saint was somehow problematic and therefore benefited from an additional demonstration of holiness. By dramatically increasing Adalbald's holiness, and underplaying that of Rictrude, the poet emphasizes the fact that Eusebia derived saintly lineage from both sides of her family. In the two *Vitae Rictrudis*, Rictrude's saintly children are an ornament to their mother's virtue. In the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, the eponymous saint is shown deriving her sanctity from both parents, and her father's sanctity is of a spectacular and unimpeachable variety.

Adalbald's cephalophory in the verse *Vita Eusebiae* also implies something about the work's provenance. Unlike the metric *Passio Dionysii* and other works on cephalophores, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* does not specify where the decapitated saint carried his head. According to later sources, Adalbald's remains were housed at Saint-Amand.[59] If the verse *Vita Eusebiae* had been composed at Saint-Amand, then the poet would surely have noted this fact to aggrandize his own monastery, just as Hucbald and Johannes emphasized Amand's role in the foundation of Marchiennes. The poet's silence on this score suggests that we should rule out Saint-Amand as a possible site of composition.

[59] René Wasselynck, "Adalbaldo" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 1 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1961), col. 173.

The *Virgo* and the *Virga*

The episode of the flowering staff also provides information about a possible provenance of the *vitae* of Eusebia. The only narrative element in the verse *Vita Rictrudis* that is not derived from its prose counterpart is the story of the rod that sprouts into a tree thus ending Eusebia's corporal punishment at her brother's hands. Johannes draws almost all of his material and much of his language from Hucbald. Therefore it is noteworthy when he includes an incident that Hucbald does not. In Johannes account, Mauront is beating Eusebia when the little stick (*uirgula*) he is using leaps from his hand and bursts into leaf. Johannes writes:

> Ictibus assiduis dum dextera percutientis
> Instat, disrupit, uolat hinc excussa flagello
> Uirgula, quae terrae haerens infixa repente
> Frondescit nulla ui suci suppeditata.[60]
>
> While the right hand of the assailant threatens unremitting blows,
> the cane breaks, cast down by the lash, it flies,
> the cane which, stuck fast in the earth,
> bursts into leaf, supplied with no power of sap.

The prose *Vita Eusebiae*, which describes Eusebia's punishment as a *passio*, reads "Ferunt ... a flagello dum illa corriperetur, excussam uirgulam terrae inhaesisse, et absque ullo succi incremento protinus fronduisse" [they say that while she was being assailed by the whip, the little staff, having been cast down, had stuck into the earth, and without any

[60] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.433-36, p. 591-92.

bit of moisture for growth it immediately burst into leaf].[61] Verbal similarities suggest that Johannes draws this episode from the prose *Vita Eusebiae*.

In the anonymous verse *Vita Eusebiae*, however, the poet states the miracle in different language:

> His dictis, sumptum, domino confisa, flagellum,
> Atque solo fixum dictu mirabile siccum
> Protulit in uiride folium nouitatis honestae
> Uirgaque porrecta larga distenditur umbra
> Et manet haec testis tantae uirtus in annis[62]
>
> When these words had been spoken, she was trusting in the Lord.
> And the dry rod, taken up and fixed in the soil – amazing to say -
> bursts forth greenly into leaf of brilliant newness,
> and the branch stretches itself forth in plentiful shade
> and the virtue of such a great witness remains for years.

Johannes's account of the staff incident only shares a few words with that of the verse *Vita Eusebiae*. Johannes employs the word *infixa*, compound of *fixum* used in the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, and *uirgula*, the diminunitive of *uirga* used in the latter. The term *flagellum* is used in all three accounts. Otherwise, the Eusebia poet's account is quite different. The Eusebia poet uses a typically Virgilian locution to express wonder, *dictu mirabile*.

The verse *Vita Eusebiae's* version of the miracle not only has its own language but also its own themes, independent of the other two early accounts. Only the Eusebia poet describes the shade cast by the newly grown tree, and only the poet invokes the enduring presence of the tree (*manet haec testis*) as evidence of Eusebia's virtue and the

[61] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap. 9, p. 449.
[62] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.136-40.

miracle. Eusebia's shady *uirga* is like the hazel and beech staffs that became trees in Heiric's prose *Miracula Germani* (BHL 3462). These staffs, says Heiric, survive in his own day as evidence (*testimonium sanctitas*) of the saint's miracles.[63]

In the verse *Vita Eusebiae*, the passage about the staff follows a long speech that Eusebia delivers to her brother. In the other versions Eusebia is silent through her ordeal, but in the verse *Vita Eusebiae* the girl delivers a speech. After chastising her brother, she says:

> In monte[64] facta pia nos oratio salvat
> Servula cuius ego, cuius vestigia signo
> Ipse meum speculum, simul exemplar uenerandum
> Quo faciem miror quo mentem denique purgo
> Ipse prior sanxit quod alumpnos vult operari[65]
>
> The holy oration, made on a mountain, saves us.
> Whose little servant I am, whose footsteps I myself designate as
> My mirror, at the same time he is a model who must be imitated.
> How I marvel at his face, to the extent that, finally, I cleanse my mind.

---

[63] PL 124, col. 1213 "...colurnam, quam forte manu gestabat, uirgam humi defixit. Explicata praedicatione (mirum quod fuit uisu, mirum quod est et dictu) ramusculos iam frondesque produxerat. Haec in eius testimonium sanctitatis in corylum roboris immensi conualuit, atque usque hodie, ingenti ab monibus cautela ueneratur, ne aut ramum quis ex ea decerpere, aut indecens quidpiam sub illa, aut circa illam, audeat perpetrare. ... In pago quoque Vastinensi, in uicinia Gaiaci monasterii... fagus est mirandae magnitudinis, stipite procera, ramorum ambitu uastissima, densitate opaca: quae similiter sancti uirtute pontificis coluisse incuntanter asseritur, dum post sermonem eo loci ad populum habitum, bacillum, quo seniles regebat artus, telluri altius defixisset. Haec pro insolenti magnitudine ad sui spectaculum multos e contiguis asciuit regionibus. Ecclesia secus arborem est eius insignis nomine; locus idem ad fagum S. Germani populariter nuncupatur" [He fixed his hazel staff, which he had by chance been wielding in his hand, in the ground. When the prayer had been proclaimed — what was marvelous to see, and what is marvelous to relate — it then put forth little branches and leaves. It flourished into a hazel tree of great strength as a witness of his holiness and up until today it is revered with such great care by the monks with the result that no one dares to cut any branch from it or perpetrate anything unseemly under it or around it. ... Also in the district of Vastinensis, in the neighborhood of the monastery of Gaiacus ... there is a beech tree of amazing size, with a lofty trunk, a great circumference of branches, which casts a deep shade. This tree is said to have taken root instantaneously because of the virtue of the holy priest when, after a sermon had been held in the place for the people, he had thrust the rod with which he was supporting his aged limbs deep in the earth. The church next to this tree is marked by his name; likewise this place is called, in common speech, after the beech tree of Saint Germanus].

[64] The manuscripts read *montem*.

[65] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.122-25.

The forefather himself sanctifies what he wishes his children to do.

The miracle follows upon Eusebia's speech, possibly as a consequence of it. The ablative absolute that follows (*his dictis, sumptum, domino confisa flagellum*) may express a temporal or a causal relationship between Eusebia's speech and the miracle. (We could translate it, "When these things had been said..." or "Since these things had been said...") At the very least, the miracle emphatically underscores Eusebia's point and the righteousness of her claims. Of the three accounts, only the verse *Vita Eusebiae* describes Mauront's being dumbstruck by his sister's miracle: "Mox stupet attonitus frater" [then her astounded brother was stupefied].[66] Eusebia's speech, the subsequent miracle, and Mauront's resulting silence all show Eusebia as a saint, like Amand and Germanus (discussed in Chapter Three), whose speech is invested with power.

The motif of the transformative or magical staff has scriptural origins.[67] In the most striking parallel, God causes Aaron's staff to blossom and bear almonds as a sign of his chosen status.[68] According to an apocryphal story, Joseph of Nazareth won Mary's hand in marriage when his staff bloomed. The verdant staff is also a recurring image in hagiography. The *topos* of the blossoming rod is motif number F971.1 in the *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.[69] The miracle is attributed to many saints including Gregory

---

[66] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.141.
[67] For example, Aaron's useful staff turns into a snake (Exodus 7:8-12), turns the Nile into blood (Exodus 7:14-21), causes a plague of frogs on the land (Exodus 8:5-6), and turned dust into gnats (Exodus 8:16-17).
[68] Numbers 17:1-10.
[69] Sith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jes-Books, and Local Legends,* vol. 3 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1934).

Thaumaturgus and Christopher.[70] The volumes of the *Révue des traditions populaires* contains numerous references to saints whose staffs bloom.[71] The story is particularly attributed to Celtic and insular saints including Maedoc of Ferns, Sénan, Patrick, and Etheldreda.[72]

In the prose *Miracula Germani*, Heiric notes that a tree grown from Germanus's staff remains to the author's day.[73] Like Eusebia's *uirga*, the bishop's staff-tree functions as a memorial of the saint. Eusebia's miracle is reminiscent of those performed by the powerful Saints Christopher, Patrick, and Germanus, who plant their staffs in the earth where they sprout into trees. Like the bishops and apostles, Eusebia's miracle sanctifies the landscape and impresses her memory upon it.

Johannes and the authors of the two *Vitae Eusebiae* would certainly be familiar with the precedent of Aaron's staff and probably with some of the many hagiographical instances of the trope. The miracles in these sources seem to have several underlying themes. They express divine sanction for the staff holder, sanctifying his (or, rarely, her) leadership and authority. As divine signs they persuade onlookers, such as Aaron's

---

[70] Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgist*, cited in E. Cobham Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles: Imitative, Realistic, and Dogmatic* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lipincott, 1834), p. 466;.

[71] G.-M Ollivier Beauregard, "Les lances qui reverdissent," in *Révue des traditions populaires* 9 (1894), 504, Alfred Harou, "Les lances qui reverdissent," in *Révue des traditions populaires* 13 (1898): 505, and *Révue des traditions populaires* 15 (1900), René Basset "Le bâton qui reverdit," in *Révue des traditions populaires* 19 (1904), 65-66, 336-37, and 532.

[72] *Life of Maedoc of Ferns*, ed. and trans. Charles Plummer, *Bethada Náem Nérenn: Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), p. 185; *Life of Sénan* in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890), p. 218. A sixteenth-century metrical account claims that Joseph of Arimathea visited Glastonbury and planted the Glastonbury Thorn there. On Etheldreda and the ash tree that sprouted from her staff as she slept, see Richard John King, *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England* (London: John Murray,1862) (http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Great_Britain/England/_Topics/churches/_Texts/KINCAT*/Ely/2.html), viewed 22 April, 2006.

[73] PL 124, col. 1213.

compatriots or the pagans with Germanus, of the staff holder's righteousness, resolving the conflict between the holy man and his adversaries. Finally, in the hagiographic stories in which the staffs are planted in the ground, the trees function as *memoriae* of the saint, acting as botanical reminders of their miraculous origins. Like relics (and texts), the tree connects the saint's time with the present. It serves as living evidence of the miracle and an everyday reminder of the saint. Eusebia's miracle is reminiscent of Germanus, Patrick, and the other Merovingian bishop saints. In other ways too, Eusebia resembles her male counterparts. Unlike her mother, and most female saints, Eusebia refuses strict claustration, since she moves between Marchiennes and Hamage in order to perform the rites at her house.

I have argued that the two *Vitae Eusebiae* elevatr Eusebia and underscore her masculine, quasi-episcopal authority. At the same time, these two *vitae* minimize Rictrude's sanctity and emphasize her femininity. The *vitae* of Eusebia can thus be said to represent Hamage's perspective. But problems remain. It is natural that the inhabitants of Hamage would want to aggrandize their own saint, but why would they present their adolescent female patron in terms more suited to a Merovingian bishop? For that matter, why would a small and impoverished house dedicate its resources to writing a *vita*, and more so a verse *vita*? At this point, an exploration of the historical context will do two things. It adds weight to my theory of the provenance of the two *Vitae Eusebiae* and it explains why the canons of Hamage in the late tenth or early eleventh century composed these works.

Hamage: A History

There are no comprehensive secondary works on the abbey of Hamage or detailed accounts of how it came to be absorbed into Marchiennes. It receives short entries in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* and the *Gallia Christiana*, and passing notices in works on monasticism in northern Gaul or on Marchiennes specifically.[74] The secondary sources' neglect reflects the state of the primary evidence. Information on Hamage comes mainly from the very *vitae* of Rictrude and Eusebia under discussion here and from a series of texts derived from manuscripts from Marchiennes, now held at the Bibliothèque municipale in Douai (Douai, BM, MSS 840, 846, and 850).[75] These texts include several *Miracula* of the saints, the *Chronicon Marchianense* and, notably, the twelfth-century *Poleticum* of Marchiennes. Finally, charters preserved in a thirteenth-century cartulary of Marchiennes provide scattered references to Hamage.[76]

---

[74] H. Platelle, "Hamage," in R. Aubert, ed. *DHGE* 23 (Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1990), pp. 199-200; *Gallia Christiana* (Paris, V. Palme, 1739-1880), vol. 3, p. 370. For works that mention Hamage, see Léon Spiret, *Marchiennes, son abbaye, son histoire* (Paris: Res Universis, 1993 [1898]), p. 4; Michèle Gaillard, "Les origines du monachisme féminin dans le nord et l'est de la Gaule (fin vi^{e} siècle - début viiie siècle)," in *Les religieuses dans le cloître et dans le monde des origines à nos jours: Actes du deuxième colloque international du CERCOR, Poitiers, 29 septembre-2 octobre 1988* (Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint Etienne, 1994), p. 54; B. Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du xiiie siècle* (Arras: Impr. centrale de l'Artois, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 197-98; M. Alex Faidherbe, *Notice historique et critique sur l'abbaye de Marchiennes de 630 à 1024* (Lille: E. Vanackere, 1856), pp. 38-44; Jean-Pierre Gerzaguet, *Marchiennes une abbaye, un village au Moyen Age* (Marchiennes, n.p., n.d.), 5; J. Nazet, "Crises et réformes dans les abbayes hainuyères du ixe au début du xiie siècle," in *Recueil d'études d'histoire Hainuyèreo offertes à Maurice-A. Arnould,* ed. J.-M Duvosquel (Mons: Hannonia, 1983), pp. 476-78.

[75] Poncelet, "Duacensis," 382, 394-98; 405.

[76] Archives du Nord Series 10-H.

The *Poleticum*, which dedicates several chapters to Hamage, provides the most comprehensive account of the house.[77] Found in Douai, BM, MS 850 and printed by Delmaire, the Poleticum is comprised of a short history of Marchiennes and Hamage, followed by a discussion of Marchiennes's holdings.[78] It draws on Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis*, the verse and prose lives of Eusebia, the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, and oral tradition.[79]

The *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738), as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* essentially reiterates chapters 8 through 14 of the *Poleticum* (the section that deals with Hamage's history), and adds an additional section.[80] Delmaire dates this *Miracula Eusebiae* to 1133-64.[81] There are two *Miracula* of Rictrude (BHL 7252, 7251); [82] both contain information on Hamage and Eusebia. Another *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738a), probably composed at Marchiennes, is mainly assembled from the first *Miracula Eusebiae* and one of Rictrude's *Miracula* (BHL 7252).[83] Since the *Miracula* of Rictrude and Eusebia are later sources that rely heavily on the earlier ones, they cannot be taken as independent

---

[77] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 1-20. Delmaire convincingly dates the *Poleticum* to the early years of the reign of Abbot Amand of Marchiennes (abbot 1116-36).
[78] On the manuscript Douai, BM, MS 850, see Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 3-9, and Poncelet, "Duacensis," p. 405.
[79] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, p. 32. In section 14, the author says those "qui nunc supersunt et coenobitae et loci incolae"[who now remain, both the monks and the inhabitants of the place] report an annual ritual at Hamage.
[80] AASS Mar. vol. 2, pp. 452-54. The BHL lists only one manuscript of this *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738), the twelfth-century Douai, BM, MS 840, fols. 137r-140v. The second *Miracula* (BHL 2738a), found in Douai, BM, MS 846, is excerpted in Poncelet, "Duacensis," pp. 460-62.
[81] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, p. 14. For the translation of Eusebia's relics, *Miracula Eusebiae*, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 455.
[82] BHL 7249, 7251, 7252, and 7252a. The texts are printed in AASS May, vol. 3, pp. 139-53, 119-39, 88-117, and Poncelet, "Duacensis," pp. 449-60 respectively. BHL 7249 and 7251 appear in Douai, BM, MS 850 along with the *Poleticum*. The BHL does not list any manuscripts for 7252. BHL 7252a appears in Douai, BM, MS 846.
[83] See Poncelet, "Duacensis," pp. 460-62.

evidence for the history of Marchiennes and Hamage. (See Figure 5.5 for the relationship of these texts.) Most of these texts date from the twelfth century; the latest is the *Chronicle of Marchiennes*, composed by the monk Andre of Marchiennes, which dates to 1199-1201.[84] The earliest cartulary, the *Codex primus Marchianensis*, dates to the thirteenth century, and it is possible that the early charters have been altered (or even forged) to serve Marchiennes's interests. [85]

Much of this late evidence is problematic and ideologically slanted. The cartularies and the *Poleticum* were written or copied with the express purpose of substantiating Marchiennes's claims to its possessions, including Hamage.[86] The anonymous author of the *Poleticum*, for example, speaks of the need to defend Marchiennes's possessions against the rapacity of those who seek to take its property.[87] All these twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources, such as the *Poleticum*, the *Miracula Eusebiae*, and the *Miracula Rictrudis*, reflect a time when Hamage was Marchiennes's property. The tenth-century *vitae* of Eusebia, however, do not. The only sustained modern study of Hamage is Étienne Louis's series of excavation reports on the site.[88]

---

[84] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, p. 9. According to Delmaire, this section of Douai, BM, MS 850 was not copied by the same scribe or at the same time as the *Poleticum*.
[85] Le Glay, *Mémoire due les archives*, p. 13. A. de Loisnes, "Les miniatures du cartulaire de Marchiennes," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques* (1903), 476-89.
[86] Gerzaguet, *Marchiennes une abbaye*, p. 9.
[87] *Poleticum*, section 2, 20 notes the advocates who are threatening Marchiennes.
[88] Louis has been excavating the site of Hamage since 1991 and has published numerous papers on it. Étienne Louis, "Aux débuts du monachisme en Gaule du Nord: les fouilles de l'abbaye mérovingienne et carolingienne de Hamage (Nord)," in *Clovis histoire et mémoire: Le baptême de Clovis, son echo à travers l'histoire*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 843-68; Louis, "Sorores ac fratres in Hamatico degentes. Naissance, évolution et disparition d'une abbaye du haut Moyen Age: Hamage, (France, Nord)," *Journée d'étude: une abbaye et ses domaines au Haut Moyen Age* (Logne, 26 septembre, 1998), *De la Meuse à l'Ardenne*, vol. 28, 1999, pp. 15-47; Louis, "Fouilles de l'abbaye mérovingienne puis carolingienne de Hamage," *Handelingen de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheikunde te Gent* (Gand, 1996), pp. 45-69; Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques, viie – ix^{e}

Because Hamage, unlike Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, Saint-Amand, and Marchiennes, lacks narrative histories, I dedicate a portion of this chapter to assembling the available evidence and establishing a chronology of its fortunes and its relationship with Marchiennes.

Hamage is on a marshy piece of flat ground on the right bank of the Scarpe.[89] It is to the south-east of Marchiennes, and less than half a mile from it.[90] As noted above, according to the much later hagiographical works, Gertrude, Adalbald's grandmother, founded Hamage, either as a house of nuns or, like Marchiennes, a double house of nuns and clerics.[91] Hucbald says Gertrude died in 649 at age 75 or 80. Based on this problematic evidence, Faidherbe suggests that the foundation of Hamage should be dated to around 595.[92] The archeologist Louis asserts a date around 630.[93] Louis's excavations show that the earliest habitations at the site are from the seventh century and consist of separate wooden huts on stone foundations,[94] a layout for which Louis plausibly suggests an Irish influence.[95] The area, of about 35 by 70 meters, was surrounded by wooden

---

s. Le cas de Hamage (France dép. du Nord)," in *Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" conference*, *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe,* vol. 4, eds. G. De Boe, F. Verhaeghe, (Zellick: Instituut voor het archeologisch patrimonium, 1997), pp. 55-63; Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces de bâtiments claustraux d'un monastère mérovingien et carolingien," in *Actes du colloque de Liessies – Maubeuge "practique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à la époque moderne,"* ed. P. Racinet, Histoire médiévale et Archéologie, 8 (Amiens: CAHMER, 1998), pp. 73-97.

[89] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 74.

[90] *Poleticum*, cap. 8. " Extat praeterea a littore marceniensi spatio stadiorum ferme quatuor Amagiensis sinus locus amoenus..." [There exists also, at a distance of almost four stades from the bank of Marchiennes, the bay of Hamage, a charming place...]. A stade is 607 feet or 185 meters, so four stades are 0.46 of a mile or 0.74 km; Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 55.

[91] See note 1, above; Faidherbe, *Notice historique et critique*, p. 7.

[92] Faidherbe, *Notice historique et critique*, p. 9.

[93] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 55.

[94] Étienne Louis, *Archéologie en Nord-pas-de-Calais* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: DRAC Nord-Pas-de-Calais, 2002), no page numbers [p. 2].

[95] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 84.

palisades and ditches.[96] Some ceramic goblets have been found, including one inscribed with the name "Aughilde," who may have been a nun at Hamage.[97] Excavations have also turned up *fibulae* and glass objects.[98] The church of Saint-Pierre was built on the river, 50 meters north of the cloister.

In the next layer of building activity, beginning in the second half of the seventh century, the separate *cellulae* were replaced by communal living quarters.[99] This wooden structure, measuring 10.5 by 18.5 meters, consisted of perhaps 10 to 12 cells, each with a hearth.[100] The cells were grouped around three communal rooms, and the structure also included an oven and latrines.[101] The excavation of this period (which Louis designates as IIIA) has yielded brooches, needles, glass beads, bowls, platters, and pitchers.[102] From the remains of work and tools from glass makers, bronze workers, blacksmiths, carpenters and other artisans, Louis has inferred that the residents of Hamage enjoyed a fairly high standard of living.[103]

According to the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, Eusebia was succeeded by another Gertrude, the wealthy widow of a Count Ingomar.[104] Between 690 and 710 (Louis's Period IIIB) this second Gertrude constructed a church, 22 meters in length, to the north of the cloister.[105] This church, Sainte-Marie, dedicated to the Virgin mother, was built of

---

[96] Louis, *Archéologie en Nord-pas-de-Calais*, [p. 2].
[97] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 58.
[98] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 58.
[99] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 59.
[100] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 60.
[101] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 60.
[102] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 60.
[103] Louis, *Archéologie en Nord-pas-de-Calais*, [p. 3].
[104] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), 13, AASS, Mar. vol. 2, p. 449; Faidherbe, *Mémoire sur les archives*, p. 38.
[105] *Poleticum*, cap. 9, attributes the building of this church to the first Gertrude.

wood on stone foundations. It housed the nuns' remains and a chapel, which Louis claims housed Eusebia's relics.[106] The twelfth-century *Poleticum* also notes that Eusebia had a chapel on the south side of the church, where sick people were healed through incubation, although, claiming to prefer silence to anything fantastic (*fabulosum aliquid*) the author says nothing about her relics' elevation and translation to these quarters.[107] According to the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, as well as the *Poleticum* which draws on it, Hatta, abbot of Saint-Pierre in Gand and later Saint-Vedast, oversaw the church's consecration.[108] In Louis's interpretation, Sainte-Marie was the church frequented by the cloistered nuns, while Saint-Pierre was used by the visiting laity and by the clerics who constituted the male population of the double house.[109]

In the ninth century (Period IV) this church of Sainte-Marie was replaced by a larger (24 by 8 meters) stone structure, and the chapel was also rebuilt. Remains of limestone and colored glass show the expense of the building.[110] This church later collapsed or burned down.[111] The site's living quarters were also rebuilt in the ninth century, apparently in the form of an early cloister.[112] Coins of Louis the Pious found on the site provide a date for the reconstruction and suggest that the building project was

---

[106] Since there is no evidence for Eusebia prior to Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* of 907, Louis's use of the later hagiographic tradition for interpreting the eighth-century archeological remains is problematic.
[107] *Poleticum*, cap. 13 -14.
[108] *Poleticum*, cap. 9; Faidherbe, *Mémoire sur les archives*, p. 38.
[109] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 59.
[110] Louis, *Archéologie en Nord-pas-de-Calais*, [p. 4].
[111] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 94. Louis conjectures that the remains are too tidy for the church to have been dismantled and removed.
[112] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 62.

associated with Louis's imposition of Benedictine rule on all the abbeys of his kingdom in 816-17.[113]

A charter of Charles the Bald from 877 attests to the presence of male and female residents at Hamage, a situation that the *Poleticum* dates to Hamage's inception.[114] The charter states:[115]

> De villa namque VIRIAIACO iubemus tres partes fieri de uino, unam partem ad opus Senioris, alteram quoque ad usus Sororum ac Fratrum in MARCIANIS consistentium, tertiam quidem ad opus Sororum et Fratrum in HAMATICO degentium...
>
> We order the wine from the villa of Vergny to be divided into three parts, one part for the work of the Senior, another also for the use of the sisters and brothers residing at Marchiennes and the third indeed for the work of the sisters and brothers living in Hamage...

This unusual division of property shows that Marchiennes and Hamage were separate entities, but that they were associated with each other, at least in the king's mind. Louis infers from the three-way division of the villa's wine production between the two houses and the "mense abbatiale" (as he interprets the *opus senioris*) that the houses shared an abbot, an abbess, or perhaps a lay abbot.[116]

Even at its height, Hamage was a modest community.[117] Its cloister was small,[118] and the church could not have been very tall or it would have required better

---

[113] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 94.
[114] *Poleticum*, cap. 8. The *Poleticum* describes the members of the community as "serui ancillaeque Dei" [servants and handmaidens of God].
[115] Lille AD Nord J 423/358 ed. Georges Tessier, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France.* 2 volumes (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1943), n. 435, pp. 471-475; Mireus, *Diplom. Belg. lib.* I cap 17 p. 138. The original charter is lost, but a copy is included in a thirteenth-century cartulary of Marchiennes.
[116] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 76.
[117] Louis, "Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques," p. 59.
[118] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," pp. 93-94.

foundations.[119] Nonetheless, material remains suggest a level of prosperity and much later charters (from 1123 and 1176) imply that at some stage Hamage possessed several local properties: Alnes, Tilloy, and Wandignies. The bull of Calixtus II, from November 1123, states:

> Statuimus enim ut quecumque bona, quascumque possessiones idem monasterium uel in presenti legitime possidet uel in futurum, largiente Deo, iuste atque canonice poterit adipisci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus nominibus annotanda. Ex donariis et beneficiis B. Rictrudis et ipsius filiae uenerabilis uirginis Eusebiae, locum ipsum in quo monasterium situm est cum habitationibus et mansionibus suis, cum arboretis et ortis, a decimis, redditibus et aduocatione liberis; ecclesiam quoque Hamagiensem liberam, sicut et Marceniensem cuius filia est, cum appendiciis suis Alno et Wandegiis ...[120]
>
> For we set up, in order that whatever goods and whatever possessions, likewise, the monastery legitimately possesses either in the present or in the future, by the generosity of God, and whatever goods and whatever possessions, it will be able to gain lawfully and according to church rule, they might remain secure and undiminished for you and your successors. In accordance with these things, which we consider, they must be noted down with their appropriate names. From the treasure chambers and favors of blessed Rictrude and her daugher the venerable virgin Eusebia, this very place where the monastery is located with its inhabiants and its dwellings, with its forests and gardens free from tithes, free from handing over revenue, and free from having an advocate, free also Hamage, just as Marchiennes whose daughter it is, with its dependencies Alnes and Wandegnies.

The diploma of Philip count of Flanders from 1176 similarly refers to Hamage and its dependencies: "Locum ... Hamaticensem cum appendiciis suis Alno et Tilloit, et Wandegnies" [the place Hamage with its dependencies Alnes, Tilloit, and

---

[119] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 92.

[120] M. Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Marchiennes* (Douai: Adam d'Aubers, 1854), pièces Justificatives II, 27, with my orthographic corrections from the charters Pièces 1 and 2 of Series 10 H 1 of the Archives Départmentales du Nord in Lille. Max Bruchet, *Archives Départmentales du Nord*, *Répertoire Numérique, Séries H (Fonds Bénédictins et Cisterciens) 1 H à* XXXV H (Mons-en Barœul: La Monsoise Imprimerie, 2003), p. 184.

Wandegnies].[121] The *Poleticum* also preserves evidence of Hamage as an administrative unit. After noting the produce owed from the domains of Alnes and Wandegnies, the author notes "Parroechiae Amagiensi incolae subiecti sunt" [the inhabitants of the parish were placed under Hamage].[122] The same text notes the woods of Givrus (Gievre) and Erleverceis (Hiverchies) and the marsh of Gislodus (Gislautfait) are under the guardianship (*sub tutela*) of Hamage, as was the abandoned little farm (*praediolum*) of Warlennium.[123]

The *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), contradicting the other written and archaeological evidence, posits that Hamage's decline began immediately after the death of the second Gertrude and compresses the transfer of power to Marchiennes into a shorter time frame.[124] Louis suggests the destruction of the church of Sainte-Marie might have occurred during the Viking raids that, according to Hucbald and the *Annals of Saint-*

---

[121] Miraeus, c. 106 p. 712. Le Glay notes that Miraeus transcribes Aluo for Alno. Le Glay, *Mémoire due les archives*, p. 27.
[122] *Poleticum*, cap. 22.
[123] *Poleticum*, cap. 21, 23.
[124] AASS Mai vol. 3, p. 101. In the *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), the author has the *cura* of Hamage pass to the nuns (*sanctimoniales*) of Marchiennes and from them to the monks, whereas the evidence of the *Miracula Eusebiae* (see below) suggests that Hamage was subordinated to Marchiennes at the same time as Marchiennes was reformed as a male house(i.e. in 1024) as part of Count Baldwin's reforms. Therefore, the *Miracula Eusebiae* places the absorption of Hamage at a later date than does the *Miracula Rictrudis*. The *Miracula Rictrudis* states: "Abbatissa uero uiuente nec in monasterio religio defuit, nec ancillarum Dei subsidia per cuiusdam uiolentiam sublata, uel per incuriam eorum quibus commissa fuerant sunt imminuta. Sed cum carnis uinculis absoluta esset, cum detrimento religionis, rebus monasterii paulatim in deterius mutatis, desolationem futuram dissolutio praecurrebat. Sanctimoniales tamen, quae Marchianensi ecclesiae praeerant in loco illi post obitum eius longo tempore praefuerunt, et ab illis ad monachos cura pertransiit, qui sibi inuicem succedentes, usque ad Fulchardum Abbatem quod illae destruxerunt, isti restauratae conati sunt" [But when the abbess (i.e. the second Gertrude) was living, religion was not lacking in the monastery, nor was the support of the handmaidens of God taken away through the aggression of a certain person, nor had they been diminished through the neglect of those to whom they had been entrusted. But when she had been freed from the bonds of the flesh, and with matters of the monastery gradually changing for the worse, the disintegration together with the diminishment of religion were hastening the impending doom. Nonetheless the nuns who were in charge of the Church of Marchiennes remained in the place for a long time after her death, and from them the care (of the church) passed to the monks who, succeeded one another in turn until abbot Fulchard tried to restore what the women had destroyed].

Bertin, decimated the Scarpe valley in 881 and 883.[125] The *Miracula Eusebiae* places the Viking destruction earlier, in 850, and claims that Hamage and Marchiennes were restored during the reign of Charles the Simple:

> Anno autem Domini octingentesimo quinquagesimo, cum Normanni Gallliarum ciuitates et castelli et monasteria igni tradidissent et habitatores interfecissent; hunc quoque locum [i.e. Hamage] et Marchianensem deletis habitatoribus destruxerunt. Cum vero tempore Caroli Regis, cognomento Simplicis ... ecclesias denuo restauravit.[126]
>
> Moreover, in 850 A.D., when the Normans had delivered the cities, the fortresses and the monasteries of the Gauls to the flames and had killed the inhabitants, they also demolished this place and Marchiennes and exterminated the inhabitants. Although in the time of king Charles, called the Simple ... he finally restored the churches.

Hamage then disappears from the written record until 1024 when the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai (which views Eusebia and not Gertrude as the founder of Marchiennes) states that it was reduced to destitution and inhabited by only a few canons: "nunc per saecularitatem multum delapsa, uix paucos canonicos habet" [now having declined, through much secularization, it has barely a few canons].[127] The earlier *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738) associates the subordination of Hamage to Marchiennes with Count Baldwin's reform of Marchiennes, which the *Gesta* places in 1024.[128] These reforms ousted the nuns from Marchiennes and reduced Hamage to a dependency of Marchiennes: "Eo autem tempore quo sanctimoniales a monasterio Marchianensi per

---

[125] *Annales Bertiniani*, in C. Dehaisnes, *Les annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast* (Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard, 1871), pp. 308-09 and Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 1.
[126] *Miracula Rictrudis*, cap. 2, 9, AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 454.
[127] *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*, book 2, cap. 27, ed G. H. Pertz, MGH SS (Hannover: Hahn, 1856), p. 461.
[128] On Baldwin's reforms, see D.C. van Meter, "Count Baldwin IV, Richard of Saint-Vanne, and the Inception of Monastic Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders," *RB* 107 (1997), 130-48.

Balduinum Comitem et Lietduinum Abbatem S. Vedasti eiectae sunt, in subiectionem monarchorum Marchiensensium idem locum deuenit"[129] [Moreover, in that time in which Count Baldwin and Abbot Lietduin of Saint-Vaast threw the nuns out of the abbey of Marchiennes, that same place (Hamage) passed into the authority of the monks of Marchiennes]. Both Marchiennes and Hamage were reduced to poverty by abbot Fulchard of Marchiennes (1103-20), who gave Hamage over to a *rusticus* custodian and his wife.[130]

The next layer of archaeological evidence, which Louis names Period V and dates to the tenth and eleventh century, shows that the church of Sainte-Marie at Hamage was not rebuilt. Rather the land was divided up into plots for agriculture.[131] The small plots, suggestive of intensive agriculture, show that the area was not abandoned. Graves are found within the perimeter of the Carolingian building, showing a preference for burials in sacred ground and a memory of where the structure had stood.[132]

The *Poleticum* also notes the neglect of Hamage. The anonymous author goes into Ciceronian hyperbole (*O tempora! O mores*!) to describe the house's decline. He says that its wealth was wasted by the crimes of certain miscreants:[133]

> Sed uae! uae! malignitatibus hominum pessimorum quorum infernalis improbitas et tirannica rabies atque atrocitas diabolica pacis iura comminuit et amoenitatem in iocundo aere, in pascuis uberrimis opulentiam in fertilis terrae frugibus diuersis, sublato cultore et fugatis habitatoribus ....

---

[129] *Miracula Eusebiae*, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 454.
[130] *Miracula Eusebiae*, AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 454; Spiret, *Marchiennes, son abbaye*, p. 225.
[131] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," pp. 95-96.
[132] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 97.
[133] *Poleticum*, cap. 12.

> But alas! Alas! By the evil acts of the worse men, whose infernal wickedness and tyrannical madness and diabolical cruelty crushed the oaths of peace, and the comfort in the agreeable air, the wealth in the most fertile pastures, the wealth in the various crops of the fruitful earth, when the cultivator had been removed and the inhabitants had been put to flight ....

No building activity occurred on the site between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.[134] There is some evidence that, despite the *Miracula Eusebiae's* claim that the site was abandoned to a *rusticus* and his wife, there was a small population of monks at Hamage in the early twelfth century.[135] In discussing a ritual of Hamage, the author of the *Poleticum* (ca. 1120) tells of a story told by "qui nunc supersunt et coenobitae et loci incolae" [those who now remain, both monks and inhabitants of the place].[136] The "monks (*coenobitae*) who now remain*"* are apparently at Hamage since they are paired with the inhabitants *of the place*, which is presumably the place under discussion, namely Hamage. Therefore, if Delmaire is correct in placing the *Poleticum* around 1120, it is possible that Marchiennes did keep a small monastic community at its dependent house even before Abbot Amand's restoration of the house.

Around 1130 Abbot Amand restored both houses.[137] According to the *Miracula Eusebiae*, after Abbot Amand had evicted the *rusticus* and his wife, Hamage was repaired with divine assistance, and became a convalescent home for the monks of

---

[134] Louis, "Aux débuts du monachisme," p. 864.
[135] *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738), AASS Mar vol. 2, p. 454. Note that the *Miracula Eusebiae*, perhaps because it draws on other sources so heavily, is inconsistent on this matter, referring to both the "monks who remain" (which it draws from the *Poleticum*, and who must therefore have been telling their story before 1120) and the "*rusticus* and his wife" who were evicted by Abbot Amand around 1130.
[136] *Poleticum*, cap. 14; *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738), AASS Mar. vol. 2, cap. 2, p. 454.
[137] Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, p. 17.

Marchiennes.[138] The earliest *Miracula* of Eusebia (BHL 2738), composed slightly after the *Poleticum*, describes Marchiennes's installation of a Benedictine priory of monks in a small cloister around 1133.[139] Hamage remained a Benedictine priory until 1533.[140]

Charters from the twelfth century affirm that Hamage was the property of Marchiennes. A charter of 1046 of Count Baldwin V of Flanders confirming Marchiennes's possessions and privileges does not note Hamage among Marchiennes's possessions,[141] but a charter of 1103 from Lambert, bishop of Arras, confirms Hamage among Marchiennes's properties.[142] Robert, another bishop of Arras, confirms Marchiennes's possession of Hamage in a charter of 1122 and notes that it was once its own abbey: "... ut aecclesiam Hamagiensem, quae priscis temporibus abbatia fuerat, ab omni redditu liberam predictae Marchianensi aecclesiae liberaliter possidendam firmaremus" [we confirm that the church of Hamage, which in ancient times was an abbey, freely held by the aforementioned church of Marchiennes, is free from every revenue].[143] As noted above, the Bull of Calixtus II from 1123 and a diploma of 1176

---

[138] *Miracula Eusebiae*, AASS Mar. vol. 2, pp. 454-55. "A diebus illis quatuor uel quinque Fratres ad seruiendum Domino illic sunt deputati, et est locus ille Fratribus infirmis de conuentu Marchianensi pro uiribus corporis reparandis ualde necessarius" [From those days four or five brothers were assigned to serve God there, and that place is most indispensible for restoring bodily strength to the sick brothers from the monastery of Marchiennes].
[139] Louis, *Archéologie en Nord-pas-de-Calais*; *Miracula Eusebiae*, cap. 2, 10-13, AASS Mar 2, pp. 454-55.
[140] Louis, *Archéologie en Nord*, [p. 5].
[141] ADN 10 H 6/41 (Copies ADN 10 H 323, pp. 107-08); London, British Library, MS Add. n. 16611, fols. 150-51), printed in Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 97-99. Delmaire assigns this charter to 1046.
[142] "In paggo attrebatensi Baris in comitatu Hainonensi pago Ostrevanno Hani [---] Hamaticum" [in the district of Artois, Baris in the county of Hainon, in the district of Ostrevannus, Hani.... Hamage]. ADN 10 H 5 piece 33; copy in the 1770 cartulary of Marchiennes, ADN 10 H 325, fols. 3-4. M. Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les archives*, p. 7; Bruchet, *Archives Départmentales du Nord*, p. 185.
[143] ADN H 5/35, printed in Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque*, pp. 100-01; Bruchet, *Archives Départmentales du Nord*, p. 185.

attest that Hamage and its dependencies (Alno, Tilloy, and Wandegnies) belonged to Marchiennes.

These charters show not only that Hamage was Marchiennes's property, but also that it was coming to be viewed as its daughter house. The bull of Calixtus II grants exemption from interference to Hamage, just like Marchiennes, whose daughter it is: "ecclesiam quoque Hamagiensem ..., *sicut et Marceniensem cuius filia est*" (my emphasis).[144] If Rictrude and Eusebia are regarded as the founding figures of their respective abbeys, then it follows that Hamage would be seen as Marchiennes's daugher, just as Eusebia was Rictrude's daughter, despite the hagiographical evidence that pointed to Hamage's prior foundation by Gertrude. A simplification of the two houses' histories, which conflates their foundations with their most famous saints, combined with the absorption of the less powerful house by its larger neighbor, recasts the familial terms in which the houses are represented – Hamage, represented in tenth- and early eleventh-century *vitae* as the older foundation, has become the younger, dependent institution, namely the daughter house. Late sources, such as the Bull of Calixtus II, show the way that the later history of the two houses, specifically the absorption of Hamage by Marchiennes in the eleventh-century, caused their foundation stories to be retold in a way that reflected and made sense of their new status.

Since Marchiennes had aquired Hamage, it follows that it would also obtain its patron saint. At an unknown date, Eusebia's relics were translated to Marchiennes.

---

[144] LeGlay, *Mémoire sur les archives,* Pièces Justificatives II, 27, with my orthographic corrections from charter 2 of the series 10 H 1 at the Archives du Nord. See Bruchet, *Archives Départmentales du Nord*, 184 for catalogue information.

According to the *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), Abbess Gertrude II, Eusebia's successor at Hamage, had already translated Eusebia's remains once, from an oratory attached to the church of Saint-Pierre in Hamage, to the newly constructed church of Sainte-Marie, also in Hamage.[145] In her second translation, Eusebia was taken from Hamage to Marchiennes. The feast of the *translatio* was celebrated on November 18.[146] The *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738) notes the translation of Eusebia from Hamage to Marchiennes, and places it before the Viking invasions of 850.[147] It seems unlikely that Hamage would have allowed the removal of its patron's remains in the ninth century, unless it were for safe keeping during the Viking attacks, or unless they were taken forcibly by the more powerful house. The author of the *Miracula Eusebiae* does not mention either of these scenarios and, in fact, admits an absence of detail: "De secunda autem translatione S. Eusebiae, quomodo ab Hamatico Marchianas translata sit, quod stylo euidentius prosequendum sit, certum nihil occurrit [Regarding, however, the second translation of Saint Eusebia, how she was conveyed from Hamage to Marchiennes, because this should clearly be described in more detail with the pen, nothing certain comes to mind]. [148] As noted above, these *Miracula Eusebiae* were composed at

---

[145] *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), AASS vol. 3, cap. 13, p. 101.
[146] This feast was celebrated on 18 November, according to the liturgical books Douai, BM, MS 888 and Douai, BM, MS 134. The *Miracula Rictrudis* gives November 18 (XIV Kal. Decembris) as the date for the consecration of the new Church of Sainte-Marie in Hamage, which Abbess Gertrude II had built to house Eusebia's remains. The suspicious coincidence of dates suggests that these later sources may be confusing or conflating two translations of Eusebia, one within Hamage (from an oratory attached to the church of Saint-Pierre, where she was originally buried, to the new church of Sainte-Marie) and one from Hamage to Marchiennes. See Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Protat frères, 1932-34), vol. 2, 43; *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), AASS Mai vol. 3, cap. 13, p. 101.
[147] *Miracula Eusebiae*, cap. 2, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 454.
[148] *Miracula Eusebiae*, cap. 2, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 454.

Marchiennes. Just as the roughly contemporaneous *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252, written after 1168), also from Marchiennes, antedates the decline of Hamage and its subjection to Marchiennes, the *Miracula Eusebiae* probably casts the translation of Eusebia back into the more ancient past.

It is more likely that Marchiennes acquired Eusebia's remains after it had annexed Hamage in 1024. The earliest evidence for Eusebia's posthumous presence at Marchiennes is from 1089. In that year, a diploma attesting a gift by a certain Theodoricus explains that he is giving it to "Ecclesiae MARCHIENENSI in qua Beatarum Rictrudis et Eusebiae corpora, cum aliorum plurimorum Sanctorum pignoribus, venerabiliter requiescunt" [the church of Marchiennes in which the bodies of Blessed Rictrude and Eusebia, with with relics of many other saints, venerably lie].[149] Gualbert's *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7251), from the 1120s, also suggests that Eusebia and Rictrude rest in the same place.[150] Liturgrical books from Marchiennes contain a feast for Eusebia's translation from Hamage to Marchiennes.[151]

The *Poleticum* (ca. 1120) tells of an annual celebration commemorating the feast of the dedication of Hamage's church. Although the references to places are vague, it seems that Eusebia's remains were taken from Marchiennes to Hamage on this feast day:

> Tradunt tantummodo qui nunc supersunt et coenobitae et loci incolae quod, seculo adhuc in meliori pace et gratiori prosperitate consistente, usus huiusmodi adoleuerit ut per singulos annos in dedicatione acclesiae pridie

[149] Miraeus, *Donat. Belg. lib.* II cap. 29, p. 517.
[150] AASS Mai vol. 3, p. 131. The evidence, however, for the relics of mother and daughter resting together is not definitive. In this episode the two sets of relics are *extra basilicorum* so they could have been brought from different churches (i.e. Hamage and Marchiennes).
[151] Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Protat frères, 1932-34), vol. 2, p. 43.

> ante diem festum illuc transferretur corpus sanctae cum reliquiis et crucibus de contione fratrum quibusdam comitantibus, qui cum reuerentia et timore uespertinalem synaxim et nocturnalem consuetudinaliter quirent adimplere. In crastinum autem domnus abbas uel decanus superueniret cum collegii parte residua et sic pariter officii diurni precelebrarent festiua gaudia. Iam uero die festo mediante, celebratis missarum sollempniis et misteriorum caelestium sacramentis, cum alacritate animi et iocunditate spirituali redirent ad sua in uoce exultationis.[152]
>
> Only those who remain, both the monks and the inhabitants of the place, tell that, in the worldly affairs until now, when a more pleasant peace and a more agreeable good fortune was prevailing, the practice of this kind was established: Every year, before the feast day, on the dedication of the church, the body of the saint was carried there with relics and crosses from the congregation, with certain men acting as escorts, who could respectfully and reverentially perform the evening office and the night time assembly in the customary manner. Moreover, on the next day the lord abbot or the deacon would arrive with the remaining part of the abbey and thus together they would perform the joyous feasts of the daytime office. Now, truly, in the middle of the feast day, when the ceremonies of the masses and the sacraments of the heavenly mysteries had been celebrated, with eager minds and happy spirits, they would return to their own houses in a mood of exultation.

It seems that the brothers, by taking Eusebia out of the church and celebrating the night offices, reenacted the furtive ritual by which Eusebia sustained Hamage's liturgy during her exile. On the following day, the remaining monks of Marchiennes and their leaders would arrive, enacting Marchiennes's incorporation of Hamage in 1024. Thus, the annual rite compressed the major events of Hamage's history (Eusebia's secession and Marchiennes's acquisition) into a 24 hour ritual period, which was repeated once a

[152] *Poleticum*, cap. 14, also *Miracula Eusebiae* (BHL 2738), AASS Mar. vol. 2, cap. II, p. 454.

year.[153] In this way, Hamage's linear history was telescoped and reiterated in Marchiennes's liturgical cycle.

Under Abbot Amand of Marchiennes, Eusebia's relics were returned to Hamage. This third translation of Eusebia took place on 17 May, 1133.[154] The *Miracula Eusebiae* (1133-1164), while discussing Eusebia's healing miracles, reiterate that her body remained at Hamage.[155] It seems that the body had been returned, in its new gold and silver *capsa,* to the *oratorium* in Saint-Pierre, where it was orginally housed, rather than to the chapel affixed to the church of Sainte-Marie.[156] The author of the *Miracula Eusebiae* recounts the healing of the monk Bartholomaeus at Eusebia's tomb at Hamage and claims that the healed man himself told him the story.[157] This report strongly implies that in the anonymous author's day (ca. 1133-64) Eusebia's *reliquiae* were at Hamage, since there is no reason that the monks of Marchiennes would have sent Bartholomaeus to Eusebia's tomb if the relics had still been in Marchiennes.

So far I have been attempting to reconstruct a history of Hamage from archaeological, diplomatic, and hagiographic evidence. But it is difficult to extract positivist historical fact from hagiographical sources while dismissing the blatantly

---

[153] The monks must be brothers from Marchiennes, since they are followed the next day by their abbot or deacon, and Hamage as a dependent institution, maintained by a small population (perhaps only a *rusticus* and his wife), did not have either an abbot or deacon. It follows that the Marchiennes monks take Eusebia's remains from Marchiennes to Hamage for the ritual.
[154] *Miracula Eusbeiae* (BHL 2738), AASS Mar. vol. 2, cap. 2, p. 455, section 13.
[155] According to Destombes, Eusebia's relics were last translated in 1733 by the abbot of Marchiennes. See C.-J. Destombes, *Les vies de saints et des personnes d'une éminente piété, des diocèses de Cambrai et d'Arras, d'après leur circonscription ancienne et actuelle* (Lille: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 1887), p. 352.
[156] *Miracula Eusebiae*, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 455. "In oratorio autem B. Petri, ad sepulcrum beatae Virginis, sanitates multae ... collatae sunt;" "uir fidelus ... Hammaticum uenit"[Moreover, in the oratory of blessed Peter, many healings were piled up in the sepulchre of the blessed virgin].
[157] AASS Mar. vol. 2, cap. 3, p. 455.

fantastical elements such as miracles.[158] For this reason attempts to specify Hamage's foundation date (for instance) based on Hucbald's calculations are problematic. The archaeological reports are a useful source but not truly independent, since Louis has interpreted his findings using the written evidence (for example, written evidence allows him to identify the Church of Sainte-Marie or the chapel of Eusebia as such).[159] Since the charters only exist in later copies made at Marchiennes, they could be forged or altered to backdate the incorporation of Hamage into Marchiennes in order to add weight to Marchiennes's claims to its property. The fact, however, that the charters that include Hamage among Marchiennes's possessions date to after 1024, the date that the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai (which has no obvious reason for bias towards either Marchiennes or Hamage) cites for the subjection of Hamage, suggests that this detail is not a later fabrication in the charters.

Despite the ideologically-freighted version of events, the outlines of Hamage's history, from the later ninth to the eleventh century seem fairly clear: between 877 (the date of Charles's charter) and 1024, Hamage was reduced from a fairly prosperous double house to the home of *pauci canonici*. It was then incorporated into its more powerful neighbor, Marchiennes as a part of Baldwin's reforms. We have seen that the later diplomas, as well as the *Miracula Eusebiae*, all confirm that Hamage belonged to Marchiennes by the early twelfth century.

---

[158] For an excellent discussion of the problems of using hagiographic sources for positivist history, see Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographic' Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994), 95-113.

[159] Louis, "Hamage (Nord) – espaces," p. 90; Le Glay, *Mémoire due les archives*, Pièces Justificatives II, p. 27; Miraeus, cap. 106 p. 712.

The anonymous author of the *Poleticum*, writing about a century after Hamage's incorporation, clearly regarded Hamage as one of Marchiennes's most important possessions, judging from the amount of space that he dedicates to it. The charters, the *Poleticum*, the *Miracula Eusebia*, and the *Miracula Rictrudis* all retain a memory of Hamage as an independent monastery. This then is the context for the composition of the prose and verse *vitae* of Eusebia, and it is this context, I argue, that can explain the discrepancies between the various versions of Eusebia's story.

The actual chronology of Hamage is only one of the points of interest for us. Also relevant, for the context of the two *Vitae Eusebiae*, is the way that the inhabitants of Marchiennes and Hamage told their histories. The texts I have been drawing on – the charters, the *Poleticum*, the *Miracula* of both mother and daughter — are mostly from Marchiennes. They tell a story in which Hamage went into a long decline, was incorporated into Marchiennes as part of a reform movement, and after the poor administration of Fulchard (abbot of Marchiennes 1103-20), was restored from its destitute state. This narrative, in which Marchiennes is responsible for Hamage's recovery after centuries of destitution, is only one way of telling the story.

The *vitae* of Eusebia reveal a different point of view. I argue the conflict between Rictrude and Eusebia in the two *Vitae Eusebiae* represents, symbolically, the relations between Marchiennes and Hamage. Mother and daughter stand for the mother and daughter houses of Marchiennes and Hamage. The houses in what is now Northern France and Flanders were connected to one another by a web of hagiographic associations. According to the local *vitae*, Amand, "apostle of the north," had laid down a

sacred geography, founding houses and installing his protégés as abbots and abbesses.[160] Hamage, founded by Eusebia's grandmother or great-grandmother, was tied to this web by familial associations with Marchiennes. Although Hamage (according to the *vitae* at least) predated Marchiennes, its desertion (at Rictrude's behest) and refoundation from Marchiennes made it a kind of daughter house, and, as noted, a later diploma refers to it as such.[161]

Naturally, two houses so close to one another would have had frequent contact. The *vitae* of Eusebia and Rictrude express the affiliation as well as the conflict between the houses. The sadness at the departure of Eusebia and the nuns for Hamage perhaps reflects the bonds between the communities expressed in terms of a connection that dates back to the seventh century. The prose *Vita Eusebiae* states: "Fit ingens gaudium pro concesso reditu omnibus suis: sed et aliquantulus moeror pro separatione fraternae sodalitatis, per quam caritate intercedente ex duabus quasi unius erant congregationis" [A great joy arose that the return for all their own was permitted, but a little grief also arose at the division of their fraternal association, through which, by the intercession of charity, they were almost one congregation]. [162] The verse *Vita Eusebiae* echoes the sentiment, although in characteristically different language: "Congaudent animis accepta spe redeundi/ Hinc tamen affectus patitur quod dissocientur" [They rejoice together in their souls, since they have received the hope of returning. Nonetheless, their affection suffers

[160] The term comes from Eduard de Moreau, *Saint Amand, apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France* (Louvain: Éditions du Museum Lessianum, 1927).
[161] Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les archives,* Pièces Justificatives II, p. 27; Bruchet, *Archives Départmentales du Nord*, p. 184.
[162] *Vita Eusebiae* (prose), cap. 10, AASS Mar. vol. 2, p. 449.

for this reason, because they are to be separated].[163] The *Vitae Eusebiae*, thus, contain the memory of the houses' intertwined origins and the closeness of their congregations.

The dominant theme in the *vitae* of Eusebia, however, is not affiliation but conflict. Both the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae* from (I have argued) Hamage present their twelve-year-old heroine as both a martyr and a thaumaturge. Hamage, threatened by its overbearing neighbor, was in need of a powerful patron capable of resisting Rictrude and her followers. The prose *Vita Eusebiae* provides one version of such a saint, and the verse *Vita Eusebiae* enshrines this saint in epic form. As noted in previous chapters, verse composition is time-consuming and requires considerable classical education. By producing a metric life in the tenth or early eleventh century, just before its annexation, the embattled abbey of Hamage exploited its cultural capital, proving that, like numerous other larger and more powerful houses, such as Saint-Amand and Saint-Germain, it possessed both the historical and the intellectual clout to produce a *vita metrica*.

Unfortunately we do not know to whom the verse *Vita Eusebiae* was dedicated or how it was used, but we can conjecture that, like other *vitae metricae*, it was sent to patrons, excerpted in liturgy, or used in the classroom. Sent to a powerful lord – like Count Baldwin who supported the reform movement that eventually subsumed Hamage into Marchiennes – the verse *Vita Eusebiae* could have been a plea for defense against Hamage's absorption. Used within Hamage, in the church or the classroom, it would affirm the monks' distinct identity apart from Marchiennes, their special status as the spiritual descendents of Eusebia, and their learning and culture. If it was sent to other

[163] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.158-59.

monastic houses, as Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* was, it would publicize the abbey's plight among the network of readers and writers of *vitae metricae* discussed in the previous chapter.

Polyvocal Manuscripts

We have no evidence of the text's original use because it survives only in manuscripts from Marchiennes. When Marchiennes absorbed Hamage, it would have had access to its book collection and perhaps have incorporated that library into its own holdings. Thus, the *vitae* of Eusebia could have ended up in Marchiennes. The survival of the *vitae* at Marchiennes, however, presents an additional difficulty: if, as I have argued, the two *Vitae Eusebiae* present a pro-Hamage, anti-Marchiennes sentiment, then why do they survive in manuscripts from Marchiennes?

In her recent book on Carolingian manuscript production, Rosamond McKitterick has shown that medieval manuscripts are polyvocal.[164] Codices could include a number of different texts that were written with disparate aims and messages. The codex's compiler selects these texts and guides the production of the codex. Through the juxtaposition of the works and their presentation in the finished book, the compiler could appropriate the texts to fit the requirements of the institution or patron that commissioned the codex. Specifically, the diverse texts could be manipulated so that they accorded (at

[164] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004).

least in broad outline) with the story that the particular abbey, cathedral, or dynasty wanted to tell about its past.

When we turn to the earliest witness for the *vitae* of Eusebia, Douai, BM, MS 849, we see a polyvocal manuscipt in which the compiler, almost certainly a monk of Marchiennes, gathered texts that were composed for various purposes and from different perspectives and incorporated them into a book with its own aim — to proclaim and increase the glory of Marchiennes and its most important patron, Rictrude. The compiler sought to include works, in prose and verse, about the saints particularly associated with Marchiennes: Jonat, Rictrude, and Eusebia.[165] The texts on these saints contain different versions of Marchiennes's early history and attribute different roles to its early saints. Therefore, in order to incorporate these saints into a pro-Marchiennes and pro-Rictrude narrative, the stories of the other saints – Eusebia and Jonat – whose *vitae* challenged Rictrude's preeminence required some manipulation.

Like Eusebia, Jonat threatened Rictrude's primacy. Jonat was Amand's disciple and the first abbot of Marchiennes, according to sources produced at Saint-Amand and included in the codex Douai, BM, MS 849. Hucbald states that Amand built Marchiennes, made his *discipulus* Jonat the abbot, and intended to install monks at

[165] Douai, BM, MS 849 contains 18 gatherings, mostly of 8 folios each. Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général de manuscrits,* vol. 6, p. 95 notes the contents of the codex. It begins with *lectiones* (*Lectiones duodecim ad matutinum in Natiuitate D.N.J.C.*, and *Lectiones ad matutinum in Paschale Resurrectionis D.N.J.C.*), followed by the *Omelia Gregorii*. The rest of the manuscript is devoted to the saints of Marchiennes. It contains the prose *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2736) on folios 31v-42r, the verse *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737) on fols. 43r-60v, the *Vita Ionati* (BHL 4447) on fols. 61r-65r, and the *Inventio Ionati* (BHL 4448) on fols. 65r-68r. Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7247) is on fols. 68v-93v, Johannes's *versus* to Erluinus (BHL 7248a) is on fol. 93v, and his verse *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248) appears on fols. 94r-125v. *Lectiones* for the feast of Rictrude, *lectiones dominicae infra octavam S. Rictrudis*, appear on fol. 125v.

Marchiennes.[166] Johannes follows Hucbald's narrative of Marchiennes's foundation, stating that Rictrude assumed the abbacy after Jonat had died that and his relics had been interred in Marchiennes. Therefore, for both Hucbald and Johannes, Rictrude – Marchiennes's primary patron — was in fact only a secondary founding figure who followed the first abbot Jonat.[167] The *Vita Ionati* (BHL 4447) that is included in this codex naturally emphasizes Jonat as the first founder of Marchiennes. Van Der Essen attributes the *Vita Ionati* to Hucbald on the basis of linguistic and stylistic similarities. Due to the allusive nature of *vitae*, this identification is not definitive, but a provenance of Saint-Amand certainly makes sense for a work that emphasizes the role of Amand's disciple – and thus Amand himself – in the foundation of Marchiennes.[168]

The *Gesta* of the bishops of *Cambrai* make no mention of Jonat. Just as the *Gesta* for the year 1024 treats Eusebia as the first founder of Hamage (omitting any reference to Gertrude),[169] it treats Rictrude as the only founder of Marchiennes, showing that the mother and daughter saints were considered the real founders by those outside the monastery. The *Gesta* were composed locally at Cambrai. Therefore, the fact that their

---

[166] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 16, p. 84.
[167] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis*, 2.115- 23, p. 584. "Nomine uulgari Martianae uocitatus,/ Celsa monasterii cuius structura leuauit/ Culmina Amando pontifice edificante beato,/ Corpore qua sanctus Ionatus adhuc requiescit./ Hic ubi iam dudum fuerat praelatus ab ipso/ Praesule iam dicto sub cuius discipulatu/ Floruit ac studuit famularier omnipotenti,/ Illic nanque gregem monachorum sanctus Amand/ Constitui uoluit, cuneum sed ecce sororum / Ipse abbas collegit ad ymnos concelebrandos / Diuini sacris famulatus usibus aptos" [The lofty structure of the monastery she raised up with the blessed priest Amand constructing its roofs, where the body of holy Ionatus still rests is called Marchiennes in the common speech. Long ago Ionatus had been placed here by the very man under whose discipleship he had already been appointed a priest, and he flourished and strived to be a servant of omnipotent God. For there Saint Amand wished a flock of monks to be established, but behold, the abbot himself collected a battalion of sisters for celebrating the hymns, suitable for the holy rites of the divine service]. Neither the prose nor verse *vitae* of Eusebia make mention of a real or intended community of men who preceded Rictrude's abbacy at Marchiennes.
[168] Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 272.
[169] See note 2 to this chapter.

author took Rictrude and Eusebia to be the founders of Marchiennes and Hamage shows that, despite the complicated stories that the houses told about their own origins, the writer of Cambrai had a simplified view of their foundation, a view that attributed everything to their most famous saints. The *Gesta's* treatment of Rictrude and Eusebia as their respective house's sole founding saints suggests that Marchiennes and Hamage had promoted their most powerful patrons energetically enough to eclipse the roles of their lesser known saints, Jonat and Gertrude.

Some sources for Marchiennes's early history eliminate Jonat entirely. Neither the prose nor verse *Vitae Eusebiae* mention him. If, as I have argued, the *Vitae Eusebiae* were composed at Hamage, then it follows that the residents of Hamage would have no interest in Marchiennes's first founding saint. Marchiennes's other founder, Rictrude, contributed to the sanctity of Eusebia's lineage and provided a foil for her, but Jonat added nothing to the story of Hamage's origins. The twelfth-century *Miracula Rictrudis* (BHL 7252), written at Marchiennes, also excises Jonat.[170] So, just as these twelfth-century writers from Marchiennes omit any reference to the mother-daughter conflict that could lessen Rictrude's prestige, they remove Jonat and his claim to being Marchiennes's true founder from the story. Even though Jonat's existence complicated the picture of Rictrude as a founding figure, his relics resided at Marchiennes, and so he added to

[170] *Miracula Rictrudis* 5, AASS Mai vol. 3, p. 89. According to the twelfth-century *Poleticum*, Rictrude instigates the foundation of Marchiennes with the help of Amand. Here Amand has become an ancillary figure in the foundation in contrast to the leading role he plays in Hucbald's and Johannes's texts from Saint-Amand: "In huius edificationis constructione uir sanctus Domini Amand cooperator assumptus est" [In the construction of this building, the holy man of God, Amand was used as a fellow helper]. (*Poleticum* 3). The role of Jonat, here called Ionas, is noted, but Rictrude is described as the *loci fundatrix* [founder of the place] (*Poleticum,* 6).

Marchiennes's saintly capital. Jonat contributed to the holiness of Marchiennes, the equally troublesome Eusebia reflected glory on her mother, and their feast days were celebrated at Marchiennes. Therefore, despite the difficulties Jonat and Eusebia presented for the history of Marchiennes, the compiler of Douai, BM, MS 849 included their *vitae* in his codex.

The compiler resolved or at least minimized the narrative discrepancies and difficulties by producing a codex whose miniatures redound to the greater glory of Marchiennes and its main patron. Compared to the illuminations in the roughly contemporaneous Valenciennes, BM, MS 502 from nearby Saint-Amand, the illustrations of Douai, BM, MS 849 are primitive.[171] They appear as outlines with only minimal coloration – accents of blue, green, red, and yellow. Illuminated folios are distributed through the manuscript. Most of the texts in this codex open with a miniature. A depiction of Christ's nativity prefaces the *lectiones* on the nativity and resurrection (fols. 1r and 2r); an illustration of Eusebia introduces her prose *vita* (fol. 33r); and a picture of the author or scribe is included at the outset of the verse *vita* (fol. 43r); Jonat appears in historiated V at the beginning of his *vita* (fol. 61v); Rictrude with her children and Jonat appear at the outset of Hucbald's prose *Vita Rictrudis* (71v and 72r); and, finally, Rictrude is depicted, perhaps ascending to heaven, to illustrate the *lectiones* for the octave of her feast (fol. 126r).

Images of Jonat and Eusebia each appear once by themselves. At the beginning of the prose *Vita Eusebiae*, Eusebia is depicted labeled in green ink: *s(an)c(t)a eusebia virgo*

[171] On Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, see Chapter One of this study.

(figure 5.1). The saint is haloed and wears a long robe. There is a woven band around her neck, her sleeve, and her hem. Her right hand is raised, her left arm is bent at the elbow and held against her torso, perhaps clutching a book or holding her wounded side. She appears in a stylized architectural setting, beneath a trefoil arch, with censers hanging on either side of her. Above the arch are small buildings on the left and right. Some kind of roof extends diagonally from the upper corners of the frame to meet the edges of the center arch. Like Eusebia, Jonat is depicted in a static pose. He does not warrant a full page illustration, but appears in the nine-line historiated V that begins the *Vita Ionati* (BHL 4447).

Another historiated initial indicates the beginning of the verse *Vita Eusebiae*. The illumination shows the author or copyist at work. Inside the half page capital O, the tonsured or haloed author or scribe kneels and holds a book (or a page) in his left hand, while a hand reaches down from heaven (fol. 43r, reproduced as Figure 1.7 in this study). Like the images accompanying Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502,[172] this illustration emphasizes the composition of the verse life rather than its content. The hand reaching down from heaven may represent the poet's divine inspiration, suggesting that this illustration depicts the author and not the scribe. Noteworthy is the fact that the illuminator has passed over an opportunity to depict Eusebia by herself a second time. Like the illuminator of the eleventh-century copy of Milo's verse *Vita Amandi* discussed in Chapter One above, the illuminator of this manuscript chooses to depict the production of the verse life rather than its protagonist.

[172] See chapter 1 of this study.

Like the illumination of Jonat, this miniature of Eusebia only occupies part of a page.

The illuminations that feature Rictrude are more complex than those depicting Jonat and Eusebia by themselves. In these illuminations, Rictrude is shown in a leadership role. The double page illustration on facing leaves 71v and 72r is explicit in delineating the roles and relative importance of the saints. On folio 71v, Rictrude is flanked by the smaller figures of Jonat and her son, Mauront (Figure 5.2). Rictrude holds a red-spotted book in her left hand, her right hand is raised in benediction, and Jonat holds a key. The iconographic evidence from Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 71v, by depicting Jonat and Mauront in the same, subordinate, relation to Rictrude, assimilates him with her children, and (like the stories of Rictrude's concern for Mauront's and Eusebia's spiritual well-being) conflates Rictrude's abbacy and her motherhood. The image on folio 71v mediates between the two traditions of Jonat and Rictrude as founding saints. It incorporates Jonat into Rictrude's family and subordinates him simultaneously.

On the facing folio, 72r, Rictrude's daughters, Adalsend, Closend, and Eusebia, appear in the lower half of the page (figure 5.3). Adalsend holds a book and Closend seems to as well. All have yellow haloes except for Eusebia, whose is green. Eusebia is thus singled out by her halo color, but she is not made larger or represented apart from her sisters. Her role here is simply as one of the children of Rictrude, who (as Hucbald says) reflect glory on their mother.[173]

Unlike Jonat and Eusebia, Rictrude is shown in action. As in the minatures of the nativity, the illuminations of Rictude's actions are presented in multiple registers and,

[173] Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, 19, p. 85.

like Christ in the illuminations on folios 1r and 2r, she is given a narrative illustration whereas Jonat and Eusebia are presented in static poses. The illustration on folio 126r contains two registers (figure 5.4). In the lower register, a haloed Rictrude, depicted from the side, addresses a group, perhaps of men and women. These may be her *fratres* and *sorores*, whom Johannes describes her addressing in his *Vita Rictrudis*.[174] While Jonat and Eusebia are shown in static poses, Rictrude is shown speaking and surrounded by onlookers. Despite the importance of speech in Eusebia's narrative, and despite the fact that both Jonat and Eusebia were also the heads of religious houses, only Rictrude is depicted in this role. Unlike Jonat and Eusebia, Rictrude is never presented alone, but always in a community setting. In this way, her role as the leader of a monastic house is emphasized. In the upper register, framed on each side by towers, Rictrude, central and facing the viewer, is surrounded by onlookers. Bare-footed and with hands outstretched, she does not stand on the ground, but on the elliptical framing device that forms the upper register. Dehaisnes interprets this illustration as depicting Rictrude's ascension to heaven.[175] If this interpretation is correct, then Rictrude is, quite literally, being elevated over the other inhabitants of Marchiennes. While Eusebia and Jonat are depicted standing still, this illustration of Rictrude - - the only facing page illumination in the manuscript — shows both her earthly power and her heavenly ascent. The image captures the double aspect of a saintly patron, whether living or dead; her power comes from her heavenly nature but that power is enacted upon living beings in the earthly realm.

---

[174] Johannes, *Vita Rictrudis,* 2.191–92, p. 586 (cf. Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis* 21, p. 85, in which Rictrude only addresses her *sorores*).
[175] Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général de manuscrits,* vol. 6, p. 95.

Given that almost every work in the codex is represented by an introductory illumination, the blank folio 94r (which occurs in the middle of a gathering) was presumably left for an illustration for Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*, which begins at this point. We can assume that this folio would have either depicted Rictrude by herself, as the illustrations at the beginning of the *Vita Ionati* and the prose *Vita Eusebiae* featured their titular saints, or it would have featured the author or scribe at work.

This manuscript from Marchiennes includes written narratives that undermine the preeminence of Marchiennes's most important patron, Rictrude, but these narratives are accompanied by miniatures that subordinate the other saints to Rictrude. In this way the codex Douai, BM, MS 849 is similar to Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* (which is contained in the codex). Like Johannes, who draws on Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* and the prose *Vita Eusebiae* to incorporate them into his work, but without ever reconciling the competing viewpoints, the manuscript compiler has taken conflicting sources and assembled them into a new collection full of internal inconsistencies. As far as we know the compiler did not actually rewrite any episodes of the narratives. Such work would not only be time consuming, but would also be also beyond the skill of many individuals who lacked the same competency in Latin prose or verse composition as the texts' authors. Further, the uses for which the codex was intended did not require such intervention. The illuminated collection of saints' lives is clearly a display copy, certainly not meant for classroom use, where texts were subjected to recital, intense ruminative reading, and memorization. Like the twelfth-century lectionary, Douai, BM, MS 840, which also contains the verse and prose *Vitae Eusebiae*, this illuminated collection was probably mined for readings for the

saints' feast days. The inclusion of *lectiones* (on the nativity, the passion, and Rictrude), and the so-called *Vita Ionati* (actually a text composed for the saint's feast day rather than a *vita* proper),[176] in Douai, BM, MS 849 also indicate that this collection was compiled for liturgical use. Since the readings incorporated into the liturgy were necessarily excerpts, the liturgists could simply select passages from the stories of Jonat and Eusebia that did not reflect poorly on Rictrude. [177] The codex's miniatures, which are more immediately obvious than the narrative inconsistencies, leave the viewer no doubt about the relative status and importance of the members of Marchiennes's dysfunctional saintly family.

*

The adolescent saint Eusebia – as the tenth-century sources told it — once rescued her community from the oppressive authority of Marchiennes by word and miracle. Although she was unable to do so a second time, her voice survived to tell the tale in symbolic hagiographic form. In the absence of more conventional forms of power, writing a *vita metrica* was one way for the inhabitants of Hamage to assert their independent status and identity. According to my hypothesis, the canons of Hamage produced the prose and verse *Vitae Eusebiae* in their battle against a larger and more powerful institutional neighbor that would eventually absorb the smaller house. As a

---

[176] Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* p. 272.
[177] On the use of verse *vitae* in liturgy, see Ritva Jonsson (Jacobssen), *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist et Wiksell, 1968), pp. 77- 83 and *passim*, and Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Early Medieval Versified Offices," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford, 2000), pp. 278-99.

survival strategy the production of the *Vitae Eusebiae* failed, but the authors succeeded in preserving a different version of the originary myths of Marchiennes and Hamage. The *Vitae Eusebiae* were valuable to Marchiennes since they featured one of its patron saint's daughters, and they could be incorporated into codices, like Douai, BM, MS 849, that minimized the ideological conflict between the competing versions of the past. Once Hamage, and therefore Eusebia's mortal remains, were securely in Marchiennes's power, the monks of Marchiennes had even more reason to celebrate the virtues and healing power of Eusebia in texts such as the *Miracula Eusebiae* and in the church's liturgical calendar as represented by the massive lectionary, Douai, BM, MS 840. Like the abbey of Hamage, and the healing relics of Eusebia, the *Vitae Eusebiae* were subsumed into Marchiennes and deployed by that house for its own ends. Later developments caused the monks of Marchiennes to rewrite their foundation stories. In these later versions, Eusebia becomes a good daughter who does not rebel against her mother. In the twelfth-century *Miracula Eusebiae*, Eusebia's miracles reflect glory on her mother and, presumably, induce pilgrims to visit her remains held at Marchiennes's priory, Hamage. By this time Hamage had become a convalescent home for Marchiennes's monks, and a new, less troublesome Eusebia reflected this state of affairs. However, the dissonant voice of the rebellious girl saint, a powerful and almost masculine patron, remained in the polyvocal manuscripts, protesting the oppressive authority of her mother, and, symbolically, her mother house. Hamage was annexed but its voice survived.

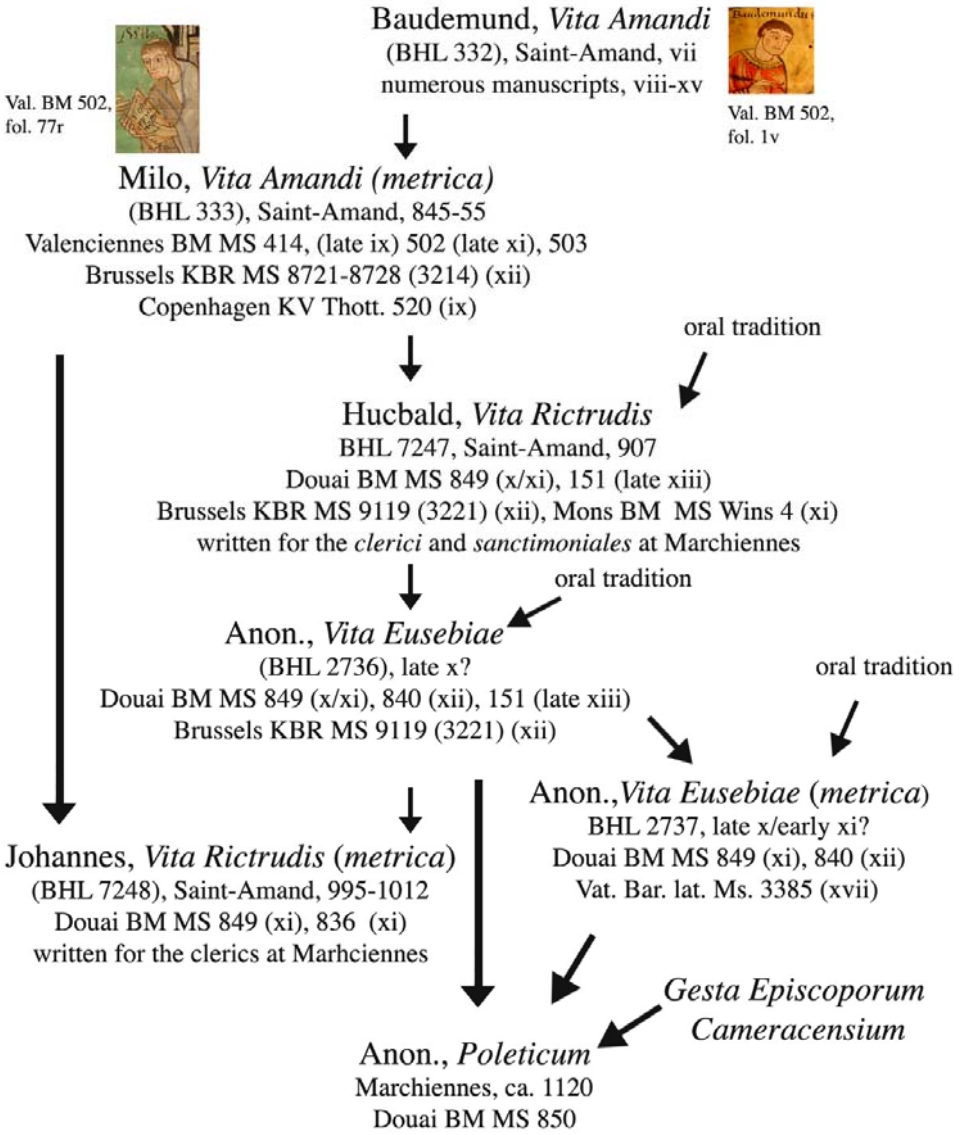
Figure 5.1: Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 33r. Saint Eusebia.

Figure 5.2. Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 71v. Rictrude flanked by her son Mauront, and by Jonat, first abbot of Marchiennes.

Figure 5.3. Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 72r. Rictrude's daughters Adalsend, Eusebia, and Closend.

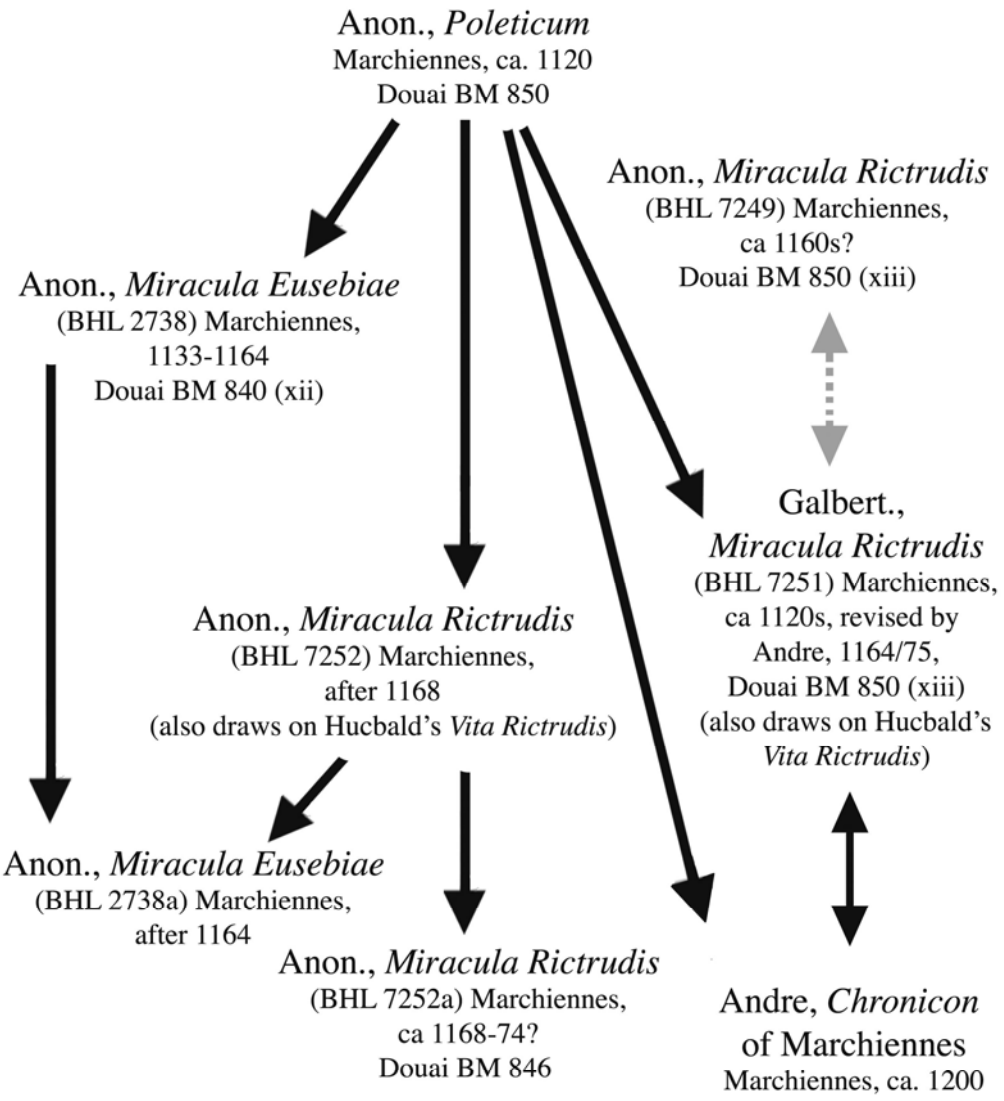
Figure 5.4. Douai, BM, MS 849, folio 126r. Rictrude and onlookers.

Figure 5.5: The Relationship of the Texts Pertaining to Rictrude and Eusebia[178]



[178] This figure is based on the table between pp. 436 and 437 in Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire,* information in Delmaire, *Histoire-polyptyque,* pp. 13-16, and Ugé, "Legend of Saint Rictrude," pp. 281-97. The dates of the *Miracula*, *Poleticum*, and *Chronicon* come from Delmaire. I have omitted certain sources (such as Milo's *De sobriete* as a source of Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis*), which do not bear directly on the genealogy of the two *Vitae Eusebiae* or the texts about Marchiennes and Hamage. I have indicated oral tradition as a source when the author mentions it. Dotted lines indicate uncertain influence. Roman numerals indicate dates of composition. Roman numerals in parentheses indicate manuscript dates. Double headed arrows indicate that influence could have flowed in either direction.

The Relationship of the Texts, continued



Conclusion:
Metric Hagiography and its Afterlife

In 1489, the Italian humanist Baptista Mantuanus composed his *Parthenice Catharinaria*, a metric passion of Saint Catherine of Alexandria.[1] At the beginning of the 2100-line Latin poem, the pagan gods assemble in Memphis, Egypt. Complaining about their own decline due to the rise of Christianity, they plot Catherine's downfall. Jupiter addresses the others:

. .... Una nostras in uirgine uires
Experiamur: erit nostri reuerentia forsan
Maior ab exemplo tali. Catherina superbo
Nostra supercilio damnat simulachra, deosque
Impia subsannat, uultuque elata superbo,
Non Venerem, non Iunonem, non Pallada, non me
- Tanta est impietas –minimo dignatur honore."
Iuppiter haec. Magno socii fremuere tumultu.
Exiliunt Orae, Furiarum incendia surgunt.
Et Furor ignitis oculis et fronte minaci
Excandescit....[2]

... Let us test our strength against this one girl,
perhaps there will be more reverence for us from such an example.
With her overbearing arrogance Catherine condemns our idols,
And the impious girl mocks the gods and with her impudent face held high,
she does not consider Venus, Juno, Pallas Athena, and me
worthy of the least honor - so great is her impiety!"...
With a great commotion, the gods fall into a frenzy.
The Horae leap forth, the flames of the Furies rise up.
And Madness burns with blazing eyes and glowering gaze....

[1] On Catherine, see Giovanni B. Bronzini, "Caterina di Alessandria" *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 3 (Rome: Città nuova editrice, 1968), cols. 954-75.
[2] Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, 1. 104-14, in A.P. Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, vol. 2 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1992), p. 369. Orbán prints his critical edition of the poem on pp. 364-435 of this volume.

Jupiter then asks his daughter Persephone to prevail on her husband, Pluto, king of the underworld, to send a horrible creature against the saint:

> O Soboles iucunda mihi, Plutonia coniunx,
> Persephone, quando miseri te cura parentis
> Sollicitat, cita Tartareas descende sub umbras!
> Plutonemque roges, unam mihi mittat Herinnem:
> Tisiphonen aut Alecto diramue Megeram.
> I pete, nata, uirum grauibusque obnitere uerbis! [3]
>
> My sweet daughter, Persephone, wife of Pluto,
> Since the troubles of your unhappy father incite you,
> Swiftly descend beneath the shadows of Tartarus!
> And ask Pluto to send me a Fury:
> Tisiphones or Alecto or dreadful Megera.
> Go daughter, seek him out and contend with him in weighty words!

This lurid scene of the pagan gods plotting is unlike anything we have seen in the verse lives of the central Middle Ages, and it points to some of the ways that a *vita metrica* written, printed, and read in the Renaissance could differ from its ninth and tenth- century predecessors. Yet, despite some obvious contrasts between Mantuanus's epic poem and the medieval *vitae metricae* that I have examined, a comparison of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* with the earlier texts reveals a remarkable degree of continuity. The persistence of the genre into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages were not unusual, but rather part of an enduring and important tradition.

By way of a conclusion to my study of *vitae metricae*, I compare Mantuanus's *vita metrica* with the ninth- and tenth- century texts. There are similarities in both the form and the functions of *vitae metricae* from the two eras: both the medieval and

[3] Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria* 1. 118-23, p. 369.

Renaissance *vitae metricae* have strong classicizing tendencies and both are used to create and perpetuate communities of patrons, poets, students, and teachers. Yet, the composition, teaching, and exchange of *vitae metricae* was not just a long-lived tradition, but one with continuing vitality, so that the authors and readers of *vitae metricae* continually deployed the tropes and traditions of their genre in creative ways that reflected their own contemporary context and concerns. As a result, there are important differences between the *vitae metricae* of the ninth and tenth centuries, and those of the late fifteenth. The communities of patrons, poets, students, and teachers that coalesced around Mantuanus's poems are not the same as those formed by the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages, and accordingly the poems that they read contain some different elements.

Like the medieval *vitae metricae* I examined in previous chapters, Mantuanus's text is used to create and perpetuate communities of patrons, poets, students, and teachers. Yet, the nature of these intellectual communities of the Italian Renaissance is somewhat different from those we have seen in previous chapters. Thus, although the formal aspects of *vitae metricae* display considerable continuity, their functions are affected by a new set of circumstances. A comparison of the *vitae metricae* from the ninth and tenth centuries with Mantuanus's example illuminates many of the themes explored in the previous chapters, while also suggesting directions for future research. The *Parthenice Catharinaria* suggests a rich and largely unexplored tradition of *vitae metricae* in the intervening centuries.

Baptista Mantuanus and the *Parthenice Catharinaria*

Baptista Mantuanus (also known as Battista Spagnoli) was born in 1447 at Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil.[4] The son of a Spanish nobleman, he studied grammar with the humanist Gregorio Tifernate and philosophy at Padua.[5] Mantuanus became a Carmelite friar of the reform Congregation of Mantua at Ferrara age sixteen or eighteen.[6] He continued his studies at Ferrara and Bologna and was ordained as a priest at Rome in 1472.[7] Mantuanus received patronage from the ducal family of Mantua, particularly Federico Gonzaga, Francesco Gonzaga, Isabelle d'Este, and Cardinal Sigismondo.[8] The friars of the Congregation of Mantua elected Mantuanus vicar general six times, and in 1513 he became prior-general of the order. He died in 1516 and was beatified in 1885. Mantuanus wrote numerous Latin works of both poetry and prose including a Christian *Fasti* based on the Pagan *Fasti* of Ovid. His most popular works, ten *Eclogues* (also called *Adulescentia*) in emulation of Virgil, were written in his youth but not printed until 1498.[9] He also wrote a series of *Parthenices*, metric lives of the virgin saints Mary, Catherine, Margarita, Agatha, Lucia, Apollonia, and Cecilia. Mantuanus composed epic poems on a diverse group of male saints: the fourteenth-century Bolognese tertiary

---

[4] For the evidence for Mantuanus's date of birth, see Wilfred P. Mustard, ed., *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1911), p. 11, n. 2.
[5] Tifernate taught at Mantua from April 1460 to December 1461. Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 12. In the dedication to his *Eclogues*, Mantuanus states "ante religionem, dum in gymnasio Paduano philosophari inciperem" [before religion, while in the *gymnasium* of Padua, I began to philosophize]. Russell argues that by philosophy Mantuanus probably means the liberal arts curriculum as a whole. Baptista Mantuanus, in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 62; Patrick Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum* 13 (1948), 223.
[6] The Carmelite houses of Northern Italy had undertaken a reform in 1413, under the leadership of Mantua. The reformed houses were known as the Mantuan Congregation. Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," p. 223.
[7] Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," p. 223.
[8] Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," pp. 223, 225.
[9] Douglas Bush, *The Eclogues of Mantuan* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1937), p. i.

Lodovico Morbioli, the Parisian bishop and Areopagite Dionysius, George, the martyr Blaise, and the thirteenth-century hermit Nicholas of Tolentino.[10] Although scholars have studied Mantuanus's *Eclogues* and *Fasti* at length, his metric lives and passions, like their medieval counterparts, have been neglected.[11]

In his prefatory letter, Mantuanus dedicates the *Parthenice Catharinaria* to the patrician, diplomat, and book collector, Bernard Bembo. The work was first printed in 1489 in Bologna.[12] It was reprinted more than 40 times in different European cities, both on its own and as part of collections of Mantuanus's works, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[13] Several of Mantuanus's works were translated into English, German, and French, although the *Parthenice Catharinaria* does not seem to have been

---

[10] Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 28. The first *Parthenice*, on the virgin Mary, was first printed in Bologna in 1481. The *Parthenice Catharinaria* was printed in 1489 (see below). The remaining *Parthenices* were all included in Mantuanus's *Opera Omnia*, printed at Bologna in 1502, except for that of Cecilia, which was printed in 1507. The poems on the male saints were mostly printed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. See Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 28, for the precise dates and places for the first editions of each work. The BHL has not catalogued all of Mantuanus's hagiographical poems. Those with BHL numbers are as follows: Agatha (BHL 138), Apollonia (642), George (BHL 3406d), Lucia (BHL 4997), Margarita (BHL 5310).

[11] See Mustard's introduction to the *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, and H. Trumpy, *Die Fasti des Baptista Mantuanus* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1979).

[12] This edition was edited by Francis Ceretus, and published by Benedict Hector.

[13] Apart from the editions printed at Bologna most editions of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* were printed at cities outside Italy including Paris, Deventer, London, and Leipzig. Coccia lists 43 printings of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* during the sixteenth century, and it was the second most popular of Mantuanus's *Parthenices*. Mantuanus's other *Parthenices* were also printed numerous times. According to Coccia's data, the relative popularity of the *Parthenices*, as determined by the number of times they were printed in the sixteenth century, was as follows: Mary (printed 51 times in the sixteenth century), Margarita (34) Agatha and Lucia (31 each), Apollonia (29), and Cecelia (14). See Edmondo Coccia, *Le edizioni delle opere del Mantovano* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1960), pp. 125-27. Chiesa calculates that 284 editions of Mantuanus's *opera* had been published by the time of his death in 1516. Chiesa, "Agiografia nel Rinascimento," p. 206, n.

among them.[14] The enthusiasm for Mantuanus's *Parthenices* diminished drastically during the sixteenth century and vanished almost completely in the seventeenth century.[15]

Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* is one in a series of medieval and Renaissance *vitae metricae* of Catherine (see figure 6.1 for the relationships of the verse and prose lives of Catherine).[16] Mantuanus wrote the work only a few years after another poet, Petrus Carmelianus, had composed a shorter verse passion of Catherine (BHL 1666a).[17] This suggests that Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* was not an anachronistic oddity, a throwback to a dead literary genre, but part of an ongoing tradition of *vitae metricae*.[18] Mantuanus draws on one of the earlier verse lives of

---

[14] Chiesa, "Agiografia nel Rinascimento," p. 206. Coccia lists English, French, Italian, and Spanish translations of the *Parthenice Mariana*, and Italian translations of Mantuanus's poems on Ludovicus Morbiolus and Nicholas Tolentinus. Coccia, *Edizioni delle opere*, pp. 130-31. I have not located any translations of the *Parthenice Catharinaria*.

[15] The *Parthenice Catharinaria* was only printed six times after the 1520s, and the *Parthenice Mariana* (also called the *Prima Parthenice)* is the only one of the series that was printed in later centuries. There is a twentieth-century edition: E. Bolisani, ed., *La Partenice Mariana* (Padua: Tipografia Antoniana, 1957).

[16] Orbán prints all these poems in his two-volume collection *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*. The earliest *passio metrica* of Catherine, called the *Floruit Insignis* from its incipit (no BHL), is from the eleventh or twelfth century and is extant in two manuscripts now in Munich. Of the medieval verse passions, the most popular by far was the *Palma Triumphalis* (BHL 1666). Like the *Floruit Insignis,* this passion was anonymous. It was written between 1200 and 1368 and is extant in at least nine manuscripts. Both the *Floruit Insignis* and the *Palma Triumphalis* were still being copied in the fifteenth century. The remaining three medieval metric passions are Ricardus's poem (no BHL, Walther, *Initia* 19883) composed after 1135, the anonymous *Fragmentum Upsaliense* (BHL 1665) composed between 1150 and 1300, and the anonymous *Sepius in sexu fragili* (no BHL, Walther, *Initia* 17055) written before 1250.

[17] Petrus Carmelianus wrote his 707-line passion (BHL 1666a) in England in the 1480s.

[18] Mantuanus was not the only humanist to write *vitae metricae*. In 1437 Maffeo Vegio composed a metric life of the desert father Antony (BHL 600), which he dedicated to Pope Eugenius IV. Other Renaissance *vitae metricae* include Francesco Bernadino Cipelli's metric *Panegyricus* of Antonius of Piacenza and Ugolino Verrino's epic on Antoninus Pierozzi. Like Mantuanus, Sannazaro and Cornelius Aurelius both wrote epic poems on the Virgin Mary. See Mario Chiesa,"Agiografia nel Rinascimento: esplorazioni tra i poemi sacri dei secoli XV e XVI," in *Scrivere di sainti*. *Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia Napoli, 22-25 ottobre 1997,* ed. Gennaro Luongo (Roma: Viella, 1998), p. 207; Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia, 2005), pp. 215, 218; Loredana Chines, *Le parole degli antichi: umanesimo emiliano tra scuola e poesia* (Rome: Carocci, 1998), pp. 189-90. On Ugolino's life of Antoninus, see Maria Pia Poli, "S. Antonino «vere pastor ac bonus pastor»: storia e mito di un modello," in *Verso Savonarola: Misticismo, profezia, empiti riformistici fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, eds. G.

Catherine, the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century *Palma Triumphalis* (BHL 1666), proving that he was familiar with at least one text of the medieval tradition of *vitae metricae.*[19]

Mantuanus's *Parthenice* recounts the passion of the apocryphal Saint Catherine, a Roman martyr. Catherine, a young Christian noble woman, refused to sacrifice in the temples. Spurred on by the vengeful pagan gods, the Roman emperor Maxentius imprisoned her, ordered her torture, sent philosophers to debate with her, and proposed marriage. Maxientius's attempts to coerce, persuade, and cajole her failed, and she converted both the philosophers and the queen, ensuring their martyrdom as well. She was finally executed, spilling milk onto the ground in place of blood. Angels took her body to Mount Sinai where it produced miracles.

The Genre of *Vitae Metricae*: Continuity and Transformation

The *Parthenice Catharinaria* shares many formal features with its counterparts from the central Middle Ages. Like most of the *vitae metricae* from that earlier era, the *Parthenice Catharinaria* is written in unrhymed dactylic hexameter.[20] Like the medieval

---

Garfagnini and G. Picone (Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), pp. 83-139, and, for an edition of that life, Francesco Bausi, "Umanesimo e agiografia. Il carme di Ugolino Verino in lode di Antonino Pierozzi" *Memorie domenicane* 29 (1998), 99-158. For a critical edition of Verino's life of Charlemagne, see N. Thurn, *Ugolino Verino: Carlias. Ein Epos des 15. Jahrhunders erestmals herausgegeben* (Munich: Fink, 1995).

[19] Mantuanus alludes to the *Palma Triumphalis* (so called from its incipit) by putting the first two words of the poem into Catherine's mouth. In Mantuanus's account, the saint, stating her commitment to virginity and martyrdom, says "Virginitas addicta deo, uotisque uocata/ Palma triumphalis pugnae, qua sanguine fuso/ Testificata thronum Christi super astra uenirem" [My virginity was devoted to God, and with prayers, the triumphant palm of battle was summoned, whereby, when I have poured out my blood, witnessing the throne of Christ, I might go across the stars]. Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria,* 1.329-31, Orbán, pp. 366-67.

[20] Almost all the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages are in unrhymed dactylic hexameter. Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458) is an exception. Although the bulk of this text is composed in dactylic hexameter, the *invocationes* to each of the text's six books are written in different meters, such as

vitae metricae, and also like classical epic, the *Parthenice Catharinaria* contains long speeches. In fact, the poem is largely comprised of a series of exchanges between Catherine and her interlocutors.

Mantuanus alludes to a wider range of classical sources than his central medieval forbears — Statius, Lucan, Claudian, and Cicero as well as the obligatory Virgil and Ovid – and uses his sources in a similarly sophisticated manner. In Chapter Four, we saw how Johannes excerpts a quotation from Virgil to contrast Saint Rictrude's taking the veil and committing herself to celibacy with the Virgilian Dido, who falls in love with Aeneas with fatal results.[21] Since Johannes's readers were well versed in Virgil, they would have recognized the quotation and would have appreciated the implicit contrast between its original context and its new usage. Mantuanus similarly transforms the meaning of passages from the *Aeneid.* For instance, Virgil uses the simile of the wounded doe, running through the groves of Mount Dicte to characterize Dido inflamed with love for Aeneas:

> …quid uota furentem,
> quid delubra iuuant? est mollis flamma medullas
> interea et tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus.
> uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur
> urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerua sagitta,
> quam procul incautam nemora Cresia fixit
> pastor agens telis liquitque uolatile ferrum
> nescius: illa fuga siluas saltusque peragrat

Falleucian Hendecasyllables and various kinds of distrophes. Later medieval verse lives show more metrical variation than the earlier lives. The anonymous eleventh- or twelfth-century verse life of Catherine known as the *Floruit Insignis* (no BHL) is written in a great variety of meters, including elegiac distichs, trochaic dimeter, and catalectic trochaic dimeter. The *Palma Triumphalis* is composed of elegiac distichs (alternating lines of dactylic hexameter and pentameter), and Ricardus's twelfth- or thirteenth century passion of Catherine is composed of Leonine hexameter.

[21] For a discussion of this passage see Chapter Four of this study, pp. 189-90.

Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.[22]

> What use are prayers and shrines to a passionate woman? The flame was eating the soft marrow of her bones and the wound lived quietly under her breast. Dido was on fire with love and wandered all over the city in her misery and madness like a wounded deer which a shepherd hunting in the woods of Crete has caught off guard, striking her from long range with a steel-tipped shaft; the arrow flies and is left in her body without his knowing it; she runs away over all the wooded slopes of Mount Dicte, and sticking in her side is the arrow that will bring her death.[23]

Drawing on this passage, Mantuanus describes King Maxentius, like Virgil's Dido, as an injured doe:

> Persephone regem stimulis irritat et acres
> Cum Uenere accendit circum precordia flammas
> Uritur impatiens coeci Maxentius ignis
> Mens fugit a sacris….
> Et furit: ut quotiens leatali saucia telo
> Cerua per ideaos quaerit medicamina saltus
> Dictamique comam uiridem: quae uulnere ferrum
> Mansa fuget diramque auertat corpore pestem[24]
>
> Persephone aggravates the king with goads and,
> With Venus, she kindles bitter flames around his heart
> Impatient Maxentius burns
> His mind flees from sacred things....
> And he rages: as often as the deer wounded d by the fatal spear
> Through the Idaean glades and the green leaves of Dicta seeks
> A remedy, which would rout the weapon from the devouring wound
> And expel the horrible curse from her body.

Mantuanus's characterization of Maxentius, maddened by desire for Catherine, retains the main themes of Virgil's passage, but the gender roles are inverted.[25] Like Johannes,

---

[22] Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 65-73.
[23] Translation from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. David West (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 82.
[24] Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria ,* 2.91-3, 96-8, pp. 387-88.
[25] Mantuanus reiterates his identification of Maxentius and Catherine with Dido and Aeneas in a later scene where Maxentius pours forth insults reminiscent of those the jilted Dido hurls at Aeneas. Once again, the gender roles are inverted to express the different dynamic. Thus, as Dido says that Aeneas was nursed by

Mantuanus alludes to the *Aeneid* while transforming the meaning of Virgil's text. Unlike Johannes, Mantuanus does not simply quote a line from Virgil. Instead, he takes a famous passage and transforms it into his own original lines of dactylic hexameter. Mantuanus's heavy reworking of his source text suggests an even more intensive engagement with his classical material than that exhibited by Johannes.

In other respects, Mantuanus is more indebted to his classical sources than the ninth- and tenth-century *vitae metricae* are. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Mantuanus's epic, like those of Virgil and Homer, begins with a council of deities conniving to interfere in mortal affairs. Whereas other *vitae metricae* include the pagan gods simply as literary devices or metonyms, Mantuanus, like the authors of classical epic, represents gods actually interfering in the plot.[26] Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* continues and amplifies the classicizing tendencies of the medieval forebears, while – as we might expect of a Renaissance text — also drawing renewed inspiration from the classical sources.

When we turn to the uses of Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria*, we find that, like the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages, it was used to create communities of

---

"Hyrcana tigres" (*Aen.* 4.367), Maxentius says that Catherine is colder than "*Hyrcana… frigora"* (*Parthenice Catharinaria*, 3.712-13, p. 430).

[26] Heiric, *Vita Germani* 4. 364, p. 484. Mantuanus employs a similar theme in his *Fasti*, where the pagan deities lament the coming of Christianity and in his *Parthenice Mariana* where the god Proteus prophesies Christ's birth. See, Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," p. 227. This use of the pagan gods as characters has its roots in medieval tradition. While Joseph of Exeter is ambivalent about the reality of the pagan gods who appear in his Latin epic of the Trojan War, the *Daretis Phrygii Ilias* (c. 1180s), Mantuanus does nothing to undercut the gods' reality. See A.G. Rigg, "Joseph of Exeter's Pagan Gods Again," *Medium aevum* 70 (2001), 19 – 28. I am grateful to Sylvia Parsons for bringing the gods in Joseph of Exeter's *Daretis Phrygii Ilias* to my attention. In his *Apologeticon*, Mantuanus equates the gods with demons, but he does not downgrade them to a merely demonic status in the *Parthenice Catharinaria*. Baptista Mantuanus, *Apologeticon in mastigophores et castigatores suorum operum* in *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp: J. Bellerus, 1576), fol. 13v.

the powerful and the faithful. The circumstances of textual production and reception were vastly different, however, in the two eras. This meant that even though the *Parthenice Catharinaria* and the early texts were used in broadly similar contexts – educating the young and facilitating patronage relations – Mantuanus's *Parthenice* functioned in other ways than its ninth- and tenth-century counterparts, and the textual communities created by Mantuanus's poem were qualitatively different from those we saw in the previous chapters. The production, reception, and distribution of texts were vastly different in the Italian Renaissance, as were the political structures that underlay patronage, the variety of educational opportunities, and the extent of literacy. A full study of *vitae metricae* in the Renaissance would need to take all these factors into account. Here, I will simply use the contrasts between ninth- and tenth-century Frankish verse hagiography and Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* to bring into sharper focus the circumstances of *vita metrica* production and distribution in the central Middle Ages.

Vitae Metricae **in the Classroom**

In contrast to the earlier poets Candid, Milo, Heiric, Ermenric, and Walther, Mantuanus did not write his *vitae metricae* at the end of his education, and I have no evidence of Renaissance verse lives being written by senior students to showcase their education. On the other hand, like several of the medieval examples examined in earlier chapters, Mantuanus's texts were read in the classroom. Although the *Eclogues* were the more famous of Mantuanus's teaching texts, Lee Piepho has shown that, in England at

least, the poet owed his initial popularity to the inclusion of his religious epics, including the *Parthenices*, in the curriculum.[27]

The codicological evidence also reveals that Mantuanus's *Parthenices* were read in school. Incunabules of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* and Mantuanus's other *Parthenices* shows that they were intended for and used in classrooms; Ulrich Kopp notes that most editions of Mantuanus "were slim brochures, printed with much leading and wide margins so that they might be suitable for use for teaching Latin and poetry."[28] Readers filled these wide margins with their annotations. Like the medieval *vitae metricae*, several copies of Mantuanus's *Parthenices* feature notes and glosses that suggest they were used in the schools.[29] In one copy, from 1504, only book two is densely annotated with handwritten marginal and interlinear notes, suggesting the intensive classroom study of a section of the epic (figure 6.2).[30] The entire text of an edition of the *Parthenice Mariana* from Deventer is covered with a reader's marginal notes (figure 6.3).[31] In a 1504 copy of the *Parthenice Tertia*, the section on Margarita (the first saint featured in the *Tertia Parthenice*) is heavily annotated (figure 6.4). [32] The first

---

[27] On Mantuanus in the English classroom, see Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, p. 9, and *passim*. Mantuanus's fame, as a result of the inclusion of the *Eclogues* in the school curriculum is reflected in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost*, in which the school teacher Holofernes refers to him as the "good old Mantuan" (*Love's Labour Lost*, Act IV, scene 2).
[28] Ulrich Kopp, "The 1576 Antwerp Edition of the Works of Baptista Mantuanus and Johannes Lucienberger in Frankfurt am Main," in *The German Book 1450-1750: Studies Presented to David Paisey in his Retirement*, eds. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly (London: British Library, 1995), p. 123.
[29] Frazier, *Possible Lives*, p. 212.
[30] Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda de passione uirginis Catharinae* (Deventer: Rich. Pafraet, 1504). This particular annotated copy of this edition is included in the microfilm collection "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 16.
[31] Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice prima* (Deventer: Alb. Pafraet, n.d.), "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 12.
[32] Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice tertia de agonibus Margaritae, Agathes, Luciae et Apoloniae* (Deventer: Alb. Pafraet, 1504), "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 13.

portion of the second poem, on Agatha, is also annotated, but the rest of the *incunabulum* is free of such notes, again suggesting that a portion of the text was studied. This edition of the *Parthenice Tertia* contains Bade's *argumenta*, his prose plot outlines prefacing the saints' passions, which provide students with convenient overviews of the narratives before they embark on each poem.

Mantuanus's own statements also show that his *Parthenices* were intended for students. In a letter to his patrons Lodovico Foscari and Johannes Baptista Refrigerius, Mantuanus explains why Refrigerius rushed him to complete his *Parthenice Mariana* before it was ready: "nec erat eius aliud desiderium quam ut sanctissimae uirginis laudes a pluribus legerentur et Parthenice nostra poetico uestita decore de Ecclesiastico prodiens Gymnasio populi in se conuerteret intuitum" [He desired only that the praises of the holiest virgin be read by many and that our *Parthenice*, clothed in poetic glory and going forth from the Church school, might turn the gaze of the people to herself].[33] In his commentary on the *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Josse Bade (known as Ascensius Badius) argues that Mantuanus had the same threefold rationale in writing the life of Catherine: to spread the saint's praises, to clothe the saint in *poeticus decor*, and to promote the saint's cult from the church school. [34]

---

[33] Mantuanus, *Apologeticon*, fol. 1v. Thank you to Jennifer Ebbeler for this translation. It is interesting to note here that Mantuanus has personified his *Parthenice* (she is clothed and she walks). In this passage the term *Parthenice* could equally refer to the virgin Mary or the poem about her. Whereas – as we saw in Chapter Three — Milo conflated his own identity with his saint, Mantuanus blurs the line between his saint and his poem.

[34] Badius, *In Parth. Catharin. explan*. I.91-97, in Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, p. 445. In his *intentio auctoris* of the *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Badius explains that we can glean Mantuanus's aim in writing the *Parthenice Catharinaria* from what he says about the *Parthenice Mariana*: "Intenionem autem eius ex iis habere possumus, que in apologetico de Mariana Parthenice (similis enim uidetur ratio) ipse profitetur dicens de libello suo" [We are able, however, to discern his intention from these things, which he himself

The commentaries on the *Parthenices* provide still more evidence for their pedagogical function. Bade, who was a printer as well as a scholar, published a collection of Mantuanus's hagiographic poems in Paris in 1513, and added to his own commentary of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* those of Sebastian Murrho and Sebastian Brandt.[35] (Chiesa observes that in this volume, commentary takes up "almeno i tre quarti del volume.")[36] This commentary was clearly intended as a school text since Bade dedicated it to a teacher for use in his classroom.[37] Murrho, whom the humanist educator Jacob Wimpfeling encouraged to write commentaries on both the *Parthenice Mariana* and the *Parthenice Catharinaria*, is explicit about the purpose of his commentary on the former.[38] He intends it for the teachers of young students who were learning the basics of grammar and rhetoric: "cum maxime triuialium ludorum magistris consulere statuerim iuuenilique aetati" [since most of all I decided to look out for the teachers of *trivium* schools for the young age].[39]

Baptista Mantuanus and his contemporaries agreed on the utility of his *Parthenices* as Christian substitutes for, or supplements to, the pagan epics in the classroom. Mantuanus claims that Christian verse is able to appeal to people, particularly students, who would otherwise prefer pagan literature. He recounts his own experience:

---

declares in his *Apologeticon* of the Virgin Mary, speaking about his own little book (for a similar rationale is seen)].

[35] Chiesa, "Agiografia nel Rinascimento," pp. 206-07. On Badius as a printer, see P. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du xvie siècle,* Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de P. Renouard 2 (Paris: Travuax Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1969), pp. 6-24 and 112-14; and Bernard Weinberg, "Badius Ascensius and the Transmission of Medieval Literary Criticism," *Romance Philology* 9 (1955-56), 209-16.

[36] Chiesa, "Agiografia nel Rinascimento," p. 207.

[37] Bade, *Ep. dedicat.* in Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, p. 442.

[38] Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, p. 23.

[39] Sebastian Murrho cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21.

> Cum adhuc adolescuntulus essem et a studiis ecclesiasticis (more illius aetatis) abhorrerem, forte in ea poemata incidi et carminis suauitate delectatus animum ad res diuinas paulatim appuli et ex illo tempore sacrarum litterarum studiosior fui.[40]
>
> When I was still a young boy and I hated ecclesiastic studies (in the manner of that stage of life), by chance I fell upon those poems [of Paulinus of Nola] and I delighted in the sweetness of his song and little by little I moved toward divine things and from that time I was more intent upon the things of sacred literature.

He hopes that his own verse will have a similar salvific function for his schoolroom readers: "Sic precor accidat iis, qui mea legent et fiant libelli mei quae apostolica retia et trahendis ad Xpistum hominibus laquei tenaciores" [Thus, I pray that it befalls those who read my works – let my books, too, be like the fishing nets of the Apostles and tighter snares bringing men to Christ].[41] This passage recalls Milo's description of Saint Peter: "Petrus piscator populos piscando poetis/ Praefertur cunctis, qui sancto flamine plenus/ Vertit multiplices uno sermone cateruas" [Peter the fisherman, in fishing men is preferred to all poets; he who, filled with holy speech, converts great crowds with a single sermon].[42] Milo claims that Peter is superior to poets, but Mantuanus claims that the poet, like the saint, can be a fisher of men. In Mantuanus's assessment of his own work, good Latin poetry appeals to students and can entice them to read *res diuinae* – such as saints' lives — and thereby lead them to salvation. In his representation of Catherine's education, Mantuanus provides a model for how a student could learn ethical examples from his or her reading. He says of the young saint: "Quicquid ad ornatum fidei exemplaria sanctae/ Graeca ferunt, animo uigili condebat [Whatever the Greek examples

---

[40] Mantuanus, *Apologeticon,* fol. 6r; Bade, *In Parth. Catharin. explan.* 1.97-104, in Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, p. 445.
[41] Mantuanus, *Apologeticon,* fol. 6r. I am grateful to Jennifer Ebbeler for assisting with the translation of this passage. For a discussion of the passage, see Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, p. 20.
[42] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 2.20-21, p. 579.

bore for ornamenting her faith, She was storing up in her wakeful mind.].[43] In Chapter Three, we saw how Amand's veneration of Martin in the verse *Vita Amandi* provides Milo's readers with a model for how to emulate saints. Similarly, the figure of Catherine in Mantuanus's *Parthenice* shows the reader how to apply his or her reading about saints. Catherine shows that one should take the saints as *exemplaria* and imitate them in one's own life. Mantuanus writes to promote the cults of his saintly protagonists and to lead young readers to salvation. In order to engage the interest of these readers, who would otherwise be led astray by pagan writings, the poet uses the *apostolica retia* of *poeticus decor*. Thus, praise of the saint, pedagogy, beautiful verse, and salvation are all intertwined in Mantuanus's *Parthenices.*

Mantuanus's contemporaries concur that Mantuanus's verse was particularly appropriate for the schoolroom because its Christian content was preferable to the pagan subjects of the classical poets. The teacher Murmellius (1480-1517) praises Mantuanus for his subject matter — virgins rather than love poems (*Cupidinei ioci*) — and attributes Mantuanus's place in the classroom to this fact:

> nobilis aethereo plenus Baptista furore
> heroicam inflavit ... tubam;
> virgineis libros infersit laudibus almos ....
> ille Cupidineos uitat ubique iocos.
> ergo frequentatis diuina poemata ludis
> dictantur summi non sine laude uiri.[44]
>
> Noble Baptista full of heavenly frenzy
> blew his heroic [i.e. epic] trumpet ...
> He brought in the nourishing books, with their praises of virgins ....

[43] Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, 1. 235-36, p. 373.
[44] Johannes Murmellius, Elegy I, 1, 53-60, cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21.

> everywhere he shuns Cupid's games.
> Therefore, the divine poems are recited in crowded schools (*ludi*),
> not without praise of the highest man.

In another elegy, Murmellius celebrates Mantuanus as a replacement for the old poets (*veteres poetae*): "Gloria Carmeli veteres Baptista poetas/ gymnasiis pellens pulpita celsa tenet./ dum pia uirginibus soluentur uota sacratis..." [Baptista, the glory of Carmel, driving the old poets out of the schools, possesses the lofty bookstands (or pulpits) as long as pious prayers are released for the holy virgins...]. [45]

Wimpfeling likewise approves of Mantuanus because he is Virgilian in style but contains Christian content — virgins and saints rather than gods and heroes — and Christian virtues rather than pagan philosophy.[46] Jacobus Montanus Spirensis, in his Epigram to the bright reader (*Ad candidum lectorum epigramma*) that prefaces an edition of the *Tertia Parthenice*, praises Mantuanus along similar lines. [47]

The classrooms of the Renaissance were much more numerous and varied than those of the ninth and tenth centuries, and as a result Mantuanus's texts could have been read in a much wider range of contexts. In the ninth- and tenth-centuries, education took place almost exclusively at monastic and cathedral schools, and we known that *vitae*

---

[45] Murmellius, *Elegiae Morales*, p. 75, Elegy III, i, 47-52, cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21.
[46] Wimpfelung, *Diatriba Iacobi Wimphelingii Selestattini* (printed 1514), cited in Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, pp. 22-23.
[47] "Nil habet hic laudis ueterum uaga turba deorum/ Que modo dat penas sub phlegetonte graves /Sed mage uirginei decus hic sublime triumphi/ Non sine mellifluia fertur ad astra modis" [The wandering crowd of old gods, which now pays the heavy penalty under Phlegethon receives no praise here. But here, the lofty glory of the virginal triumph is carried to the stars by the wise man, not without sweetness in these measures]. Jacobus Monatus Spirenis, *Ad candidum lectorem Epigramma*, preface to *Parthenice Tertia* (Deventer: Rich Pafraet, 1504), fol. 2v. "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 13.

metricae were written and read in both settings. By contrast, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were many kinds of classrooms in which a student might read Latin verse. Paul Grendler shows that in Renaissance Italy the schools affiliated with religious institutions were outnumbered by those sponsored by cities and those established by independent teachers.[48] The situation in England, where religious schools continued to be common, was clearly different from that in Italy, suggesting regional differences in education across western Europe.[49] In addition to religious, civic and independent schools, there were many variations on these arrangements. For example, a lay teacher could teach novices, and a priest could teach students in parish schools.[50] Teachers could also tutor students individually in the household. According to Paul Grendler, when women learned Latin it was usually through such private tutors.[51]

Mantuanus's *Parthenices* could have been taught in any of these contexts. We know of only a few. According to Murmellius, Mantuanus's *Parthenices* were used in two levels of schooling, the *ludus* and the *gymnasium*.[52] Clearly they were considered appropriate for both younger and more advanced students. The evidence shows that they were read at schools affiliated with the church. Mantuanus himself, as noted above, refers to the "church school" (*ecclesiasticum gymnasium*) as the context for his *Parthenice Mariana*. Lee Piepho has discussed Mantuanus's use in English classrooms, specifically

---

[48] Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 4-5.
[49] See Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), *passim*.
[50] Frazier, *Possible Lives,* p. 180; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 5.
[51] Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 93.
[52] Johannes Murmellius, *Elegiae Morales*, ed. A. Bömer (Munster, 1893), p. 9; *Elegy* I, i, lines 53-60, cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21. The *Elegies* were first printed in 1507.

at Saint Paul's School in London, founded in 1509 by John Colet, dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral.[53] The *Parthenices* were suitable texts for religious schools because the students could learn ethical examples from the saints along with Latin grammar, vocabulary, and metrics. It is unclear whether the *Parthenices* were taught in other contexts. As noted above, Mantuanus dedicated several of his *Parthenices* to Isabella d'Este, suggesting a female readership for the works, although whether girls read them as schoolbooks is unknown.[54]

---

[53] Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, p. 9.

[54] Although we have no direct evidence of girls reading the Latin *Parthenices* in the classroom, Catherine and other virgin saints were regarded as appropriate for women's reading, and these learned female saints would have been a particularly engaging for an educated female audience. A mid-thirteenth-century English sermon holds up a number of these women – Cecilia, Catharine, Lucy, and Agatha – as examples of learned saints for schoolgirls. In late medieval England, Catherine and the other virgin martyrs were used as role models for young women, and English versions of her narrative were included in conduct books aimed at training that demographic. Italian Renaissance educators also believed that saints' lives were appropriate reading for schoolgirls. A different kind of evidence suggests that Catherine was revered as a learned woman in the fifteenth century. The frescoes painted in 1424 in the Trinci family chapel in Foligno locate Catherine with other examples of holy female learning. Two scenes show the Virgin Mary as a student in a classroom of girls taught by a male teacher while the fresco over the altar depicts Christ and four saints including Catherine. In this scene, all the saints are focused on the scene of crucifixion except for Catherine who stares straight out at the viewer. The representations of Mary at school and Catherine, a notably erudite saint, suggest a particular interest in bookish female saints. The chapel's depiction of Mary reading and Catherine is notable, because it coincides exactly with the subjects of Mantuanus's first two *Parthenices*. In the *Parthenice Mariana,* Mantuanus depicts his protagonist reading. Noting the learning of the young Mary, Mantuanus says that she learned holy materials, "carmina discebat, sanctique poemata regis" [she was learning the songs and the poems of the holy king] and also Greek and Roman history, "Graiorum annales, Romanorumque triumphos" [Greek annals and Roman triumphs]. Mantuanus's list of the history that Mary reads swiftly segues into an Ovidian catalogue of classical mythology that includes Pegasus, Hippolytus, Bellerophon, Thisbe, Helen, Sirens, and Amazons. Women who had acquired a vernacular education could have read translations of the *Parthenices*, such as the 1523 French edition of the *Parthenice Mariane de Baptista Mantua ... translatée de Latin en Francoys*. This book, illustrated with numerous woodblock prints, was clearly not a school text, and it serves to remind us that just because a book contains glosses (in this case printed marginalia), it was not necessarily intended for or used in the classroom. The French translation of the *Parthenice Mariana* could have been read by women who had received a vernacular education, and the glosses would have assisted a reader outside the classroom. On saints as role models for schoolgirls, see Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais' 'De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium' and the Education of Women* (New York: P. Lang 1984), pp. 32-33; on conduct books, see Katherine J. Lewis, "Model Girls? Virgin-martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England," in *Young Medieval Women*, eds. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 25, 30; for the point of view of a Renaissance educator, see Fra Sabba Castiglione (1480-1554), cited in Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy:*

Although *vitae metricae* were used as classroom texts in both the central Middle Ages and the Renaissance, they were, nonetheless, deployed in different circumstances. The broader distribution allowed by print technology meant that the kinds of scholarly communities created by the *vitae metricae* were far more widespread and diffuse than the monastic and imperial networks of western Francia, which I examined in the previous chapters. The *vitae metricae* of the ninth and tenth centuries had limited patterns of distribution. Most manuscripts of the early *vitae metricae* were copied and used in the region where they had been written. By contrast, Mantuanus's *Parthenices* were read over a much wider area. Whereas medieval *vitae metricae* usually exist in a handful of manuscripts copied and circulated close to the site of their composition, the *Parthenices* were printed and sold throughout western Europe. Mantuanus's *Parthenices* were, in fact, less popular in Italy than in the Low Countries, Germany, France, and England. As noted above, the *Parthenices* were used in English classrooms, and they were frequently printed in Northern Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Mantuanus, countering his detractors, speaks of the universal popularity of his works.[55] In a letter to his brother he states:

> Leguntur ubique libelli mei et uidentur esse totius orbis iudicio approbati ... fere enim in totum Christianismum peruenerunt, quacumque latina lingua est diffusa. Veniunt ad me crebro epistolae ex Gallis, ex Britanniis, ab Germani, ex Dacia, ab

---

Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600 (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1989), p. 88. On the Trinci chapel, see Giordana Benazzi, and Francesco Federico Mancini Il Palazzo, eds., *Trinci di Foligno* (Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001), pp. 644-45. On Mary's education, Mantuanus, *Prima Parthenice*, I. 628-52, p. 60. A French translation of the *Parthenice Catharinaria* is *La Parthenice Mariane de Baptista Mantua ... translatée de Latin en Francoys* (Lyon: Claude Nourry and Jehan Besson, 1523).

[55] On Mantuanus's detractors, see Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, pp. 33-34, and Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," p. 229.

> oceano usque Cimbrico, quibus intelligo opuscula mea illic esse in pretio, ab omnibus legi, ab omnibus laudari.[56]
>
> My little books are read everywhere and seem to be to be commended by the judgment of the whole world ... for they nearly reach the whole of Christendom, wherever the Latin language is spread. Letters frequently come to me from Gaul, Britain, Germany, Dacia, from the ocean to the Cimbri, from which I deduce that my little works are valued there, read by all, praised by all.

The distribution of Mantuanus's *Parthenices* was, of course, facilitated by printing. Unlike the *vitae metricae* of the ninth and tenth centuries, Mantuanus's works could be reproduced swiftly, *en masse*, and relatively inexpensively.

The *vitae metricae* that I examined in previous chapters were intimately related to the houses at which they were composed. Those epics were mostly about local saints whose relics belonged to, and whose history was centered on, a particular abbey. Monks at that abbey strove to promote their holy man or woman through various means, including verse hagiography. Even Saint Dionysius, whose confected history stretched from Athens to Paris, was the locally revered saint of a particular abbey, Saint-Denis, where his *vita metrica* was composed.

The saints Mantuanus chose to write about, however, were suited to the opportunities print offered. Unlike the Merovingian founding figures who featured in most of the earlier texts, Mary, Catherine, and the other virgins featured in the *Parthenices* were universally renowned saints. Although specific places might claim special relationships with these saints, their appeal was not geographically limited. For example, Catherine was particularly revered at the Norman monastery Sainte-Trinité-du-

[56] Mantuanus, *Opera*, p. 69, cited in Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," p. 225.

Mont-de-Rouen where some of her relics had been translated in the eleventh century.[57] She was also very popular in England; there were relics attributed to Catherine at Westminster Cathedral, Salisbury Cathedral, Lincoln Cathedral, and York.[58] Petrus Carmelianus composed his late fifteenth-century metric life of Catherine in England, and dedicated it to the bishop of Lincoln,[59] suggesting that local connections could be significant in the compositions about a universal saint. Nonetheless, saints such as Mary and Catherine were appealing even to readers whose regions had no personal links to them. So, Mantuanus's choice of saints, and the advent of print technology allowed his *Parthenices* to be far more popular and widely disseminated than the medieval *vitae metricae* had been.

Mantuanus's wide distribution and his popularity have several implications for the ways that students approached the *Parthenices*. These factors mean that the Renaissance students read their *vitae metricae* differently from their ninth- and tenth- century counterparts. First, the fact that Mantuanus's *Parthenices* were taught in numerous countries meant that they were taught to students of different linguistic backgrounds. The students' first language affected how they learned Latin. The acquisition of Latin vocabulary, in particular, was significantly easier for a native speaker of a Romance language than for a speaker of a Germanic tongue. A second implication of the wide dissemination of Mantuanus's works is that, in contrast to the students who read the

---

[57] Christine Walsh, "The Role of the Normans in the Development of the Cult of St Katherine," in *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, eds. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), p. 21.
[58] Katherine J. Lewis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Katherine," in *St Katherine of Alexandria,* eds. Jenkins and Lewis, pp. 44-46.
[59] Petrus Carmelianus, *Epistula Dedicatoria* pp. 50-93, Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, pp. 276-77.

ninth- and tenth-century *vitae metricae*, the young readers of Mantuanus's works did not imbibe their own house's foundation story or local history but a more general Christian history of the saints. Many of the students who read the *Vita Amandi*, the *Vita Germani*, and other medieval *vitae metricae* would have been personally devoted to its saint as their house's patron and would have known of the poet as an important historical figure from their community. For the first generation of students, the poet would have been their own teacher. By contrast, most of Mantuanus's readers were far afield, and there was no institutional or historical bond between the poet and the students who read his work.

Patronage Networks

The final implication of Mantuanus's popularity and distribution relates to the scholarly patronage networks created by his *Parthenices*. When we glimpse networks of teachers, scholars, and poets coalescing around the study of Mantuanus's texts, they are far more diffuse than those studied in previous chapters. In Chapters Three and Four, we saw how Milo, Haimin, Hucbald, Heiric, and Johannes used *vitae metricae* to create communities of scholars. In the dedication of the *Parthenices* and the composition of commentaries, Mantuanus and other scholars created networks, but they were qualitatively different from the networks constituted by the exchange of ninth century *vitae metricae*. The men involved in the dedication, re-dedication and redeployment of the verse *Vita Amandi* — Milo, Haimin, Hucbald, and Heiric – were part of a small fairly local community. They belonged to monasteries – Saint-Amand, Saint-Vaast, and Saint-Germain — with numerous ties to one another. By contrast, certain networks predicated

on the *Parthenices*, such as Bade and his Carmelite patrons at Lyon, and Murrho and Wimpfeling, existed far from Mantua and far from Mantuanus's purview. In both cases the patrons encouraged the production of commentaries on the *Parthenices*, but in neither instance does Mantuanus seem to have been involved.

The poets of the central Middle Ages sent their *vitae metricae* to two kinds of patrons. The first group of recipients were the poets' fellow scholars, their colleagues and teachers. Thus Milo sent his poem to Haimin, and Johannes sent his work to Rainer. The second kind of patron was the powerful political figure, particularly a king or a bishop. As we saw in Chapters Two and Three, the verse *Passio Dionysii* was probably sent to Louis the Pious, and both the *Vita Amandi* and the *Vita Germani* were dedicated to Charles the Bald. Similarly, Renaissance poets sent their texts to learned, powerful, and wealthy patrons to demonstrate their own erudition and to affirm their places in literary communities.[60] In the ninth century, the emperor was an obvious choice of patron. In the tenth century, as in the fifteenth, political power was less centralized, and so patrons tended to be local. We are not sure of the political patrons of most tenth-century lives although local counts may have received such gifts. As noted above, Mantuanus sent his *Parthenice Catharinaria* to that arbiter of Latin style, Bernardo Bembo, and he dedicated several *Parthenices* to the learned Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco Gonzaga.[61]

---

[60] Mantuanus's contemporary Petrus Carmelianus hedged his bets by dedicating his verse life of Catherine to Robert Bracumbur, *rector* of the tower of London (in the hope, he says, that he will recommend him to the king) and to the bishop of Lincoln. Petrus Carmelianus, *Epistula Dedicatoria* 4, Orbán, p. 275.
[61] Mantuanus dedicated the *Parthenices* on Margarita, Agatha, Lucia, and Cecilia as well as several other works to Isabella d'Este. See Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 22, n. 48.

Although both medieval and Renaissance poets sent their *vitae metricae* to important patrons, the goals of their promotion were somewhat different. When one of the earlier writers such as Hilduin or Milo sent an impressive work of epic verse to a patron, he was promoting himself, his saint, and his abbey. The works explored in earlier chapters all promoted locally revered saints who were associated with the author's abbey and region. For example, Heiric, presenting Germanus's life in epic verse terms, was adding prestige to both the saint and the house he had founded, Saint-Germain. Mantuanus certainly sent his *vitae metricae* to his patrons to enhance his own standing.[62] His choice of saints, however, meant that his *Parthenices* were not intended to promote a particular local saint or religious house. Unlike most of the subjects of ninth- and tenth-century *vitae metricae*, Mary and the virgin martyrs were all universally revered saints who were not associated with the foundation of particular religious houses. Mary, Catherine, Agatha and the other saints of the *Parthenices* were already famous throughout the Christian world and they had no particular affiliations with Mantuanus or Mantua. Still, even if Mantuanus's *Parthenices* did not promote local patron saints, the prestige of the compositions might redound to the greater glory of his order. Epics about a universal saint could reflect indirectly on an institution, by showing off the learning of one of its members, rather than by enshrining the glory of its founding saint. The fact that

[62] In the dedicatory letter to the *Parthenice Catharinaria*, he boasts that he wrote the epic in 40 days. Clearly he means to impress Bembo with his poetic achievement. Mantuanus, *Ep.* to Bernardo Bembo, lines 18-19, in Orbán, *Vita Sanctae Katharinae*, p. 363.

the Carmelites in Lyon provided financial support for Bade's composition of commentaries on the *Parthenices* perhaps implies as much.[63]

Celestial Patronage

The poets of *vitae metricae* do not only invoke earthly patrons. They also address prayers for literary assistance and salvation to the heavenly patrons who are the subjects of their poems. The invocations of the saints in the medieval and Renaissance examples show a continuity of form and function between the two eras. The invocations typically occur at the outset of the poem, and, if the poem is divided into books, at the beginning and end of each book. Milo calls on Amand to help him with his poetic composition, and Heiric asks for Germanus's intercession in seeking salvation.[64] The poet of the metric *Vita Eusebiae* calls upon Eusebia in the prologue to book two. He makes a link between the composition of the *vita metrica* and the saint's assistance: "Virgo faueto mihi/ Haec soli tibi sunt, tua gesta canent, tibi plaudent / Tu modo subuenias" [Virgin, grant your favor to me, these things are only for you, they will sing your deeds, they will applaud you, if only you should help].[65] At the end of his *vita metrica*, the poet again invokes Eusebia, expressing his hope that she likes the poem. "Virgo, tuos titulos, nostri monimenta laboris/ Fronte serenata precor intuearis (Virgin, I pray that you consider your honors, the monuments of our labor, with a clear countenance).[66] After noting the sleep

[63] Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, p. 47.
[64] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, 1.102-19, p. 571; Heiric, *Vita Germani*, 6.658, p. 517.
[65] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.33-37.
[66] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.309-11.

deprivation he suffered (*uigiles ... sepissime noctes*), the poet requests that his rewards, in the form of saintly intercession, come in the hereafter:

> ... scis uirgo benigna
> Quae meritis reddenda meis, retributio qualis
> Cum claustris anima carnis transisse coacta
> Spiritibus seuis circumuallata dolebit....[67]
>
> ...you know, benevolent virgin,
> What must be given in return for my merits, what kind of payment,
> When my soul, compelled to migrate from the enclosures of the flesh,
> Shall suffer, surrounded by savage spirits.

The poet intends to call upon Eusebia at the Last Judgment:

> At cum iudicii fuerit sors ultima magni
> Una collectus merito quo se grege mundus
> Examen ferat, et cunctus aequissima factis
> Merces reddatur...
>
> But when the ultimate vote of the great judge arrives,
> And the world has been gathered together in a crowd
> In order that it receives its judgment justly,
> Let the whole fair reward for the deeds be returned.

The anonymous poet, who describes himself as *tuus uates,* goes on the ask Eusebia to ensure that he is counted with the sheep rather than the goats as a result of her prayers.

At the beginning of his *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Mantuanus, like his medieval forerunners, calls on the titular saint to help him with the poem: "Sancte, faue, uirgo, tenuem cui carminis orsum/ Pangimus, et uento uenias ad uela secundo! (Favor us, Virgin, for whom we shape the little beginning of the Song, and come with a favoring

[67] *Vita Eusebiae* (verse), 2.315-19.

wind for our sails). [68] At the end of his *Prima Parthenice*, Mantuanus represents himself as a suppliant to the intercessor Mary: "Ad tua confugio supplex altaria uirgo" [I flee to your altars, Virgin, as a suppliant].[69]

Mantuanus's contemporary Petrus Carmelianus expresses his relationship to his saintly subject more plainly. In the first letter of dedication that prefaces his *vita metrica*, Carmelianus links his choice of Catherine as his *protectrix* with his decision to write a verse life: "Hanc itaque devotissimam martirem in protectricem meam proprio motu mihi delegi eiusque uitam sanctissimam in heroicum carmen collectis omnibus ingenii mei uiribis deduci" [Thus (i.e. because of the power of Catherine's miraculous story) I bound this most devoted martyr to be my protector, and when I had collected all the sources I composed her most holy life in heroic song].[70] The language implies a contractual obligation between poet and saint. Carmelianus binds (*deligere*) Catherine into an agreement by his own action (*proprius motus*) and – he tells us in the same sentence – that he puts her *vita* into heroic verse. At the conclusion to each of his two dedicatory epistles, Carmelianus calls on Catherine. In his first letter (to Robert Bracumbur), he juxtaposes his appeal for earthly and saintly patronage in couplets:

> Parua solent magnis semper dare munera parui
> Paruus ego magno do tibi parua uiro.
> Sponsa dei, Katerina, deum mihi redde benignum

[68] Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, 1.9-10, in Orbán, pp. 365-66. The poet puns on *secundus*, meaning both 'second' (as in the alternate title to his poem, *Secunda Parthenice*) and 'favoring.'
[69] This poem addressed to Mary is appended to the end of the *Parthenice Mariana*. Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda de passione uirginis Catharinae* (Deventer: Rich. Pafraet, 1504), no foliation. Reproduced in "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 16.
[70] Petrus Carmelianus, *Epistula dedicatoria*, lines 82-85, in Orbán, p. 277.

Et crebras pro me, te rogo, funde preces![71]

Small men are always accustomed to give small gifts to great men,
I, a small man, give small things to you, a great man.
Bride of God, Catherine, give to me in return God favorably disposed,
And often, I ask, pour out frequent prayers for me.

Here Carmelianus, like his medieval predecessors, suggests a reciprocal agreement between poet and saint. After mentioning the gifts (*munera*), that is the poem that he gives to his earthly patron, he asks Catherine to return (*reddere*) to him God favorably disposed. So, in offering his poem, Carmelianus requests the intercession of the holy patron with God, just as he requests the intercession of his earthly patron, Bracumbur, with the king. Like its ninth- and tenth- century counterparts, the Renaissance *vita* holds out hope of salvation not only to the reader, ensnared by the *apostolica retia*, but also to the poet.[72]

Vitae metricae also promised the poet another, earthly immortality. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Murmellius had predicted that Mantuanus's *Parthenices*, taught in the school room (*gymnasium*) would bring him eternal fame:

dum pia uirginibus soluentur uota sacratis... [73]
dum populi flentes tristia fata gement,
crescet honor vatis maiorque uidebitur annis,
rectius arbitrium posteritatis erit.

As long as pious prayers are released for the holy virgins...
As long as the crying people mourn their sad fates,
The honor of the priest will increase and he will seem greater with the years,
The judgment of posterity will be more correct.[74]

---

[71] Petrus Carmelianus, *Epistula dedicatoria*, lines 45-48, p. 276. Carmelianus repeats the second two lines in the second letter of dedication, lines 92-92, pp. 276-77.
[72] Mantuanus, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, fol. 6r; cited in Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuanus*, p. 39.
[73] Murmellius, *Elegiae Morales*, 75, Elegy III, i, 47-52, cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21.

Murmellius here echoes Rainer's sentiments that Johannes of Saint-Amand had written a saint's life *in omne aeuum* — for every age.[75] Both Rainer and Murmellius had reason to believe that the *vitae metricae* they praised would be committed to posterity. Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* may have been read in the classroom at Saint-Amand and Marchiennes, and Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* was certainly used as a classroom text.[76] Since the *vitae* were read in classrooms that promoted exercises in paraphrase and the composition of verse, Murmellius and Rainer could well expect that the *vitae metricae* would be read, excerpted, and recycled, keeping the poems – and the praise of their saints — alive for future generations. As we will see in the Epilogue below, other poets indeed alluded to Mantuanus's *Parthenices*, but that was not enough to keep them alive indefinitely, and with the Protestant Reformation the *Parthenices* lost their hold on the regions where they had been most popular.

Since the sixteenth century the *Parthenices*, like the medieval *vitae metricae*, have faded into obscurity. They remain an unexploited resource for the study of Renaissance education and piety. The fact that a medieval genre of religious poetry not only survived but flourished in scholarly circles in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries complicates notions of the transformation between the Middle Ages and the

---

[74] Murmellius, *Elegiae Morales*, 75, Elegy III, i, 47-52, cited in Mustard, *Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, p. 38, n. 21.
[75] Rainer, *Ep*. in MGH Poetae 5/3, p. 595
[76] Rainer refers to Johannes's *ars magistra*, which perhaps implies a classroom context for the work. Rainer, *Ep*. in MGH Poetae 5/3, p. 595.

Renaissance.[77] The popularity of Mantuanus's *Parthenices* can tell us much about education, patronage, learned devotion, and the cultural and intellectual climate of intellectual life in Italy and western Europe. The *Parthenices* suggest a literature that is characterized by piety and continuity with the medieval past, as well as by intensely classicizing literary experimentation.

Vitae metricae have been overlooked as a source for monastic and educational history. As I have established in this study, the *vitae metricae* of the central Middle Ages were not simply redactions of prose *vitae* but were in their own right a lively and competitive literature that formed a significant part of the intellectual relations among the abbeys of western Francia. My analysis of a selection of *vitae metricae* produced in west Frankish abbeys during the central Middle Ages illuminates the politics, intellectual networks, and literary traditions of these houses, and it reveals a complicated and dynamic monastic culture from the time of Charles the Bald through the supposed Dark Ages of the tenth-century. As the pictorial program in Valenciennes, BM, MS 502, with which I began this study, suggests, these texts were used in a complex exchange of objects and ideas that enhanced both the personal prestige of poets and the status of their monastic houses.

The poets conflated their own identities with their saintly subjects to borrow their holy charismatic authority. By creating imaginary lineages and real literary networks, they linked themselves to their Christian and classical predecessors, on one hand, and to

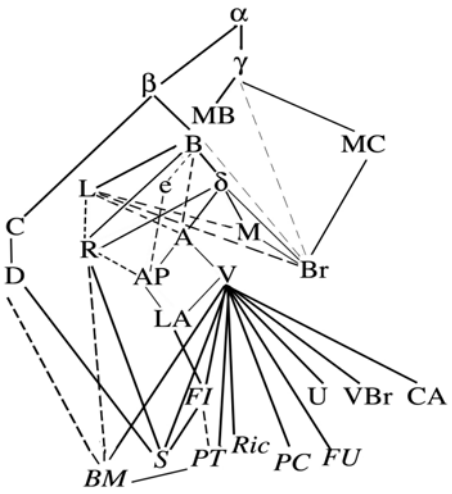
[77] See John Monfasani, "The Renaissance as the Concluding Phase of the Middle Ages" *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo* 108 (2006), 165-185.

their learned and powerful contemporaries, on the other. The *vitae metricae* tied poets to patron saints, students to teachers, and monks to emperors. By transforming their foundation narratives into epic verse, the poets recast their houses' origins in the grandiose form of Rome's great foundation story, Virgil's *Aeneid*. They used these epic poems to express the houses' rivalry and affiliation with one another in symbolic form through retelling the stories of their patron saints.

A conventional history of the late ninth and tenth centuries tells of Viking raids, the dissolution of centralized authority, and the coming of a cultural dark age. The persistence and vitality of the *vitae metricae* tell a different story, one in which the monasteries maintained their literary traditions and reworked their verse texts as the circumstances required in order to effect their own political agendas and maintain ties of patronage and scholarly networks. Creating communities of patrons, monks, teachers, and students through their compositions, the poets perpetuated a tradition that was simultaneously erudite and practical.

Figure 6.1 Versions of the Passion of Catherine of Alexandria

Based on Bronzini and on Orbán's diagram of the relationships of the Greek and Latin prose legends of Catherine, with the metric passions added in italics (adapted from Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, pp. xvii-xviii).



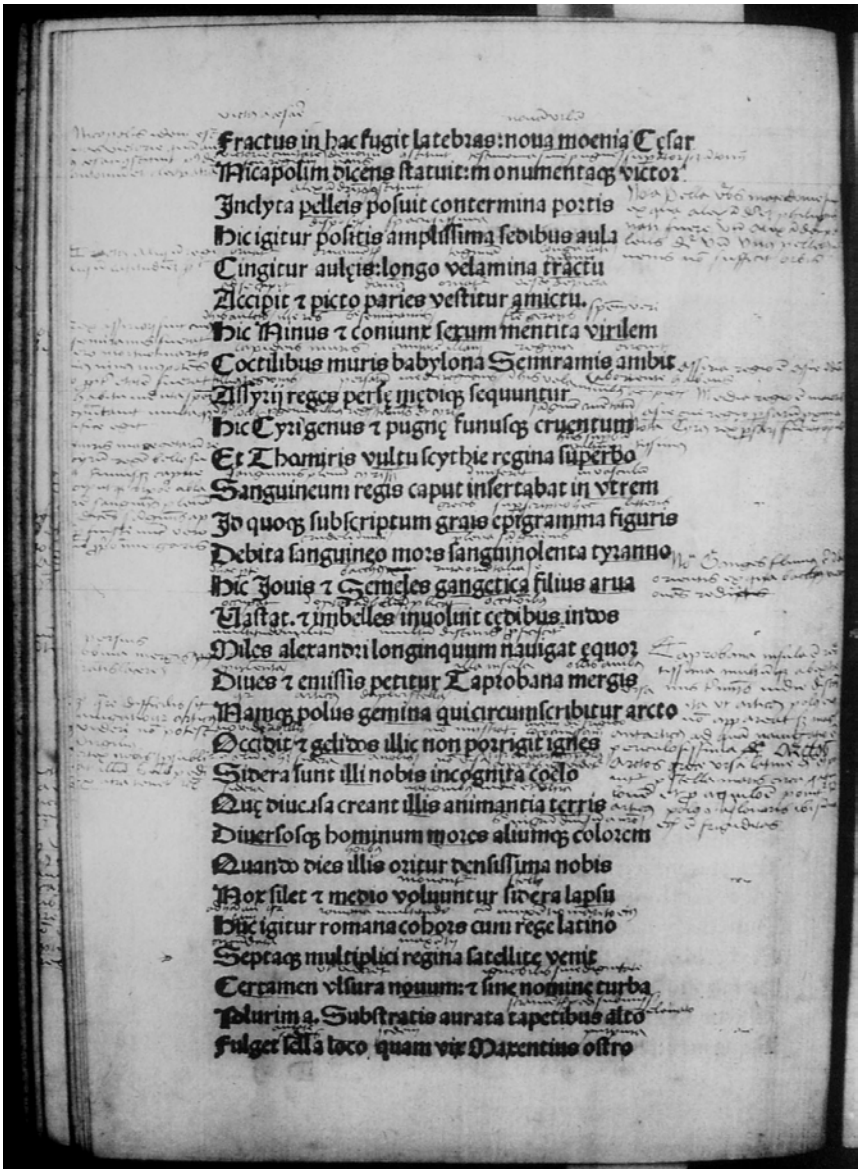
Greek Versions

□ □ and □ are three Greek branches of the Passion of Catherine that Bronzini identified. □ is the lost primitive version, in □, the emperor is called Maxentius and Catherine's remains are taken to Mt. Sinai (most transmitted Latin versions derive from □), while in □, the emperor is Maximinus and Catherine's body is not translated to Mt. Sinai.

MB = *Menologium Basilianum* (features Maximinus instead of Maxentius) (late 10th c.)
A,B,C = The published Greek versions of the legend
D = The Greek version of Simeon Metaphrastes (960s)

Latin Prose Versions
AP = text of Pseudo-Athanasius [*BHL* 1659-1661]
Br = *BHL* Suppl. 1662[d]
L =*BHL* 1658 (first version of the Montecassino text)
LA = *Legenda Aurea* [*BHL* 1667]
MC = *BHL* 1662 (the second version of the Montecassino text)
M = *BHL* 1657
R = *BHL* Suppl. 1662[b]
V = *Vulgata* [*BHL* 1663]

Metric Versions
FI = *Floruit Insignis* [Walther, *Initia* 6667] (11th or 12th c.)
PT = *Palma Triumphalis* [*BHL* 1666] (between 1200 and 1368)
S = *Sepius in sexu fragili* [Walther, *Initia* 17055] (before 1250)
Ric = Ricardus [Walther, *Initia* 19883] (composed after 1135)
PC = Petrus Carmelianus [*BHL* 1666a] (1483-85)
FU = Fragmentum Upsaliense [*BHL* 1665] (1150-1300)
BM = Baptista Mantuanus's *Secunda Parthenice* [*BHL* 1675] (1497)



Fractus in hac fugit latebras: noua moenia Cesar
Nicapolim dicens statuit: monumentaq victor.
Inclyta pelleis posuit contermina portis
Hic igitur positis amplissima sedibus aula
Cingitur aulęis: longo velamina tractu
Accipit ⁊ picto paries vestitur amictu.
Hic Ninus ⁊ coniunx secum mentita virilem
Coctilibus muris babylona Semiramis ambit
Assyrij reges perse medioq sequuntur
Hic Cyri genus ⁊ pugnę funusq cruentum
Et Thamiris vultu scythie regina superbo
Sanguineum regis caput insertabat in vtrem
Id quoq subscriptum graio epigramma figuris
Debita sanguineo mors sanguinolenta tyranno
Hic Iouis ⁊ Semeles gangetica filius arua
Vastat. ⁊ imbelles inuoluit cedibus indos
Miles alexandri longinquum nauigat equor
Diues ⁊ emissis petitur Taprobana mergis
Namq polus gemina qui circumscribitur arcto
Occidit ⁊ geliros illic non porrigit ignes
Sidera sunt illi nobis incognita coelo
Quę diuersa creant illis animantia terris
Diuersosq hominum mores aliumq colorem
Quando dies illis oritur densissima nobis
Nox silet ⁊ medio voluuntur sidera lapsu
Hic igitur romana cohors cum rege latino
Septaq multiplici regina satellite venit
Certamen vlsura nouum: ⁊ sine nomine turba
Plurima. Substratis aurata tapetibus alto
Fulget sella loco quam vir Mezentius ostro

Figure 6.2: Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice secunda de passione uirginis Catharinae* (Deventer: Rich. Pafraet, 1504), no foliation. This annotated copy is included in the microfilm collection "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 16.

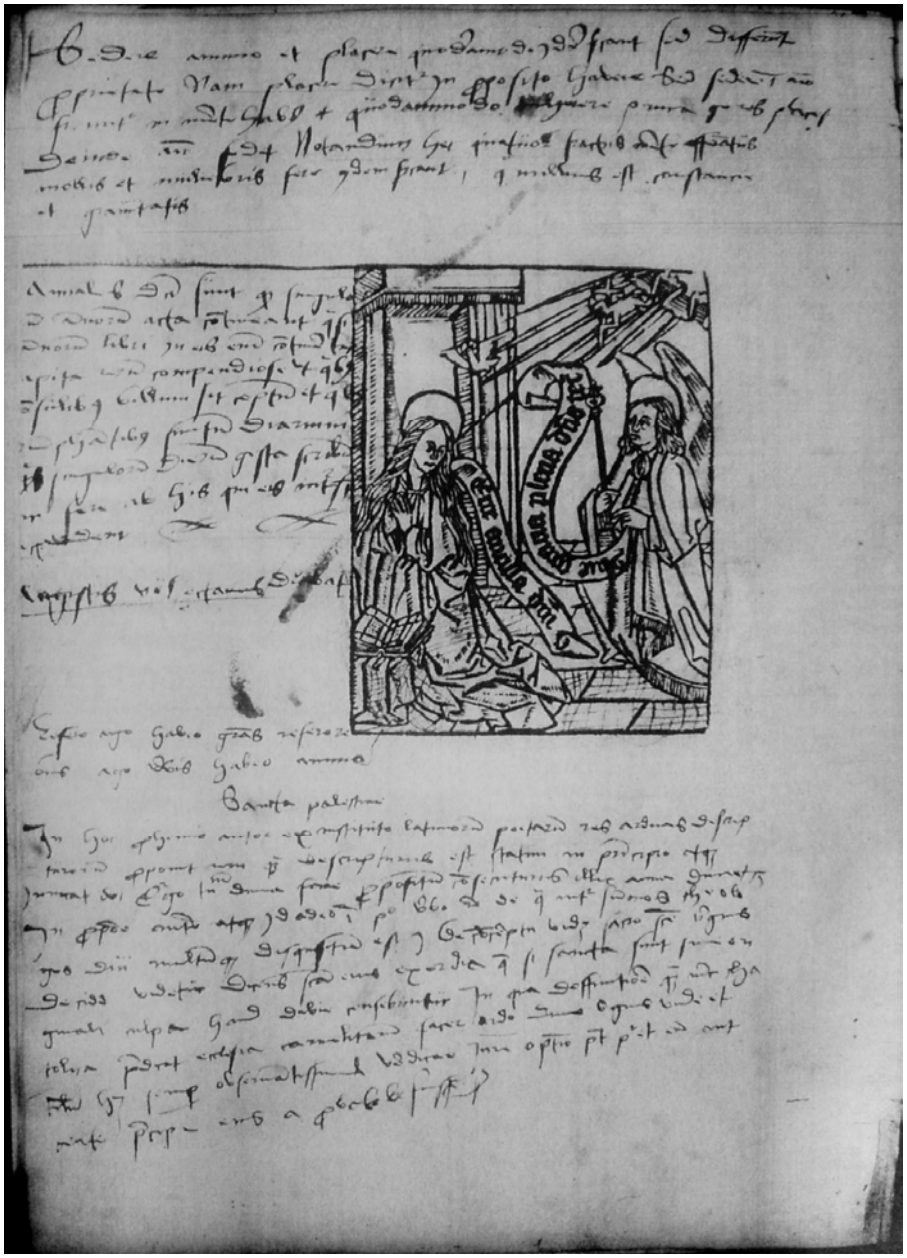


Figure 6.3: Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice Prima [Parthenice Mariana]* (Deventer: Alb. Pafraet, 1504), folio 1 v, the verso of the title page. Copy from "Books printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 12.

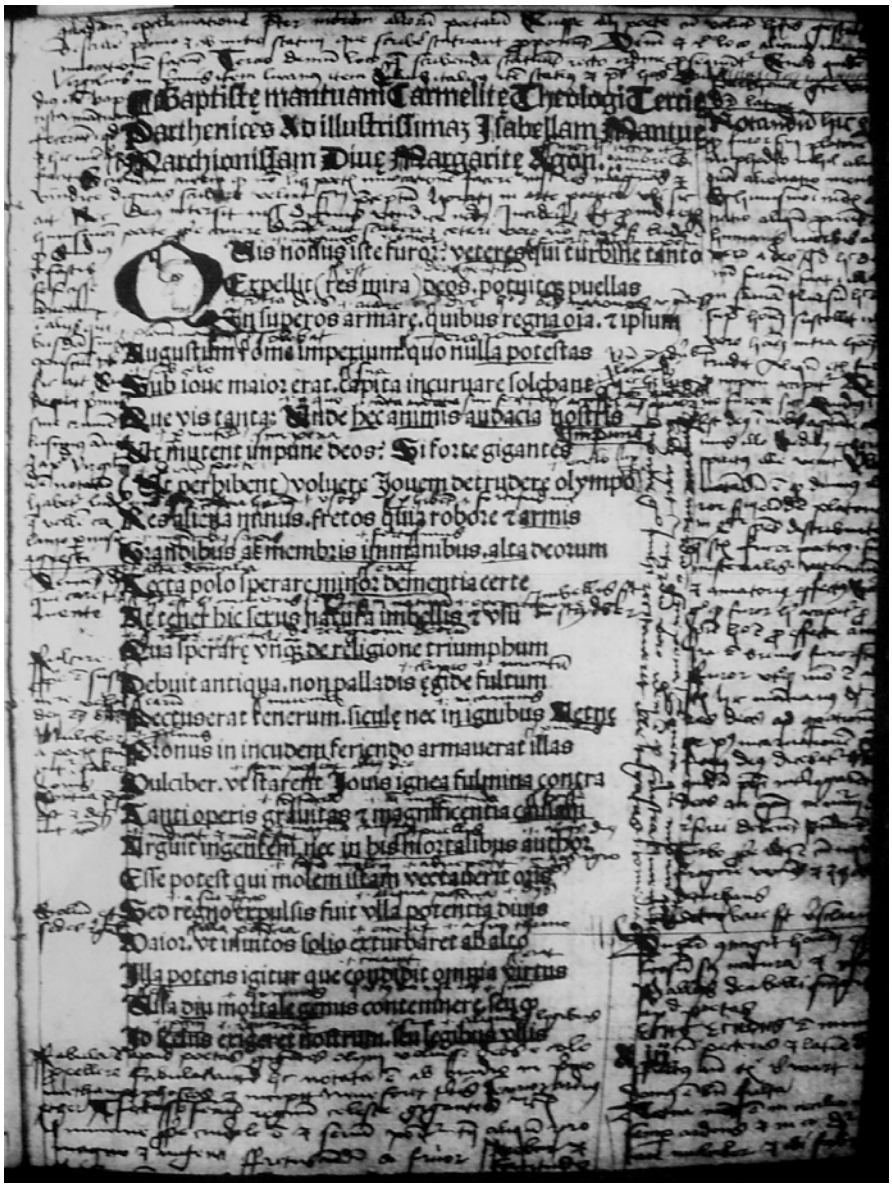


Figure 6.4: Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice tertia de agonibus Margaritae, Agathes, Luciae et Apoloniae* (Deventer: Alb. Pafraet, 1504), folio 3r. "Books Printed in the Low Countries before 1601," roll 72, item 13.

Epilogue:

Bees, Saints, and Poets:

Imitation and Creativity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

Baptista Mantuanus describes the education of Catherine, the young Christian philosopher, in the familiar terms of the bee collecting flowers:

> Quicquid ad ornatum fidei exemplaria sanctae
> Graeca ferunt, animo uigili condebat. Et omnem
> Assidui frugem studii quasi fertilis agri
> Primitias quasi collectum de sordibus aurum
> Et quasi fulgentes Gangis de puluere gemmas
> Rasaque Panchei duro de cortice thura
> Roboris et pinguem torto de caudice myrrham
> Ad Christi delubra ferens "Cape, summe deorum,
> Munera," dicebat, "primae cape dona iuuentae,
> Quae tibi per sterlies apis haec tua colligit agros!
> Primus Abel pingui coluit tua numina sacro,
> Melchisedech panum calathos et cymbia Bachi
> Obtulit. Habraamus dulcem sua gaudia natum
> Ac nos syncaerae tibi uirginitatis honores
> Collectosque pia de sedulitate legendi
> Offerimus flores: nostra haec tibi munera sunto![1]
>
> Whatever the Greek examples bore for ornamenting her faith,
> She was storing up in her wakeful mind. And bearing each fruit
> Of her zealous study like the first fruits from fertile fields,
> Like gold collected from filth, like shining gemstones
> Gathered from the sands of the Ganges,
> Like frankincense scraped from the hard bark of Panchaian oak,
> And rich myrrh from the twisted trunk, "Highest of the gods,
> take the gifts," she was saying, "Take the offerings of first youth,
> Which your bee collected for you through virginal fields!
> First Abel cultivated your divinity with rich sacrifice,
> Melchisedech presented baskets of bread and cups of wine.

[1] Baptista Mantuanus, *Parthenice Catharinaria*,1.235-50, in A.P. Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, vol. 2 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1992) p. 373.

Abraham offered his own source of joy, his sweet son,
And we offer you the honors of pure virginity and
The flowers gathered from the pious zeal
For reading: let these be our gifts for you!"

This passage, like Rainer's description of the bee, contains a dense web of Christian and classical allusions.[2] The bee collecting nectar as a trope of reading is the image, which, as I explored in Chapter Four, verse hagiographers and their correspondents used to characterize poets, saints, and their audiences.[3] In Mantuanus's poem, in a different use of the trope, the saint applies the image to herself and she emphasizes the idea of the bee as virginal (particularly appropriate for a virgin saint) by describing her collection *per sterilos agros*.

Like Rainer, and Johannes, from Chapter Four, Catherine reads like a bee and selects the best *flores* of her pagan and Christian education. As a bee she draws on examples of sanctity and stores them up in her heart (*Quicquid ad ornatum fidei exemplaria sanctae Graeca ferunt, animo uigili condebat*). She reads like a bee, but rather than writing, she speaks, lives, and dies as a result of the knowledge collected from the *flores*. Through her example, and Mantuanus's poem – one of his *apostolica retia* – she becomes the means of others' salvation, an exemplar and a *flos* herself. Unlike Rainer and Johannes, she does not use the flowers to *write* a text, but to express herself in speech and to become a saint whom others will write about. Having collected her *exemplaria*,

[2] For example Melchisedech's offering of wine, from Genesis (14:18), is described as the "cup of Bacchus," and Orbán notes that the term *Panchei* is a classical allusion The allusion is to Panchaia, an island in the Erythrœan Sea said to abound in incense, myrrh and gems. Orbán, *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, vol. 2, p. 373, cites Virgil, *Georgics* 4.379, Ovid *Met*. 10.478, and Lucretius 2.417.
[3] In his commentary on the *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Bade adduces an Ovidian parallel. Bade I. 842 in Orbán, *Vita Sanctae Katharinae*, vol. 2, p. 467; Ovid, *Met*., 13.928.

she uses her learned speech to convert others in turn. Like Milo's Saint Amand, her main power is persuasive spoken language, which the poet claims to capture in verse form. As the saint Catherine converts the orators, the empress, and others with her life and speech, the poet Mantuanus recreates her narrative in ornate poetic form to capture more souls. Like Johannes and Rainer, Catherine reads like a bee, and like the saints in Milo's *Vita Amandi*, she forms a link in a chain of pious succession. Like Mantuanus, and like all poets in the tradition of *vitae metricae*, Catherine draws on prior exemplars, which she imitates and emulates. She is, like the other saints and poets, both an emulator of past examples and an exemplar for the future.

As noted in the previous chapter, the *Parthenice Catharinaria* draws on the earlier verse passion of Catherine, the *Palma Triumphalis*, and probably provides, in turn, a source for other poems.[4] Like their medieval predecessors, Renaissance readers could act like bees, treating their source texts as "containers of extractable fragments of wisdom and eloquence."[5] Spenser and Milton famously excerpt Mantuanus's *Eclogues*, and the *Parthenices* also provide a source for later writers.[6] Piepho shows how both Cornelius Aurelius (Cornelius Gerard) and Sannazaro draw on the *Prima Parthenice* in composing their own verse lives of the virgin mother.[7] Sannazaro adopts from Mantuanus the trope

---

[4] Mantuanus draws on the *Palma Triumphalis* (BHL 1666), see the previous chapter.
[5] Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 87.
[6] Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan,* p. 17; Estelle Haan, "Mantuan, Milton, and 'The Fruit of that Forbidden Tree," *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 25 (1998), 75-92; Patrick Russell, "Baptist of Mantua," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 13 (1948), p. 235.
[7] Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan,* pp. 17, 37; Jozef Ijsewijn, "Imitation of Italian Models by Neo-Latin Authors from the Netherlands in the Age of Erasmus," in *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice*, eds. Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup (Aldershot: Scolar, 1993), pp. 157-59; Karin Tilmans,

of Mary reading the Sibylline books, that is, Mary reading the predictions about her son. Sannazaro's Mary, like Mantuanus's Mary and Catherine, is an educated woman who uses her learning for Christian purposes. Like Catherine, the Mary of humanist verse is able to read pagan texts and select the flowers of wisdom from them. Like the medieval and Renaissance readers, male and female, she is able to derive from her reading a model of sanctity.

Flowers and Honey

As the bee is used in medieval and Renaissance *vitae metricae*, likewise the practices it expresses — excerpting, transforming, and redeploying sources — continue to be employed in the later period. Modern scholars have used the distinction between *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, between copying and creativity, between rote repetition and the assimilation of sources into an individual voice, as characteristic of the distinction between the literary activity of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[8]

Like his medieval forbears, Petrarch uses the image of the bee to express the relationship of reading, memory, and composition. The bee is a leitmotif in his letter *de inuentione et ingenio* addressed to Thomas of Messina,[9] Indeed, by gathering sources like a bee, Petrarch assembles a whole series of Virgilian citations about bees and presents

---

Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiekroniek of 1517, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 51 (Niewkoop: B. De Graaf, 1992).

[8] Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 99. Greene, in his study of imitation in Renaissance literature, quotes Petrarch's use of the bee *topos* as evidence for the creativity of the Renaissance as opposed to the Middle Ages.

[9] For a discussion of imitation in Petrarch see Andrea Bolland, "Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua: Cennini, Vergerio and Petrarch on Imitation," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 49.3 (1996), 469-48.

them as a model for the writer: "quecunque de apibus scripta sunt, ad humane inuentionis industriam referamus" [whatever things were written about bees, let us bring them to bear on the industry of human invention].[10] He exhorts his reader to imitate bees: "apes imitari non pudeat" (it does not shames us to imitate bees),[11] for bees are themselves *exempla* of how to draw from and imitate sources.

Petrarch advises "ut, apium imitatores, nostris uerbis quamuis aliorum hominum sententias proferamus. Rursus nec huius stilum aut illius, sed unum nostrum conflatum ex pluribus habeamus" [that, as imitators of bees, we bring forth the thoughts of other men although in our words. To reiterate, we should not have the style of this one or that one, but a single style of our own forged from many].[12] So, Petrarch asserts that the writer should distill the flowers of other writers into a *fauum* (honeycomb), something that is new, individual, and consistent. Thus, Petrarch accuses Macrobius, who copies Seneca's bee simile verbatim, of bringing forth undigested flowers (*flores ... integri*) from another's branches (*alieni rami*).[13]

Not only should Petrarch's exemplary bee produce a consistent and individual *fauum*, but it must be *better* than the *flores* from which it derives: "Nulla quidem esset apibus gloria, nisi in aliud et melius inuenta conuerterent" [the bee's glory would indeed

---

[10] Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8, 181-82, in Francesco Petrarca, *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1997), p. 43.
[11] Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8, 125, p. 42.
[12] Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8, 3-34, p. 40.
[13] "Non enim flores apud Senecam lectos in fauos uertere studiut, sed integros et quales in alienis ramis inuenerat, protulit" [for he did not undertake to convert flowers plucked from Seneca into honeycomb, but he brought forth untouched what he had found on another's branches]. Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8, 23-25, p. 39. For Greene, Petrarch's insistence on the individual's own style is his major contribution to the Renaissance. Greene, *Light in Troy*, pp. 94 ff.

be nothing, if it were not to transform the things found into something else better].[14] Petrarch repeats this sentiment in a later letter, saying "scribamus scilicet sicut apes mellificant, non seruatis floribus, sed in fauos uersis, ut multis et uariis unum fiat, idque et melius" [we must write just as bees make honey, not having preserved the flowers, but having transformed them into honey, so that from many varied things there is one, and it is different and better]."[15]

Unlike his predecessors, Petrarch sets out to digest his sources into his own superior product. It is true that the poets of medieval *vitae metricae* preserve (*seruare*) undigested *flores integri* in their compositions, as does Petrarch himself with his frequent Virgilian citations in the letter to Thomas of Messina. Like Petrarch, who applies Virgil's agricultural images to the topic of *inventio*, the medieval poets deploy verbatim citations from their sources for their own purposes. Nevertheless, as we have seen repeatedly, especially in Chapter Four, medieval readers and writers of *vitae metricae* also transform their borrowings by placing them in novel contexts in which they convey new meanings. The medieval *vitae metricae* demonstrate that imitation (as opposed to digestion and transformation) is not inherently opposed to creativity and the two can coexist in a work of literature.

Nor were the readers and writers of medieval *vitae metricae* content simply to imitate their forbears. In addition to citing their sources, however, Petrarch's medieval predecessors also digest and transform the *auctores* into original compositions, which

[14]Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8, 37-38, p. 40.
[15] Petrarch, *Fam*. 23.19, pp. 202-03.

rival those of their predecessors. Although humility *topoi* prevent the medieval monastic poets from claiming that they produce something better than their sources, they are nonetheless engaged in active emulation of the past. As we saw in Chapter Three, the teacher Haimin claims he will use envy of a *vita metrica* to goad his students into poetic composition. Still more ambitiously, the medieval poets do not only emulate previous poets, but even the saints whose *vitae* they compose.

In Chapter Four we saw how Rainer, a reader of *vitae metricae*, condensed a wide range of Christian sources into a dense and allusive passage that rivaled the erudition of his correspondent, the verse hagiographer Johannes (the ostensible *mater apes*). This instance in which the *sententiae* of others is distilled into a unique and consistent voice, comes from the tenth century, a supposed nadir of literary creativity. Yet, in these supposed Dark Ages, Rainer employs the same metaphor that, over three centuries later, Petrarch uses to describe a method of reading and writing. While Rainer demonstrates that he is the true *mater apes*, by reducing his Christian and Classical sources into a highly concentrated decoction, Petrarch expresses *his* individuality with his own humorous twist on the *topos*, musing over the possibility of adopting the worm, which produces a silken substance from its entrails (*ex uisceribus sericum prodit*), instead of the bee, as a model for composition.[16]

Petrarch uses the classical trope of the bee as do the readers and writers of medieval *vitae metricae*, to express the selection, digestion, and use of diverse sources. In Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Catherine collects her holy *exemplaria* like a bee

[16] Petrarch, *Familiares*. I.8,38, p. 40.

to become an even more famous martyr than her predecessors. Similarly, the medieval writers of *vitae metricae* transform a diverse range of sources – classical, Patristic, and medieval — into a distinctive genre that continued to be read, copied, and emulated into the sixteenth century.

Agricultural Literary Theory

Like the bee in the Gregorian liturgy as an image for Christ's incarnation, the literary bee *topos* is a small image for something much more important. The bee *topos* recurs in this study because, like the *sator*, it is a literary theory, a bucolic agricultural image that writers and readers use to talk about their literary pursuits. Like the honey that the bee produces, the *vitae metricae* are useful. They might produce salvation, as Rainer and Mantuanus imply, but they could also be used in gaining patronage, promoting local political causes, and framing an abbey's history in a prestigious classical epic, which, read in the classroom at a formative age, would help create the *mores* and institutional identity of generations of young monks. The bee-like method of reading and writing *vitae metricae* had its own inbuilt posterity. The poets who read the verse *vitae* in the classroom went on to produce their own works by excerpting, imitating, and emulating their predecessors.

This dynamic tradition tells us about the flourishing literary culture in central and northern France during the ninth and tenth centuries. This dynamic network of individual monastic poets, speaking to one another across time and space, challenges the traditional notion of the tenth century as a dark age. It undermines the assumption that imitation and

creativity are opposed forces. And it disproves and the misconception that medieval monastic literary culture is chiefly characterized by copying and, devoid of imagination, lacks emulation, innovation, and individuality. Finally, the endurance of the bee *topos*, like the continuity of *vitae metricae*, demonstrates not just the survival but the actual proliferation of medieval modes of reading and writing in the Renaissance. Certainly, Mantuanus's *Parthenice Catharinaria* is different from its medieval predecessors, just as Petrarch's worm is a novel gloss on the bee trope. Nonetheless, Renaissance writers rediscovered neither the genre of the classicizing epic verse life, nor the bee which signified its method of composition, from classical antiquity. In both instances they were heirs to a complex, diverse, and dynamic medieval tradition.

About nine hundred years after Rainer used the bee *topos* to characterize the author of the verse *Vita Rictrudis*, his namesake, Rainer Maria Rilke, drew on the same image to discuss the poet's task. As medieval readers and writers spoke about gathering excerpts of their reading and storing them in their hearts, Rilke writes about transforming the ephemera of the world into literature. While the medieval monks and the early-twentieth-century German poet have somewhat different subject matter, both use Seneca's trope of the bee as their symbol of collection, transformation, and literary rebirth. The monks and Rilke, like Orpheus and the mystic Dionysius, transform the ineffable, the invisible, the miraculous, and the ephemeral into poetic language *per omne aeuum*:

> Nature, and the objects of our environment and usage, are but frail, ephemeral things; yet as long as we are here, they are our possession and our friendship, knowing our wretchedness and our joy, just as they were the familiars of our

ancestors. Thus ... because of the transitoriness which they share with us, we should seize these things and appearances with the most fervent comprehension and transform them. Transform them? Yes, for such is our task: to impress this fragile transient earth so sufferingly so passionately upon our hearts that its essence shall rise up again, invisible, in us. *We are the bees of the Invisible.*[17]

[17] Rainer Maria Rilke, quoted in H. F. Peters, *Rainer Maria Rilke: Masks and the Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), p. 155.

Bibliography

Manuscripts cited and consulted

Archives du Nord Series 10-H. Thirteenth-century *Cartulary of Marchiennes*.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS. 107. Eleventh-century codex containing *vitae* including a metric *Vita Bertini* (BHL 1292) and a metric *Vita Audomari* (BHL 772).

Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, MS 146A. Twelfth-century codex containing a metric life of Saint Bertin (BHL 1294) and cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Bertin.

Brussels, KBR, MS 8721-8728 (3214). Eleventh-century collection of texts, mostly about Saint Amand, including Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333).

Brussels, KBR, MS 9810-9814 (3229). Sigebert's *Passio Luciae*.

Brussels, KBR, MS 14650-14659 (3236). A lectionary of Saint Lambert, including the metric *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4682).

Brussels, KBR, MS 18421-18429 (3241). Thirteenth-century collection of saints' *passiones*, *translationes*, and *sermones*, including the verse *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2478) attributed to Audoenus, and its prose counterpart.

Brussels, KBR, II. MS 986 (3291) [Phillipps n° 378]. Codex from 1315 including the *Vita Gisleni* by the monk "W"(BHL 3558).

Cologne, HA, W. MS 163. *Vitae confessorum* including Heiric's metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Copenhagen, Bibliotheca Tottiana, MS K.B. Thott 520. Composite codex including Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333).

Douai, BM, MS 151. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century codex of *vitae*, including the prose *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2736) and Hucbald's *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7247).

Douai, BM, MS 836. Twelfth-century collection of *vitae sanctorum* from Marchiennes, including Johannes's metric *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248).

Douai, BM, MS 840. Twelfth-century collection of *vitae sanctorum* from Marchiennes, including the metric *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737).

Douai, BM, MS 849. Late tenth- or early eleventh-century illuminated collection of *vitae* and *lectiones* of saints of Marchiennes, including Johannes's metric *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248) and the metric *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737).

Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 793 (2641). Twelfth-century composite codex including Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 535 (S.C. 2254). Twelfth-century English codex containing the metric *Passio Dionysii* (no BHL).

Melk, MS 412. Ninth-century calendar annotated by Heiric of Auxerre.

Paris, BNF, MS grec. 437. Works of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite sent from Michael of Byzantium to Louis the Pious in 827.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 989. Eleventh-century hagiographic miscellany including the *passio metrica* of Lucia (BHL 4994),various *vitae, miracula, lectiones* and offices, and part of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*.

Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 1687. Composite codex including an eleventh-century copy of the *Vita Metrica* of Alexiuz(BHL 294).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2204. Ninth-century codex including Fortunatus's *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624), Gregory of Tours's *Liber in gloria martyrum*, and other works on saints.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2717. Composite manuscript including a twelfth-century copy of Gunter of Saint-Amand's metric *Passio Cyrici et Iulittae* (BHL 1812).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 2825. Composite codex including a tenth-century copy of Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* (BHL 2020).

Paris, BNF, MS lat 3778. Eleventh-century codex of hymns, homilies, sermons, offices, and passions, including Fulcoius Bellovacensis's *Passio Mauri* (BHL 5778).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 4214. Composite codex with fourteenth-century copy of Petro Riga's metric *Passio* of Agnes appended to the end of the codex.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5301. Tenth-century collection of *passiones* and *vitae* including Aldhelm's *Carmen* of Agatha (BHL 137), and a copy of Hilduin's prose *Passio Dionysii* (BHL 2175).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5327. Tenth-century collection of *vitae* and *sermones* including the metric *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2478) attributed to Audoenus of Rouen.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 5344. Twelfth century collection of *vitae*, including Fulcoius Bellovacensis's metric *Passio Mauri* (BHL 5778), as well as a *miracula* and an office of Saint Maur.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 6400B. Composite codex including a twelfth-century copy of Heiric's metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 8431. Composite codex of *vitae* and *vitae metricae* including an eleventh-century copy of Carmen de Sancta Benedicta (BHL 1088).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 10851. Eleventh-century collection of works on Arnulf including Letselin's *Passio Metrica* (BHL 708), as well as a *Descriptio poli*, and rules of computation.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 10868. Twelfth-century collection of *vitae* including the metric *Passio Luciae* (BHL 4994).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 11341. Thirteenth-century manuscript including the *Speculum prelatorum*, *Vita monachorum* and the metric *vita* of Eustachius (BHL 2768).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12606. *Vitae* including Rudolf Tortaire's metric *Passio Mauri* (BHL 5790).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12609. Eleventh-century codex devoted to Saint Maur, includes Fulcoius Bellovacensis's metric *Vita Mauri* (BHL 5778).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12958. Tenth-century schoolbook including works on music, grammar, arithmetic, and the verse *Vita Cassiani* (BHL 1633).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13757. Ninth-century collection of *vitae* and *miracula* particularly pertaining to Saint Germanus.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 13759. Ninth-century codex featuring Paulinus Petricordiae's metric *Vita Martini* (BHL 5617) and two prose *vitae*.

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14143. Ninth-century collection of *carmina* including the *Carmen de Sancto Quintino* (BHL 7010).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 14145. Composite miscellany including the ninth-century metric passion of Agnes (BHL 161).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17302. Tenth century lectionary including homilies and Heiric's metric *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17429. Twelfth-century manuscript of Gregory, *In Ezekiel* with a copy of a short *vita metrica* of Mary the Egyptian appended to the end (BHL 5421).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17627. Eleventh- and twelfth-century collection of *vitae*, including the metric passion of Quintinus (BHL 7011) and the *carmen* of Quintinus (BHL 7016).

Paris, BNF, MS lat. 18318. Fifteenth-century copy of Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* (BHL 2020) on paper.

Paris, BNF, MS N. A. lat. 241. Tenth-or eleventh- century copy of Prudentius's poems (with glosses) and Paulinus Petricordiae's metric *Vita Martini* (BHL 5617).

Rouen, BM, MS A 202. Composite codex (?), includes a twelfth-century copy of Peter's metric *Vita Maurilii* (BHL 5732b).

Rouen, BM, MS Y 41. Twelfth-century collection of saints' *vitae*, *passiones* and *miracula* including several *vitae metricae*: Theodoric's *Vita Audoeni* (BHL 754), a *passio metrica* of Nicasius (BHL 6083), a *vita metrica* of Romanus bishop of Rouen (BHL 7310), and a *passio metrica* of Agnes (BHL 164b).

Saint-Omer, BM, MS 115. Thirteenth-century verse collection including Petro Riga's metric *Vita Eustachii* (BHL 2764) and his metric *Passio Agnetis* (BHL 164).

Saint-Omer, BM, MS 479. Seventeenth-century copy of works from Saint-Omer, including two *vitae metricae* of Audomar (BHL 772 and 778), and one of Bertin (BHL 1294).

Saint-Omer, BM, MS 764. Tenth- to eleventh-century historical and hagiographical collection including a short *vita metrica* of Ansbert, bishop of Rouen (BHL 522).

Saint-Omer, BM, MS 814. Eighteenth-century copy of texts from Saint-Omer including the two metric *Vita Audomari* (BHL 772 and 775), and the two metric *Vitae Bertini* (BHL 1292 and 1294).

Valenciennes, BM, MS 414. Ninth-century collection of texts in verse and on verse composition, including Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333) and Bede's *De arte metrica*.

Valenciennes, BM, MS 502. Eleventh-century illuminated collection of works on Amand, including Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333).

Valenciennes, BM, MS 503. Sixteenth-century copy of Milo's metric *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Barb. lat. 586. Massive eleventh- to twelfth-century collection of saints' *vitae* and *passiones* arranged by feast day, including metric *Vita Brigidae* (BHL 1458) attributed to Chilien, Marbod's verse passion of Laurentius (BHL 4776), and the short *carmen* of Apian (BHL 621).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Barb. lat. 721. Tenth- to eleventh-century collection of verse, including Fortunatus's *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624) and other works by Fortunatus.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Barb. lat. 3385. Seventeenth-century collection of prose and verse *vitae* including the metric life of Blaithmacus attributed to Walafrid Strabo (BHL 1368), Johannes's *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248), and excerpts from the metric *Vita Eusebiae* (BHL 2737).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 204. Eleventh-century codex containing a neumed hymn to Cuthbert, a letter from Bede "ad Iohannem presbiterum," and a glossed copy of Bede's metric *Vita Cuthberti* (BHL 2020).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 541. Twelfth-century collection of prose *vitae* and the metric passion of Mamas (BHL 5197) attributed to Walafrid Strabo.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1357. Twelfth-century manuscript of Rodulf Tortaire, including his metric *Passio Mauri* (BHL 5790) and his *Liber metricus miraculorum S. Benedicti* (BHL 1130-34).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1964. Composite codex including eleventh-century partial copy of Heiric's *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 8565. Eleventh- to twelfth-century collection of *vitae*, *miracula*, and *passiones* including the metric *Vita Lamberti* (BHL 4682).

Printed Primary Sources:

Aelred of Rievaulx. *Ascetica*. PL 195, cols. 210-696.

Alcuin. *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*. Ed. and trans. Peter Godman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Alcuin. *Epistle* 272 in MGH Epistulae 4/2. Ed. E. Dümmler. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895.

Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose). Ed. W. Levison. MGH SRM 7/1. Hannover: Hahn, 1920. pp. 81-141.

Aldhelm. *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works.* Eds. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985.

Ambrose. *Exameron*. PL 14, cols. 131-288.

Ambrose. *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*. PL 15, cols. 1603-1944.

Annales de Saint-Bertin. Eds. Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clemencet. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964.

The Annals of St-Bertin. Ed. Janet L. Nelson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Annales Regni Francorum inde ab A. 741 usque ad A. 829. Eds. G.H. Pertz and F. Kurze. Hannover: Hahn, 1895.

Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand, Annales Blandinienses, Annales Elmarenses, Annales Formoselenses, Annales Elnonenses. Ed. Philip Grierson. Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1937.

Athanase d'Alexandrie. *Vie d'Antoine*. Ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994.

Audoenus. *Vita Eligii* (BHL 2478). MGH Poetae 4. Ed. B. Krusch. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923. pp. 787-806.

Augustine. Augustine, *Epistolae*. PL 33.

Augustine. *De bono uiduitatis.* PL 40, cols. 429-50.

Augustine. *Sermones*. PL 38.

Baldric.*Vita* of Robert Arbrissel (BHL 7259). AASS Feb. vol. 3, pp. 608-13.

Baptista Mantuanus. *Apologeticon in mastigophores et castigatores suorum Operum*. In Baptista Mantuanus. *Opera Omnia*. Antwerp: J. Bellerus, 1576.

Baptista Mantuanus. *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*. Ed. Wilfred. P. Mustard. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1911.

Baptista Mantuanus. *Parthenice Catharinaria* (BHL 1675). In *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*, vol. 2. Ed. A.P. Orbán. CCCM 119. vol. 2. Turnholt: Brepols, 1992, pp. 362 -435.

Baudemund. *Vita Amandi*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 428-49.

Berno of Reichenau. *Vita S. Udalrici* (BHL 8362). PL 142, cols. 1183-1204.

Breve chronicon abbatum Elnonensium. Ed. Henri Platelle. *Revue du Nord* 37 (1955), 217-26.

Caesarius of Arles. *Sermones.* Ed. D. Germani Morin. CCSL 103, 104. Turnholt: Brepols, 1953.

Cassian. *Iohannis Cassiani de institutis coenobiorum*. Ed. Michael Petschenig. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Prague: Tempsky, 1888.

Candid Brun. *Vita Eigili.* Ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1884, pp. 94 - 117.

Clement of Alexandria. *Les Stromates.* Ed. Claude Mondésert. Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1951.

Constantius. *The Life of Saint Germanus of Auxerre* (BHL 3453). Trans. F.R. Hoare. In *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head. University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, pp. 75-106.

Ermenric. *Epistola ad Grimaldum Abbatem*. Ed. E. Dümmler. MGH Ep. 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1899.

Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium. Ed. L. Bethmann, MGH SS 7. Hannover: Hahn, 1846.

Le Graduel de St. Denis: Manuscrit 384 de la Bibliothèque Mazarine de Paris. Ed. R.-J. Hesbert. Monumenta Musicae Sacrae 5. Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1981.

Gregory of Tours. *Liber Vitae Patrum.* Ed. G. Waitz. MGH SRM I. Hannover: Hahn, 1885. pp. 661-744.

Gunter. *Passio Cyrici et Iulittae* (BHL 1812). *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum*. Vol. 1. Brussels: Apud Editores, 1889. pp. 172-94.

Heiric of Auxerre. *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre.* Ed. Riccardo Quadri. Fribourg: University Press, 1966.

Heiric of Auxerre. *Vita Germani* (BHL 3458). Ed. L. Traube. MGH Poetae 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1896, pp. 428-517.

Historiae Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae St Emmeram, Regensberg, ca. 1050/ 16. Jh. Ed. Hankeln Roman. Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1998.

Hraban Maur. Letters on *In laudem sanctae crucis.* Ed. E. Dümmler. MGH Ep. 5. Berlin: Weidmann, 1899, pp. 382- 84.

Hraban Maur. *De Universo*. PL 111, cols 9-614.

Hucbald. *Vita Rictrudis*. AASS Mai vol. 3, pp. 81-88

Jerome. *Commentarium in Ezekiel*. PL 25, cols. 15-490.

Jerome. *Sancti Hieronymi Epistulae*. Part 1. Ed. Isidorus Hilberg. CSEL 54. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910.

Johannes. *Vita Rictrudis* (BHL 7248). Ed. Gabriel Silagi. MGH 5/3, Munich: MGH, 1979 (repr, Leipzig : K. W. Hiersemann, 1937), pp. 565-96.

Johannes of Saint-Arnoul. *Vita Iohannis Gorz* (BHL 4396). PL 137, cols. 239-310.

Letselin. *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 708). In *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae ex codicibus monacensibus, parisiensibus, bruxellensi, hagensi, saec. IX-XII*. Ed. William Harster Leipzig: Teubner, 1887, pp. 86-126.

Lactantius. *Divinae institutiones.* PL 6, cols. 111 – 884.

"Life of Maedoc of Ferns (II)." In *Bethada Nàem Nérenn: Lives of Irish Saints*. Ed. Charles Plummer, vol. 2, pp. 184-281.

"Life of Senàn." In *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*. Ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890, pp. 201-221.

Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. Ed Jacob Willis. Leipzig: Teubner, 1963.

Milo. *Vita Amandi* (BHL 333). Ed. Ludwig Traube. MGH Poetae 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1896, pp. 561-612.

Milo. *Suppletio Milonis* (BHL 339). Ed. B. Krusch. MGH SRM 5. Hannover: Hahn, 1910, pp. 450-83.

Office Romano-Franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthere composé à Saint-Denis à partir de la Passio du Pseudo-Fortunat (VIe –VIIIe s.), *Remanié et augmenté par l'archichancelier Hilduin vers 835 puis au Xe s.* Ed. Jean-François Goudesenne. Ottawa: The Institute of Mediæval Music, 1998.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Ed. R.J. Tarrant. Oxford: Clarendon, 2004.

Ovid. *Tristia*. In *Tristum libri quinque Ibis Ex Ponto Libri quattuor Halieutica Fragmenta*. Ed. S.G. Owen. Oxford: Clarendon, 1915.

Palma Triumphalis (BHL 1666). In *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*. Ed. A. Orbán. 2 vols, pp. 89-119.

Passio Agnetis (BHL 161). Ed. Karl Strecker. MGH Poetae 6/1. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1951), pp. 108-120.

Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii (BHL 2171). Ed. F. Leo. MGH AA 4.2. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881, pp. 101-05

Passio Dionysii (BHL 2178). AASS, Oct 4, pp. 792-94.

Passio Quintini (verse). Ed. P. Von Winterfeld. MGH Poetae 4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1899. pp. 197-208.

Paulinus of Nola. *Epistulae*. Ed. Guilelmus de Hartel. CSEL 29. Prague: F. Tempsky, 1894.

Peter de la Celle. *Epistulae*. PL 202.

Petrus Carmelianus. *Numina si ueteres* (BHL 1666a). In *Vitae Sanctae Katharinae*. Ed. A. Orbán. 2 vols, pp. 274-297.

Pliny. *Epistularum Libri Decem*. Ed. R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.

Poleticum. In *L'Histoire-polyptyque de l'abbaye de Marchiennes (1116/1121), étude critique et édition.* Ed. Bernard Delmaire. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 1985.

Priscian. *Opuscula*. Ed. Marina Passalacqua. Vol. 1. Rome: Edizioni di sotria e letteratura. 1987.

Prudentius. *Poems*. Trans. Sister M. Clement Eagan. Fathers of the Church vol. 43, 52. Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 1962-65.

Rainer. *Epistola ad Rathbodum*, *Vita Gisleni, Miracula Gisleni, Sermo Gisleni*. *AB* 5 (1886), 209-88.

Rudolf Tortaire. *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*. Eds. Marbury B. Ogle and Dorothy M. Schullian. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1933.

Rupert of Deutz. *Liber de diuinis officiis.* In Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis. Ed. Hrabanus Haacke. CCCM 7. Turnholt: Brepols, 1967.

Le sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après anciens manuscrits. Ed. Jean Deshusses. Vol. 1. Fribourg: University Press, 1971.

Simon, *Vita Bertini* (verse) (BHL 1294). In *Vita S. Bertini metrica Simone auctore.* Ed. F. Morand. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1872, pp. 11-43

Sedulius. *Carmen paschale*. In *Sedulii Opera Omnia*. Ed. Iohannes Huemer. CSEL 10. Vienna: C. Geroldi filium bibliopolam academiae, 1885.

Sedulius Scottus, *Mock Epillyon on a Gelded Ram*. In *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*. Ed. and trans. Peter Godman. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985, pp. 298-99.

Sedulius Scottus. *Poem 76*. MGH Poetae 3. Ed. L. Traube. Berlin: Weidmann, 1896, pp. 226-27.

Seneca. Letter 84. In *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters*. Ed. L.D. Reynolds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Servius. *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergili carmina commentarii.* Ed. Georg Christian Thilo and Hermann Hagen. 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1902**.**

Suger. *De consecratione* and *De administratione*. In *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*. Ed. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Virgil, *Aeneid* and *Georgics* in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Ed. Fredericus Arturus Hirtzel. Oxford: Clarendon, 1900.

Vita Audoeni (BHL 754). PL 150, cols. 1189-92.

Vita Audomari (BHL 775). Ed. J. Van der Straeten. *AB* (1963), 71-87.

Vita Bavonis (verse) (BHL 1050). Ed. Karl Strecker. MGH Poetae 5. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1937, pp. 227-45.

Vita Bertini (metric) (BHL 1292). Ed. F Morand. In *Melanges historiques* 2 (1873), 581-607.

Vita Eusebiae (verse) (BHL 2737). Extracts in AASS Feb. vol. 1, p. 304, and AASS Mar vol. 2, pp. 450-42

Vita Eusebiae (prose) (BHL 2736). AASS Mar vol. 2, pp. 447-50.

Vita Folliani (verse) (BHL 3076). AASS October vol. 13, pp. 395 ff.

Vita Gisleni (verse) (BHL 3558). In *Novem vitae sanctorum metricae.* Ed. William Harster, pp. 148-78.

Vita Gisleni (verse) (BHL 3561). *AB* 6 (1887), 290-300.

Walther. *Passio Christophori* (BHL 1776-1777). Ed. Karl Strecker. MGH Poetae 5/1. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1937, pp. 10-78.

Wettinus. *Vita Galli* (BHL 3246). Ed. Bruno Krusch. MGH SRM. 4. Hannover: Hahn, 1902, pp. 256-80.

Wolstan. *Vita S. Ethelwoldi* (BHL 2647). PL 137, cols. 83-108.

Secondary Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Barbara F. "The Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints." *Gesta* 90 (1991), 3-15.

----------. "Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502." *Art Bulletin* 61.3 (1979), 342-358.

----------. *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Aerts, Willem J. “Froumund's Greek: An Analysis of Fol. 12v of the Codex Vindobonensis Graecus 114, Followed by a Comparison with a Latin-Greek Wordlist in MS 179 Auxerre Fol. 137v ff.” In *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium.* Ed. Adelbert Davids. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 194-210.

Amos, Thomas L. "Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages." In *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*. Eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John J. Contreni. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1987, pp. 165-80.

Andoyer, R.P. “Le Bréviaire de Saint-Denis-en-France.” *Revue Mabillon* 1 (1905), 139-57, and 195-210.

Armstrong, Elizabeth. “English Purchases of Printed Books From the Continent.” *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), 268-90.

Armstrong, Guyda, and Ian N. Wood. *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals.* International Medieval Research 7. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Ashley, Kathleen M., and Pamela Sheingorn. *Writing Faith: Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Barbier, Frédéric. “Les reliures carolingiennes de cuir estampé à la Bibiothèque de Valenciennes.” *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 140.2 (1982), 235-240.

Barré, H. "Héric." In *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Vol. 7, pp. 282-85.

Baumgartner, Emmanuèle, ed. *La Chanson de Geste et le Mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*. 2 vols. Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: [n.p.], 1982.

Beach, Alison I. *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Beckwith, Sarah. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Bedos-Rezak, B. "Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices: An Essay in Interpretative Methodology." In *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*. Ed. John Van Engen. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994, pp. 313-43.

Beemon, F.E. “Poisonous Honey or Pure Manna: The Eucharist and the Word in the “Beehive” of Marnix of Saint Aldegonde.” *Church History* 61 (1992), 382-93.

Benazzi, Giordana and Francesco Federico Mancini Il Palazzo, eds. *Trinci di Foligno*. Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001.

Béné, C. “Le rayonnement de l’oeuvre du Mantouan au xvie siécle.” In *L’aube de la Renaissance*. Etudes réunies pur le dixième anniversaire de la disparition de Franco Simone. Eds. D. Cecchetti, L. Sozzi, and L. Terreaux. Geneva: Slatkine, 1991, pp. 179-89.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. Trans. John Osborne. London: NLB, 1977.

Berschin, Walter. “Realistic Writing in the Tenth Century: Gerhard of Augsburg's *Vita S. Uodalrici.” Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005), 377-382.

----------. *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*. 4 vols. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1986-2001.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France. *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*. 7 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1939-88.

Bischoff, Bernhard. “Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning.” In *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, pp. 93-114.

----------. *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne.* Trans. Michael Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Bideault, Maryse. “Le tombeau de Dagobert dans l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis.” *Revue de l’Art* 18 (1972), 27-33.

Björkvall, Gunilla, and Andreas Haug, “Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Early Medieval Versified Offices.” In *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*. Eds. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer. New York: Oxford, 2000, pp. 278-99.

Black, Robert. *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Blamires, Alcuin. “Women and Preaching in Medieval Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Saints’ Lives.” *Viator* 26 (1995), 135-52.

Boinet, A. “Un manuscrit à peintures de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer.” *Bulletin Archéologique. Comité des trauvaux historiques et scientifiques* (1904), 415-30.

Bolgar, R.R. *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.

----------, ed. *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500.* Proceedings of an international conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1974. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Bolland, Andrea. “Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua: Cennini, Vergerio and Petrarch on Imitation.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 49.3 (1996), 469-48.

Borch, Marianne, ed. *Text and Voice: The Rhetoric of Authority in the Middle Ages*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2004.

Bossuat, Robert, "Traditions populaires relatives au martyr et à la sépulture de saint Denis." *Moyen Age* 62 (1956), 479-509.

Bouchard, Constance B. "The Geographical, Social, and Ecclesiastical Origins of the Bishops of Auxerre and Sens in the Central Middle Ages." *Church History* 76. 3 (1977), 277-95.

Bouwsma, William. *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Boutemy, Andre. "L'illustration de la vie de Saint Amand." *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 10 (1940), 231-49.

----------. "Le Scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand." *Scriptorium* 1 (1946), 6-16.

----------. "Quel fut le foyer du style franco-saxon?" In *Miscellanea Tournacensia Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire, Congrés de Tournai 1949.* Ed. Jean Cassart. Vol. 2. Brussels: Éditions Labor, 1951, pp. 749-73.

----------. "Similitudes et parentés. A propos d'enluminures de Saint-Amand, d'Anchin et de la cathédrale de Cambrai." In *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (ixe-xiie siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande Professeur à l'Université de Poitiers, Directeur du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale à l'occasion de son départ à la retraite et du XXe anniversaire du C.E.S.C.M. par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves.* Poitiers: C.E.S.C.M. 1974, pp. 55-61.

----------. "Quelques MSS à peintures peu connus de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand." *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 12 (1942), 220-22.

Breeze, Andrew. "Elaphus the Briton, St Germanus, and Bede." *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 53. 2 (2002), 554-57.

Brown, Elizabeth. *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1991.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saint: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

----------. "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity." In *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe.* Ed. Richard Trexler. Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985, pp.183-94.

Buc, Phillip. *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Buchner, M. “Die Areopagitika des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis und ihr kirchenpolitischer Hintergrund. Studien zur Gleichsetzung Dionysius’ des Areopagiten mit dem hl. Donysius von Paris sowie zur Fälchungstechnik am Vorabend der Entstehung des Pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen.” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936), 441-480; 57 (1937), 31-60; 58 (1938), 55-96, 361-403; 59 (1939), 69-117.

Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève. "‘Just Anger’ or ‘Vengeful Anger’? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West.” In *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 75-91.

Bullough, Donald A. "Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts." In *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court.* Eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald. Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, University of Groningen 1995. Gronigen: Egbert Forsten, 1998, pp. 1-26.

----------. *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

----------. "Hagiography as Patriotism: Alcuin's "York Poem" and the Early Northumbrian "Vitae Sanctorum." In *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, ive-xiie siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris,* Nanterre and Paris, 2 - 5 May 1979 (1981), pp. 339-59.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

----------. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion.* New York: Zone Books, 1991.

----------. *The Resurrection of the Body, 200-1336.* New York: Columbia, 1995.

----------. “Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality.” In Bynum. *Fragmentation and Redemption,*pp. 27-51.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, and Paula Gerson. “Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages.” *Gesta* 36 (1997), 3-7.

Cahier, Charles. *Charactéristiques des Saints dans l’art populaire*. Paris: Poussielgue frères 1867. [Impression Anastaltique, Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1966].

Camargo, Martin. "Rhetoric." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Wagner, pp. 96-124.

Cameron, Alan. *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Camille, M. “Seeing and Reading.” *Art History* 8 (1985), 26-49.

Camillo Ferrari, Michele. ""Dum profluit est lutulentus": Thiofrido, Alcuino e la metrica della Vita S. Willibrordi." In *Gli Umanesimi medievali: Atti del II Congresso dell'*

"Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee,"Firenze, 11-15 settembre 1993. Ed. Claudio Leonardi. Firenze : SISMEL - Ed. del Galluzz, 1998, pp. 129-41.

Camporesi, Piero. *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore.* Trans. Tania Croft-Murray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Canetti, L. *Frammenti di eternità: Corpi e reliquie tra Antichità e Medioevo*. Rome: Viella, 2002.

Carny, Lucien. "Sur Auxerre, sa cathédrale et sa chronologie." *Atlantis* 53, no. 308 (1980), 266-274.

Caroli, Martina "Bringing Saints to Cities and Monasteries: Translationes in the Making of a Sacred Geography (Ninth-Tenth Centuries)." In *Towns and their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Eds. Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie. The Transformation of the Roman World 9. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 259-274.

Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

----------. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

----------. "The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages." *New Literary History* 24 (1993), 881-904.

Carruthers, Mary, and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds. *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Casiday, Augustine. "St. Aldhelm's Bees (De uirginitate prosa cc. IV-VI): Some Observations on a Literary Tradition." *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004), 1-22.

Catalogue codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis. Pars 1. Codices Latini membranei. Vol. 2. Brussels: Typis Polleunis, ceuterick et de Smet, 1889.

Chase, Colin. "Alcuin's Grammar Verse: Poetry and Truth in Carolingian Pedagogy." In *Insular Latin Studies*. Ed. Herren, pp. 135-78.

Chazelle, Celia. *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Chiesa, Mario. "Agiografia nel Rinascimento: esplorazioni tra i poemi sacri dei secoli xv e xvi." In *Scrivere di sainti*. *Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia Napoli, 22-25 ottobre 1997.* Ed. Gennaro Luongo. Roma: Viella, 1998. pp. 205-226.

Chines, Loredana. *Le parole degli antichi: umanesimo emiliano tra scuola e poesia*. Rome: Carocci, 1998.

Clanchy, M. T. *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

Clogan, Paul. "Literary Genres in a Medieval Textbook." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 11 (1982), 199-209.

Coates, Simon. "The Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in Early Anglo-Saxon England: The Impact of Venantius Fortunatus." *Historical Research* 71, no. 174 (1998), 1-13.

Coccia, Edmondo. *Le edizioni delle opere del Mantovano* Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1960.

Coens, M. "Anciennes Litanies des Saints." *AB* 62 (1944), 126 - 68.

----------. "Nouvelles recherches sur un theme hagiographique: La céphalophorie." *Academie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*. 5e série, volume 48 (1962), pp. 231-53. Reprinted in *Recueil d'études Bollandiennes par Maurice Coens.* Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1963, pp. 9-31.

Coletti, Maria Laetitia."Un opera grammaticale di Remigio di Auxerre: il commento al *De barbarismo* di Donato." *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 26. 2 for 1985 (1986), 951-967.

Colombet, Albert. "L'abbaye de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre retrouve sa salle capitulaire." *Le Pays de Bourgogne* 1, no. 70 (1970), 189-92.

Comparetti, Domenico. *Vergil in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Contreni, John. "The Carolingian Renaissance." In John Contreni. *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Their Manuscripts*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 1992, pp. 59-74, 184-191, 213-216.

----------. "The Carolingian School: Letters from the Classroom." In *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Their Manuscripts*, pp. 81-111.

----------. *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters.* Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978.

----------. *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Their Manuscripts*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 1992.

----------. "Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium (Cesy-les-Bois), and a New Sermon on 1 John v, 4-10." *RB* 85:3-4 (1975), 303-320.

----------. "John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts, and Teaching." In *Insular Latin Studies*. Ed. Herren, pp. 23-44.

----------. "The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe." In *The Gentle Voices of Teachers.* Ed. Richard E. Sullivan. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995, pp. 106-41.

Coon, Lynda L. *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity.* Philadelphia. 1997.

Copeland Rita. "Childhood, Pedagogy, and the Literal Sense: From Late Antiquity to the Lollard Heretical Classroom." *New Medieval Literatures* 1 (1997), 125-56.

Courtois, M., M-.Ch. Duchenne, and M. Parisse. *Actes originaux conservés dans les département de l'Yonne*. Diplomatica, textes et études 1. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1989.

Cox, Alistair. "Didactic Poetry." In *Greek and Latin Literature: A Comparative Study.* Ed. John Higginbotham. London: Methuen, 1969, pp. 124-61.

Crane, Mary Thomas. *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Crosby, Sumner McKnight. *The Abbey of St.-Denis,* Yale historical publications. History of Art 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

Cross, Tom Peete. *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*. Bloomington: Indiana, 1952.

Cubitt, Catherine. "Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England." In *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. Eds. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell. London: Leicester University Press, 2000, pp. 253-76.

Cuisenier, Jean and Rémy Guadagnin. Eds. *Un village au temps de Charlemagne, moines et paysans de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, du VIIe siècle à l'an mil*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages.* Trans. Willard R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.

Dagenais, John. "That Bothersome Residue: Toward a Theory of the Physical Text." In *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*. Eds. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, pp. 246-59.

D'Ayzac, Félicie. *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France*. 2 vols. Paris: Impr. impériale, 1860-61.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Deflou-Leca, Noëlle, Centre d'études médiévales. *The Abbey of Saint Germain of Auxerre*. Ministère de la culture et de la communication. Viewed 20 September 2003. <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/arcnat/auxerre/en/ >.

de Gaiffier, Baudoin. "Le calendrier d'Héric d'Auxerre du ms. De Melk 412." *AB* 77 (1959), 392-425.

----------. "Carmelitana." *AB* 81 (1963), 273-84.

----------. "L'hagiographe et son public au xie siècle." In *Miscellaenea Historica in Honorem Leonis Van Der Essen.* Brussels: Universitatis Catholicae, 1947, pp. 135-66.

----------. “Martyrologes d'Auxerre. Note bibliographique.” *AB* 93 (1975), 249-259.

Dehaisnes, C. *Catalogue général de manuscripts des bibliothèques publiques des departments.* Vol. 6. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878.

de Jong, Mayke. "From Scolastici to Scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Élite." In *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court.* Eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald. Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, University of Groningen 1995. Gronigen: Egbert Forsten, 1998, pp. 45-58.

----------. *In Samuel’s Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.

Delehaye, Hippolyte. *The Legends of the Saints.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961 (1905).

----------. *Les Passions des Martyrs et les genres littéraires*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1921.

Delforge, Th. “Un <<Vita S. Germani>> pour Lothair II.” *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), 39-42.

Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale.* Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Gérard Th. Van Heusden, 1874.

----------. In J. Mangeart.“Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes” *Journal de Savants* (1860), 370-83.

----------. *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613*. Vol. 2. Paris: A. Durand, 1863-71.

Delmaire, B. *Le diocèse d’Arras de 1093 au milieu du xiiie siècle*. Arras: Commission départementale d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 1994.

----------, ed. and trans. *L’Histoire-polyptyque de l’abbaye de Marchiennes (116/1121), étude critique et édition*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 1985.

de Loisne, A. “Les miniatures du cartulaire de Marchiennes.” *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques* (1903), 476-89.

Demarteau, J. “Vie de saint Lambert, écrite en vers par Hucbald de Saint-Amand, et documents du xe siècle.” *Bulletin de l’Institut archéologique liégéois* 13 (1878), 396-417.

de Montesquiou-Fezensac, B., and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin. *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis. Inventaire de 1634*. 3 vols. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1973-77.

de Moreau, Édouard. “La Vita Amandi Prima et les fondations monastiques de S. Amand.” *AB* 67 (1949), 446-64.

----------. *Saint Amand, apôtre de a Belgique et du nord de la France*. Louvain: Éditions du Museum Lessianum, 1927.

Deonna, W. “Orphée et l’oracle de la tête coupée.” *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 38 (1925), 44-69.

Derolez, Albert. “Codicologie ou archéologie du livre.” *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 47-49.

Detienne, Marcel. *The Writings of Orpheus: Greek Myth in Cultural Context*. Trans. Hanet Lloyd. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003.

Deug-Su, I. “La <<Vita Rictrudis>> di Ubaldo di Saint-Amand: un'agiografia intellettuale e i santi imperfetti.” *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 31.2 (1990), 545-582.

Dhondt, J. *Les origines de la Flandre et de l’Artois.* Arras: Niort, impr. de Nicolas, 1944.

Diehl, Patrick S. *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars Poetica.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Diem, Albrecht. "The Emergence of Monastic Schools: The Role of Alcuin." In Houwen and MacDonald. *Alcuin of York,* pp. 27-44.

Dimier, M.-Ansleme. "La lettre de Pythagore et les Hagiographes du Moyen Age." *Le moyen âge* 60.3-4 (1954), 403-18.

Dion, Marie-Pierre, ed. *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie: Actes du colloque de Valenciennes 21 mars 1989.* Lille: ACCES, 1990.

----------. “Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle.” In *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie*. Ed. Marie-Pierre Dion, pp. 35-52.

Dionisotti, Carlo. “Niccolò Liburnio e la lettatura cortigana.” *Lettere italiane* 14 (1962), 33-58.

Dolbeau, François. “Anciens possessions des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.” *Revue d’histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 183-238.

----------. “Deux légendiers démembrés du diocèse de Liège.” *AB* 109 (1991), 117-136.

----------. "Un domaine négligé de la littérature médiolatine: les textes hagiographiques en vers." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 45 (2002), 129-39.

----------. “Le dossier hagiographique de S. Amé, vénéré à Douai. Nouvelles recherches sur Hucbald de Saint-Amand.” *AB* 97.1-2 (1979), 89-110.

----------. "Fragments métriques consacrés a S. Melaine de Rennes." *AB* 93 (1975), 115-25.

----------. “Un légendier de la cathédrale d'Arras (Bruxelles, B.R., II. 2310).” *AB* 107 (1989), 12.

----------. “Les Légendiers de Marchiennes.” *AB* 108 (1990), 336.

----------. "Passion de S. Cassien d'Imola composée d'après Prudence par Hucbald de Saint-Amand.” *RB* 87 (1977), 238-56.

Doublet, Jacques. *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denis en France*. Paris: J. de Heuqueville, 1625.

Downing, Christine. "Looking Back at Orpheus," *A Journal of Archetype and Culture* 71 (2004), 1-35.

Drake Boehm, Barbara. "Body-Part Reliquaries: The State of Research." *Gesta* 36 (1997), 8-19.

Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric.* 3rd ed. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1996.

----------. *The Medieval Poet and His World.* Storia E Letteratura: Raccolta Di Studi E Testi. Vol. 164. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984.

----------. *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Dubois, Jacques. "La malle de voyage de l'évêque Germain de Paris († 576)." *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* for 1983 (1985), 238-249.

Dufour, Abbé Valentin. *Recherches sur les VII stations de Saint Denis, étude historique.* Paris: A. Aubry, 1872.

Duggan, Lawrence. "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227-51.

Duru, L-M. *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne ou collection des legendes, chroniques et documents diver pour servir à l'histoire des différentes contrées qui forment aujourd'hui ce department*. 2 vols. Auxerre: Impr. de Perriquet, 1850-64.

Duthillœul, H, *Catalogue descriptif et raisoné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Douai.* Douai: Ceret-Carpentier, 1846.

Dutton, Paul Edward and Kessler, Herbet L. *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Duvivier, Charles. *Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique, nouvelle série*. Brussels: P. Weissenbruch, 1903.

----------. *Recherches sur le Hainaut ancient (pagus Hainoensis) du viie au xiie siècle*. Brussels: F. J. Olivier, 1865.

Egmond, Wolfert S. "The Audience of Early Medieval Hagiographical Texts: Some Questions Revisited." In *New Approaches to Medieval Communication.* Ed. Marco Mostert. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, pp. 41-67.

Engels, L. J. "Priscian in Alcuin's De Orthographia." In *Alcuin of York.* Ed. Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 113-42.

Faidberg, M. Alex. *Notice historique et critique sur l'abbaye de Marchiennes de 630 à 1024*. Lille: E. Vanackere, 1856.

Farmer, Sharon. *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*. Ithaca: Cornell, 1991.

Fassler, M.E. and R.A. Baltzer, eds. *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography.* New York: Oxford, 2000.

Félibien, Michel. *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France.* Paris: F. Léonard, 1706.

Fichtenau, Heinrich. *The Carolingian Empire.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1957.

Foley, Edward B. *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St-Denis in France.* Spicilegium Friburgense, 32. Fribourg: University Press, 1990.

----------. "St-Denis Revisited: The Liturgical Evidence." *RB* 100.4 (1990), 532-49.

Forke, Von Wilhelm. "Studien zu Ermenrich von Ellwangen." In *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 28. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969.

Formigé, Jules. *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.

Frend, W.H.C. "Town and Countryside in Early Christianity." In *The Church in Town and Countryside: Papers Read at the Seventeenth Summer Meeting and the Eighteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society.* Ed. Derek Baker. Studies in Church History 16. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, pp. 25-42.

Fulton, Rachel. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

----------. "The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Make Better Prayers." *Spiritjius* 4 (2004), 1-23.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle. "Le Trésor de Saint-Denis à l'époque carolingienne." In *Un village au temps de Charlemagne.* Eds. Cuisenier and Guadagnin., pp. 69-77.

Ganshof, Francois Louis. *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History.* Trans. Janet Sondheimer. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Ganz, David. "Book Production and the Rise of Caroline Miniscule." In *New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol 2. Ed. Rosamond McKitterick. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 787-809.

Ganz, David. "Liber Glossarum avec notes de la main d'Heiric d'Auxerre." In *Auxerre, Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artists dans l'Europe carolingienne ixe - xie siècles.* Auxerre: Conseil Régional de Bourgogne, 1990, pp. 42-43.

----------."Mind in Character: Ancient and Medieval Ideas About the Status of the Autograph as an Expression of Personality." In *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers*. Eds. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim. Essays presented to M.B. Parkes. Aldershot: Scolar Press. 1997, pp. 280-299.

Gariepy, R.J. "Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic." *Medieval Studies* 30 (1968), 90-105.

Gasparri, François. "L'abbé Suger de Saint-Denis: Mémoire et perpétuations des oeuvres humaines." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, x^e – xiie siècles* 44.3 (2001), 247-57.

Gärtner, Thomas. "Das Eintreten des heiligen Germanus für die Bretonen (Heiric von Auxerre, *Vita s. Germani* [*BHL* 3458] VI, 266-276)."*AB* 120.1, (2002), 70-71.

Geary, Patrick J. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

----------. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

----------. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Gehl, Paul F. "Competens Silentium: Varieties of Medieval Silence." *Viator* 18 (1987), 125-60.

----------. "Latin Readers in Fourteenth-Century Florence: Schoolkids and Their Books." *Scrittura e Civilta* 13 (1989), 387-440.

----------. *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

----------. "Mystical Language Models in Monastic Educational Psychology." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 219-43.

Gellrich, Jesse M. *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language, Theory, Mythology, and Fiction.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Gennaro, Juan De. "Una aproximacion al Eriugenismo de Heirico de Auxerre." *Patristica et mediaevalia* 9 (1988), 99-104.

Gerson, Paula. Ed. *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.

Gessler, J. "De HH. Cefaloforen. Een onderzoek naar den oorsprong van deze legende en het ontstaan der cefaloforenbeelden." *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 11 (1941), 193-212.

Giradello, R. "Vita e testi inediti del beato Battista Spagnoli.*"Carmelus* 21 (1974), 36-98.

Gibson, Margaret. "Milestones in the Study of Priscian, Circa 800- Circa 1200." *Viator* 23 (1992), 17-33.

Gindele, C. "Bienen-, Waben- und Honigvergleiche in der frühen monastischen Literatur." *Regulae Benedicti Studia*, Annuarium internationale 6-7 (1977-78), 1-26.

Godman, Peter. "The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum: From Aldhelm to Alcuin." *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215-29.

----------. "Latin Poetry Under Charles the Bald and Carolingian Poetry." In *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom.* Eds. Janet Nelson and Margaret Gibson. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 101. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. pp. 293-309.

----------. *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

----------. *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Godman, Peter, and Oswyn Murray, eds. *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Goody, J. Ed. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Grabmann, M. "Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Schriften des Ps. Dionysius Areopagita." *Mittelalt. Geistesleben* 1 (1926), 449-52.

Grafton, Anthony. "Teacher, Text, and Pupil in the Renaissance Classroom: A Case Study from a Parisian College." *History of Universities* 1 (1981), 37-70.

Greene, Thomas M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Grendler, Paul F. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*. Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1989.

Grodecki, Louis. "Abélard et Suger." In *Pierre Abélard – Pierre le Vénérable, Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du xiie siècle*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975, pp. 279-86.

Guilmain, Jacques. "The Illuminations of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald." *Speculum* 41.2 (1966), 246-260.

Guthrie, W.K.C. *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement*. New York: Norton, 1966 [1952].

Gysseling, M. "Les plus anciens textes non-littéraires en Belgique et dans le nord de la France." *Scriptorium* (1949), 190-209.

Haan, Estelle. "Mantuan, Milton, and 'The Fruit of that Forbidden Tree." *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 25 (1998), 75-92.

Hahn, Cynthia. "Picturing the Text: Narrative in the *Life* of the Saints." *Art History* 13 (1990), 1-33.

----------. *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

----------. “Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines.” *Speculum* 72.4 (1997), 1079-1106.

----------. “The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries.” *Gesta* 36 (1997), 20-52.

Hardie, Philip. *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Hardy, Madeleine, and Alain Labbé. “En marge du conflit entre Charles le Chauve et Girart de Vienne: Loup de Ferrières, Remi d'Auxerre et le peintre Fredilo.” In Emmanuèle Baumgartner. *La Chanson de Geste et le Mythe carolingien.* Vol. 1, pp. 119-169.

Harmon, James A. *Codicology of the Court School of Charlemagne: Gospel Book Production, Illumination, and Emphasized Script.* Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1984.

Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Havet, Julien. “Les Origines des Saint-Denis.” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 81 (1890), 5-62.

Haye, Thomas. *Das Lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 22. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997.

Head, Thomas. “Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier.” *Gesta* 36 (1997), 65-82.

----------. *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Heber-Suffrin, François. "L'ensemble carolingien." In *Peindre à Auxerre au moyen age ixe-xive siècles. 10 ans de recherches à l'abbaye Saint-Germain et à la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre*. Ed. Christian Sapin. Bourgogne: Éditions du CTHS, 1999, pp. 104-53.

Heene, K. "Audire, legere, vulgo: An Attempt to Define the Public Use and Comprehensibility of Carolingian Hagiography." In *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*. Ed. Roger Wright. London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 146-163.

Helvetius, Anne Marie. *Abbayes, évêques et laïques. Une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (viie – xie siècles*). Brussels: Crédit communal, 1994.

Hen, Yitzak, and Matthew Innes, eds. *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Heinzle, Joachim. *Das Mittelalter in Daten Literatur, Kunst, Geschichte 750-1520.* Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1993.

Herren, Michael W. “The Earliest European Study of Graeco-Roman Mythology (A.D. 600-900).”*Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 34-35 for 1998-1999 (1999), 25-49.

----------, ed. *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles*, 550-1066. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981.

----------, ed. *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages.* King's College London Medieval Studies, London: King's College Medieval Studies, 1988.

Heuclin, J. *Aux origines monastiques de la Gaule du Nord, Ermites et reclus du ve au xie siècles*. Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1988.

Hildebrandt, M. M. *The External School in Carolingian Society.* Vol. 1. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

Hinds, Steven. *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hirsch, Rudolf. *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967.

Hofman, Rijcklof. "Glosses in a Ninth Century Priscian MS. Probably Attributable to Heiric of Auxerre († ca. 876) and their Connections." *Studi medievali* 29. 2 (1988), 805-839.

Holtz, Louis. "Alcuin et la réception de Virgile du temps de Charlemagne." In *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk*. Ed. Hermann Schefers. Darmstadt: Historische Kommission Darmstadt, 1997, pp. 67-80.

----------. "L'école d'Auxerre." In *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*. Ed. Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon. pp. 329-51.

Houwen, L.A.J.R., and A.A. MacDonald, eds. *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court.* Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, University of Groningen 1995. Gronigen: Egbert Forsten, 1998.

Howe, John. "The Conversion of the Physical World: The Creation of a Christian Landscape." In *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*. Ed. James K. Muldoon. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, pp. 63-78.

Howe, John, and Michael Wolfe, eds. *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Hubert, Jean. "L'avant-nef carolingienne de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre." *Arts et vie sociale de la fin du monde antique au Moyen Age. Receuil offert à l'auteur par ses élèves et ses amis.* Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'école des chartes 24. Geneva: Droz, 1977, pp. 417-428.

Hudson-Williams, A. "Virgil and the Christian Latin Poets." *Papers of the Virgil Society* 6 (1966- 67), 11-21.

Hunt, Tony. *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England.* 3 vols. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1991

Huntsman, Jeffrey F. "Grammar." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*. Ed. David L. Wagner. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983, pp. 58-95.

Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Agni immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994).* Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1988.

----------. "Heiric d'Auxerre (?), *florilège érigénien*." In *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artists dans l'Europe carolingienne ixe - xie siècles.* Ed. Musée d'art et d'Histoire, Auxerre. Auxerre: Conseil Régional de Bourgogne, 1990, p. 255.

----------. "Heiric d'Auxerre, *Vie de saint Germain*, 873-875," in *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, p. 70.

----------. "Influences spirituelles et culturelles du monde wisigothique: Saint-Germain d'Auxerre dans la seconde moitié du ixe siècle." In *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique: Colloque international du C.N.R.S. tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac.* Eds. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi. (Paris, 14-16 mai 1990). Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 35. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992, pp. 243-257.

Iogna-Prat, Dominique, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon, eds. *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830-901*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1989.

Iogna-Prat, Dominique, and Jean-Charles Picard, eds. *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*. *Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987: La France de l'an mil*, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987 / Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987. Paris: Picard, 1990.

Irvine, Martin. *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory*, *350-1100.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

IJsewijn, Jozef. "Imitation of Italian Models by Neo-Latin Authors from the Netherlands in the Age of Erasmus." In *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice*. Eds. Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup. Aldershot: Scolar, 1993. pp. 155-63.

Jacobsen, Peter Christian. "Die Vita S. Germani Heiric von Auxerre: Untersuchungen zu Prosodie und Metrik." In *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*. Eds. Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon. pp. 329-51.

Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1994.

Janin, Pierre. "Heiric d'Auxerre et les Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium." *Francia* 4 for 1976 (1977), 89-105.

Jansen, F. "Hilduin traducteur du Pseudo-Denys." *Nouvelle revue théologique* 60 (1933), 62-63.

Jauss, Hans Robert. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Trans. Timothy Bahti. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

Jeauneau, Édouard. “Denys l’Aréopagite, promoteur du néoplatonisme en Occident.” *Néoplatonisme et philosophie médiévale. Actes du Colloque international de Corfou*, 6-8 octobre 1995. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, pp. 1-23.

----------. “Dans le sillage de l'Erigène: Une homélie d'Héric d'Auxerre sur le prologue de Jean.” *Studi medievali* 11.2 (1970), 937-955.

----------. “Les écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre au ixe siècle.” In *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo19, 15-21 April 1971. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1972, pp. 495-522.

----------. "Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot." In *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre.* Eds. Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 353-70.

----------. “Influences érigéniennes dans une homélie d'Héric d'Auxerre.” In *The Mind of Eriugena: Papers of a Colloquium, Dublin, 14-18 July 1970.* Eds. John O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler. Dublin: Irish University Press for the Royal Irish Academy, 1973, pp. 113-124.

----------. “Pierre Abélard à Saint-Denis.” In *Abélard et son temps. Actes du Colloque international organisé à l’occasions du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard* (14-19 mai 1979). Paris: Les belles lettres, 1981, pp. 161-73.

Jenkins, Jacqueline and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *St Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003.

Jeudy, Colette. "L'institutio de Nomine, Pronomine et verbo de Priscien. Manuscrits et Commentaires Médiévaux (Catalogue)." *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2 (1972), 73-144.

----------. “La tradition manuscrite des "Partitiones" de Priscien et la version longue du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre.” *Revue d'histoire des textes* (1971), 123-143.

Jones, Charles W. "Bede's Place in Medieval Schools." In *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede.* Ed. Gerald Bonner. London: S.P.C.K., 1976.

Jones, Michael E. “St. Germanus and the *Adventus Saxonum*.” *Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 2 (1990), 1-11.

Jonsson, Ritva. “The Antiphoner of Compiegne: Paris BNF lat. 17436.” In *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages.* Eds. Fassler and Baltzer, pp. 147- 78.

Jonsson (Jacobssen), Ritva. *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968.

Keefe, Susan A. *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.

King, Margot H., and Wesley M. Stevens, eds. *Saints, Scholars and Heroes. Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones.* 2 vols. Collegeville, Minn: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Saint John's Abbey and University, 1979.

Klein, Thomas A.-P. "Reimgebet Oder Heiligenleben? Rekonstruktionsversuch Einer Neuaufgefundenen <<Vita Theophili Metrica>>." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 35 (2000), 267-88.

Klopsch, Paul. "Prosa und Vers in der mittellateinischen Literatur." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1966), 9-24.

Kopp, Ulrich. "The 1576 Antwerp Edition of the Works of Baptista Mantuanus and Johannes Lucienberger in Frankfurt am Main." In *The German Book 1450-1750: Studies Presented to David Paisey in his Retirement.* Eds. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly. London: British Library, 1995. pp. 123-136.

Koziol, Geoffrey. *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Labbé, Alain "Nouvelles remarques sur le décor peint des cryptes de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. Les portraits des évêques sont-ils bien carolingiens? Encore la signature de Fredilo?" *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* for 1991 (1993), 359-371.

Lapidge, Michael. "Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse." *Comparative Literature* 31. 3 (1979), 209-31.

----------. "Aediluulf and the School of York." In *Lateinische Kultur Im VIII. Jahrhundert*. Eds. Albert Lehner and Walter Berschin. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1989, pp. 161-78.

----------. "Bede's Metrical Vita S. Cuthberti." In *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*. Ed. Gerald Bonner. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1989, pp. 77-93.

----------. "Epilogue: Did Columbanus Compose Metrical Verse?" In *Columbanus - Studies on the Latin Writings.* Ed. Michael Lapidge. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1997, pp. 274-85.

----------. "The Evidence of Latin Glosses." In *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*. Ed. Nicholas Brooks. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982, pp. 99-140.

----------. "The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature" *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 67-111.

----------. "The Lost 'Passio Metrica S. Dionysii' by Hilduin," *Mittellateinische Jahrbuch* 22 (1987), 56- 79.

----------. "A Metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from Tenth-Century Winchester." *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 255-306.

----------. "Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24-5 (1989-90), 249-60.

----------. "Three Latin Poems from Aethelwold's School at Winchester." *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), 85-137.

Law, Vivien A. "Grammar in the Early Middle Ages: A Bibliography." *Historiographia Linguistica* 20.1 (1993), 25-47.

----------. "The Historiography of Grammar in the Early Middle Ages." *Historiographia Linguistica* 20.1 (1993), 1-23.

----------. "The Study of Grammar." In *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*. ed. McKitterick, pp. 88-110.

----------. "Late Latin Grammars in the Early Middle Ages." *Historiographia Linguistica* 13.2/3 (1986), 365-380.

Le Glay, M. *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Marchiennes.* Douai: Adam d'Aubers, 1854.

Leclerq, Jean. "Saint Antoine dans la tradition monastique médiévale." *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), 229-47.

----------. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture.* Trans. Catharine Misrahi. 2nd ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1974.

Le Mire, Aubert. *Liber de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus* in *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica. sive nomenclatores VII veteres*. Antwerp: J. Mesius, 1639.

Lendinara, Patrizia. "Mixed Attitudes to Ovid: The Carolingian Poets and the Glossographers." In *Alcuin of York*. Eds. Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 171-213.

Leonardi, Claudio. "Remigio d'Auxerre e l'eredità della scuola carolingia." In *I classici nel medioevo e nell'umanesimo. Miscellanea filologica*. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di filologia classica e medievale 42. Genova: Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, 1975, pp. 271-288.

Leonardi, Claudio, and Birger Munk Olsen, eds. *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*: Proceedings of the First European Science Foundation Workshop on "the Reception of the Classical Text," Florence 1995. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1995.

Levillain, Léon. "Les diplômes originaux et le diplôme faux de Lothaire Ier pour l'abbaye de Saint-Denis." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 95 (1934), 222-58.

----------. "Etudes sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque Mérovingienne." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 82 (1921), 5-116.

----------. Les Plus anciennes églises abbatiales de Saint-Denis." *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 36 (1909), 41-68.

----------. "Wandalbert de Prüm et la date de la mort d'Hilduin de S. Denis." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 108 (1949-50), 5-35.

Levin, Aldo S., and Saul Bernardo, eds. *The Classics in the Middle Ages.* Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies. Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990.

Levison, W. "Bischoff Germanus von Auxerre und die Wuellen zu seiner Geschichte." *Neues Archiv* 29 (1904), 95-175.

Lewis, Katherine J., *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000.

----------. "Model Girls? Virgin-Martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England." In *Young Medieval Women*. Eds. Lewis, Mengue, and Phillips*,* pp. 25-46.

----------. "Pilgrimage and the Cult of St Katherine in Late Medieval England," In Jenkins and Lewis. *St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 38-52.

Lewis, Katherine J., Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips. Eds. *Young Medieval Women*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Lièvre A.F. and Auguste Molinier. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*. Vol. 25. Poitiers-Valenciennes. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1894.

Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographic' Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (1994), 95-113.

----------. "The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen: The Political Uses of Hagiographical Texts" Columbia University Dissertation, 1988.

----------. *The Name of the Saint*: *The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2006.

----------. *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1995.

Lobrichon, Guy. "L'atelier d'écriture de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre dans le haut moyen age: un fantasme d'historien régionaliste ou une réalité historique?" *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* for 1990 (1992), 200-201.

----------. "Moines et clercs à Sens et Auxerre au xe siècle: culture et société." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24-5 for 1989-90 (1991), 277-294.

Loenertz, R.J. "La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite, sa genèse et son premier témoin." *AB* 69 (1951), 217-37.

Lot, Ferdinand. “Les abbés Hilduins: note rectificative.” In *Recueil de travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot*. Vol. 2. Centre de recherches d’histoire et de philologie de la ive section de l’école pratique des hautes études. Geneva: Droz, 1970, pp. 500-03.

----------. “De quelques personnages du xie siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin.” In *Recueil de travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot.* Vol. 2, pp. 461-95.

Louis, Étienne. “Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques, viie – ixe s. Le cas de Hamage (France dép. du Nord).” In *Papers of the “Medieval Europe Brugge 1997” Conference*. Eds. G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe. Vol. 4, Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe. Zellick: Instituut voor het archeologisch patrimonium, 1997, pp. 55-63.

----------. “Aux débuts du monachisme en Gaule du Nord: les fouilles de l’abbaye mérovingienne et carolingienne de Hamage (Nord).” In *Clovis histoire et mémoire: Le baptême de Clovis, son echo à travers l’histoire*... Vol. 2. Ed. Michel Rouche. Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997, pp. 843-68.

----------. “Hamage (Nord) – espaces de bâtiments claustraux d’un monastère mérovingien et carolingien.” In *Actes du colloque de Liessies – Maubeuge “practique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au moyen âge et à la époque moderne.* Ed. Phillippe Racinet. Histoire médiévale et Archéologie, 8. Amiens: CAHMER, 1998. pp. 73-97.

----------. “Sorores ac fratres in Hamatico degentes. Naissance, évolution et disparition d’une abbaye du haut moyen âge: Hamage, (France, Nord).” *Journée d’etude: une abbaye et ses domaines au haut moyen âge* (Logne, 26 septembre, 1998), *De la Meuse à l’Ardenne* 28 (1999), 15-47.

Louis, R. “L’église d’Auxerre et ses évêques avant Saint Germain. Essai sur les plus anciens texts hagiographiques auxerrois.” In *Saint Germain d’Auxerre et son temps*. Ed. Association bourguignonne des societes savantes. Auxerre: L'Universelle, 1950, pp. 33-89.

Louis, René, and Sophie Specht. “Les cryptes carolingiennes de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre.” *Archeologia* 67 (1974), 21-36.

Louth, Andrew. *Denys the Areopagite*. London: Continuum, 1989.

Lowry, Martin. *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*. Ithaca: Cornell, 1979.

Luscombe, David E. “Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla,” In *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16-19 September 1986*. Ed. Wolfram Setz. Vol. I. Hannover: Hahn, 1988, pp. 133-152.

MacCormack, Sabine. *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine*. Berkeley: California, 1998.

Madan, F., and H.H. E. Caster. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have Not Hitherto Been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

Mangeart, J. *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes*. Paris: Techener, 1860.

Manitius, Max. *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters*. Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft. Volume 1. Munich: Beck, 1911.

Marchioli, Nicoletta Giovè. "I libri del tesoro." In *Tesori: Forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli v-xi)*. Eds. Sauro Gelichi and Cristina La Rocca. Roma: Viella, 2004. pp. 257-88.

Marenbon, J. *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Markus, Robert. "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), 257-71.

Matter, E. Ann. "A Carolingian Schoolbook? The Manuscript Tradition of Alcuin's De Fide and Related Treatises." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Eds. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996, pp. 145-52.

McCartney, Eugene S. "Notes on Reading and Praying Audibly." *Classical Philology* 43 (1948), 184-87.

McGregor, J.H. "Ovid at School: From the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century." *Classical Folia* 32 (1978), 29-51.

McGurk, Patrick. "The Ghent Livinus Gospels and the Scriptorium of St. Amand." *Sacris Erudiri* (1963), 164-205.

McInerny, Ralph. "Beyond the Liberal Arts." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Wagner, pp. 248-72.

McKeon, Peter R. *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

McKitterick, Rosamond. *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 452. Aldershot: Variorum, 1994.

----------. "Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems." In *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms.* Ed. Rosamond McKitterick. Essay XII, pp. 1-33.

----------, ed. *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

----------. *The Carolingians and the Written Word.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

----------. “Charles the Bald (823-877) and his Library: The Patronage of Learning.” *English Historical Review* 95.1 (1980), 28-47.

----------. *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987.* London: Longman, 1983.

----------. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004.

----------. “Manuscripts and Scriptoria in the Reign of Charles the Bald, 840 - 877." In *Giovanni Scoto nel suo Tempo: L'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia*. Eds. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989, pp. 201-34.

----------. “Nuns’ Scriptoria in England and France in the Eighth Century.” *Francia* 19 (1992), 1-35.

----------. “The Palace School of Charles the Bald.” In *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*. Eds. Janet Nelson and Margaret Gibson. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 101. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 385-400.

----------. “Text and Image in the Carolingian World.” In McKitterick. *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 297-318.

----------. “Women and Literacy in the Early Middle Ages.” In McKitterick. *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms*, essay XIII, pp. 1-43.

McLaughlin, Megan. *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

McNamara, Jo Ann, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, eds. *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Meijns, Brigitte. “Les fondations de chapitres dans le comté de Flandre. La thèse du professeur Jan Dhondt et l’état des recherches actuelles.” In *Les Moines dans la ville, actes du colloque de Lille 31 Mars et 1er Avril 1995. Histoire médiévale et archéologie.* Vol. 7. Lille: CAHMER, 1996, pp. 197- 211.

Menjoulet, M. J.-M. *Saint Amand, Apotre des Basques.* Extrait de Revue de Gascogne. Auch: Imprimerie et lithographie Félix Foix, 1869.

Midol, Maurice. “Une lettre de l'abbé de Ferrières (Loup Servat) en 861 identifie l'auteur des fresques d'Auxerre.” *Société d'émulation de l'arrondissement de Montargis* ser. 3, 33 (1975), 1-2.

Miele, Maurizio. “La *Vita Germani* di Costanzo di Lione: realtà storica e prospettive storiografiche nella Gallia del quinto secolo.”*Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie - Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* ser. 9, 7.2 (1996), 131-249.

Molinier, Auguste. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements.* vol. 25. Valenciennes. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie 1894.

Montgomery, Scott B. "*Mittite capud meum ... ad matrem meam ut osculetur eum*: The Form and Meaning of the Reliquary Bust of Saint Just." *Gesta* 36 (1997), 48-64.

Moretus-Plantin, H. "Les passions de saint Denys." In *Mélanges offerts au R.P. Ferdinand Cavallera.* Toulouse: Bibliothèque de l'Institut catholique, 1948, pp. 215-30.

Mohrmann, Christine. "Note sur la version latine la plus ancienne de la Vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase." *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), 35-44.

Moran, Dermot. *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Morin, G. "Pour l'authenticité de la lettre de S. Jerôme à Présidius." *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature* 3 (1913), 51-60.

Mulder-Bakker, Anneke B, ed. *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*. New York. Garland Press. 1995.

Murphy, James J., ed. *A Short History of Writing Instruction from Ancient Greece to Twentieth-Century America*. Davis: Hermagoras Press, 1990.

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Auxerre. *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuels et artists dans l'Europe carolingienne ixe - xie siècles.* Auxerre: Conseil Régional de Bourgogne, 1990.

Narrative Sources. Department of Medieval History of the Ghent University, Institute for Medieval Studies of the Catholic University of Louvain, and Department of History of the University of Groningen. Viewed 2 July 2006. < www.narrative-sources.be>.

Nazet, J. "Crises et réformes dans les abbayes hainuyères du ixe au début du xiie siècle." In *Recueil d'études d'histoire Hainuyèreo offertes à Maurice-A. Arnould.* Ed. J.-M Duvosquel. Mons: Hannonia, 1983, pp. 461-96.

Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, D. *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du ixe au xviiie siècle*. Paris: CNRS, 1985.

----------. "Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques: Contribution à la connaissance des anciennes bibliothèques bénédictines." *Revue Mabillon* 96 (1986), 271-326.

Nees, Lawrence. *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1991.

Nelson, Janet. "Carolingian Royal Funerals." In *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Eds. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson. The Transformation of the Roman World, 8. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 131-84.

----------.*Charles the Bald.* London: Longman, 1992.

----------. *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe.* London: Hambledon Press, 1986.

----------. "A Tale of Two Princes: Politics, Text, and Ideology in a Carolingian Annal." In Janet Nelson. *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992, pp. 105-141.

Nelson, Janet, and Margaret Gibson, eds. *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 101. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Nichols, S.G. "The Image as Textual Unconscious: Medieval Manuscripts." *Studies in 20th Century Literature* 29 (1989), 7-23.

Nortier, Geneviève. *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes benedictines de Normandie*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1971.

Norberg, Dag. *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*. Trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2004.

O'Donnell, J. Reginald. "Alcuin's Priscian." In *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900*: *Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Eds. John J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976, pp. 222-35.

Omont, H. "Manuscrit de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople a Louis le Débonnaire en 827." *Revues des Études Greques* 17 (1904), 230-36.

Ong, Walter J. "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization." *New Literary History* 16.1 (1984), 1-12.

Pagini, I. "Ionas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio." *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 29 (1988), 45-85.

Palazzo, Eric. "Un *libellus missae* du scriptorium de Saint-Amand pour Saint-Denis. Son intérêt pour la typologie des manuscrits liturgiques," *RB* 99 (1989), 286-92.

Palmer, Anne-Marie. *Prudentius on the Martyrs.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Passalacqua, Marina. "Un manuscrit "cultivé" de Saint-Amand: le Par. lat. 7498." In *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'antiquité aux lumières. Actes du colloque de Chantilly, 2-4 septembre 1987.* Ed. Irène Rosier. Paris: Société pour l'Information grammaticale, 1988, pp. 147-154.

Penco, G. "Il simbolismo animalesco nella letteratura monastica." *Studia Monastica* 6 (1964), 7-38.

Peters, H.F. *Rainer Maria Rilke: Masks and the Man*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1968.

Pfeiffer, R. *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Philippart, Guy. *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la litterature hagiographique latine et vnernaculaire en Occident des origines a 1550,* 3 vols. (Brepols: Turnholy, 1994-).

Picard, Jean-Charles. "Espace urbain et sépultures épiscopales à Auxerre." In *La Christianisation des pays entre Loire et Rhin (ive - viie siècle*). Ed. Pierre Riché. Paris: Cerf, 1993, pp. 205-222.

Piepho, Lee. *Holofernes' Mantuan: Italian Humanism in Early Modern England*. Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures 103. New York: Peter Lang, 2001.

Plantin, Ph.H. Moretus. "Les Passions de saint Lucien et leurs dérivés céphalophoriques." *Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de Namur,* fasc. 15. Namur: Secrétariat des Publications, 1953, pp. 53-61.

Platelle, Henri. "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au ixe siècle." In *La cantilène de sainte Eulalie*. Ed. Marie-Pierre Dion, pp. 18-34.

----------. "Deux chartes comtales relatives à Saint-Amand en date du 16 décembre 1116." *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 126 (1960), 61-82.

----------. "Les moines dans une ville d'abbaye: le cas de Saint-Amand." In *Les moines dans la ville, actes du colloque de Lille 31 Mars et 1er Avril 1995. Histoire medievale et archeologie,* vol. 7. Lille: CAHMER, 1996, pp. 125- 38.

----------."Marchiennes." in *Catholicisme hier aujourd'hui demain* viii. Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1979, pp. 414-16.

----------. "Le premier cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand." *Le Moyen Age* 62 (1956), 301-29.

----------. "Les relations entre l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de'Elnone." In *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant*. Lille: Facultés catholiques, 1967, pp. 83-106.

----------. "La religion populaire entre la Scarpe et la Lys d'après les miracles de sainte Rictrude de Marchiennes (xiie siècle)." In *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps.* Eds. H. Roussel et F. Suard. Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1979. Vol. 2, pp. 365-402.

----------.*La justice seigneuriale de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand: Son organization judiciaire, sa procedure et sa compétence du xie au xvie siècle.* Paris: Éditions Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1965.

----------.*Le Temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines a 1340*. Paris: Librarie de'Argences, 1962.

----------. "La ville et l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au Moyen Age." In *Terre et ciel des anciens Pays-Bas. Recueil d'articles de M. le Chanoine Platelle publié à l'occasion de*

son élection à l'Académie royale de Belgique. Mélanges de Science religieuse, numéro spécial. Lille: Faculté libre des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 1991, pp. 55-68.

Poncelet, A."Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae publicae Duacensis." *AB* 20 (1901), 361-470.

Pranger, M.B. "Narrative Superiority: Peter the Venerable and the Miracle of the Bees." In M.B. Pranger. *The Artificiality of Christianity: Essays on the Poetics of Monasticism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Prill, Paul E. "Rhetoric and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages." *Rhetorica* 5. 2 (1987), 129-47.

Quadri, Riccardo. "Heiric." In *Abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre,* pp. 37-40.

Quadri, Riccardo. "Del nuovo su Eirico di Auxerre." *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 33.1 (1992), 217-228.

Quadri, Riccardo. "Sulla data di morte di Eirico di Auxerre." *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 24.1 (1983), 355-366.

Raby, J.E. *A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

Rasmussen, Niels Krogh."The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study." In *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*. Ed. Gerson, pp. 41-47.

Rawlings, J.K. *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*. New York: Arthur A. Levine, 1999.

Reames, Sherry. "St Katherine and the Late Medieval Clergy: Evidence from English Breviaries." In *St Katherine of Alexandria*. Ed. Jenkins and Lewis, pp. 201-220.

Renouard, Philippe. *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967 (1908).

Renouard, Philippe. *Imprimeurs et Libraires parisiens du xvie siècle.* Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de P. Renouard, 2. Paris: Travuax Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1969.

Remensnyder, Amy G. "Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory." *Speculum* 71 (1996), 884-906.

----------. *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France.* Ithaca: Cornell, 1995.

Rener, Frederick M. "Friedrich Spee and Virgil's Fourth Georgic." *Comparative Literature* 24.2 (1972), 118-135.

Reynolds, Susan. *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Reynolds, L.D. *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

----------. *Texts and Transmission*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.

Riché, Pierre. "Charles le Chauve et le culture de son temps." In *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie mediévale*. Paris: Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S, 1977, pp. 37-46.

----------. "Les écoles d'Auxerre au ixe siècle." In *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien*. Vol. 1. Ed. Baumgartner, pp. 111-117.

----------. *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries.* Trans. John J. Contreni. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976.

Roberts, Michael. *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity.* Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985.

----------. *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.

----------. *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

----------. "The Prologue to Avitus' 'De Spiritalis Historiae Gestis': Christian Poetry and Poetic License." *Traditio* 36 (1980), 399-407.

----------. "St. Martin and the Leper: Narrative Variation in the Martin Poems of Venantius Fortunatus." *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), 82-100.

Robertson, Anne Walters. *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

----------. "From Office to Mass: The Antiphons of Vespers and Lauds and the Antiphons Before the Gospel in Northern France." In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*. Eds. Fassler and Baltzer, pp. 300-23

Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Rouse, Mary A., and R.H. Rouse. *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.

Russell, Patrick. "Baptista of Mantua, Fifteenth Century Humanist." *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 13 (1948), 216-37.

Rust, Martha Dana. "The Art of Beekeeping Meets the Arts of Grammar: A Gloss of "Columcille's Circle." *Philological Quarterly* 78 (1999), 359-87.

Saenger, Paul. "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society." *Viator* 13 (1982), 367 - 414.

Saggi, Ludovico. *La congregazione mantovani dei Carmelitani sino alla mortre del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516).* Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954.

Sainte-Marie, Jean-Pierre. "Saint-Germain d'Auxerre." *Echo d'Auxerre* 88 (1971), 1-32.

Saintyves, P. "Les saints céphalophores." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99 (1929), 158-231.

Salet, Francis. "L'église romane de Saint-Amand."*Bulletin monumental* 127.4 (1969), 323-324.

Sandys, J.E. *A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. To the End of the Middle Ages.* 3 vols. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906.

Sanford, E. M. "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 55 (1924), 190-248.

Sapin, Christian. Ed. *Peindre à Auxerre au moyen age ixe-xive siècles. 10 ans de recherches à l'abbaye Saint-Germain et à la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'Auxerre.* Bourgogne: Éditions du CTHS, 1999.

Sassier, Yves. "Les Carolingiens et Auxerre." In *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*. Eds. Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 21-36.

----------. "Quelques remarques sur les diplômes d'immunité octroyés par les Carolingiens à l'abbaye de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 139.1 (1981), 37-154.

Scarry, Elaine. *Dreaming by the Book*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Schmitz, P. "Blandin (Mont-)." In *DHGE* 9. Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1937. pp. 118-130.

Schumann, Otto. *Lateinisches Hexameter Lexikon: dicterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*. 7 vols. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1979-89.

Sickel, Th. "Lettre sur un manuscrit de Melk venu de S. Germain d'Auxerre." *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes* 23 (1862), 28-38.

Smith, Julia M.H. "A Hagiographer at Work: Hucbald and the Library at Saint-Amand." *RB* 106.1-2 (1996), 151-71.

----------. "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand." *Studi Medievali* series 3, 35.2 (1994), 517-42.

----------. "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780-920." *Past and Present* 146 (1995), 3-37.

Shanzer, Danuta. "Gregory of Tours and Poetry: Prose into Verse and Verse into Prose." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005), 303-319.

Shutz, Herbert. *The Carolingians in Central Europe, Their History, Arts and Architecture: A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750-900*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Sickel, Th. “Lettre sur un manuscrit de Melk venu de Saint-Germain d’Auxerre.” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole de Chartres* 23 (1862), 28-38.

Sot, Michel, ed. *Les gestes des évêques d’Auxerre*. Vol. 1. Paris: Les belles lettres, 2002.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M. *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey.* Brookline and Keyden: Classical Folia Editions, 1978.

----------. "The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship." In *Saints and their Cults*: *Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*. Ed. Stephen Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 141-68.

Spikjer, Ineke van’t. “Family Ties: Mothers and Virgins in the Ninth Century.” In *Sanctity and Motherhood*. Ed. Mulder-Bakker, pp. 166-90.

Springer, Carl P. E. *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius*. Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1988.

Stevenson, W.H. “The Old English Charters to St. Denis.” *English Historical Review* (1891), 736-742.

Stoclet, Alain J. “Le temporel de Saint-Denis du viie au xe siècle: La constitution du patrimoine foncier dans le Parisis.” In *Un village au temps de Charlemagne.* Eds. Cuisenier and Guadagnin., pp. 94-105.

Stock, Brian. *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

----------. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

----------. *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

----------. “Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization.” *New Literary History* 16.1 (1984), 13-29.

Stokes, Whitley, ed. and trans. *Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick with Other Documents Relating to that Saint*. London: H. M. Stationery, 1887.

----------. ed. and trans. *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.

Sullivan, Richard E., ed. *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995.

Tanselle, G. Thomas. *Rationale of Textual Criticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

Thacker, A.T. “*Peculiaris patronus noster*: The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages.” In *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*. Eds. J.R. Maddicot and D.M. Palliser. London: Hambledon Press, 2000. pp. 1-24.

Thacker, Alan and Richard Sharpe, eds. *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Théry, G. "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Areopagitisme au ixe s." *Le Moyen Age* 35 (1923), 111-53.

----------. "Hilduin et le priemière traduction des écrits du Pseudo-Denis." *Revue d'histoire de l'eglise de France* 9 (1923), 23-39.

Théry, P.G. *Etudes Dionysiennes*. Études de philosophie médiévale dir. E. Gilson. Vol. 1, 2. Paris: J. Vrin, 1932, 1937.

----------. "L'entrée du Pseudo-Denys en occident." In *Mélanges Mandonnet*. Vol. 2. 23-30. Paris: J. Vrin, 1930.

----------. "Le texte intégral de la traduction du Pseudo-Denys par Hilduin." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique du Louvain* (1925), 33-50.

----------. "Recherches pour une édition grecque historique du Pseudo-Denys." *The New Scholasticism* (1929), 353-442.

Thomas, Richard F. *Reading Virgil and his Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Thompson, E.A. *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain.* Studies in Celtic History 6. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984.

Thompson, Stith. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature.* Vol. 3. Bloomington: Indiana, 1934.

Tilliette, Jean-Yves. "Un art du patchwork: la poésie métrique latine (xie - xiie siècles)." In *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Âge*. Nanterre: Université de Paris X Nanterre, 1988, pp. 59-73.

----------. "Le xe siècle dans l'histoire de la littérature." In *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil*. Eds. Iogna-Prat and Picard, pp. 93-98

----------. "La poésie métrique latine: Ateliers et genres." In *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil*. Eds. Iogna-Prat and Picard, pp. 103-109.

----------. "Les modèles de sainteté du ixe au xie siècle, d'apres le témoignage des récits hagiographiques en vers métriques." In *Santi e demoni nell'alto Medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI)*. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 36. Spoleto, 1989, pp. 381-406.

----------. "Métrique carolingienne et métrique auxerroise: quelques réflexions sur la vita Sancti Germani d'Heiric d'Auxerre." In Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon. *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*, pp. 313-27.

Tilmans, Karin. *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiekroniek of 1517.* Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 51. Niewkoop: B. De Graaf, 1992.

Townsend, David. "Alcuin's Willibrord, Wilhelm Levison, and the MGH." In *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts*. Ed. Roberta Frank. Papers Given at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 1-2 November 1991. Toronto: AMS Press, 1993, pp. 107-30.

Ugé, Karine. *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005.

----------. "The Legend of Saint Rictrude: Formation and Transformations (Tenth-Twelfth Century)." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2000), 281-97.

Uhlfelder, Myra L. "Classicism and Christianity: A Poetic Synthesis." *Latomus* 34.1 (1975), 224-31.

Van Dam, Raymond. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Van der Essen, L. *Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique.* Louvain: Bureaux du recueil, 1907.

----------. "Hucbald de Saint-Amand et sa place dans le mouvement hagiographique médiéval." *Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique* 19 (1923), 333-51, 522-52.

van Gennep, Arnold. *Rites of Passage.* Trans. M.B. Vizedon and G.L. Caffee. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960.

Van der Straeten, Joseph. "Manuscrits hagiographiques de Boulogne-sur-mer." *AB* 87 (1969), 373-86.

Van Meter, D.C. "Count Baldwin IV, Richard of Saint-Vanne, and the Inception of Monastic Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders." *RB* 107 (1997), 130-48.

van Os, Henk. *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages*. Amsterdam: de Prom, 2000.

Vezin, Jean. "Le point d'interrogation, un élément de datation et de localisation des manuscrits: L'exemple de St. Denis au ixe siècle." *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 181-96.

----------. "Le scriptorium d'Auxerre." In *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*. Eds. Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 57-58.

----------. "Le *scriptorium* de Saint-Denis au temps de l'abbé Fardulfe (793-806)." *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes-études* 111 (1978/1979), 501-15.

----------. "Six reliures carolingiennes de Saint-Amand." In *Mélanges d'histoire de la reliure offerts à Georges Colin*. Ed. Claude Sorgeloos. Brussels: Librairie Fl. Tulkens, 1998, pp. 31-38.

Vezin, Jean, and Hartmut Atsma. "Les faux sur papyrus de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis." In *Finances, pouvoirs et mémoire: Mélanges offerts à Jean Favier*. Eds. Jean Kerhervé and Albert Rigaudière. Brest: Fayard, 1999, pp. 674-99.

Vincent, A.J.H. “Note dur la messe grecque qui se chantait autrefois à l’abbaye royale de St.-Denis, le jour octave de la fête patronale.” *Revue archéologique* n.s. 9 (1864), 268-81.

Wagner, David. L. "The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship." In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Wagner, pp. 1-31.

----------, ed. *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wallis, Faith. “Ambiguities of Medieval ‘Memoria.’” *Canadian Journal of History/ Annales canadiennes d’histoire* 30 (1995), 77-83.

Walther, H. “Fragmente von metrischen Heiligenviten aus dem XIIten Jahrhundert.” *Speculum* 6 (1931), 600-606.

Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Warner, J. Christopher. *The Augustinian Epic, Petrarch to Milton*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.

Watanabe, Morimichi. “Martin Luther’s Relations with Italian Humanists with Special Reference to Johannes Baptista Mantuanus.” *Lutherjahrbuch* 54 (1987), 23-47.

Weinberg, Bernard. “Badius Ascensius and the Transmission of Medieval Literary Criticism.” *Romance Philology* 9 (1955-56), 209-16.

Werner, Karl Ferdinand. “Saint-Denis et les Carolingiens.” In Cuisenier and Guadagnin. *Un village au temps de Charlemagne*, pp. 40-49.

Wieland, Gernot R. "Alcuin's Ambiguous Attitude Towards the Classics." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 84-95.

----------. “Geminus Stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography." In *Insular Latin Studies*. Ed. Herren*,* pp. 113-33.

----------. "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?" *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153-73.

Wilmart, A. “Les frères défunts de St.-Denis au début du IX siècle,” *Revue Mabillon* 15 (1925), 241-57.

Witke, Charles. *Numen Litterarum: The Old and the New in Latin Poetry from Constantine to Gregory the Great.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971.

Wollasch, J. "Das Patrimonium Beati Germani in Auxerre." In *Forshungen zur Oberrheinischen Landegeschichte* 4. Ed. Gerd Tellenbach. Freiburg: Verlag, 1957. pp. 185-224.

----------. “Zu den persönlichen Notizen des Heircus von Saint-Germain d’Auxerre.” *Deutsches Archiv fur Enforschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959), 211-26.

Woods, Marjorie Curry. “Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom." In *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*. Ed. Carol Dana Lanham. London: Continuum, 2002, pp. 282-94.

Wormald, Francis. “Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints.” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952-1953), 248-66.

VITA

Anna Lisa Taylor was born in Auckland, New Zealand on September 27, 1974, the daughter of Elizabeth Logan Taylor and James Bruce Taylor. She attended Titirangi Primary School in New Zealand and Thornleigh West Primary School, Hornsby Girls' High School, and Maroochydore High School in Australia. She entered the University of Queensland in 1992 and attended the University of Santa Barbara in 1994.
She received her Bachelor of Arts at the University of Queensland in December 1994, and her Honours degree (first class) in 1996. She entered the Graduate School of the University of Santa Barbara in 1997 and the Graduate School of the University of Texas the same year.

Permanent Address: 15 Hillston St, Buderim 4556, Australia.

This dissertation was typed by the author.