'Obtulisti libellum de vita domni Remacli'

The Evolution of Patron Saint Libelli as Propagandist Instruments in the Monastery of Stavelot-Malmedy, 938-1247

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The functionality of a hagiographical text in the High Middle Ages depended on the codex in which it was incorporated. As a result, a manuscript perspective is indispensable to assess the communicative function of a medieval saint's life. This article analyses five codices concerning Saint Remaclus from the monastery of Stavelot-Malmedy as a way to study the changing strategies of hagiographic propaganda. The community of Stavelot-Malmedy experienced a growing need to increase the propagandist user-friendliness of their manuscripts between the tenth and the thirteenth century. A tenth-century manuscript consisted of a jumble of texts about Remaclus and Stavelot-Malmedy intended for a very broad audience. A second generation of codices consisted of a collection of texts better tailored to a more narrowly defined audience, while the third generation focuses almost exclusively on very specific, contemporary problems. An analysis of these manuscripts shows that these 'generations' or general types of manuscripts were representative of the Benedictine Southern Low Countries, and that an abbey's choice for a specific type of manuscript can often be linked to its institutional position.

The main function of high medieval hagiography is often described as 'propagandist'. In this context the word is used to refer not to embryonic forms of an information policy using mass media, but to 'the public treatment (both oral and written) of contemporary controversies in order to influence views of a wider audience'.[1] Hagiographic texts were written to promote a saint, spreading the tale of his or her life of virtue and courageous piety so

that people would know whom to venerate, why and where.[2] A monastic hagiographical text did not just promote a saint but also the monastery where he or she was venerated. A narrative of a powerful saint signalled to the outside world that the monastery was well protected and could boast a direct link to heaven, something which would help draw pilgrims and novices and elicit donations from the laity. A successful hagiographical text could help a monastery to increase its prestige, labour force and economic resources, thereby strengthening the community's position as a regional nucleus of power.

Scholars have usually concentrated on authorial intent to uncover a text's specific function, usually asking what the text was supposed to achieve at the time it was made, who was involved, and why its scribe, author or patron chose its particular discourse. Such issues are often studied from edited texts, using a combination of internal evidence (the details present in a given text), external evidence (such as statements that the scribe/author/patron might have made about the text in a letter, prologue or other work) and contextual evidence.

This article will combine that approach with attention to the *manuscript context* in which these texts circulated. Because these were relatively short texts, they were usually bound together with numerous other texts dealing with other saints and/or subjects. This meant first of all that the various texts in a codex could have an influence on how a text was read and interpreted: a controversial text was sometimes almost hidden in a mass of innocuous material. The controversy could also be deliberately emphasised by bundling

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2   For example A.-M. Helvétius, 'Les inventions de reliques en Gaule du Nord (IXe-XIIIe siècle)', in: E. Bozóky and A.-M. Helvétius (eds.), *Les reliques: Objets, cultures, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4-6 Septembre 1997* (Turnhout 1999) 293-311; F. Prinz, 'Hagiographische Texte über Kult- und Wallfahrtsorte. Auftragsarbeit für Kultpropaganda, persönliche Motivation, Rolle der Mönche', *Hagiographica* 1 (1994) 17-42; Th. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge 1990) 184-187, 288-291.

together a number of polemic texts. Secondly, a manuscript's functionality depended on the speed with which manuscripts were produced and discarded. If a manuscript was meant to be used actively in a very specific crisis its general handling was likely to have been different from one that was meant to be used and reused for years or even centuries. Last but not least, earlier research has shown that between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries scribes came to realise that manuscripts could become more effective if they were tailored more explicitly to a specific audience, so manuscripts were growing ever more specialised.[3] It is thus important to study the evolving arts of hagiographical persuasion in a manuscript context.

This article will investigate the changing mechanics of hagiographic propaganda in manuscripts from the community of Stavelot-Malmedy. The two houses that made up this double monastery have been widely studied because of their turbulent history.[4] In the seventh century Bishop Remaclus had founded the abbey of Malmedy in the bishopric of Cologne, and shortly afterwards the abbey of Stavelot, only a few kilometres west of Malmedy, where he spent the rest of his life as abbot. His two abbeys disputed their relative importance: Malmedy claimed seniority because it was the elder foundation, whereas Stavelot countered that Remaclus had clearly indicated his preference for that abbey when he chose to live and die there. In 938 both abbeys began to be ruled by a single abbot, which gave the advantage to Stavelot and dismayed Malmedy's monks. They strove to elect their own abbot in 980, and in 1065 they managed to separate themselves from Stavelot.[5] However, Stavelot monks fought back, using the relics of Remaclus to reunite the houses in 1071. From that moment on the abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy was to remain a double monastery that became one of the region's most important institutions.

3   As has been shown in T. Snijders, *Ordinare & Communicare* (Unpublished dissertation, Ghent University, 2009 – to be published with Brepols as *Ordinare & Communicare: Writing, Designing and Transmitting Hagiographical Manuscripts in the Southern Low Countries, 900-1200*).

4   Among the various publications see Ph. George and J.-L. Kupper, 'Hagiographie et politique autour de l'an Mil: L'évêque de Liège Notger et l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy', in: É. Renard et al. (eds.), *Scribere sanctorum gesta: Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart* (Turnhout 2005) 441-450. See also Th. Vogtherr, *Der König und der Heilige. Heinrich IV., der heilige Remaklus und die Mönche des Doppelklosters Stablo-Malmedy* (München 1990); M. Margue,

'Aspects politiques de la "réforme" monastique en Lotharingie: Le cas des abbayes de Saint-Maximin de Trèves, de Stavelot-Malmedy et d'Echternach (934-973)', *Revue bénédictine* 98 (1988) 31-61; N. Schroeder, *Terra familiaque Remacli: Études sur le milieu social & matériel de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy, VIIe-XIVe siècle* (Unpublished dissertation, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2012); E.F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia 2013); as well as F. Baix, *Étude sur l'abbaye et principauté de Stavelot-Malmedy* (Paris 1924) and other publications by the same author.

5   Vogtherr, *Der König und der Heilige*, 6, 8, 10-11, 20.

Because both houses used the person of Remaclus as a primary argument in their rivalry the manuscripts from Stavelot-Malmedy are exceptionally suited to the investigation of the changing ways in which hagiographical manuscripts communicated ideological stances. The houses created a large number of what can be described as *patron saint libelli,* that is, libelli (manuscripts that treat a single subject) focusing on a community's patron saint, in this case, Remaclus.[6] Such manuscripts were prime vehicles of monastic propaganda because they were normally directed at more than one audience. On the saint's feast days a selection from the libellus was read aloud to the entire monastic community during Matins and local dignitaries would join the monks to attend Mass and listen to the readings in the refectory when the saint's life could be told in full.[7] The local populace would flock to the monastery to celebrate their saint's feast day and to hear a sermon based on the information in the libellus.[8]

The libelli were relevant to these various audiences because they contained stories about the monastery itself: they emphasised the saint's power, including the power of protection, and also the monastic community's age and its involvement in local affairs, establishing the abbey as an authority in the local community. They discouraged behaviour unsuitable for monks, gave examples of good conduct to the local people and sometimes explicitly encouraged pilgrimages and donations. The libelli were often executed as richly as the monastery could possibly afford, incorporating gold leaf initials and full-page miniatures that could impress a wide audience. Of all the manuscripts that were produced in a monastic scriptorium, the patron saint libellus was arguably the most intimately connected to the monastic community's sense of identity and power and was one of the most suitable means of communicating this to the outside world. It is therefore significant that the monastery of Stavelot-Malmedy created at least five of these libelli between 938 and 1247, whereas most other abbeys left only one or two.[9]

I will use Stavelot-Malmedy's manuscripts to investigate the changing ways in which patron saint libelli propagated their abbey's saint, in this case

6 See J.-C. Poulin, 'Les *libelli* dans l'édition hagiographique avant le XIIe siècle', in: M. Heinzelman (ed.), *Livrets, collections et texts: Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine* (Ostfildern 2006) 15-193.

7 'Gesta abbatum Trudonensium', in: G.H. Pertz (ed.), MGH Scriptores 10 (Hannover 1852) 276-277.

8 A. Poncelet (ed.), 'Vita Quinta Sancti Gisleni, sive Homilia, die ipsi sacro in coenobio Cellensi dicta', *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887) 257.

9 As is usual with this kind of research, there are insufficient sources to be able to estimate the losses of patron saint libelli over the centuries and it cannot be stated with certainty that the average monastery created no more than one or two of these libelli. However, it should be noted that none of the library catalogues from the monasteries studied here lists a patron saint libellus that was not included in this study. See A. Derolez et al., *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries* (Brussels 1994-2009).

Remaclus. We will see that these manuscripts changed quite profoundly as their propagandist aims grew ever more focused. The first libellus was a random and rather fragmented collection of texts about Remaclus that was not tailored to a well-defined audience. Subsequent libelli attempted to streamline these texts into a more user-friendly manuscript, in order to convince lay audiences and newcomers to the cult of the saint's worth more readily. From the late eleventh century onwards the monastery started to address specific points of contention in highly focused attempts to influence an audience's opinion. The patron saint libelli from Stavelot-Malmedy enable us to witness the slow maturing of the mechanics of manuscript propaganda in this specific context.

Because a case study inevitably raises questions of representativeness and agency, a final section of this article will compare the libelli from Stavelot-Malmedy with those that have been preserved from Benedictine monasteries in Liège and Flanders. These codices do not show the specific evolution of manuscript propaganda that we will see in Stavelot-Malmedy, which suggests that this is best explained by the activity of the Stavelot-Malmedy monks in the specific context of that double monastery. However, some of the choices that were made there were also made in other monasteries, albeit at other moments in time. Indeed, some of the most important strategies of manuscript propaganda in Stavelot-Malmedy – such as the tendency to cater for a very wide audience in early manuscripts, and the production of libelli as highly specialised problem-solving tools in later centuries – were to be found in a wide range of monastic communities.

Phase one: the libellus as a 'rallying point' for various audiences (938-980)

In 938 the German King, and later Emperor, Otto I gave the abbacy of his double monastery Stavelot-Malmedy to Odilon (938-954), a monk from Gorze, the centre of a monastic reform movement.[10] Odilon embraced the traditional tasks of a reform abbot and probably oversaw the production of the oldest preserved manuscript about Remaclus, Bamberg, *Staatsbibliothek*, Msc. Hist. 161 (E. III. 1) (henceforth the Bamberg manuscript).[11] The script and

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10 Margue, 'Aspects politiques', 44-45. For the Gorze reform (a tenth-century non-Cluniac reform movement that stressed asceticism and simplicity and which originated in the abbey of Gorze) see K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* 1-2 (Graz 1971); though the

general consensus is that Hallinger overestimated both Gorze's and Cluny's influence in the reform of several abbeys.

11 É. De Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique 2: La formation de l'église médiévale du milieu du Xe aux début du XIIe siècle* (Brussels 1945) 267-268.

construction of this sober manuscript indicate that it was produced around the first half of the tenth century in the scriptorium of Stavelot by a number of different scribes.[12]

The Bamberg manuscript was aimed at both lay and monastic audiences. It contained a homily written in uncomplicated Latin that targeted rich laymen, chastising landowners who oppressed their socially inferior neighbours in attempts to obtain their properties.[13] However, the same text also appealed to the emotions of Stavelot-Malmedy's monks, as it made much of Remaclus' exemplary abbatial virtues and called him 'pater monachorum' on various occasions.[14] Last but not least, the codex addressed Stavelot-Malmedy's elite monks with a collection of relatively technical Merovingian charters. When including them into the codex the scribes took pains to copy their original layout, including monograms and a notarial subscription.[15] These copies were produced for monks who knew enough of charters to recognise the genre on sight and were literate enough to decipher the formal Latin. The codex thus contained a range of genres that were aimed at highly divergent audiences.

In a way this manuscript was drawing the various audiences together. It was not meant to convince one well-defined group of a contested point about Saint Remaclus. Instead the manuscript functioned as a 'one-volume library' that must literally have contained all of the known texts about Saint Remaclus and the monastery's early history, so that everyone who was interested in some aspect of the history of Stavelot, Malmedy or Remaclus could find what they needed. It aimed to increase Remaclus' status and credibility as a saint among these divergent audiences, while at the same time explaining the close links between Remaclus, Stavelot and Malmedy. The Bamberg manuscript thus could have served as an element of Odilon's reform, at a time when divergent groups of people, lay as well as clerical, were learning to think of the two monasteries as one abbey.

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12   K. Rieger, 'Der Codex Stabulensis der k. Bibliothek zu Bamberg: Eine kritische Untersuchung', *Achter Jahresbericht über das k.k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien, Schuljahr 1881/82* (Vienna 1882) 20; P. Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford 1997) 192.

13   'Homila sancti Remacli (BHL 7118)', *Acta Sanctorum* Sep. I (Antwerp 1746) 727. For the BHL-numbers, see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Subsidia hagiographica 6) (Brussels 1898-1901).

14   'Vita Prima Remacli (BHL 7113-4)', *Acta Sanctorum* Sep. I (Antwerp 1746) 726.

15   The Bamberg manuscript, f. 8v. See M. Späth, 'Kopieren und Erinnern: Zur Rezeption von Urkundenlayouts und Siegelbildern in klösterlichen Kopialbüchern des Hochmittelalters', in: B. Bussmann (eds.), *Übertragungen, Formen und Konzepte von Reproduktion in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Berlin 2005) 101-128; G. Despy, 'Les chartes privées de l'abbaye de Stavelot pendant le haut moyen âge (748-991)', *Le Moyen Âge* 62 (1956) 249-277.

Phase two: thinking about manuscripts and audiences (954-986)

The second phase of hagiographical manuscript production in Stavelot-Malmedy was characterised by a period of reflection on the functionality of the Bamberg codex, and an attempt to improve its communicative properties. Abbot Odilon's successor Werinfried (954-986) quickly grew dissatisfied with the Bamberg manuscript.[16] He took the codex to Bishop Notger of Liège and asked him to rewrite it, although Notger probably handed the task over to his secretary Heriger.[17] When he had completed his work, he sent the text to Werinfried accompanied by a letter:

> [...] you offered me the libellus with the life of both your and our special patron, that is to say, Saint Remaclus. Yet you complained that it is shorter than is necessary, in view of the greatness of his deeds, because of the neglect of your predecessors. Simultaneously, you seemed to – I would not say beg, but rather exhort – me to not simply order someone to make a copy of a different length, but instead a version that is polished considerably more agreeably; and [you said] both that a large amount of his supposed deeds are available in a different source ('aliunde'); and that not a single notitia of those days, of which it is necessary to completely grasp their diversity, is missing from your cartulary.[18]

Werinfried thus had asked Notger to write a new, more polished *Life* of Saint Remaclus. In itself, such a request to enhance the style of an old vita was a well-known topos that could be used to mask all kinds of political and religious undercurrents. However, Werinfried had shown his exasperation with a very specific aspect of the *Vita Prima Remacli*, namely that it did not contain all the knowledge about the saint that was available 'in a different source'. This 'different source' referred to the other texts in the Bamberg manuscript, the Homily, the Miracles, and the collection of charters (known as a 'cartulary') in that same codex.[19] All the information was already available, it had just not yet been gathered together and presented as a 'more agreeably polished version' of Saint Remaclus' life. This was not a problem for the monks in Stavelot who

16 J.R. Webb, 'The Decrees of the Fathers and the Wisdom of the Ancients in Heriger of Lobbes' *Vita Remacli*', *Revue Bénédictine* 120:1 (2010) 35 n.14.

17 R.G. Babcock, 'Heriger or Notger?: The Authorship of the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, the *Vita Remacli*, and the *Vita Landoaldi*', *Latomus: Revue d'études latines* 68:4 (2009) 1027-1049.

18 Heriger of Lobbes and Anselm of Liège, 'Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium', in: MGH Scriptores 7 (Hannover 1846) 164; partial translation in Babcock, 'Heriger or Notger?', 1036-1037.

19 As has been argued by N. Mazeure, 'Le *Codex Stabulensis* et la recréation du passé à Stavelot-Malmedy à la fin du Xe s.: Une étude de la valorisation de sources diplomatiques dans l'hagiographie abbatiale', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 107:3-4 (2012) 863-896.

could consult all these texts at their leisure. However, the unsophisticated Bamberg manuscript was not suitable to convey the monastery's greatness to the lay audience that gathered at the monastery at the Feast of Saint Remaclus: it was far too sober in its execution to impress anyone. Moreover, unlike the monks, laymen were at the monastery for only a limited period and did not have the time to sit and listen to a reading of the entire manuscript, complete with charters.

Werinfried wanted to influence a lay audience, but needed a codex with a greater degree of user-friendliness for propaganda. As soon as Heriger had composed his *Vita Secunda Remacli*, it was copied into a new patron saint libellus, together with a slightly amended copy of the Bamberg miracle collection. It was the most lavish hagiographical manuscript in Stavelot-Malmedy's possession, written by an expert scribe in a very regular Caroline minuscule and illuminated with copious amounts of purple and gold leaf. Its visual splendour must certainly have helped to impress lay audiences, and thereby enhanced the worth of the manuscript's contents.[20] The codex has been preserved as Vatican City, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana,* Reg. Lat. 615 (henceforth, the Vatican manuscript).[21]

Whereas the Bamberg manuscript had functioned as a 'rallying point' for anyone who was interested in some part of Stavelot-Malmedy's early history, the Vatican manuscript was a far more refined instrument intended to convey the abbey's greatness. It could communicate crucial information about the monastery to laymen more efficiently and no longer attempted to address several audiences at once. It did so by focusing all attention on Saint Remaclus, summarising the important information about him in a single text, and providing the codex with a suitably rich appearance.

Phase three: increasing monastic status through traditional libelli (980-1065)

The third phase was a period of political turmoil during which the monks of Stavelot-Malmedy further experimented with the propagandist function of their manuscripts. In 980 the Malmedy monks tried to separate themselves from Stavelot by capitalising on a change in the abbatial election process. However the Emperor blocked their attempt by amending the election

20 A. Scharer, 'Buch und Heiligkeit: Überlegungen zur Frühzeit der Schriftlichkeit im angelsächsischen England', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 112:1-4 (2004) 80-91.

21 The Bamberg manuscript contains BHL 7120-7125 and 7127 (with an unusual paragraph order). The Vatican manuscript contains BHL 7120-7125 and 7127 with a paragraph order that conforms to the edition in the Acta Sanctorum, as well as BHL 7128 and 7129.

procedure.[22] These events were not fundamental enough to justify the production of a third patron saint libellus, nevertheless Abbot Ravenger (980-1008) added three charters that dealt with the monastery's election process and possessions to the old Bamberg codex.[23] This indicates that the Bamberg codex continued to be used as a cartulary and point of reference long after the Vatican codex had been produced, and that the two manuscripts functioned in sufficiently different contexts both to remain useful.

The Bamberg manuscript ceased to function as a cartulary under Abbot Bertram (1010/1011-1020). While his successor Poppo of Deinze (1020-1048) did not add any charters, he did enrich the codex with two full-page miniatures of Saint Remaclus, which made the codex into a more impressive object that could be shown to influential visitors[24], although there are no indications that the codex was used more intensively after his addition.

Poppo's successor Theodoric (1048-1080) undertook two attempts to shape local politics through the production of patron saint libelli. First, he tried to turn Poppo into a second patron saint for the community of Stavelot-Malmedy. His body was treated as if it were a relic; his memory was celebrated as if he was a saint and a *Vita* of Poppo was written and solemnly placed on his grave.[25] As perceived sanctity in this period was almost synonymous to 'true' sanctity this was an important step, but the veneration of 'St Poppo' never really became popular. Theodoric's second tactic concerned the propagation of Saint Remaclus' reputation. Between 1048 and 1071 he ordered a new copy of the Vatican manuscript, which has been preserved as Brussels, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale*, II 1180 (henceforth, the Brussels manuscript).[26] Theodoric did not intend this manuscript to replace its Vatican predecessor. The layout of the Brussels codex is quite sober when compared to its exemplar. It can boast no more than a couple of penwork initials executed in red ink, whereas the Vatican manuscript contained miniatures, purple backgrounds and letters in gold leaf. It would make little sense to replace a luxuriously executed manuscript with a functionally identical but sober copy. Secondly, the two manuscripts are almost identical in text with the exception of five miracles that were added at the end of the Brussels codex. These miracles took place under Abbots Odilon (938-954) and Ravenger (980-1008) and deal with the punishment of sinners – especially sinning monks. Thirdly, as we will see,

22 Vogtherr, *Der König und der Heilige*, 6, 8.

23 Rieger, 'Der Codex Stabulensis', 21.

24 According to M.-R. Lapière, *La lettre ornée dans les manuscrits mosans d'origine bénédictine (XIe-XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981) 253-257.

25 This Vita was probably started by Onulf around 1059 and finished by Everelm between 1065-1069. George, 'Un moine est mort', 505.

26 The codex is traditionally dated to 1048-1080. However, it was most likely produced before 1071. It was almost certainly a direct copy of the Vatican manuscript as there are hardly any variant readings. In or shortly after 1071, the *Triumph* of Remaclus was added to the Vatican manuscript, but this does not appear in the Brussels manuscript nor is there any reference to it there.

Saint Remaclus as bishop, mid-eleventh century miniature (Misc.Hist. 161 fol. 11v.).
Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg.

texts were still being added to the Vatican manuscript in 1071, so this codex was certainly not set aside as soon as the Brussels codex was completed.

To sum up, the Brussels codex was a sober but textually very precise copy of the Vatican manuscript, which suggests that Theodoric needed two manuscripts aimed at two different audiences. Revealingly, the library catalogue that was drawn up in Stavelot in 1105 suggests that at that time the monastery possessed only the Vatican codex.[27] Therefore, the Brussels codex must have been kept at a different location or have been given away between 1071 and 1105. Yet the codex did return to Stavelot eventually, as it was recorded as part of Stavelot-Malmedy's collection when it was acquired by the Brussels Royal Library. One explanation for this apparent paradox is that the Stavelot monks kept the Vatican codex for themselves but sent the Brussels codex to Malmedy. It is unclear to what extent the two houses possessed separate scriptoria and libraries, but it can be presumed that codices that were physically kept in Malmedy would not be included in the catalogue of Stavelot's manuscripts.[28] Furthermore, it would undoubtedly be useful for both houses to possess their own physical copy of their patron saint's deeds. Politically it would also have been expedient to send the monks of Malmedy a reminder of the ties that bound them to Stavelot, as the tensions between the two houses were rising once again. Theodoric might have produced a copy of the Vatican manuscript to remind his muttering monks of their shared patron saint and his might over sinners – and also, as the added miracles underline, over sinning monks. However, if Abbot Theodoric indeed had such a strategy in mind, it did not work. In July of 1065, the Emperor separated the houses of Stavelot and Malmedy, establishing the monks of Malmedy as an independent community for the first time since 938.

The third phase of patron saint propaganda in Stavelot-Malmedy was thus characterised by a process of trial-and-error in an attempt to shape

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27 The 1105 catalogue (ed. in A. Derolez, B. Victor and L. Reynhout, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries. 2: Provinces of Liège, Luxemburg and Namur* (Brussels 1994) 171) lists the following manuscripts: '[...] Vita sci Remacli noua. Item vita abbatis Popponis. Liber miraculorum eius cum vita abbatis Popponis'. The 'vita abbatis Popponis' most likely refers to the lost codex with the *Life* of Poppo that was produced between 1069 and 1080 (see n. 25 above), and the 'Liber miraculorum eius [sc. Remacli] cum vita abbatis Popponis' must refer to the Chantilly manuscript (cf. infra). The Bamberg manuscript is not listed here, as it could never

have been described as a 'vita sci Remacli nova' (it was probably given to Bishop Ulrick of Bamberg – see n. 31). *Vita sci Remacli noua* refers to either the Vatican or the Brussels manuscript. As the Vatican manuscript continued to be used in Stavelot (the *Triumph* of Remaclus was added to it around 1071, cf. infra), it seems likely that the Brussels manuscript had left Stavelot's library before 1105.

28 J. Stiennon, 'Le scriptorium et le domaine de l'abbaye de Malmedy du Xe siècle au début du XIIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 26 (1950-1951) 1-41.

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Sigebert III hands over the foundational charter of
Stavelot-Malmedy to Saint Remaclus, mid-eleventh
century miniature (Misc.Hist. 161 fol. 109v).
Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg.

the course of politics. On the one hand, political actions provoked ad-hoc manuscript reactions – for example, the conveyance of a privilege led to the inclusion of a charter in the Bamberg codex. On the other hand, the manuscripts were not just a by-product of political circumstances. There was a clear desire to manipulate events through manuscripts, actively using them as tools instead of passive reflections. The *Vita Popponis* was written as an attempt to provide the abbey with a second, contemporary patron saint. The Vatican and the Brussels manuscripts were both produced in the period before an attempt by the Malmedy monks to separate the houses and it seems likely that their portrayal of Remaclus was used as a means to bind the houses in an attempt to soothe these tensions and prevent drastic consequences.

It should be noted that the material aspects of both the Vatican and the Brussels codex were crucial to their function. The Vatican manuscript improved on its predecessor not only because of the 'more polished' vita of Remaclus, but also because it projected an image of the great might of Stavelot-Malmedy though lavish use of purple and gold leaf. The Brussels codex on the other hand, did not contain any significant new material about Remaclus, nor did it boast a lavish exterior, but by virtue of its material presence in their buildings probably served as a reminder to the monks of Malmedy. Abbots Werinfried and Theodoric did not focus primarily on the creation of propagandist *texts,* but on the creation of manuscripts as propaganda objects.

Phase four: managing crisis through ad-hoc manuscripts (1071-1105)

Six years after Malmedy had detached itself from Stavelot, the Stavelot monks took the relics of Saint Remaclus to the Holy Roman Emperor in an attempt to undo the separation. They achieved a great victory, which they recorded for future generations of their house as well as for an external audience. The unashamedly exultant story, which has come to be known as the *Triumphus sancti Remacli*, was quickly set down in a manuscript, which has not been preserved, for the benefit of the brothers of St.-Maur-des-Fosses who since 1134 had been linked to Stavelot in a community of prayer.[29] We know that the text was meant for that house because it opened with an explicit greeting to the Fosses brothers: 'To the brothers of the churches of God spread anywhere on the world, and especially the brothers of Fosses. The brothers of Stavelot would sincerely salute you and bring you into a good state of peace'. The word of Remaclus' great victory was thus spread without delay.

29 'Triumphus sancti Remacli (BHL 7140-7141)', MGH Scriptorum 11 (Hannover 1854) 433-461. Ph. George, 'Les confraternités de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire/Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 161 (1995) 114-115.

Not long after, a Stavelot scribe copied this *Triumph* in a codicological unit that he added to the old Vatican manuscript. For reasons that are difficult to ascertain, he included the greeting to the Fosses brothers in this copy that was meant for use in Stavelot.[30] He also added *lectiones* to the part of the text where Malmedy makes an unconditional surrender, so that he could be sure that the scene would be read aloud to the monks of Stavelot during Matins. This way the Stavelot monks were unashamedly celebrating their victory rather than trying to come to a reconciliation with Malmedy.

Between 1071 and 1105, a third manuscript with the *Triumph* was created, Chantilly, *Musée Condé*, 740 (henceforth, the Chantilly manuscript). It contained the Vita of Poppo as well as the *Triumph* of Remaclus. Together these texts emphasised the triumphs in Stavelot's most recent history. Lectiones were once again added to highlight the surrender of the Malmedy monks. Stavelot's abbot tried to capitalise further on Remaclus' success by giving some of his relics to the abbot of Helmarshausen, who introduced the feast of Remaclus in his monastery, and it would appear that the old Bamberg manuscript was donated to the bishops of Bamberg: the codex was no longer mentioned in Stavelot's 1105 library catalogue, and around 1125 Bishop Ulrick of Bamberg used it as an exemplar to copy several Stavelot-related charters.[31] The old manuscript was thus used to propagate Remaclus' great power and help spread his cult.

The fourth phase of patron saint libelli production differs greatly from the previous phases. Until 1071 Stavelot's patron saint libelli contained predominantly traditional texts. They focused on the life and deeds of Remaclus in the distant past and combined them with a series of contemporary miracles that focused on moral issues rather than the institutional history of the abbey. The three charters that Abbot Ravenger had added to the old Bamberg codex formed the only exception. However in the late eleventh-century crisis the monks' attention quickly shifted to texts that dealt primarily with contemporary institutional politics. They now started to produce texts that discussed Stavelot's immediate political and religious problems. These texts were added to the Vatican manuscript and read during Matins, but could either stand on their own or be combined with other contemporary texts, such as the *Life* of Poppo. These contemporary patron saint libelli no

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30   Remarkably the greeting in the Vatican manuscript was written by a scribe who stopped immediately after the word 'Fossatensibus'. The remainder of the *Triumph* was copied out by another scribe. Did one scribe start the scriptum with the intention of sending it to Fosses, but stop after the first couple of words, whereupon a second scribe finished the text and bound it together with the Vatican codex? It would be very uncharacteristic if they had intended to gift the luxurious Vatican manuscript to the brothers of Fosses.

31   J. Halkin and C.-G. Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmédy* I (Brussels 1909) xlv.

longer functioned in the background of the monastic community, binding monks and laymen to each other in their shared veneration of Saint Remaclus. Instead, they made assertive political statements about the controversy that surrounded the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy. As such, the new patron saint libelli were a much more explicit (if not necessarily more effective) form of propaganda.

None of these efforts seem to have targeted a lay audience, but focused on monks and clerics. It should also be noted that the Stavelot propaganda was no longer exclusively aimed at a local audience. Relics were given away, the Bamberg codex disappeared from the Stavelot library and a version of Remaclus' *Triumph* was probably sent to Fosses even before it was copied into the important Vatican codex.[32] If the concept of propaganda is defined as 'the public treatment (both oral and written) of contemporary controversies in order to influence views of a wider audience'[33], the years between 1071 and 1105 were indeed a propagandist highpoint for the monastery of Stavelot.

Phase five: the end of the libellus' general popularity (1105-1158)

In the wake of this great upsurge of propagandist strategies there was a sharp decline in the production of hagiographical codices in Stavelot-Malmedy. There are two likely explanations for this.

First of all, the beginning of the twelfth century was a challenging time for the abbey, with a series of abbots who were either externally appointed, controversial or downright disastrous.[34] This entire period sees a sudden drop in Stavelot's use of Remaclus to propagate the abbey's status in the eyes of the world. The monks wrote no new texts or manuscripts to celebrate their patron saint in any way, although the old codices probably remained in use.[35]

A second reason could be Abbot Wibald's instalment as abbot of Stavelot-Malmedy in 1130. The monastery flourished under his leadership, although he was almost continually away on campaigns and diplomatic missions for Emperor Lothair II and King Conrad III, and the Malmedy monks tried to capitalise on his absence by instigating yet another – failed – attempt

32 See n. 30 above.

33 See n. 1 above.

34 Berlière, 'Stavelot-Malmedy', 81-82: the externally appointed Abbot Poppo II of Beaumont was called 'loci nostri depopulator', Warnerus was never officially consecrated, Cuono was probably a good abbot but only led the abbey for four years and his successor Johannes of Reulandt for no more than two.

35 For example, a charter and administrative notes were added to the Chantilly manuscript – see N. Schroeder and A. Wilkin in collaboration with T. Snijders, 'Documents de gestion inédits provenant de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy et concernant les domaines de Lantremange, Jenneret et Louveigné (Xe-XIIe siècle)', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire,* forthcoming.

to separate themselves from Stavelot.[36] In contrast to his predecessors, Wibald did not try to use written hagiography as an instrument to redefine the relation between the two houses. He never ordered new texts to be written and the existing manuscripts were neither copied nor seriously amended. In fact the manuscripts that were produced under Wibald refer to Saint Remaclus only with the utmost caution. A prime example is London, *British Library*, 18032, which is a lectionary that contained short texts about the saints who were venerated in Stavelot and was meant for use within the monastery. Naturally, the manuscript also included a text about Remaclus, yet here the utmost care was taken not to touch upon even the smallest contentious issue; it recounts solely that Remaclus was born of virtuous parents and that he was an extremely virtuous man himself – without mentioning his foundation of Stavelot and Malmedy.[37] Apparently Wibald did not want to use texts about Remaclus as a tool either to bring the two abbeys closer together or to bolster Stavelot's reputation vis-à-vis Malmedy. Instead, his policy seems to have been to remove the written stories about Saint Remaclus from his abbey's discourse as far as possible, and instead propagate his monastery through the services of sculptors, goldsmiths and similar artists.[38] Wibald's devotion to Remaclus was undeniable, but it expressed itself in different media.[39]

The idea of propaganda through patron saint libelli thus disappears from Stavelot's agenda at the beginning of the twelfth century. Initially this might have been caused by the incessant problems that surrounded the abbatial elections, so that the abbots were never acknowledged as legitimate by all and might have lacked the time or the resources to invest in a new hagiographical project. In Wibald's period of office however, there was no lack of time, resources or legitimacy. There can be no doubt that the total absence of new texts and manuscripts about Remaclus was a conscious policy on his part. He might have reasoned that the previous codices had never seemed to have been effective in keeping the two abbeys together. Whatever his reasons, he largely abandoned the written form of hagiography.

Phase six: the libellus as an individual's project? (1158-1222/1247)

Patron saint libelli in Stavelot-Malmedy would never again regain the functional status they had in the late eleventh century. Abbot Erlebald, who was the brother and successor of Wibald, adopted a calculated approach to the use of Saint Remaclus. On the one hand, with great ceremony he buried his

36 Halkin and Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes* I, 331; Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König*, 221.

37 For example in London, British Library, 18032, fol. 16or ff.

38 Among the abundant literature on this subject see S. Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retabel: Kunst und Liturgie bei Wibald von Stablo* (Cologne 2004).

39 Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retabel*, 303 ff.

brother in front of Remaclus' altar, while on the other, he founded a hermitage in the village of My without making any overt reference to his patron saint. In the charter that confirmed the establishment, Remaclus plays only a subsidiary role: the authority invoked to defend the hermitage is that of the advocate – the secular lord who protected the abbey – rather than Remaclus.[40] I would argue that the contrast between the grandiose burial and the secular foundation illustrates the extent to which the use of Stavelot-Malmedy's patron saints had ceased to be a matter of course. Over the centuries their biographies had become connected to memories of past struggles, which turned them into the hagiographical equivalent of a primed grenade. They were to be used sparingly, and very cautiously.

Nevertheless, two new patron saint libelli were produced in Stavelot-Malmedy that might have played a unique role within the monastery. Around the end of the twelfth century two copies were made of the Chantilly manuscript. One has been lost, but contained the *Triumph* of Remaclus, his miracles, and a number of charters.[41] The second manuscript can be identified as Liège, *Archives de l'État*, Principauté de Stavelot 841 (henceforth, the Liège manuscript). It also contains the *Triumph* of Remaclus, combined with the *Life* of Poppo. The codex was soberly executed on parchment of inferior quality – nine out of the 53 folios were torn and had to be repaired before the scribe could start his writing work, there are numerous holes in the margins, and the illumination is limited to a few decorated initials. The text on the pages is very faded, suggesting that the manuscript was frequently used, or that its users were wont to touch the text. The manuscript was used at least up until 1222/1247.

In contrast to all previous patron saint libelli, it is unclear what kind of use the Liège manuscript might have had for the Stavelot-Malmedy community. The two houses were growing ever closer. They signed a treaty of peace, concord and unity in 1203, and joined together to combat the wave of inadequate abbots and the barrage of external foes that fell to their lot in the thirteenth century.[42] This sits uneasily with the triumphalist and combative nature of the *Triumph* and the *Life* of Poppo. Why would the late twelfth or early thirteenth century monks have made a sober copy of the Chantilly manuscript, which contained an essentially unsuccessful hagiographical project (as Poppo had never been sanctified)[43] and a triumphalist text that could only damage the relations between Stavelot and Malmedy?

One hypothesis would be that the manuscript served a somewhat bland memorial purpose. The Liège manuscript was bound together with

40 Halkin and Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes* I, 479.

41 See the appendix, nr. 9.

42 Villers, *Histoire chronologique des abbés-princes de Stavelot et Malmédy* I (Liège 1878) 145-146.

43 He was never widely added to calendars or litanies and the Liège manuscript refers to him as 'beati' (instead of 'sancti') Popponis.

the monastery's definitive cartulary, not long after these manuscripts were produced.[44] The combination of a cartulary with the *Triumph* and the *Life* of Poppo had a legal purpose, and might have been intended to showcase some of the abbey's historical highlights.[45]

A second hypothesis is that Abbot Erlebald ordered the production of this manuscript in order to propagate the idea of abbatial sanctity and connect it to contemporary issues.[46] The notion that an ideal abbot possessed saintly status was very much alive in Stavelot-Malmedy. Abbot Poppo had imitated Remaclus (who was buried in an oratory he had caused to be constructed) by requesting to be buried in a crypt that he himself had ordered built[47], and his biographers had emphasised the likenesses between Remaclus and Poppo, explaining that the two abbot-saints worked together as a team.[48] Erlebald in turn, had sanctified Abbot Wibald by his burial at Remaclus' altar. Furthermore, the format of a twelfth-century manuscript that contained a selection of Wibald's personal correspondence (225 x 140 mm.) was also used for the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Liège manuscript (222 x 145 mm.) and the early thirteenth-century cartulary (222 x 150 mm.) – which is noticeable in a library that never paid much attention to the homogeneity of its manuscripts.[49] It suggests that the three manuscripts belonged together. Depending on the exact dating of the Liège manuscript, it is possible that Erlebald tried to extend the idea of abbatial sainthood to his recently deceased brother by linking the Lives of Poppo and Remaclus to the letters written by Wibald, thereby elevating Wibald to the same status. Of course, Abbot Erlebald would have been the first person to gain from this tactic, as the centrality of the lineage in high medieval thought meant that to exalt Wibald was to exalt his entire family – and most particularly Erlebald, the biological brother who was also Wibald's spiritual successor.[50] For Erlebald, the propagation of Wibald's

44 My thanks to Nicolas Schroeder for bringing this to my attention; see the appendix nr. 8.

45 R. Sutherland-Harris, 'Authority, Text, and Genre in Accounts of Diocesan Struggle: The Bishops of Bath and Glastonbury and the Uses of Cartulary Evidence', in: S. Kangas, M. Korpiola and T. Ainonen (eds.), *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society* (Berlin 2013) 108-109, 112, 116.

46 See F. S. Paxton, '*Abbas* and *Rex*: Power and Authority in the Literature of Fleury, 987-1044', in: R.F. Berkhofer, A. Cooper and A.J. Kosto (eds.), *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350* (Aldershot 2005) 203-212.

47 For the importance of abbatial burials see S. Vanderputten, 'Death as a Symbolic Arena: Abbatial Leadership, Episcopal Authority and the "Ostentatious Death" of Richard of Saint-Vanne (d. 1046)', *Viator* 44 (2013) 29-48.

48 'Vita Popponis', 315; George, 'Un moine est mort', 504-505.

49 Liège, *Archives de l'État*, Fonds de Stavelot-Malmedy, I, 316; idem, Abbaye de Stavelot, 341.

50 For the importance of lineage and succession see A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut Des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum 2007) 200; G. Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt 1990) 55-76.

reputation through Remaclus and Poppo would have been a particularly effective way to legitimise his own position as abbot. Yet the initiative could also have taken by one of his successors – perhaps by the person who, during or following the abbacy of Frederik of Stein (1222-1247), physically bound the cartulary and the Liège manuscript together. In sum, it might be that the production of the Chantilly manuscript was motivated by highly individual considerations.

      The Liège manuscript was the last codex to be dedicated to Remaclus or Poppo. The interest of thirteenth-century monks in written texts about their patron saint waned very quickly. Henceforth, if they copied saints' lives at all, they would focus on spectacular contemporary figures such as Thomas Becket and Francis of Assisi. The last shift in the use of patron saint libelli in Stavelot was thus the gradual disappearance of the genre: first it ceased to be used for the purpose of collectivist propaganda and by the thirteenth century it stopped being used for all propaganda purposes. The genre had outlived its usefulness.

A comparative perspective

From a diachronic perspective, it is clear that the popularity of patron saint libelli in Stavelot-Malmedy was at a high point during the eleventh century. During this era the mechanics of manuscript communication had developed far enough to enable monks to produce libelli that dealt with very concrete problems, such as the threat of separation. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these combative libelli became less common. Surveying the five patron saint libelli that were produced in or for Stavelot-Malmedy, they can be classified into serving three functions:

I   They could function as a 'library' of texts that concerned the patron saint, serving as a 'rallying point' for readers of different abilities and interests.

II   They could be polished collections of texts that aimed, in general terms, at increasing the status of the patron saint and his abbey.

III   They could be collections of texts that used the patron saint to engage a very specific point of contention or to reach a very specific audience.

The Stavelot manuscripts show a very clear evolution from the first, via the second, to the third category. Having reached that point, they became dangerous to use. Even more importantly, the third category libelli treated such specific issues in such a way that they tended to lose their relevance much faster than the older libelli with their very general, almost timeless narratives. While the patron saint libelli from the second category were sometimes used for centuries on end, the third category libelli must have passed out of use fairly quickly. As a case in point, the information in Remaclus' *Triumph* was only ever incorporated in one other text, which points to a distinct lack of interest in the story, despite the abbot's attempts to spread the *Triumph* far and

wide.[51] This general disinterest finally heralded the end of the genre of patron saint libelli in Stavelot-Malmedy.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the extent to which the case of Stavelot-Malmedy is representative for the broader region. On the one hand, the number of libelli that have been preserved from Stavelot-Malmedy is extraordinary. This high conservation rate suggests that the abbey produced an above-average number of patron saint libelli, which would imply an above-average interest in this particular kind of manuscript. On the other hand, other abbeys also produced patron saint libelli. Several monasteries in the Southern Low Countries (the bishoprics of Liège, Arras/Cambrai, Tournai and Thérouanne) produced libelli of which one to three have been preserved.

Many of these libelli mix the three functions described above. The libelli from St.-Bertin, St.-Vaast and Bergues-Saint-Winnoc functioned as general propaganda vehicles filled with traditional texts (category II), sometimes interspersed with liturgical chants and homilies that were aimed at a lay audience (category I).[52] For example, the St.-Bertin codex featured the old *Life* of Saint Bertin, his Miracles and a collection of liturgical texts and chants for his feast day (hymns, antiphons, a mass and a sermon), together with the vitae of three other saints that were particularly important to the monastery.[53] Shortly after 1024 the monastery of Marchiennes produced a libellus with a slightly different structure. This codex was written in the aftermath of a drastic reform: the women who had always inhabited the monastery had been replaced by men. These men produced a patron saint libellus that was primarily intended to deal with the issue of having a female patron saint for a male community (category III) and consciously positioned itself as a 'rallying point' for the divergent inhabitants of the abbey (category I).[54] Thus it is obvious that the categories that are visible in the Stavelot manuscripts cannot always be as clearly distinguished in codices from other abbeys.

From the monastery of St.-Ghislain, three libelli have been preserved that can be classified into the categories distinguished above. The community first produced a category-II libellus between 1035 and 1075 that contained the traditional texts: the patron saint's Vita, his Miracles, a Sermon, and a part

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51 It was only reused in Gilles d'Orval's thirteenth-century adaptation of Heriger and Anselm's *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* according to E.F. Arnold, *Environment and the Shaping of Monastic Identity: Stavelot-Malmedy and the Medieval Ardennes* (Unpublished dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2006) 85.

52 Boulogne-sur-Mer, *Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)*, 107; Arras, *Bibliothèque Municipale (BM)*, 734; Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, 17. Arras, BM, 734 fol. 23v for example gives the rubric 'Omelia Albini levitae in die natalis sancti Vedasti pontificis, dicenda ad populum'.

53 Boulogne-sur-mer, BM, 107.

54 Snijders, 'Community and Diversity'.

from the *Life* of the abbey's first abbot.[55] During the thirteenth century they made a copy of this libellus. In the eleventh century they produced a slender codex that was meant to be read to laymen.[56] It featured a homily that was used for the benefit of those who came to celebrate Gislenus' annual feast day, as well as the story of the *inventio* of Giselenus' relics, a genre that is often seen as being aimed at lay audiences.[57] This libellus thus targeted a very specific audience and can best be classified under the third category.

The monastery of St.-Amand started to produce its first libellus, Valenciennes *Bibliothèque Municipale (*henceforth: *BM)* 502, shortly after the abbey had been destroyed by fire in 1066. The manuscript was meant to help raise enough money to rebuild the abbey, and it was probably carried around in a series of processions through the abbey's lands. It combined a number of traditional texts about the saint with a very thorough program of illumination, in which the saint's career was pictured step by step in a style that is reminiscent of a present-day comic book. It clearly aimed to impress the broadest possible lay audience and induce the laity to donate to the abbey (third category). The second codex, Valenciennes *BM* 501, was created around 1155. It contained mostly the same texts, but glossed over some points of the first manuscript that were sensitive for a monastic audience (such as the saint receiving his investiture from the Emperor) and the narrative illustrations were abandoned. Instead, the codex contains full-page miniatures that display the relationship between the saint and his biographer, with Saint Amandus dictating his story to author/scribe Baudemundus. These illustrations indicate a shift in audience away from the lay populace who were interested in Amandus' deeds towards a monastic audience who were interested in the broad meta-history of the text they were reading (second category). The monastery thus witnesses a shift from a category III-libellus to a more general category II. Finally, between 1170 and 1185 an updated version of the first libellus was made (Valenciennes *BM* 500). As the monastery had become much richer, the quality of the images improved and the miniatures were lavishly decorated with gold leaf. To increase its practical usability, the alternation between text and images was abandoned in favour of a manuscript that was divided into two codicological units. One unit contained the texts, whereas another unit, which might have been bound as a separate manuscript, contained the illustrations, so they could be shown to an audience while a monk was reading from the *Life* of Amandus. This codex thus aimed to increase the user-friendliness of its category-III predecessor.

55 Mons, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Mons-Hainaut* (henceforth: *BUMH*), 27/221; see T. Snijders, 'Manuscript Layout and Réécriture: A Reconstruction of the Manuscript Tradition of the Vita Secunda Gisleni', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire/Belgisch tijdschrift voor filologie en geschiedenis* 87:2 (2009) 215-237.

56 Mons, *BUMH*, 229/222; Mons, *BUMH*, 850.

57 Poncelet, 'Vita Quinta sive Homilia (BHL 3553)', 256-270.
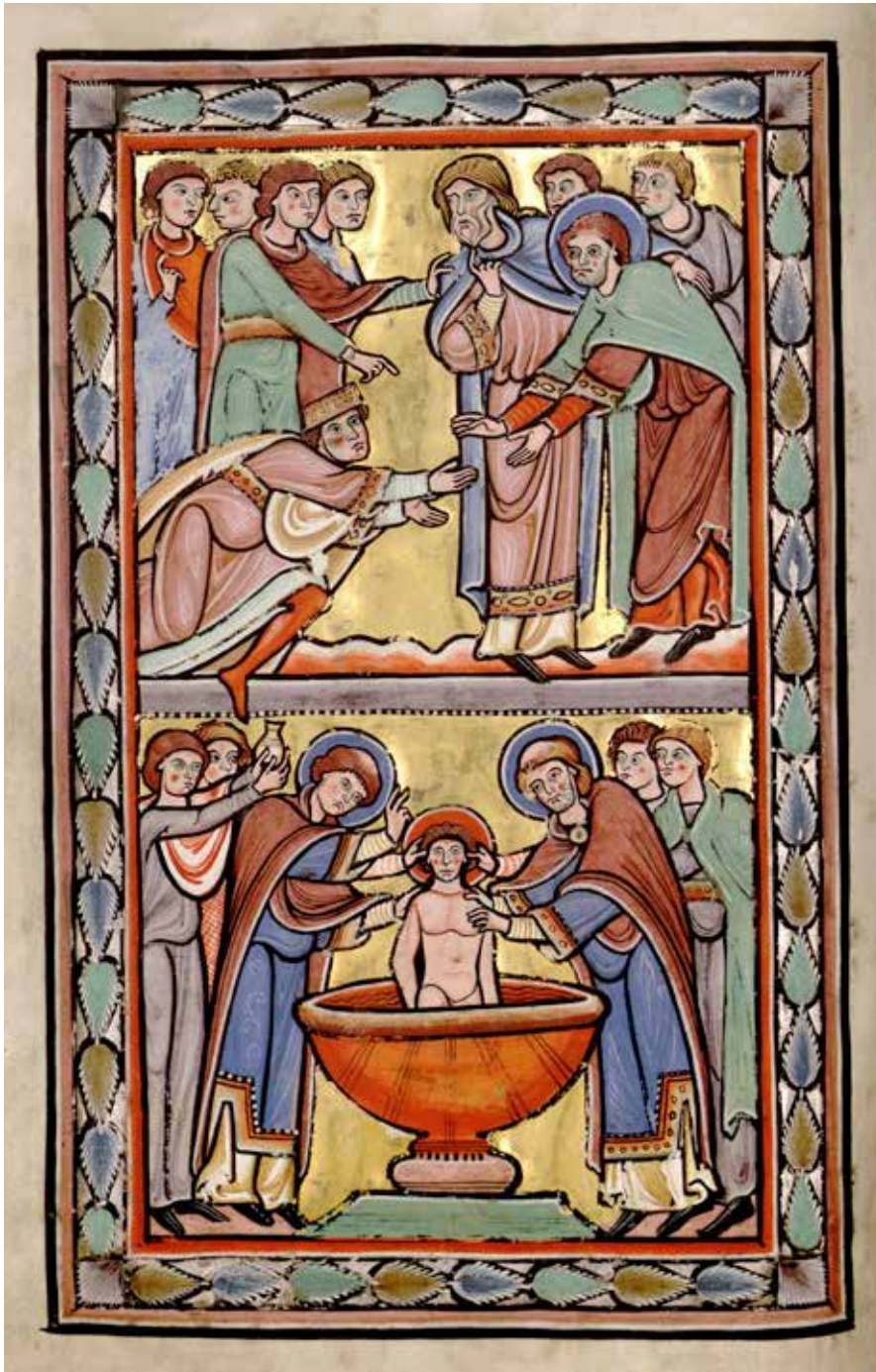
A lavishly decorated miniature from the updated version of the first libellus, produced between 1170 and 1185.
Troisième vie de Saint Amand.
Bibliothèque Municipale de Valenciennes - Cliché Arkhênum.

Comparing the Stavelot-Malmedy libelli with those from other monasteries, the first obvious conclusion is that the three broad categories that are present in Stavelot-Malmedy's manuscripts can also be discerned in manuscripts from other abbeys. This categorisation is thus a practical way to quickly classify the production of patron saint libelli. However, the evolution from libelli as 'rallying points' (I), to polished collections of traditional texts (II), to manuscripts that were aimed at a very specific controversy or audience (III) that is so clearly observable in the case of Stavelot-Malmedy is less obvious in other abbeys. In general, the monks tended to pick and choose the format that worked best for them in their particular situation.

Conclusion

Between 938 and 1247, the monks of Stavelot-Malmedy became convinced that a manuscript containing text about a patron saint could be used to help achieve some of the community's specific religious and/or political goals. The monks subsequently tried to improve upon the functionality of their patron saint libelli, which resulted in continual attempts to optimise the manuscript for the intended function.

This development in Stavelot-Malmedy echoes broader considerations of manuscript propaganda in this region, even though the exact chronologies often diverge. For example, the young community of Stavelot-Malmedy in 938 favoured a 'library-like' codex that could be used as a rallying point for various audiences, and the same strategy can be observed in 1024 Marchiennes. As these communities matured their older libelli tended to be discarded in favour of more polished codices with a traditional collection of vitae and miracles that were primarily directed at laymen who might be prevailed upon to support the community either financially or spiritually. In the eleventh century several communities that were confronted with a crisis produced a patron saint libellus as a problem-solving tool, shaping it to address a very specific point of contention and/or a well-defined audience, such as rich laymen, or the monastery of Malmedy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that tendency slowly disappeared, and the propaganda function of patron saint libelli once again shifted towards general and traditional codices. At the same time, the interest in these manuscripts started to wane all over the Southern Low Countries. This indicates that neither second nor third category libelli were now judged to be sufficiently effective tools of monastic propaganda to warrant the creation of new, updated codices. By the end of the thirteenth century the days of the patron saint libelli were largely over. ◄

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Appendices

Known libelli of Saint Remaclus

1. Bamberg, *Staatsbibliothek*, Msc. Hist. 161 (E.III.1)
Heterogeneous libellus, ca. 170 x 120 mm., 140 ff. created in Stavelot-Malmedy during the first half of the tenth century, probably under Abbot Odilon (938-954). The original parts of the codex were written by scribes 1, 4 and 5, but later hands added texts up until 996 (see Hoffmann for the identification of the hands — the entries indicated with a * indicate the later additions).[58] The writing area measures 116 x 77 mm. and contains 15 lines.

The text is written in sepia ink with red rubrics and lombards with some occasional use of green. Two full-page miniatures on ff. 11r-11v and 109v were probably added under Abbot Poppo (1020-1048).[59] The first depicts Saint Remaclus against a purple background, holding a Bible and blessing the reader, the second, receiving the foundational charter from Sigebert III, flanked by two clerical and two secular observers. The parchment is disfigured by holes and pores, but should be considered of good quality for its time. There are a few notes in the margins, as well indications for *lectiones*. I have not been able to check the codicological composition of this manuscript.

58   H. Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (MGH Schriften 39) (Hannover 1995) 138-139.

59   Lapière, *La lettre ornée dans les manuscrits mosans d'origine bénédictine (XIe-XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981) 253-257.

hand	BHL/Title	folios
1	Hymns for the feast of St Remaclus[60]	1r-4r
2	*Carmina* about the four evangelists	4v-5v*
2-3	Charter (996)[61]	5v-8v*
4	BHL 7113 – *Vita Prima s. Remacli*[62]	9r-9v
	[blank]	10r-10v*
	'Incipit vita vel actus almi antistitis Remacli quod est III non. sept.' with a full-page miniature of bishop Remaclus	11r-11v*
4	BHL 7113 – *Vita Prima s. Remacli*	12r-27r
	[blank]	27v
	[blank]	28r*
	'Incipiunt de miraculis eiusdem patroni nostri Remagli' with a full-page purple-and-gold initial	28v-29r*
	[blank]	29v*
	[blank]	30r-31r
4	'Incipiunt de miraculis eiusdem patroni nostri Remagli', followed by BHL 7120-2127 – *Miracula s. Remacli*[63]	31v-48r
5	BHL 7120-2127 – *Miracula s. Remacli*	48v-84v
6	'Venerabilis in Christo patribus' (added on an originally blank folio)	85r*
	[blank]	85v-86r
1	BHL 7118 – *Homilia in natale s. Remacli*[64]	86v-102v
6	'Quod multi testantur usque in hodiernum diem'	103r*
7	Charter (814)	103v-108r*
	[blank]	108v-109r*
	Full-page miniature of Abbot Remaclus receiving a charter	109v*
4	Charters (648, 651, 650, 667, 692, 681, and 644)	110r-131r
	[blank]	131v-133r
8	Charters (953, 987, and 980)	133v-140v*

60 Rieger, 'Der Codex Stabulensis', 29-30.

61 All charters have been edited in Halkin and Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes l*.

62 'Vita Prima Remacli (BHL 7113-4)', 692-696.

63 'Miraculi sancti Remacli: *Liber primus* (saec. IX med.) (BHL 7120-25) and *Liber secundus* (saec. IX extr.- X) (BHL 7126-7138)', *Acta Sanctorum* Sep. 1 (Antwerp 1746) 696-721. BHL 7127 in the manuscript has some paragraphs in a different order from the edition and ends with note m.

64 'Homila sancti Remacli (BHL 7118)', 725-728.

2. Vatican City, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Reg.Lat. 615

Heterogeneous libellus, 192 x 139 mm., 144 ff. created in Stavelot-Malmedy (or possibly Lobbes) during the second half of the tenth century; probably under Abbot Werinfried of Stavelot (954-986). It is probably nr. 63 of the Stavelot catalogue from 1105: 'Vita sancti Remacli nova'.[65] The writing area measures 130 x 85 mm., containing 17 lines.

The text is written in sepia ink, in a very regular, rounded Caroline minuscule. Initials and lombards are done in purple and gold leaf, with some occasional use of red. Many paragraph initials are zoomorphic or anthropomorphic in nature. The first line of a text is usually written in gold letters. The parchment is of excellent quality. There are frequent indications for *lectiones* in the margins.

The manuscript consists of three codicological units (abb. 'c.u.' in the table below), defined as 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation [...] containing a complete text or set of texts'.[66] A codicological unit cannot be split into separate quires or folios without visibly disturbing the text. In this manuscript, the first two units were original and have always belonged together. They run from 1r to 80r and from 81r to 97v. The third unit was added to the codex in or shortly after 1071 (ff. 98r-144r).

c.u.	hand	BHL/Title	folios
1		Note on the three daughters of Anna who were called Mary	1r*
		[blank]	1v-2r*
	9-11	BHL 7115-7116 — *Vita Secunda s. Remacli*[67]	3r-50r
	10	BHL 7120-7125 — *Miracula s. Remacli*	51v-80r
2	10	BHL 7127-7129 — *Miracula s. Remacli*	81r-92r
		[blank]	92v-93r
	10	BHL 7129 — *Miracula s. Remacli*	93v-94v
		[blank]	95r-97v
3	12-13	BHL 7140-7141 — *Triumphus s. Remacli*[68]	98r-144r*

3. Brussels, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale*, II 2611

Libellus of 46 ff., created in the eleventh century in Saint-Maximin of Trèves. Contains the *Vita Prima s. Remacli* (BHL 7114) and the *Miracula s. Remacli* (BHL 7120-7128, but with two missing folios at the end).[69]

4. Sankt Gallen, *Stiftsbibliothek*, 571

Manuscript of 293 ff., a composite volume of five libelli from the ninth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The second libellus (179r-212v) was created towards the end of the eleventh century

65 Derolez, Victor and Reynhout, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii* 2, 171.

66 J.P. Gumbert, 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', *Segno e Testo: International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission* 2 (2004) 40.

67 Heriger/Notker of Liège, 'Vita Secunda Remacli (BHL 7115-6)', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 7 (Hannover 1846) 180-189.

68 'Triumphus sancti Remacli (BHL 7140-1)', 433-461.

69 Poulin, 'Les *libelli*', 142.

and contains the *Vita Secunda s. Remacli* (BHL 7115-7116), the *Homilia in natale s. Remacli* (BHL 7118) and a prayer for Remaclus.[70] There are no indications of the scriptorium where this libellus may have been produced.

5. Brussels, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale*, II 1180

Homogeneous libellus, 308 x 224 mm., 65 ff. (first folio is missing), created in Stavelot-Malmedy between 1048 and 1080, most probably before 1071. The codex was written by one hand, though later scribes have added a 'Processio in monasterio Stabulensi anno 1509' and a collection of medical recipes. The writing area measures 199 x 138 mm., containing 20 lines.

The text is written in sepia ink with red initials and lombards. There is no further illumination. The parchment is of reasonable quality, but with highly visible pores (especially on f. 23). There are a few 'nota bene' and similar marginal signs.

hand	BHL/Title	folios
14	BHL 7115-7116 — *Vita Secunda s. Remacli*	1r-24r
14	BHL 7120-7137 — *Miracula s. Remacli*	24r-64r
	Processio in monasterio Stabulensi anno 1509	64v*
	Medical recipes	65r*

6. An unidentified manuscript

An unidentified (probably lost) manuscript that contained the *Triumphus sancti Remacli* (BHL 7140-7141) was probably created in Stavelot and sent to the abbey of St.-Maur-des-Fosses.

7. Chantilly, *Musée Condé*, 740

Homogeneous libellus, 245 x 172 mm., 71 ff. created in Stavelot-Malmedy in or after 1071. It is probably nr. 64 of the Stavelot catalogue from 1105: 'Liber miraculorum eius [s. Remacli] cum vita abbatis Popponis'.[71] The codex was written by one hand, though later scribes have added a charter from 1133 and several administrative notes. The writing area measures two columns of 191 x 60 mm., containing 26 lines.

The text is written in sepia ink with decorated red initials (although most remained incomplete) and red rubrics. The parchment is of reasonable quality, without many holes or pores, but heavily discoloured. There are a few *lectiones* noted in the margin.

70   Poulin, 'Les *libelli*', 142; see also http://www.
     manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/
     objeCod_csg-0571.

71   Derolez, Victor and Reynhout, *Corpus catalogorum
     Belgii* 2, 171.

hand	BHL/Title	folios
	Charter from 1133 (Abbot Wibald)	1r*
15	BHL 7141 – *Triumphus s. Remacli*	1v-37v
15	BHL 6898 – *Vita Popponis*	38v-71r
	Administrative notes[72]	71r-71v*

8. Liège, *Archives de l'État*, Principauté de Stavelot 841

Homogeneous libellus, 222 x 145 mm., 55 ff. created in Stavelot-Malmedy during the last half of the twelfth or the first quarter of the thirteenth century. A list of abbots was added on a loose single leaf (2r) and was maintained by its original scribe until the abbacy of Nicolas (1246-1248). Halkin has noted that this manuscript was bound together with the Stavelot Cartulary (Liège, Archives de l'État, Fonds de Stavelot-Malmedy, I, 316).[73] It sports a running headline LI BER SCI RE MA CLI — QUI AB STU LE RIT ANA THE MA SIT, not in the hand of the original scribe. The writing area measures 185 x 110 mm., with 29 lines.

The text is written in sepia ink with decorated red initials and rubrics. The ink is very faded, making parts of the text practically illegible without the aid of ultraviolet light. The parchment is of mediocre quality, with frequent tears that have been stitched before the scribe began his work. There are no significant marginal notes.

c.u.	hand	BHL/Title	folios
1		Nomina abbatum Stabulensium (maintained until 1246-1248)	2r*
2	16	BHL 7141 – *Triumphus s. Remacli*	3r-31r
	16	BHL 6898 – *Vita Popponis*	31r-55r

9. An unidentified manuscript of Edouard Crahay

In 1909, Halkin and Roland noted that Edouard Crahay (1872-1945), Professor at the University of Liège, possessed 'un volume in-4° sur parchemin, de cent et seize feuillets non paginés, comprenant différents écrits de plusieurs mains de la fin du XIIe siècle ou du commencement du XIIIe. Il contient, entre autres, une copie du *Triumphus sancti Remacli* [...]. Puis suivent les deux livres des *Miracula sancti Remacli*. Ce Codex nous a procuré sept documents diplomatiques du XIIe siècle, que nous n'avons pas trouvés ailleurs: ce sont les nos 240, 268, 270, 274, 279, 289'.[74]

72 See N. Schroeder and A. Wilkin in collaboration with T. Snijders, 'Documents de gestion inédits provenant de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy et concernant les domaines de Lantremange, Jenneret et Louveigné (Xe-XIIe siècle)', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire,* forthcoming.

73 See Halkin and Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes I,* I; and J. Halkin, 'Inventaire des archives de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy conservées à Düsseldorf, Bruxelles, Liège, Londres, Berlin, Paris, Hanau, etc.', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire/ Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* Ser. 5, vol. 7 (1897) 239. Translation of the running headline: 'Book of saint Remaclus [Stavelot-Malmedy]. Whoever should steal it, shall be cursed'.

74 Halkin and Roland (eds.), *Recueil des chartes I,* xlviii-xlix.