

Echoes of Benedictine Reform in an Eleventh-Century Booklist from Marchiennes.

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Echoes of Benedictine Reform in an Eleventh-century Booklist from Marchiennes

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Texte intégral

OF BENEDICTINE REFORM IN AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ECHOES FROM MARCHIENNES * BOOKLIST

the medieval codices preserved in the Bibliotheca Bollandiana in Brussels , the eleventh-century Among ms . 506 is commonly attributed to the scriptorium of Marchiennes , a monastery on the southern border of the county of Flanders (1) . Comprising mostly hagiographical situated narratives , the volume is a composite of at least three originally unassociated sections (2) . such section in particular merits closer scrutiny , as it contains a *Descriptio librorum sancte* ² One or booklist of the aforementioned monastery . As well as presenting the first critical *Rictrudis*

of this list (3) , we shall argue that it can be dated with some confidence to shortly edition 1024 , when followers of the noted reformer Richard of Saint-Vanne († 1046) evicted after residing female community and replaced it by a group of Benedictine monks . As such , it the represent a unique , albeit certainly partial , look into the library of a newly-installed may of Benedictines and thus an indication of the kind of books considered acceptable community perhaps even essential to such groups by the monastic reformers of the early eleventh or booklist , whose title and its reference to Saint Rictrudis dispel any doubts regarding The origins (4) , is preserved on folio 51 verso , at the end of a mistakenly rearranged codicolog-its unit (folios 35-51 , with some folios in jumbled order as the result of a binding error) (5) . ical in one hand , it may be incomplete , as the final two leaves of the quire have been cut Written

Contents and scope of the *Descriptio librorum sancte Rictrudis*

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century .

out and the final entry of the list appears to have been erased (6) . What remains to us covers

small but respectable collection of thirty-seven volumes , corresponding to at least part of a non-liturgical sections of the monastic library and omitting any books that might have

the to the unattested schola . Nearly all of the books listed are immediately relevant to belonged life of contemplation . Bible commentaries (including Saint Augustine ' ' s commentary on a , Gregory the Great ' ' s Moralia in Job , Paterius ' ' Liber testimoniorum veteris et novi testamenti John and Haimo of Auxerre ' ' s commentaries on Isaiah and the Letters of Paul) are comple-by a small , conservative selection of homiletic texts (including works by Augustine , mented , Bede and several anonymous collections) and various other treatises (Bede ' ' s De ta-Gregory

et vasis eius ac vestibus sacerdotum , Isidore of Seville ' ' s Synonymorum de lamentatione bernaculo peccatricis libri duo and Paschasius Radbertus ' ' Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini), animae

of which (for instance Gregory ' ' s Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam) were written specifically some for a monastic audience . Another , significant group of books deal specifically with monastic vocation : Smaragdus ' ' Diadema monachorum (and perhaps also his commentary the the Rule of Saint Benedict) and Ephraim Syrus ' ' De humilitate vel opere monachorum are on in the list by no less than three copies of the Regula Benedicti itself . joined emphasis on works that carried immediate relevance to a monastic audience is also The in the hagiographical volumes , which contained Lives and Passions of saints especially reflected venerated at the abbey (Rictrudis , Jonatus) and other figures who were considered for their involvement in regional monasticism (Amandus , Vedastus) or , as in the important of Saint Antony and Basil , in the origins of monastic life itself . No volumes with Bib-cases texts are listed , except for an Acta apostolorum that ostensibly merited its inclusion lical of its formal resemblance to hagiographical narratives . Works of scientific or literary because are also absent , but their actual presence in the eleventh-century collection of interest is evidently less certain than that of Biblical manuscripts . While it is impossible Marchiennes assess the exact relation between the contents of the list and the scope of Marchiennes ' ' to collection , the compiler ' ' s interest in demonstrating the ideological homogeneity and book characteristics of the script allow dating of the booklist to the first half of Palaeographic eleventh century . Any attempt to narrow this down raises a number of questions pertain- the to context . As noted above , the list betrays its makers ' ' focus on works immediately relevaning to a monastic audience . The three copies of the Regula Benedicti and what may be ' ' commentary on that text also reveals their strong emphasis on the Benedictine Smaragdus of the regime imposed on the community of Marchiennes . While this may seem a character observation given the list ' ' s origins , a closer look at the history of the abbey self-evident its significance . reveals

A reformist booklist ?

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Benedictine orientation of the monastic library is evident (7).

around 640 as a double monastery, Marchiennes' first centuries are largely founded by a lack of sources and by extensive campaigns of historical revisionism in the obscured and twelfth centuries (8). We do know, however, that by the late tenth century, eleventh monks had disappeared, and that the abbey essentially comprised a fairly modest community of nuns, assisted perhaps by a number of canons (9). It is not clear under what monastic rule the nuns lived. The absence of female Benedictine communities in the Southern Low until the reform of Denain (currently in the French Département du Nord, Région Countries) around 1024-1025 (10) and the foundation of Messines (currently Belgian Nord-Pas-de-Calais) in 1065 (11) may suggest that they followed one of the many «mixed» rules West-Flanders of the early and high medieval period. In 1024, Leduinus of Saint-Vaast evicted the typical from the monastery and replaced them by Benedictine monks (12). The reform of nuns took place in the context of the «Lotharingian reform movement» initiated Marchiennes decades earlier by Richard, abbot of Saint-Vanne in Verdun. Through his personal two, those of his followers (the most notable of which were Leduinus and Poppo of Stavelot) and of the numerous lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries who recognized the spiritual and lot benefits of the reforms, religious communities throughout the region were forcibly political and or re-acquainted with the Benedictine conception of monastic life (13). In the case of Marchiennes, the initiative for such a drastic intervention in the life of the community was taken by Bishop Gerard of Cambrai (1012-1051), who had already shown his keen interest in working with the Richardian reformers (14). We are relatively well-informed as to what happened to the reformed communities. While an institutional point of view, little is known about the exact implications of the reforms from

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internal life. As several scholars have argued, Richard of Saint-Vanne's initial concern for newly-reformed houses was to guarantee their economic and institutional viability before with matters relating to discipline, study and divine worship (15). Contemporary sources addressing fact only implicitly refer to what aspects of Benedictine life were prioritized by the reformers, noting their attention to humility, piety and obedience (16). Relatively little is also known as to what the reforms meant to literary life, book production and the management of libraries. Apparently Richard, although a learned man and a keen promoter of monastic education, was no bibliophile and was primarily concerned with the availability of liturgical handbooks (17) and the basic biblical and patristic texts for monastic use (18). For this reason he encouraged his followers to stimulate the activities of monastic scriptoria (19) and fostered exchanges and manuscripts and technical know-how between reformed houses (20). In 1008, shortly after he had become abbot of Saint-Vaast, Richard sent for Rothard, a scribe originating from Liege, who had been working for some time at the mother abbey in Verdun. During his subsequent abbacy of Lobbes (1020-1032), Rothard followed him and produced a number of important manuscripts, thereby illustrating the implications of Richard's

leadership number the development of book production in the reformed monasteries (21). There is also some for of innovations in the production of manuscripts for liturgical use, more specifically evidence that of giant bibles with what Reilly describes as «idiosyncratic characteristics clearly in for internal choir and refectory reading» (22). meant lack of evidence also makes it difficult to know what books the reformers found essential A the reformed communities, and if their attitudes to monastic book use were in any way to. From Richard's mother abbey of Saint-Vanne in Verdun eighteen manuscripts innovative before the twelfth century have been identified, most of which date from the first decades from after the reforms of 1004. Although significantly lacking in works by Gregory the Great

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and by pagan authors, their contents indicate that reformed monastic life relied on a tradi-

mixture of biblical and patristic literature (23): Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of tional and John Chrysostomus; Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Alcuin's *De Trinitate*, Nazianze by mathematical and astronomical treatises, Benedict of Aniane's *Concordantia* complemented, a handbook of ecclesiastical law, modest treatises on doctrine and catechization, *regularum*

evangelary, a florilegium and a collection of hagiographical narratives (24). Although these an offer but a fragmentary look into the early-eleventh-century additions to the manuscripts of Saint-Vanne, they at least indicate that Richard strove to create a core collection library was hardly different from the one found in most other monasteries. However the fact that so few contemporary booklists or modern catalogues of manuscripts are available makes that difficult to verify this and to perform research on the impact of the reforms on other it. From Lobbes we have an extensive catalogue of the conventual library dated communities (25). Although it is certainly one of the most important eleventh-century documents of 1049 kind, its contents withstand attempts to discern significant additions or changes made to this collection during and after Richard's abbacy and to associate them with the ideology of the reforms. Catalogues and booklists from the monasteries Saint-Amand (26), Saint-Vaast in the (27) and Saint-Laurent in Lie`ge (28), all three of which were directly involved in the Arras, date from the twelfth century and present the same methodological problems as reforms list from Lobbes. the is what makes the Marchiennes list so important. If the dating of after 1024 holds This, it provides new evidence to understand the priorities given by Richard and his fol-water as far as the intellectual and disciplinary life in the reformed monasteries was concernelowers. Fortunately, both the list itself and the manuscript in which it has been preserved some clues that allow us to suggest a date of shortly after the reforms. Evidence contain to the list comes from the context in which the manuscript saw the light. Although external. 506 is a miscellaneous collection with several unassociated

sections (29), the booklist is ms of a coherent codicological unit including, among other texts, an office for Saint Mauron-part (30). According to Karine Uge ´, Maurontus, a son of Rictrudis whose role in the history of tus is decidedly secondary to that of its female patroness, was promoted in the Marchiennes

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of the reforms to provide the monks with a male tutelary saint (31). To support this aftermath, a Life collated from various relevant passages in the hagiography of his mother was strategy written around this time (32). It does not seem too far-fetched to assume that the apparently, which was based on the earlier text, saw the light shortly afterwards. Since the book-office was written in the same hand as the office, and given the dating of the script, both sectionlist of the manuscript are likely to have originated in the second quarter of the eleventh, during the first years of Maurontus' cult at Marchiennes. century saint relevant to dating the booklist is Jonatus († circa 690), according to tradition Another first abbot of Marchiennes (33). A manuscript with his Life is mentioned near the end of the list, in an entry that undoubtedly refers to a text known as the *Lectiones in commemora-*

et transitu Sancti Ionati confessoris qui celebratur kalendis Augusti (BHL 4447-4448), a *tion*

compiled, but perhaps not entirely written, in the early eleventh century (34). The narrative part of this text, which describes the invention of Jonatus' relics and his elevation second the late-tenth-century abbess Judith, most likely dates from shortly after the reform under 1024 or was interpolated around that time, as it explicitly indicates that the female community of of Marchiennes no longer existed. Two copies of this version of the *Lectiones* have preserved, both of which allow for a dating of 1024-1050. While the first comes from been (35), the other was produced at Marchiennes itself and contains a unique series Saint-Ghislain miniatures, one of which represents Jonatus together with patroness Rictrudis and Maurontus of (36). This image suggests that Jonatus was given a treatment similar to that of Maurontus, it is also notable because of the absence of Saint Eusebia, Rictrudis' daughter and former while abbess of Hamage, who traditionally had held a position of greater importance in the (37). This may mirror a deliberate attempt on the part of the author of the booklist monastery underplay the significance of female saints and promote the cult of male counterparts. In to of the promotion of Jonatus' cult shortly after the reforms (the result of which is perhaps light referred to in n. 29 in the booklist), the mere fact of his name appearing in the list

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of that of Eusebia (38) also gives further credence to a dating for the booklist of instead after the reforms. shortly, the presence in the list of both the Life of Vedastus, who, contrary to Amandus, finally not known in hagiography to have any formal connection with Rictrudis and her family, was perhaps useful as further indication of the time and context in which the list originated. is both saints were patrons of communities that had preceded Marchiennes in the While, ties were especially strong with the monastery of Saint-Vaast. Abbot Leduinus was reforms former monk of this house, as were his four successors, who led the community of Mar-a until the final decade of the eleventh century (39). The significance given to Vedastus chiennes reflect the personal affinities of the abbots and is undoubtedly revelatory in light of the may that locally venerated female saints such as Eusebia, Clotsendis and Adalsendis are not fact mentioned in the list. The inclusion of Vedastus may also reflect exchanges between explicitly monasteries on a much broader scale. When in 1045 Gerewinus of Saint-Vanne was reformed abbot of Saint-Ricquier, he brought with him thirty-six manuscripts (40). One of appointed was a miscellaneous collection of hagiographical texts, including the Life of Vedastus, these of Bertinus, patron of the abbey of Saint-Bertin (reformed in 1021 by Roderic, a monk that Saint-Vaast) and finally that of Bavo, patron of Saint-Bavon in Ghent (where Leduinus of abbot in 1034-1035 / 6) (41). Hagiographical narratives concerning patrons of reformed was were thus widely circulated in reformist circles, and the fact that Vedastus turns up houses the list from Marchiennes may be a reflection of practices of text echange that transcended in particular saint ' s popularity with the monks of Saint-Vaast. this firm evidence thus remains elusive, the presence of an office for Maurontus in the Although codex and in the same hand as the booklist, the explicit mention of Lives of Jonatus same Vedastus (and not of Eusebia), the likely reference to a manuscript that mentions the and of the female community and the emphasis on works dealing with primitive and abolition monasticism all support a tentative dating for the list to the second quarter of Benedictine eleventh century. The suggested dating does not imply that the pre-reform collection of the was replaced in toto by a new one: while a number of volumes were created in the books of the reforms (for example the Marchiennes copy of the Lectiones of Jonatus) aftermath older volumes were dismantled and reassembled to create new books considered suitable and use by the new communities (ms. 506 itself being the most notable example), the concordances for in the edition show that at least a few may have belonged to the pre-reform library of (42) or, it might be hypothesized, to that of any monastery from which the Marchiennes worked (a notable example is Douai, Bibliothe` que Municipale, 14, a ninth-century reformers possibly identical to number 25 in the list). The dramatic circumstances of the eforms volume Marchiennes should also prevent us from extrapolating the conclusions one might draw in

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from this list to other houses . Communities like Lobbes , where the transition to a new regime was less eventful or where a rich library was already in place , nurtured a more complicated relation with their past and with their former book collections , and this is likely to have had repercussions on the nature and composition of the libraries at these institutions once they were reformed . However there is no question that attempts to ground life in the abbey in principles of reformed monasticism would have found a solid basis in the reading of the thematically focused collection of books listed on folio 51v ° of ms . 506 . Assuming that the dating is correct , the Marchiennes booklist constitutes a unique , albeit incomplete , glimpse of the earlyeleventh-century library of a monastery at the start of a new phase in its existence . The unusual history of this community and the opportunity to work from a clean disciplinary slate in any case help to explain the homogeneity of the list (which , it should be emphasised , does not necessarily reflect the composition of the actual book collection) , shedding light on one specific instance where the reformers had selected works of immediate relevance to the collective and individual reading of a newly-established community of Benedictines . It is also tempting , albeit perhaps premature , to relate the conservative contents of the booklist directly to the ideology of the reforms , and for the first time use a contemporary source to explicitly identify it as Benedictine . Steven Vanderputten and Tjamke Snijders

: Brussels , Bibliotheca Bollandiana , 506 , f. 51v ° (Marchiennes , most likely c . 1024-50).
Manuscript edition : H . Moretus , «Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum
Bibliothe-Previous

cae Bollandianae » , *Analecta Bollandiana* , 24 (1905) , p . 466-467 . Although Moretus ' ' edition offers a number of concordances with surviving manuscripts from the library of Marchiennes , it fails to identify the texts and does not suggest a dating beyond one that places the list in the eleventh or twelfth century . In the present edition , the two columns to the right indicate whether the volume listed on that line is traceable in either or both of two later booklists , while the notes include references to extant codices that may be matched with varying degrees of certainty to those mentioned in the list . The other booklists used are a catalogue from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (comprising 116 titles) (43) and a list edited in 1641 by Antonius Sanderus (135 titles) (44) . Pending further research into the extant tenth-and early eleventh-century manuscripts from this abbey (a number of which are heterogeneous collections manufactured from various , unassociated codices) (45) , the following table is a first attempt at tracing the history of these and other volumes .

- 2) Expositio Gregorii pape² in Ihezechiele (47) x x (
- 3) Pars prima expositionis eiusdem Gregorii de moralibus in alio libro (48) x (
- 4) Tertiaque pars sive quarta earundem moralium in alio x x (
- 5) Deinde novissima in altero x x (
- 6-7) Haimonis expositio super epistolas Pauli in duobus libris (49) x x (
- 8) Omeliae Gregorii de evangeliis in uno libro (50) x (
- 9) Item omelie² Bede² presbyteri legende² per revolutionem anni (51) in x ? (
- 11) Liber Paterii (54) x (
- 12) Expositio Haimonis super Isaiam (55) x x (
- 13) Expositio Bede² de Tabernaculo Domini (56) x x (
- 14) Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini (57) x x (
- 15) Liber de sermonibus adventus Domini et nativitatis ; atque quadragesime² x ? (
- 16-8) Item libri tres (58) in quibus continentur sermones sive omeliae x ? (
- 19) Item liber unus de omeliis atque sermonibus x ? (
- 20) Liber de sermonibus pasche² sancti Augustini (59) atque Pascasii de (

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alio codice (52) (10) Liber Zmaragdi (53) spiritu sancto (60)

- 21) Liber de laude caritatis (61) in quo est sinonima Isidori (62); atque vita x ? x ? (
- Basilii (63) sancti 22) Vita sancti Iohannis elemosinarii et sancti Martini (64) x (23)
- Liber de vita sancte² Rictrudis (65) (24) Liber iste de passione sancti Dionisii (66) x (25)
- Liber actuum apostolorum (67) x x (26)
- Liber qui vocatur Diadema Monachorum (68) x (27)
- Vita sancti Antonii (69) (28) Vita sancti Amandi atque Vedasti (70) x ? (29)
- Liber de vita sancti Ionati (71) (30) Liber de passione sancti Vincentii necnon Agathe²
- virginis (72) (31) Liber [a few erased letters] passionalis x ? x ? (32)
- Item alius in quo continetur vita sancti Martini (73) x ? (33)
- Liber de vita sancti Leodegarii atque Gregorii pape² (74) (34-6) Regule² sancti Benedicti
- tres x ? (37)

Notes

1.

Our thanks to Georges Declercq , Albert Derolez , Anne-Marie Helvétius , Diane Reilly and Melissa Provijn (*) commenting on the draft of this paper . for 1) Ms . Brussels , Bibliotheca Bollandiana , 506 (olim 48) , 153 folios , 199 6 136 mm . To our knowledge , the (publication to discuss the manuscript , or at least the first part of it , is F . Dolbeau , «Le dossier hagio-only de S . Amé , ve ´ ne ´ ré a` Douai . Nouvelles recherches sur Hucbald de Saint-Amand » , *Analecta Bollandianographique* , 97 , 1979 , p . 89-110 . Dolbeau suggests a dating of «either from the beginning of the eleventh century , or from the end of the tenth » (p . 90) or «early eleventh century » (p . 108) . even 2) The hagiographical contents of the manuscript are described in H . Moretus , «*Catalogus codicum hagio-(Latinorum Bibliothecae Bollandianae* » , *Analecta Bollandiana* , 24 , 1905 , p . 461-463 . There are four graphic units , running from folios 1-34 , 35-51 , 52-89 and 90-153 . The quires can be analyzed as follows : codicological (6) , 2 IV (22) , 2 III (34) , IV (43) , II (47) , III-2 (51) , 4 IV (83) , III (89) , 5 IV (129) , II-1 (132) , III (138) , II III 142) and VI (153) . A contemporary table of contents at the top of folio 153v^o indicates that folios 52-129 have (together since the time of their production or shortly thereafter . As folios 44-47 and 51v^o were written belonged the same hand as 52-129 , it is possible that folios 35-51 came to belong to the same volume shortly after the in of contents was drawn up . table 3) An edition previously appeared as an appendix to Moretus , «*Catalogus* » , p . 466-467 , where the list is (to the eleventh or twelfth centuries . The merits of this publication mostly lay in the identification of a dated of extant manuscripts (see further) . number 4) For a discussion of Saint Rictrudis , her cult and the early history of Marchiennes , see K . Ugé , *Creating (Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders , Woodbridge and Rochester , 2005 , p . 97 sqq . the 5)* Folios 35-43 were originally followed by what now are folios 48-51 . (6) The removed leaves originally came after folio 51 . It is not clear if these contained any text . Other (on which the same scribe may have worked are Mss . Ghent , University Library , 244 , folios 44-56 , manuscripts , *Bibliothèque Municipale* (hereafter BM) , 857 , folios 18r-27v and perhaps also Douai , BM , 867 , folios 1r-Douai 41v (the latter two of which are from Marchiennes) .

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2.

7) This makes the list different from the roughly contemporary booklists from Lobbes (972-990 and 1049 ; (in A . Derolez , B . Victor and W . Bracke , *Corpus catalogorum Belgii . The Medieval Booklists of the*

*Low Countries . Volume IV . Provinces of Brabant and Hainault , Brussels , 2001 , resp . p . 252-254 and Southern) and Anchin (late eleventh century ; edited in J . Gessler , *Une bibliothé` que scolaire du xi e sie` cle d ' ' apre` s 255-269 le catalogue provenant de l ' ' abbaye d ' ' Anchin , Bruxelles and Paris , 1935*).*

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3.

8) K . Uge´ , *Creating* , p . 97 and S . Vanderputten , «Monastic Literate Practices in Eleventh-and Twelfth-(Northern France » , *Journal of Medieval History* , 32 , 2006 , p . 101-126 .
9) K . Uge´ , *Creating* , p . 113 . One Abbess Judith is known through two charters from the years 975 and 976 (B . Delmaire , *L ' ' histoire-polyptyque de l ' ' abbaye de Marchiennes (1116 / 1121) , E ´ tude critique et e ´ dition* , Louvain-la-(, 1985 , p . 84 , n . 47) . C . Mériaux , in *Gallia Irradiata . Saints et sanctuaires de la Nord de la Gaule du Haut Neuve*

A^ge , Stuttgart , 2006 , p . 297 , argues that Marchiennes at the end of the tenth century was still a double *Moyen*

. monastery 10) J . P . Gerzaguet , *L ' ' abbaye fe ´ minine de Denain des origines a` la fin du xiii e sie` cle . Histoire et chartes* , (, 2007 , p . 57-58 and 75-83 . Paris 11) On the foundation of Messines , see N . N . Huyghebaert , «L ' ' abbessse Frisilde et les de ´ buts de l ' ' abbaye de (» ,

Revue d ' ' Histoire Eccle ´ siastique , 50 , 1955 , p . 141-157 .
12) K . Uge´ , *Creating* , p . 112-113 . The reason given in the contemporary *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (the eviction of the female community was the nuns ' ' worldly behaviour and poor management of the abbey ' ' s for (G . H . Pertz , (ed .) *MGH SS VII* , Hannover , 1846 , p . 461) . In 1024-1025 , the canons living at Denain , estates monastery situated just a few miles from Marchiennes , were replaced by a group of nuns (see note 10) .
13) a to Gerzaguet and Huyghebaert , there is a possibility that the communities of Marchiennes and According simply switched institutions at the time of the reforms (J . P . Gerzaguet , *L ' ' abbaye* , p . 58 and Huyghebaert *Denain* , «L ' ' abbessse » , p . 154-155) .
13) K . Hallinger , *Gorze-Cluny . Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (, I , Graz , 1971 , p . 283-316 and D . Reilly , *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders . Gerard of Cam-, Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Saint-Vaast Bible* , Leiden and Boston , 2006 , p . 93-104 . Regarding the brai

nature of the reforms and their relation to Cluny and Gorze , see D . Reilly , *The Art* , p . 98-99
Benedictine the comments made in the late eleventh or early twelfth century by Simon of Ghent , the chronicler of and : «... pater Rodericus regulamque sancti Benedicti observandam proposuit , cuius et ipse studiosus Saint-Bertin et ferventissimus amator

usque ad finem vitae permansit . » (O . Holder-Egger , (ed .) MGH SS XIII , imitator , 1881 , p . 637). Hannover 14) See D . C . Van Meter , «Count Baldwin IV , Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Inception of Monastic (in Eleventh-Century Flanders » , *Revue Be ´ ne ´ dictine* 107 , 1997 , p . 130-148 and J . P . Gerzaguët , *L ' ab-Reform* baye , p . 56-57 .

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4.

15) For instance H . Dauphin , *Le bienheureux Richard , abbe ´ de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* († 1046), Louvain (Paris , 1946 and F . G . Hirschmann , «Klosterreform und Grundherrschaft : Richard von St . Vanne » , in A . and and F . G . Hirschmann ed . , *Grundherrschaft -Kirche -Stadt zwischen Maas und Rhein während des Haverkamp* Mittelalters , Mainz , 1997 , p . 125-170 , at p . 135-136 . hohem

16) D . Reilly , *The Art* , p . 94 and 97 and S . Roubach , «The Hidden Apocalypse : Richard of Saint-Vanne (the Otherworld » , *Journal of Medieval Studies* , 32 , 2006 , p . 310-311 . Also S . Vanderputten , «Oboedientia . and ´ formes et discipline monastique au de ´ but du onziè` me sie` cle » , forthcoming . Re 17) A . M . Turcan-Verkerk , «Entre Verdun et Lobbes , un catalogue de bibliothèque scolaire inédit . A` (du manuscrit Verdun BM 77 » , *Scriptorium* , 46 , 1992 , p . 182-183 . propos 18) There is little evidence of Richard ' s interest in classical authors (Ibid . , p . 184 , for indications that during (' s first decades as abbot in Verdun few classical titles figured in the monks ' book collection) , while the Richard of new narratives appears to have been rather limited in number and in scope (U . Berliè` re , production *L ' e ´ tude des re ´ formes monastiques des x e et xi e sie` cles* » , *Acade ´ mie Royale de Belgique . Bulletin de la Classe «Lettres 5th series* , XVII , 1932 , p . 152-156 . Also J . Warichez , *L ' abbaye de Lobbes depuis les origines jusqu ' en des* , Paris and Louvain , 1909 , p . 71). 1200 19) G . Hirschmann , «Klosterreform » , p . 141-142 . (20) D . Reilly , *The Art* , p . 98 and A . M . Turcan-Verkerk , «Le scriptorium de Saint-Vanne de Verdun (l ' abbatiat de Richard (1004-1046) » , *Scriptorium* , 46 , 1992 , p . 204-223 . sous 21) A . M . Turcan-Verkerk , «Le scriptorium » , p . 211-216 and M . Paulmier-Foucart and A . Wagner , (

Lire au Haut Moyen A` ge : un florilège spirituel de l ' abbaye Saint-Vanne de Verdun » , *Annales de l ' Est 6th* « , 52 , 2002 , p . 15-17 . The fact that Rothardus worked at Lobbes is well-attested ; what his activities were series Saint-Vaast is not . This is unfortunate , as evidence of reformist scriptorial activity at the latter abbey would at yielded comparative evidence for the contemporary manuscripts from Marchiennes . have 22) D . Reilly , *The Art* , p . 104 . (82

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23) See the comparative material presented in M . Paulmier-Foucart and A . Wagner ,

«Lire », p . 12-13 . (24)

Ib . , p . 16-17 . (25) See note 7 ; also F . Dolbeau , «La bibliothè` que de Lobbes d '' apre`s ses inventaires me´ die´ vaux . Bilan et (», in *Autour de la Bible de Lobbes (1084) . Les institutions . Les hommes . Les productions* , Bruxelles , perspectives , p . 59-84 . 2007 26) Edited in L . Delisle , *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothè` que Nationale* , Tome I , Paris , 1874 , p . 448-(. 458 27) Edited in P . Grierson , «La bibliothè` que de St-Vaast d '' Arras au xii e sie` cle » , *Revue Be´ ne´ dictine* , 52 , (, p . 124-137 . 1940 28) Edited in A . Derolez and B . Victor , *Corpus catalogorum Belgii . The Medieval Booklists of the Southern (Countries . Volume II . Provinces of Lie` ge , Luxemburg and Namur* , Brussels , 1994 , p . 113-114 . Low 29)

See note 2 . The fact that the final section of the manuscript deals with a series of female saints is not an (that it was made for the female community of Marchiennes . A quick survey of manuscripts from the indication medieval period shows that the saints in question are covered in manuscripts from various male houses in high region (Saint-Bertin , Saint-Vaast , Anchin , Saint-Amand , Saint-Sépulchre , Saint-Ghislain and Lobbes , the others) . Also G . Philippart , *Les Le´ gendiers latin et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* , Turnhout , 1977 , among . 87 . p 30) Folios 46r° -47v° . Folios 35-43 and 48-51 contain the Life of Ollegarius (BHL 6332) , while folios 44r° -46r° (that of Sanctinus (BHL 7488) . The office is edited in G . M . Dreves , *Hymni inediti . Liturgische Hymnen* contain

Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendrucke 4 (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 19) , Leipzig , 1895 , p . 217 , des nr . 382 ; a longer version of the office , including sections from the one preserved in ms . 506 , is edited by the

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6.

author in *Historiae rhythmicae : Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters 2 (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi same)* , Leipzig , 1892 , p . 200-201 , nr . 77 . 13 31) K . Uge´ , *Creating* , p . 103 and p . 123-125 . As early as 1024 , the monks '' claims to preserving Maurontus '' (were challenged by the canons of Saint Amé in Douai (Ib . , p . 131-132) . relics 32)

Ibid . , p . 103 . (33) S . Vanderputten , «A Miracle of Jonatus in 1127 . The Translatio Sancti Jonati in villa Saliacensi (BHL () as Political Enterprise and Failed Hagiographical Project » , *Analecta Bollandiana* , 126 , 2008 , p . 55-92 . 4449 34) Partial edition in AASS Aug . I , Antwerp , 1733 , p . 73-75 , complemented in the *Catalogus codicum hagio-(bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis . Pars I . Codices latini membranei 2* , Brussels , 1889 , p . 273-275 . The graphicorum

consist of two parts , the first a Life of Jonatus (BHL 4447) and traditionally attributed to Hucbald of Lectiones († 907) but dateable only to between the early tenth century and the second quarter of the Saint-Amand (For a full discussion , see S . Vanderputten , «A Miracle » , p . 55-57) . eleventh 35) Ms . Mons , *Bibliothè` que de l '' Universite´ de Mons-*

Hainaut , R4 / G 847 (olim WINS 4), with the Lectiones (

folios 28v° -32r° . on 36) Ms . Douai , BM , 849 , folios 61r° -68r° , with the reference to the female community on folio 66v° and the (on folio 71v° . K . Uge ´ (Creating , p . 129-130) refers to the clumsy artistry of the miniatures to suggest miniature of Leduinus («Les manuscrits à peinture de l ' abbaye de Marchiennes jusqu ' à la fin du 12 e sie` cle » , Bulletin abbacy

de la Commission de ´ partementale d ' Histoire et d ' Arche ´ ologie du Pas-de-Calais , 11 , 1981 , p . 52) , while C . claims that it was created after the reforms , which she misdates to 1028 (La France Romane au temps Denoël

premiers Cape ´ tiens (987-1152) , s . l . , 2005 , p . 144 , cat . nr . 97) . des 37) K . Uge ´ , Creating , p . 100 sqq . , esp . p . 112 . On folio 72r° , Eusebia is represented with her sisters Adalsendis (and Clotsendis , by all accounts minor figures in the hagiography of Marchiennes . that the copy from Marchiennes was made before the reforms of 1024 . P . Cerny ´ dates the manuscript to the

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38) The Vita Eusebiae is usually dated to c . 1000 (BHL 2736) . (39) K . Uge ´ , Creating , p . 113 . (40) F . Lot , Hariulf . Chronique de l ' Abbaye de Saint-Riquier (V e sie` cle -1104) , Paris , 1894 , p . 263 (the (list is on p . 261-264) . complete 41) For Saint-Bertin , see note 13 ; for Saint-Bavon , see F . G . Hirschmann , «Klosterreform » , p . 139 . (42) K . Uge ´ , Creating , p . 127 , in fact argues the Vita Rictrudis metrica by Hugo of Saint-Amand , which he (to Bishop Erluin of Cambrai (995-1012) , may represent an earlier attempt to intervene in the cult of dedicated saint and to reform the community itself . this 85

8.

43) Edited in L . Dehaisnes , Catalogue ge ´ ne ´ ral des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des De ´ partements . (VI . Douai , Paris , 1878 , p . 766-7 . Tome 44) A . Sanderus , Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta , I , Lille , 1641 , p . 58-60 . (45) L . Dehaisnes identified the manuscripts associated in the footnotes of this edition with numbers 1 , 2 , 3 , (, 7 and 12 of the list as the work of a local scribe named Amandus (Catalogue , resp . p . 133 , 161 , 159 , 181 and 6) . If this attribution turns out to be accurate , these volumes bear witness to the high level of productivity at 180 scriptorium of Marchiennes in the first decades following the reform of 1024 . The research of Tjamke Snijders the , who is currently preparing her doctoral thesis on hagiographical manuscripts from the Southern Low Countries , will shed further light on this complex matter .

9.

46) Augustine of Hippo , In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV (R . Willems , (ed .) Corpus Christianorum (Latina 36 , Turnhout , 1954) . Probably Ms . Douai , BM , 255 .

Series

- 47) Gregory the Great , *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam* (M . Adriaen , (ed .) *Corpus Christianorum Series* (142 , Turnhout , 1971). Moretus suggests that this may be Ms . Douai , BM , 306 . Latina
- 48) Gregory the Great , *Moralia in Job* (M . Adriaen , (ed .) *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 143 , 143A (143B , Turnhout , 1979 , 1979 and 1985). Moretus suggests that this may be Ms . Douai , BM , 300-303 . and
- 49) Haimo of Auxerre , *Expositio in epistolas Pauli* (*Patrologia Latina* 117 , c . 362-938). Moretus suggests that (may be Ms . Douai , BM , 343-344 . this 50) Gregory the Great , *Homiliae in evangelia* (R . Etaix , (ed .) *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 141 , Turnhout (, 1999). Moretus suggests that this may be Ms . Douai , BM , 307 . 51) Added in superscript . (52) The Venerable Bede , *Homeliae* (D . Hurst , (ed .) *Bedae Venerabilis Opera homiletica* . *Corpus Christiano-*(*Series Latina* 122 , Turnhout , 1955). rum
- 53) Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel . Several works by this author could be meant : the *Via Regia* (a *Fürstenspie-*(for Charlemagne), the *Diadema monachorum* (see below , n . 26) or most likely the *Expositio in regulam sancti gel* (
- A . Spannagel and P . Engelbert , (ed .) *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 8 , Siegburg , 1974). *Benedicti* 54) Paterius , *Liber testimoniorum veteris et novi testamenti* (*Patrologia Latina* 79 , c . 683-1136). (55) Haimo of Auxerre , *Commentaria in Isaiam* (*Patrologia Latina* 116 , c . 715-1086) : this is probably Ms . (, BM , 342 . Douai 56) The Venerable Bede , *De tabernaculo et vasis eius ac vestibus sacerdotum libri III* (D . Hurst , (ed .) *Corpus* (*Series Latina* 119A , Turnhout , 1969 , p . 1-39) ; this is probably Ms . Douai , BM , 328 . *Christianorum*
- 57) Paschasius Radbertus , *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (B . Paulus , (ed .) *Corpus Christianorum* . *Continua-*(*Mediaevalis* 16 , Turnhout , 1969). The manuscript listed here is identified by Moretus as Ms . Douai , BM , 349 , tio
- Paulus (p . xxiv) dates it to the twelfth century . but 58) Ms . has IIII with es in superscript and the first I erased . (59) Collection of sermons for Easter ; see S . Poque , *Augustin d "* Hippone . *Sermons pour la Pa^ que* . *Introduc-*(, *texte critique , tradition et notes* (Paris , 1966). tion 60) Faustus of Riez , *Libri duo de Spiritu Sancto* (*Patrologia Latina* 62 , c . 9-40) ; this text was falsely attrib-(uted to Paschasius Radbertus until the end of the nineteenth century . 87

10.

61) Augustine , *Sermo de laude caritatis* ; see P . P . Verbraken , *E ´ tudes critiques sur les sermons de saint* (,

Steenbrugge , 1976 . Augustin 62) Isidore of Sevilla , *Synonymorum de lamentatione animae peccatricis libri duo* (*Patrologia Latina* 83 , c . 827-(). 68 63) *Vita Sancti Basilii* (BHL 1022) (*Patrologia Latina* 73 , c . 293-312). Number 21 in the list matches Ms . (, RL ,

8714-8719 . Brussels 64) Unidentified lives of Johannes Eleemosinarius (BHL 4388-4992) and Martinus (BHL 5610-5622). Marchiennes (in the twelfth century possessed a copy of BHL 4388-89 in Douai , BM , 842 . It also possessed a copy BHL 5610-19 in Douai , BM , 838 . of 65) Hucbald of Saint-Amand , Vita Sanctae Rictrudis (BHL 7247-7248). Edited in AASS Mai III , Antwerp , (, p . 81-89 , with additions in G . Silagi and B . Bischoff , (eds .), «Johannes von Saint-Amand Vita S . Rictrudis 1680 » , in MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi 5 / 3 , München , 1979 , p . 566-596 and the «Catalogus Codicum Hagio-Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Duacensis » , Analecta Bollandiana , 20 , 1901 , p . 463 . This volume graphicorum match part of Ms . Douai , BM , 849 . may 66) Unidentified Passio Sancti Dionisii (BHL 2171 , 2175 or , perhaps less likely , 2178-2181). The words liber (in some booklists refer to the actual volume in which they are included ; what remains of the eleventh-iste

volume carries no trace of a Passion of this saint . century 67) This may be Douai , BM , 14 . (68) Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel , Diadema Monachorum (Patrologia Latina 102 , c . 593-690). (69) Unidentified Life of Antony . Twelfth-century Marchiennes possessed a copy of BHL 609 in Douai , BM , (. 870 70) Unidentified lives of Amandus and Vedastus . If this volume matches Douai , BM , 857 , the texts can be (as BHL 332 and 340 for Amandus (AASS Febr . 1 , Antwerp , 1658 , p . 848-854) and BHL 8506 and identified for Vedastus (Ibid . , p . 974-979). 8508 71) See note 35 . This volume may match part of Ms . Douai , BM , 849 . (72) Unidentified lives of Vincentius and Agatha . If this volume matches part of Ms . Douai , BM , 861 , the (can be identified as BHL 8628-8630 for Vincentius and BHL 133 for Agatha . texts 73) Unidentified Life of Martinus , perhaps that by Sulpicius Severus (BHL 5610-5616). (74) Unidentified Passion of Leodegarius , probably (part of) BHL 4851-4852 , as twelfth-century Marchiennes (at least two copies of this text in Douai , BM , 842 and Douai BM 865 . As for the Life of Gregory the possessed , twelfth-century Marchiennes possessed a copy of BHL 3639-3640 in Douai , BM , 840 and a copy of BHL Great in Douai , BM , 846 . 3641 75) Ephraem Syrus , De humilitate vel opere monachorum (J . S . Assemani , (ed .) Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana (1 , Rome , 1719 , p . 299 sqq .). 88

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