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# The Illuminations of the Stavelot Bible

Wayne Dynes



## The Illuminations of the Stavelot Bible

First published in 1978, this book offers a comprehensive study of the illuminations of the Stavelot Bible. The illuminations themselves have been recognized as occupying an important place in the incipient stage of the Romanesque style in the Meuse valley. The two volumes of the Bible contain no less than ninety-seven illuminated initials, almost half of them containing figures. Wayne Dynes's study brings this into context by giving the historical background of the abbey of Stavelot and the manuscript itself, and then the exegetical and illustrative tradition shaping earlier illuminated Bibles. A third chapter examines the question of the assignment of the hands, providing at the same time a survey of the contents. This clears the way for discussions of areas of importance including the famous full-page composition of Christ in Majesty, and analyses key miniatures and groups of miniatures. This procedure serves to clarify the overall scheme of illumination and permit a comparison with earlier achievements in the history of Bible illumination.



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Wayne Dynes

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<u>MGH, Epistolae</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae</u> , ed. P. Ewald, C. Rodenberg, et al., 8 pts. in 12 vols., Berlin, 1887-1939.
<u>MGH, Scriptores</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores</u> , ed. G. H. Pertz, G. Waitz, et al., 32 pts. in 34 vols., Hanover, 1826-1934.
<u>PG</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus...</u> <u>Series Graeca</u> , ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts., Paris, 1857-66.
<u>PL</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus...</u> <u>Series Latina</u> , ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts., Paris, 1844-80.

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the Stavelot Bible became generally known to the scholarly world at the end of the nineteenth century, its illuminations have been recognized as occupying an important place in the incipient stage of the Romanesque style in the Meuse valley. The two volumes of the Bible contain no less than ninety-seven illuminated initials, almost half of them containing figures. Among these, the extraordinary 'I', with its numerous separate scenes in medallions and panels, is clearly outstanding. One illumination that is not an initial is the famous full-page composition of Christ in Majesty. These two works demand special scrutiny. But other groups of initials offer their own interest.

A comprehensive study of a work as complex as the Stavelot Bible is not lightly undertaken. Yet some of the problems often posed in the analysis of illuminated manuscripts of the Romanesque period do not arise here. There is no difficulty in ascertaining the date and provenience of the work, for two carefully composed colophons, one at the end of each volume, state that the Bible's text, illuminations and binding were completed at Stavelot Abbey in the year 1097, after four years' labor. The colophons name two monks, Goderanmus and Ernesto, as responsible for this achievement. While modern stylistic analysis has demonstrated that one must assume more than two illuminators, there is little doubt about the general correctness of the information given in the colophons. Goderanmus

also was responsible for the first volume of a Bible produced at Lobbes in 1084 and now at Tournai. As will be shown below, this book served as a source for the Stavelot initials for such miniatures as the two works have in common; when there is a departure from this prototype, it is usually for some identifiable reason.

Dating and provenience have been established, and to some extent assignment of hands and the identification of sources as well. Accordingly, I have attempted to concentrate my main efforts in a sphere that has scarcely been touched in previous scholarly work on the Stavelot Bible, the sphere of meaning. Using theological, exegetical and other literary sources, I have sought to clarify the makeup of individual scenes and to account for their grouping. This seems appropriate to the special character of the intellectual climate of the monasteries of the period. In the eleventh century the Meuse valley was the seat of the so-called "Lotharingian Schools." With pardonable exaggeration, Liège, the region's chief city, boasted the sobriquet of the Athens of the North. In so far as possible, therefore, I have attempted to retrace the probable course of thinking followed by the monks in working out the structure of the most important initials. In so doing, I have tried to bear in mind that, for this era especially, learning was essentially sacred learning, and hence to concentrate on the theological and exegetical works most commonly read at the time. This task has been greatly facilitated by the catalogue of the abbey library, drawn up in 1105, which is preserved on

a flyleaf of the Stavelot Bible itself. Apart from theological and exegetical works, however, my research has led me into other spheres of medieval life and learning that would at first glance seem remote from the scriptures. I have had to acquire some grasp of such topics as viticulture, calendars, and social psychology. The intrusion of these seemingly extraneous matters into the illustrations for the sacred scripture follows from the accepted opinion that the Bible was truly the summit of all knowledge, both divine and terrestrial.

Briefly stated, there appear to be three main conditioning factors affecting this appearance of this remarkable work at its particular time and place. First, there is an awareness of a new significance of the Biblical narrative itself in relation to contemporary events that were felt to be of great moment. This way of looking at the Bible was initially stimulated not only by the passions unleashed by the Investiture Conflict, in which texts using Biblical proofs were widely adopted for polemical purposes, but also by the movements of ideas and of popular feeling that were to be gathered together in the Crusading movement launched by Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095. Then, there was a considerable improvement in the standard of scholarship. At this time, much of the impetus for scholarly work centered in the Lotharingian schools, as has been suggested above. Finally, and this factor may seem most immediately relevant to the production of the Stavelot Bible illuminations, the quality and range of artistic endeavor

apparently took giant strides in this region in the second half of the eleventh century. Too much of this work is left for us to trace the evolution in detail, yet the Stavelot Bible clearly exemplifies this extraordinary advance.

As the foregoing remarks suggest, an exhaustive study of the illumination of the Stavelot Bible would be a vast undertaking. This cannot be attempted here. Rather, the following pages concentrate on an analysis of certain key miniatures and groups of miniatures. This procedure should serve to clarify the overall scheme of illumination and permit a comparison with earlier achievements in the history of Bible illumination. As a preliminary setting for this attempt two introductory chapters discuss, first, the historical background of the abbey of Stavelot and the manuscript itself, and then the exegetical and illustrative tradition shaping earlier illuminated Bibles. A third chapter examines the question of the assignment of the hands, providing at the same time a kind of survey of the contents. This clears the way for discussions of areas of particular importance. While not all the miniatures are fully discussed in these chapters, it is hoped that at least the figural ones receive a due amount of attention in accordance with the purpose of the dissertation which is to grasp the rationale underlying the overall articulation of the illustrative program.

Since the work presented in the following pages has been done at various times and places, it would be difficult to acknowledge all the manifold help I have received. Special

thanks, however, must go to Professor Walter Cahn, Miss Adelheid Helmann, Mr. Neil Stratford, Professor Otto Pächt and Professor Francis Wormald, as well as to the authorities of the Fulbright Commission, the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, the British Museum, the New York Public Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. I am grateful to Professor John Ferguson for his assistance on paleographical and historical matters, and for many other favors large and small. I owe a special debt to Professor Harry Bober. The approach followed in the present work could only have been arrived at through his example as embodied in lectures, conversations and published writings. In my view Professor Bober's contribution represents not simply an orientation or direction of research, but a systematic method which seeks to penetrate to the basis that underlies the generation of medieval works of art. Professor Bober's Schematic Method views the art works in part as instruments of interpretation paralleling the abundant hermeneutic and exegetical literature of the middle ages. My conviction that this method is indeed the most appropriate avenue to approach the problems posed by the illuminations of the Stavelot Bible is reflected in the organization of the dissertation, for Chapter II, dealing with the exegetical background, forms the indispensable prolegomenon to the rest. While it is obvious that he cannot be blamed for the obscurities and inadequacies of this work, I would hope that it can repay, in some measure, my obligation.

## CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF STAVELOT AND ITS GREAT BIBLE

The little town of Stavelot lies nestled among the green rolling hills of eastern Belgium not far from the German border. Nowadays the traveler finds little to remind him of the days when Stavelot was the flourishing capital of a small ecclesiastical principality, for the buildings of the medieval abbey have almost entirely disappeared. The surviving treasures of the abbey, the objects of precious metalwork and the carefully executed codices are dispersed among many libraries and museums of the world.<sup>1</sup> The tanning industry which brought a measure of worldly prosperity to the town's burgers is no longer pursued. Indeed, Stavelot seems best known to the modern world as a consequence of a several months' stay in 1899 by the nineteen-year old poet Guillaume Apollinaire, who wrote most of L'Enchanteur pourrissant here.<sup>2</sup> His sojourn is recalled today by the little Musée Guillaume Apollinaire, which is lodged in the Hôtel de Ville, and by commemorative congresses held in the summers. In the middle ages, however, the abbey of Stavelot, together with its

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Borchgrave d'Altena, "Reconstruction imaginaire du trésor de Stavelot," Les Cahiers Historiques, 3rd Ser., No. 25 (1963), pp. 37-44; E. Etienne, "L'Exposition des trésors des abbayes de Stavelot-Malmédy et des dépendances," La Vie Wallonne, XXXIX (1965), pp. 284-85.

<sup>2</sup>Margaret Davies, Apollinaire, New York, 1964, p. 42ff.

nearby satellite Malmédy, played an important role in cultural and artistic life. We must now turn to the historical circumstances that shaped its growth in the centuries of declining antiquity and the early middle ages.

One of the most striking facts about the history of Belgium is that this area, now so highly urbanized, was practically devoid of cities in antiquity. Tongeren (Tongres), the capital of the Civitas Tungrorum created by Augustus' reorganization of Gaul, was in fact the only Roman city within the boundaries of present-day Belgium.<sup>1</sup> This lack of urban development contrasts strongly with the flourishing cities lying immediately to the east: Trier, Cologne, and Xanten. But in the Belgian area the great majority of the people lived on the countryside, working large fundi centering upon villas. The population was unevenly distributed, for great tracts of dense forests and sandy waste were virtually uninhabited.<sup>2</sup> The deserted areas included the vast Forêt Charbonnière in southern and western Belgium, with its eastern continuation the Forest of Ardennes,

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<sup>1</sup>The best overall study of the Romanization of Belgium remains Franz Cumont, "Comment la Belgique fut romanisée," Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, XXVIII (1919), pp. 77-181. See also Jacques Breuer, La Belgique romaine, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1947. For the Civitas Tungrorum see Félix Rousseau, "La Meuse et le Pays Mosan en Belgique et leur importance avant le 13<sup>e</sup> siècle," Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur, XXXIX (1930), pp. 1-248, esp. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Although this view of the unequal population distribution, and particularly of the low density of inhabitants in the modern Flemish-speaking area, is generally accepted by historians, R. de Maeyer's attempt to obtain statistical evidence by compiling archaeological data has not been confirmed (De Romeinse villa's in België, Ghent, 1937).

and much of the present Flemish-speaking area.<sup>1</sup> The people of Roman Belgium were largely concentrated along the Meuse and its tributaries, in the areas of Hesbays, Condroz, Famenne and Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse. A secondary center focused around Arlon in Belgian Luxembourg. The Forest of Ardennes, which is of particular concern to us in this study, had hardly been opened to the plow.

Yet it must not be thought that Roman Belgium was entirely deprived of contact with the outside world. The region was served by a good system of roads, the most notable being the Brunehaut highway running from Bavai to Cologne. Rivers and other watercourses were also important, however, and their role was to increase it late Roman times.<sup>2</sup> Metal workers had already begun to exploit deposits of iron and zinc.<sup>3</sup> In a small way these beginnings of industry laid the foundations for the development that was to assure the prosperity of the region in the middle ages.

The barbarian invasions of the Roman empire greatly undermined the rudiments of economic development. Still, considerable

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<sup>1</sup>Henri Vanderlinden, "La Forêt Charbonnière," Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, II (1922), pp. 203-14; Jacques Vannérus, Le Limes et les fortifications gallo-romaines en Belgique (Mémoires in 4<sup>o</sup> de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, XI, fasc. 2), Brussels, 1942.

<sup>2</sup>André Joris, "On the Edge of Two Worlds in the Heart of the New Empire: The Romance Regions of Northern Gaul during the Merovingian Period," in W. M. Bowsky, ed., Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, III, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1966, pp. 3-52, at p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Germain Faider-Feytmans, "Les Arts du métal dans la vallée de la Meuse du I<sup>er</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle," in Pierre Francastel, ed., L'Art Mosan, Paris, 1954, pp. 29-37.

vestiges of this activity survived because the smiths and other craftsmen were mainly itinerant rather than dependent on urban civilization, especially in the west. In the east the laster, the Germanic auxiliaries settled on the land, may have blunted the force of the barbarian onslaught. During the fourth century the Franks gradually infiltrated the low-lying area of Toxandria, while the more populous parts of present-day Belgium were temporarily secured by a number of forts. Yet the more ambitious and warlike of the Frankish tribes preferred to push on to the richer areas of Champagne and the valley of the Seine. Until about 508 Frankish authority was divided among several kinglets; then the Franks were united and set on their victorious career by Clovis, who died in 511.<sup>1</sup>

The Germanic invasions and settlements were important in the formation of the present linguistic frontier. For seventy years controversy has raged over this matter and the debate since World War II has given rise to the pessimistic conclusion that the question will never be satisfactorily resolved.<sup>2</sup> It is permissible to believe, however, that a tendency to import

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<sup>1</sup>On the Frankish invasions, see now Georges Tessier, Le Baptême de Clovis, Paris, 1964; and Lucien Musset, Les Invasions: les vagues germaniques (Nouvelle Clio, XII), Paris, 1965, p. 117ff.

<sup>2</sup>The older discussion is summarized and a new solution offered in Charles Verlinden, Les Origines de la frontière linguistique en Belgique et la colonisation franque, Brussels, 1955. More compelling, however, is the sceptical position argued by Jean Stengers, La Formation de la frontière linguistique en Belgique, ou de la légitimité de l'hypothèse historique, Brussels, 1959. See also Henri Draye, "Ueber die Möglichkeit einer Deutung der westlichen Sprachgrenze," Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde (Festschrift für Franz Steinbach), Bonn, 1960, pp. 686-96; and Joris, loc. cit., p. 19.

present-day conflicts into the distant past has exaggerated the importance of the problem for the middle ages. In the earlier middle ages the linguistic boundary was nowhere near as firm as it is now: important romance-speaking enclaves survived north of the line and nuclei of Germanic colonists flourished south of it. Moreover, the modern association of nationality with language had little force in the middle ages. Long before the breakup of the Roman empire the Germanic tribes had adopted essential elements of Greco-Roman culture and many of their soldiers had served faithfully in the imperial armies. In the middle ages the memory of the unity of the Roman empire and the living reality of the church served to give the various parts of western Europe a profound sense of community.<sup>1</sup> Differences and feeling of special status were more likely to be felt on the local level; what may be termed the parish-pump attitude flourished abundantly in the middle ages. Language differences were felt more as a practical hindrance than as a source of deeper divisions.<sup>2</sup> In any case Latin provided all groups with a common medium for ecclesiastical and administrative use.

Christianity had penetrated into the Belgian area in the fourth and fifth centuries (if not earlier) and the outlines of an episcopal system had been established based directly on the

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Robert Polz, L'Idée d'empire en Occident, Paris, 1953.

<sup>2</sup>Interesting aspects of the practical difficulties encountered in a typical abbey near the linguistic frontier are related in the Saint-Trond Chronicle: Camille de Borman, ed., Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Trond, 2 vols., Brussels, 1877.

Roman civitates.<sup>1</sup> But with the barbarian infiltration and settlement this organization fell into abeyance, though the disruption was evidently less thoroughgoing in the east than in the west. Thus, much of the area had to undergo a second Christianization, a task carried out by a series of powerful figures who began their missionary activity shortly after the baptism of Clovis (on a Christmas day between 496 and 506). This phase of conversion and organization lasted until the early eighth century. It is significant that the work was conducted not by Insular missionaries as in Germany and the Netherlands, but chiefly by churchmen from the long-settled areas in southern Gaul. But whereas in southern Gaul the church could count on a real continuity of urban life--most of the important monasteries lay in the vicinity of the cities--in Belgium almost everything had to be built up from scratch, as it were. Monasteries, in particular, led a successful campaign to open up virgin lands. As the Belgian historian André Joris remarks, "between 625 and 730 we see a real flourishing of monasticism in our regions."<sup>2</sup> In this period of conversion were laid the foundations for that peculiar dominance of secular life by church institutions that was to characterize the Principality of Liège.

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<sup>1</sup>For the process of Christianization, see Edouard de Moreau, Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique, 2nd ed., I, Brussels, 1945.

<sup>2</sup>Joris, loc. cit., p. 41.

The diocese of Liège formed part of the area of Lotharingia, the "middle kingdom" created for Lothair II (died 865). The diocese included the fertile areas along the courses of the Meuse and the Sambre--Famenne, Condroz, and Hesbaye--the northern half of the Forest of Ardennes, and the sandy area of the Campine along the lower Meuse. The basis for the secular might of the principality was laid by Bishop Notker (972-1008), who subdued the rebellious barony of the region with the assistance of the emperors Otto I and II.<sup>1</sup> After the departure of Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, in the first Crusade, the bishops were left in unchallenged control of a secular principality that survived until the French revolution. In the high middle ages Liège's bishops were noted for their particular fidelity to the empire. At the end of the eleventh century, when his son and all his other followers had deserted him, Emperor Henry IV took refuge behind the walls of Liège, where he died in 1106. These arrangements were mirrored in the smaller principality of Stavelot-Malmédy, which enjoyed a considerable autonomy, largely by virtue of prudently harmonizing its policies with those of the powerful bishops of Liège. Here too, a strong tradition of loyalty to the emperor's person continued.

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<sup>1</sup>Godefroy Kurth, *Notker de Liège et la civilisation au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905.

The monastery of Stavelot was founded by St. Remaclus about 650.<sup>1</sup> St. Remaclus seems to have been born in Aquitaine at the very end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. Although the name Remaclus (originally written Rimagilus) is Germanic, he was born of parents who themselves bore Roman names; this fact illustrates the futility of attempting to deduce Germanic or Romance origins for persons in the period from the evidence of personal names alone.<sup>2</sup> After training in the abbey of Luxeuil with its Insular tradition, Remaclus was called in 632 to take charge of the abbey of Solignac in southwestern France, which was reputed to have some 150 monks--an important charge. About 645 Remaclus received a charter from the Merovingian king Sigebert III, authorizing him to found a new monastery at a spot called Cugnon on a bend of the Semois River between Chiny and Bouillon.<sup>3</sup> For some reason the site proved unsuitable and it was soon abandoned

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Yvernaux, "Les premiers siècles de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmédy (648-1020)," Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège, XIX (1910), pp. 261-436. François Baix, Étude sur l'abbaye et principauté de Stavelot-Malmédy, I, Paris and Charleroi, 1924, p. 14ff.; and Ursmer Berlière, Monasticon Belge, II: Province de Liège, Maredsous, 1928-29, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>François Baix, "L'Épigraphie à Stavelot-Malmédy," Revue Bénédictine, LX (1950), pp. 120-62, esp. p. 121. Cf. also *idem*, "St. Remacle et les abbayes de Solignac et Stavelot-Malmédy," Revue Bénédictine, LXI (1951), pp. 167-207.

<sup>3</sup>For the text, see Joseph Halkin and C.-G. Roland, eds., Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmédy, Brussels, 1909, no. 1.

in favor of a new site in the middle of the Forest of Ardennes. In this desert and inhospitable region Remaclus founded the twin monasteries of Stavelot and Malmédy. According to a new charter, the monasteries were to receive in perpetuity an area of twelve leagues in diameter, though this part of the text is not altogether clear.<sup>1</sup> In any event, the circumscription of the monastic lands was soon made more definite with boundaries that were less advantageous to the abbey. In the decade after the foundation, however, the monks were given two ports on the Loire, from which they were to derive the income of tolls, and several other places, including a vineyard on the Rhine, which was an important source of wine for purposes of the sacrament and of hospitality.<sup>2</sup> Despite the occasional appearance of separatist tendencies at Malmédy, the supremacy of the seat at Stavelot was established from the very first, so that Malmédy may be safely neglected in a general survey of the development of the twin monasteries. Stavelot was dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and Martin. It seems that the rule of St. Columban, either in its pure form or diluted by borrowing from the Benedictine rule, was in force in the early days of the monastery.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Halkin and Roland, *op. cit.*, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Baix, *op. cit.*, 1924, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, 1924, p. 27. L. Dupraz (*Le 'Regnum Francorum' pendant le troisième quart du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle (656-680)*, Fribourg, 1948, pp. 304-05) thinks that Remaclus may at first tried one of the older rules at Cugnion (perhaps that of Lérins), going over to a mixed Benedictine-Irish rule at Stavelot-Malmédy. This mixed system was then in force at Solignac. See also Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich*, Munich and Vienna, 1965, pp. 75-77.

The exact date of Remaclus' death is uncertain and the further history of the monastery for the next century is obscure. It is known, however, that in the disorders caused by Merovingian dynastic squabbles, St. Lambert, Bishop of Liège, found it expedient to reside at Stavelot from 674 to 681.

The Carolingian rulers were less well-disposed to Stavelot than their Merovingian predecessors had been, and in the mid-ninth century a period of occultation (marked by the subjection of the monastery to lay abbots) set in. This was in accord with the widespread custom of the proprietary church (Eigenkirchenrecht). Nonetheless, Christian of Stavelot, an exegete who commented on Matthew's gospel, taught and wrote there in the second half of the ninth century; his work will be discussed in the following chapter. About 880, however, the Normans established a raiding station at Essloo on the lower Meuse. After ravaging Liège, Saint-Trond, and Cologne, they turned to Bonn and Aachen. Just before the arrival of the invaders, the treasury of Aachen's royal chapel was removed to Stavelot. In vain, however, for the Normans sacked Stavelot in December 881. The monks were able to save the remains of St. Remaclus, but little else.

The slow recovery of the abbey from these troubles was assisted by a visit from Abbot Odilo (died 954) from Gorze near Metz; Odilo put an end to the regime of commendatory abbots.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kassius Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny (Studia Anselmiana, XXII-XXVI) 2 vols., Rome, 1950, I, p. 64ff.

Apart from the reform movement stemming from Gorze, other fruitful work was done by Gerard of Brogne, whose influence was felt at Saint-Ghislain, Saint-André-les-Bruges, Messines, Afflighem, and Gembloux. Yet the improvements effected at this time did not prove permanent, and the real prosperity of the abbey begins only with Abbot Poppo (978-1048), a disciple of Richard of Saint-Vanne, who may almost be regarded as the second founder of the abbey.<sup>1</sup>

Since Poppo's vigorous activity was responsible for establishing a pattern of relationships that persisted for decades after his death, it is worth while examining his career in some detail. Poppo was born of noble parents at Deinze in West Flanders; not long after his father died in combat in the Hesbaye. Given his social origins, it was natural for him to be trained as a knight. This profession, however, did not prevent the emergence of a strong religious bent: in the company of another nobleman named Thierry he made two pilgrimages, one to Rome and the other to Jerusalem, returning with relics. After these trips, Poppo took to separating himself from his companions, and his meditations on these retreats appear to have culminated in some kind of visionary experience. As a result of this sign of divine favor, he decided to enter the monastery of Saint-Thierry, near Reims, where he was instructed by Eilbert, Gerard of Cambrai's brother. Here he studied

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<sup>1</sup>For what follows, see Henri Glaesener, "Saint Poppon, abbé de Stavelot-Malmédy," Revue Bénédictine, LX (1950), pp. 163-79. Cf. Paul Ladewig, Poppo von Stablo und die Klosterreformen unter den ersten Saliern, Berlin, 1883; Berlière, op. cit., pp. 59, 78ff.; and M. Souplet, Saint Poppon, Verdun, 1948.

philosophy and theology, gaining some knowledge of the classics as well. While in the monastery of Saint-Thierry, he began to acquire some repute for sanctity. He made friends with Abbot Richard of Saint-Vanne, who had been charged in 1008 with reforming the monastery of that name, to which Poppe himself decided to repair. But soon, with the approval of Marquis Baldwin IV, he was sent to take charge of the abbey of Saint-Vaast at Arras. Having secured armed help from the marquis to expell certain squatters, he at length succeeded in reforming the abbey according to the pattern established by his mentor Richard of Saint-Vanne.

In 1020 Emperor Henry II asked Poppe to take charge of the abbey of Stavelot-Malmédy. The squabbles dividing the monks of the two seats of the joint monastery posed a difficult problem. And monastic discipline in general was at a low ebb. The new abbot reestablished austerity, making the monks rise at dawn. Fasts were frequent, baths forbidden. In an important step, the abbot arranged to have servile tasks taken over by the conversi so that the monks could devote themselves mainly to intellectual work. Then too Poppe insisted on the duties of hospitality: no-one must be turned away from the abbey's doors. At the same time, he undertook a campaign against pagan customs surviving in the countryside.

Poppe's efforts were so successful that Emperor Conrad II sought to draft him for duty as Bishop of Strasbourg, an important see, but the abbot declined. However, he did agree

to extend his influence to other monasteries within the empire. With the concurrence of his sovereign, Poppe sent his nephew to deputize for him in the reorganization of St. Maximin at Trier, while he despatched his pupil Humbert to nearby Echternach (1030-31). He sent his favorite disciple Everholm to direct the monastery of Hautmont on the Sambre. Under Conrad and (after 1039) Henry III, Poppe enjoyed considerable prestige as an imperial counselor. He was asked to undertake negotiations in the matter of Henry's marriage with Agnes of Poitiers. After he died at Marchiennes on January 25, 1048, his body was removed to Stavelot, where he was to be revered as a saint.

The sphere of Poppe's direct influence had been extraordinary, reaching west--to Saint-Ghislain, Marchiennes, Arras-- and east--to Metz, Wissembourg, Trier, Echternach, and St. Gall. The pattern of relationships built up under Poppe's rule is particularly interesting in view of the combination of styles found in the Stavelot Bible, which divide their allegiances between the predominately north-French-Flemish area and western Germany (the Trier-Echternach complex). In the midst of his other activities Poppe had found time to build a new abbey church at Stavelot, which was consecrated in 1040 in the presence of Emperor Henry II. Poppe's church stood largely intact until 1801, when the French authorities pulled it down. Of the monastery buildings, only the sober sixteenth-

century tower and the later cloister wings now survive.<sup>1</sup>

As has been mentioned, relations with the empire were particularly close from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.<sup>2</sup> In the Investiture Conflict, which reached an acute stage in the Meuse region with the schism of 1092, Stavelot supported Bishop Otbert and the imperial party against the reformers of Saint-Laurent and Saint-Hubert.<sup>3</sup> Later, in the twelfth century, Abbot Wibald of Stavelot (ruled 1130-58) became imperial chancellor. In these prosperous days, Stavelot had 45 monks and Malmédy 27.

This short survey of the abbey of Stavelot's history has served to bring out some of the formative influences that determined the background of its great Bible. Now it is necessary to pay some attention to the abbey of Lobbes, Goderannus' original home. The abbey is located in what was originally a dense forest where the Lobbes rivulet joins the Sambre. The origins of this abbey go back to three missionaries of the Merovingian period: Landelin (died late seventh century),

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<sup>1</sup>For attempts to reconstruct the church, see F. B. Bellmann, Zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte der Stiftskirche von Nivelles, Munich, 1941, pp. 46-54; Louis Grodecki, L'Architecture ottonienne, Paris, 1958, pp. 108-09; William Legrand, "L'Eglise abbatiale de Stavelot," Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège, XLIII (1963), pp. 183-226.

<sup>2</sup>Moreau, op. cit., II, 1945, p. 175. See also Heinrich Sproemberg, "Lüttich und das Reich im Mittelalter," in his Beiträge zur Belgisch-Niederländischen Geschichte, Berlin, 1959, pp. 346-67.

<sup>3</sup>Alfred Gauchie, La Querelle des Investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai, 2 vols., Louvain, 1890-91.

Hydulphus (died 707), and Ursmer (died 713).<sup>1</sup> Of these, Ursmer was the most important, and his sanctified remains were to form one of the principal sources of the abbey's subsequent fame. The later history of Lobbes follows much the same pattern as that of Stavelot-Malmédy: early flowering, lay abbots (ninth century), Norman and Hungarian attacks, reform under the influence of Richard of Saint-Vanne. Beginning with abbot Folcuin, however, the author of the Gesta abbatum lobbiensium (961-62), Lobbes was distinguished for the quality of its intellectual life. The theological school there produced such men as Burchard of Worms, Wazo of Liège, Olbert of Gembloux, and Thierry of Saint-Hubert. Paradoxically, the tradition of learning established at Lobbes contributed to the ferment of reform that lay behind the Gregorian movement--to which the monks of Lobbes were resolutely opposed. In fact, there is no better evidence of this hostility than Goderanmus' colophon in the Lobbes Bible now in Tournai dated "in the year 1084, while Emperor Henry is besieging Rome, where the rebel Hildebrand [Gregory VI] has been shut up for three years."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ursmer Berlière, Monasticon Belga, I: Provinces de Namur et de Hainaut, Maredsous, 1890-97, pp. 197-228; Joseph Wariehez, L'Abbaye de Lobbes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1200, Louvain and Paris, 1909, p. 5ff.

<sup>2</sup>For transcription, see François Masai, "Les manuscrits & peintures de Sambre et Meuse aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles," Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, III (1960), pp. 169-89, at pp. 177-78. Cf. also Wariehez, op. cit., p. 78.

While the attitude of the monks of Stavelot-Malmédy and Lobbes to the Investiture Conflict is clearly important to the understanding of the Stavelot Bible illuminations, it is well to regard this as part of a much larger context. A contemporary student of the intellectual life of the period, J. B. Russell, holds that the inception of the great groundswell of reform must be dated back as far as the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as Gerhart Ladner has pointed out, the reformers of all periods could rely upon patterns evolved in Early Christian times.<sup>2</sup> The slogan ecclesia semper reformanda has always been topical, it seems.

Nonetheless, it remains true that the reform reached its acute phase during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85), who is justly regarded as one of the greatest of the popes. Gregory's decrees against lay investiture, simony and clerical marriage implied a larger program of regenerating western Christendom under papal leadership. After his death Gregory's policies were tenaciously continued by his successors and their efforts were crowned by partial victory in the Concordat of

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<sup>1</sup>Jeffrey Burton Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965.

<sup>2</sup>Gerhart Ladner, The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.

Worms (1122).<sup>1</sup>

The Gregorian struggle was paralleled at various levels by other reform movements. Institutionally, as we have seen, reform tendencies set in during the early tenth century, with the new regimes spreading from Cluny, Gorze, Brogne and other centers.<sup>2</sup> The second, Gregorian phase of the reform primarily concerned the relation between the secular power on the one hand, and the papacy and the episcopacy on the other. Nonetheless, many individual monks and monasteries were drawn into the controversy as propagandists for one side or the other.

Apart from these official movements directed towards rectifying the social order by recasting existing institutions,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The fullest narrative of the course of the conflict is Augustin Fliche, La Réforme grégorienne, 3 vols., Paris, 1924-27. Theoretical aspects are discussed in Elie Voossen, Papauté et pouvoir civil à l'époque de Grégoire VII, Louvain, 1927. See also the stimulating essay of Zachary Nugent Brooke, "Lay Investiture and its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXX(1939), p. 217ff. (repr. in Lucy S. Sutherland, ed., Studies in History, Oxford, 1966, pp. 50-77); and Norman F. Cantor, "The Crisis in Western Monasticism, 1050-1130," American Historical Review, LXVI (1960-61), pp. 47-67.

<sup>2</sup>Gert Haendler, Reichskirche und Klosterreform vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1963. With reference to Ernst Werner's Marxist interpretation of this process (Die gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen der Klosterreform im 11. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1953), see the criticism by Kassius Hallinger, in Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, IX (1957), pp. 19-32. Cf. also B. Töpfer, Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich, Berlin, 1957.

<sup>3</sup>For this concept, see Gerd Tellenbach, Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest (trans. R. F. Bennett), Oxford, 1940.

various other aspects of ferment must be mentioned. In response to a widely felt need for more domestic tranquility than the secular powers could guarantee, churchmen fostered the custom of the Peace of God, beginning first in France where it seemed most needed. In 1077 Bishop Henry of Liège instituted the Peace for his diocese, setting up the judicium pacis attached to his episcopal court.<sup>1</sup> In the long run this institution was to do much for the Liège episcopacy and to compensate in part for the loss of prestige ensuing from the schism of 1092. Another method of securing domestic harmony was the extended procession of relics. In 1060, for example, the monks of Lobbes took the remains of St. Ursmer on a journey to Lille, Cassel, Bergues, Bruges, Ghent and Brussels.<sup>2</sup> This saintly cortege did much to resolve old disputes and incidentally filled the coffers of the abbey, permitting the new church to be completed.

Another factor making for increased stability was the communal movement and the rise of the towns.<sup>3</sup> Here the first

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<sup>1</sup>Moreau, op. cit., II, p. 86. On the Peace of God, see now Hartmut Hoffmann, Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XX), Stuttgart, 1964.

<sup>2</sup>Moreau, op. cit., II, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Dhondt, "L'Essor urbain entre Meuse et Mer du Nord à l'époque mérovingienne," Studi in onore di Armando Sapori, I, Milan, 1957, pp. 57-78, contains a recent summing up, with valuable bibliography on earlier work. For the communal movement, see Albert Vermeesch, Essai sur les origines et la signification de la commune dans le nord de la France (XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles) (Études présentées à la Commission internationale..... pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états, XXX), Heule, 1966.

landmark is the charter (1066) the burghers of Huy obtained from Bishop Theoduin of Liège, which permitted them to set up their own autonomous organ of justice and government.<sup>1</sup>

These constructive movements are part of a larger tendency to reduce anarchy and extend the rule of law. Yet in this period the diocese of Liège was effected by other trends of a decidedly disruptive nature--most notably the development of heresy there in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat before January 1025 a group of heretics, apparently of Italian origin, arrived in Liège, where they settled for a time and made a number of converts among the poor people. It seems that they rejected marriage, infant baptism and the eucharist. Although these heretics were driven out without too much difficulty, the diocese of Liège, which occupied a key position in the "fertile triangle" of northern heresy between the Seine and Rhine, continued to be troubled by the problem. Perhaps the most serious outbreak in our period was the riot in nearby Cambrai in 1077, when the reformer Ramihrid was put to death by a crazed mob. On a more intellectual level, the Figuralist interpretation of the eucharist promoted by Berengar of Tours found considerable support in the region.<sup>3</sup> In this setting

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<sup>1</sup>Andre Joris, La Ville de Huy au moyen âge, Paris, 1959, p. 107ff.

<sup>2</sup>For the following, see Russell, op. cit., p. 21ff.

<sup>3</sup>Allan J. Macdonald, Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine, London, 1930.