

FEUDAL CONFLICTS AND THE IMAGE OF POWER AT THE MONASTERY OF ST. AMAND DE'ELNONE

In late eleventh and early twelfth-century Flanders, Saint Amand was a wealthy and politically important monastery under the direct protection of Counts Robert the Frison and Robert II. But like many houses during these years of economic expansion in Europe, the monastery suffered from increasingly numerous encroachments on its revenues and possessions by its feudal vassals. Like others, it undertook artistic enterprises designed to enhance the shrine of its patron saint, whose protection the abbot and monks invoked in ceremonies using its patron's relics in the course of these disputes. One of these works of art was an illustrated edition of an eighth-century biography of the saint (compiled together with later hagiographical texts), virtually a new subject for pictorial art in Western Europe during these years when the cult of saints was intensively promoted by the clergy, and put to ideological use. This study is designed to show how miniatures in this manuscript, illustrating stories where the saint suppresses or overlooks the destruction of sacrilegious and unconverted people (Figs. 1,2,3), simultaneously depict contemporary ceremonies in which the saint's body was put to use against adversaries of the monastery. They will not be studied in order to determine their pictorial origin, but in order to show how they document practices designed to resist encroachments on the political and economic security of the monastery.

The picture cycle in this manuscript is one of seventeen cycles of saints' lives executed in various media in western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, almost all based on much older texts, apparently illustrated for the first time.¹ In the texts of these lives, there is a core group of typical repeated subjects which are pictured in similar, sometimes identical pictorial compositions. However, there are many more illustrations of unique incidents in the life of each saint. These, too, were illustrated from existing pictorial traditions by combining conventional figure types, buildings or building parts and landscape settings in a variety of ways to suit the specific content of the story to be illustrated.²

In the miniatures of the life of Saint Amand, this stereotypical pictorial material includes two basic figure types of the saint. One, a semi-profile figure, occurs twenty-five times with little variation. Sometimes it is exactly duplicated (Figs. 4,5). Since it is the conventional figure used in ancient and medieval art to represent narrative action, it is naturally the most common. The semi-profile figures can be recognized easily by the way the cloak is divided into ovals to represent the side view of the saint's hip and thigh, and by the long, tubular fold which stretches from his moving hand to his hem.

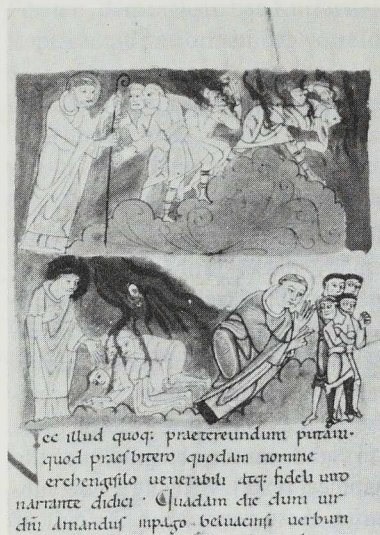


Fig. 1: Saint Amand and the Assassins (Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun., MS 502, f. 26r.)



Fig. 2: Amand and the People of Calloo (MS 502, f. 27v.)

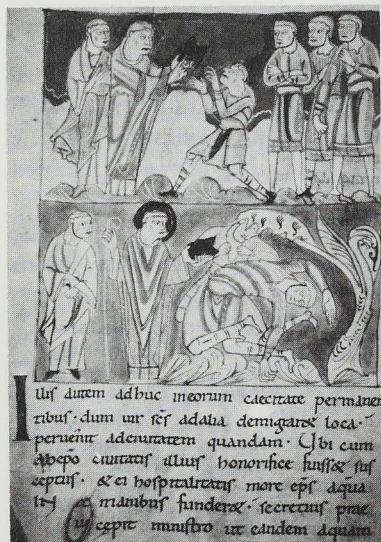
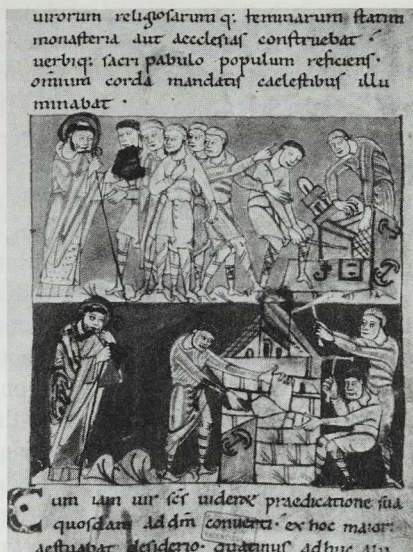


Fig. 3: The sacrilegious Basque (MS 502, f. 23v.)



Fig. 4: Amand and the Blind Idolator (MS 502, f. 27r.)

Fig. 5: Amand preaches to the Franks
(MS 502, f. 18r.)



The second basic figure type shows the saint in a more or less frontal posture (Fig. 1,2). Here the cloak falls symmetrically to a point in the center of the hem. Slight formal shifts adapt this frontal figure to the narrative action required by the story, so that he appears to move to the right or left in spite of his basically frontal position.³ It is this figure who appears in the three miniatures to be discussed. All three miniatures have one theme in common: the suppression or even destruction of blasphemers or unbelievers. The more rigid his frontal posture, the more disastrous the apparent effect (Fig.3).

The Pictorial Content of the Miniatures

The Assassins (Fig. 1)

The miniature illustrates the story of assassins who pretend to lead the saint to a suitable site to build a monastery, but intend to murder him instead. When a terrifying storm suddenly arises, they prostrate themselves at the saint's feet, begging to be forgiven. After the saint prays for fair weather, the men leave for their homes.⁴ In the scene of prostration, Amand appears in this frontal stance, turned slightly toward the men who bow before him.

Scenes of submission and supplication are numerous in Late Antique representations of barbarians submitting to the Roman Emperor. Amand bows his head and shoulders slightly and extends his open hand in the same imperial gesture of clemency used by Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, but with his left hand, since the right one is reserved for the gesture of benediction in the Medieval version. The Roman posture for submission and supplication remained almost unchanged from its earliest appearance to the late Antique period.

Supplicants half stood or kneeled on one or both knees, raising their hands and facing the emperor, who was usually seated⁵, and this continued to be the position depicted in imperial monuments despite the fact that proskynesis, with elbows, hands, and heads on the floor was introduced into court ceremonies and advanced along with the adoration of the emperor around the time of Diocletian.⁶

The assassins perform a proskynesis. They are on the hands and knees and look down, not up. This ritual posture continued to be required in the Byzantine courts⁷ and was also adapted into church rituals.⁸ It can be seen in a number of Medieval miniatures and ivories from the fifth century on, and it is prescribed for the rite of public penance in the Latin church.⁹

The prostrated assassins have been copied from a group of three idolators whom Amand tried to convert without success (Fig. 6), a standard means for expanding pictorial material so that the text could be illustrated comprehensively. Since the three idolators were copied as a group, the number of assassins is reduced from four in the previous and following scenes to three in the prostration scene. In the transposition, their posture shifted, so instead of resting on knees and elbow, they rest on knees and hands, and instead of looking forward with raised faces toward the devil, they look down, toward the ground. Both these postures are forms of proskynesis, and the original one of the idolators on elbows and knees is prescribed in the rite of public penance described in the Roman-German Pontifical (between 950 and 962).¹⁰ By using figures performing a ritual veneration, even though their posture changed slightly giving an alternative form of proskynesis, the painter has represented the penitential sense of the story. The bishops who conducted this rite, or their assistants, the archdeacons, would have faced the penitents in a frontal posture as Amand does.¹¹

No ceremony is described in the text or actually represented in the miniature, but gestures are used by the painter to represent an historical event in the life of the saint as if it were a contemporary church rite. That rite must have been one of the most degrading ways in which a bishop forced penitents to submit to his authority.¹² It is suggested here in order to depict the saint's power to protect penitents from a terrifying and punitive miracle. For the monks and abbot, this may not have illustrated merely an event from the saint's life, for during the years the miniatures were painted, they threatened to call down upon their enemies the same power of the saint — or his soul — through magical ceremonies using his relics.^{12a}

The People of Calloo (Fig. 2)

The second of the miniatures illustrates the story of Amand's mission to the people of the island of Calloo, where „the words of God (were) held in contempt (and) for two years a vast calamity entirely destroyed (it) in such a



Fig. 6: The Idolators of Ghent (MS 502, f. 15r.)

way that houses turned upside down, the district (was) reduced to wilderness, also houses, even castles, were destroyed, and nearly no one remained in this region who had despised the warning of man of God."¹³ These two events, separated in time in the text account, are brought together in the miniature. The saint speaks to four people who turn away from him showing they resist his preaching and remain unconverted.¹⁴ At the right a building seems to explode. The painter might have represented these events in two successive scenes to distinguish the sequence in time as it is related in the text, as he did in several other miniatures. Instead he confronted the saint with the unconverted people of Calloo and a schematic depiction of the Island's consequent destruction.

A variety of building parts: cupola, tower, smaller dome, iron-fitted door, seem to burst vertically, some „turned upside down“, some depicting the destruction of „houses even castles“ by significant architectural parts. Two of the four Early Medieval illustrated Apocalypses from the northern region of Europe show a similar destruction for the fall of Babylon (Rev. XIV:8); for the tenth of the city which fell in the earthquake (Rev: XI:13) and for the cities of the world falling in ruin (Rev. XVI:17-21). Cambrai, MS 386, fol. 25r. shows a building collapse upon itself in a more coherent image than the version from the Life of Amand, since the various parts can easily be structurally related. The Saint-Amand painter has used a significant tradition which suits his text and lends to the scene a dramatic power by relating it visually to events to come at the end of time.¹⁵

Amand, standing in a frontal posture, is accompanied by companions who overlap one another in a spatial arrangement giving the appearance of a procession led by the saint. The second figure raising his open hand is identical to one in the same position who follows the saint's body in his funeral procession (Fig. 7). Formal, ceremonial postures, suggestive movements and qua-

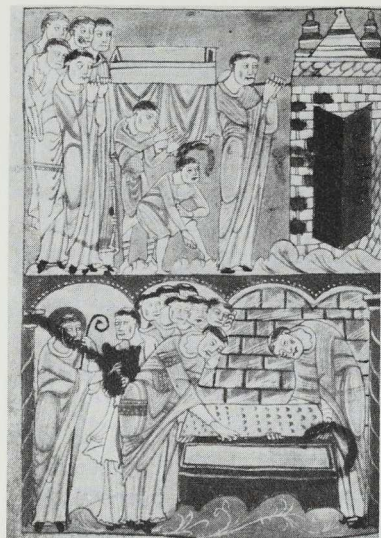


Fig. 8: A Demoniac is Healed. Life of St. Cuthbert, England, first quarter of 12th cent., (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Univ. MS 165, f. 115r.)

Fig. 7: Translation and Burial of Amand (MS 502, f. 30v.)

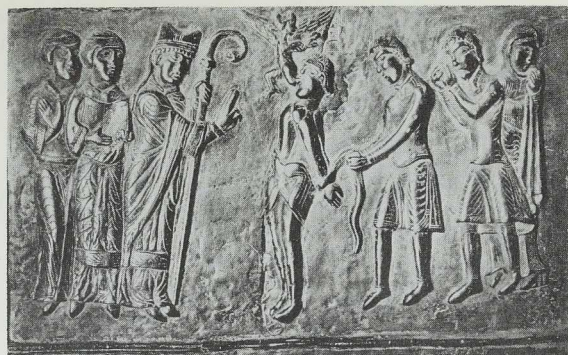
si liturgical gestures accompany the destruction of the island. Like the story of the assassins, the saint's power is depicted by his ceremonial postures as those who resist the words of God offered by him are made to submit or are destroyed. These are the same gestures used in celebrating church services. The pictures thus depict a contemporary reality which has to be explained.

The Sacrilegious Basque (Fig. 3)

The third miniature illustrates the story of Amand's mission among the Basques. While he preached, „one began to mock him, laughing, jësting, and slandering the Gospel.“ He was later possessed by a demon, forced to confess his error and died.¹⁶ In the first scene, the saint preaches to men who cross their arms or make other gestures of resistance. In between, a figure crouches, grimaces, and seems to wave his hands at the saint. In the second scene, the Basque, looking very different from the little figure above, tears at his clothing and then falls abruptly backwards, struck dead.

The painter need not have represented the saint here. Like the destruction of Calloo, the death of the Basque takes place later, not in Amand's presence. Yet he is painted here in an almost entirely frontal posture, shifted only slightly to look at and hold the rejected Gospel out toward the dying man. As his offer to the Gospel was not accepted, the Basque is shown possessed and then struck down, exactly as the text describes. Visually, however, we see a confrontation between saint and unbeliever. The ceremonial posture of the saint suggests more than the text. The church and its agents are not neutral onlookers to divine retribution in such a coordination, but active mediators.

Fig. 9: Adalbert Heals a Demoniac. Life of St. Adalbert, bronze doors, Cathedral of Gniezno, Poland, ca. 1170-1187 (from: M. Walicki, ed., *Drzwi Gnieznieńskie*, Wrocław, 1959)



Furthermore, the painter might have illustrated the text passage more exactly, showing the Basque as a demoniac when he dies, since such figures are standard for the hagiography of saints healing lunatics.¹⁷ He did in fact shape the figure of the mocking Basque to look like these lunatics, with their exaggerated gestures and distorted grimaces (Fig. 8,9). By instead forming an opposition between saint and Basque, he emphasizes the saint as the agent of retribution in the man's death. The acrobatic-like contortion of a body falling straight down or flipped over backwards was used for depicting violent death in the Middle Ages, based on Late Antique prototypes.¹⁸ Their contorted postures were the visual equivalent for utterly destroying those who resisted Roman authority.¹⁹

The painter's addition to the text account can be confirmed against a later version of the same story, produced in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. Abbot Hugh II of Saint-Amand commissioned a new text of the saint's life and had it illustrated with two shorter, more uniform, and almost identical picture cycles, one of line drawings, the other painted miniatures, for which the painter consulted and copied the earlier pictures of MS 502. Of the three miniatures under discussion, only the story of the Basque was illustrated.²⁰

In both the drawing and the miniature (Fig. 10,11) the two moments of mocking and death are combined. Since it is the mocking figure who faces the saint, while the dying figure falls at his feet, the painter has substituted a conventional preaching scene for the charged image which seemed to show the saint strike down the Basque. Not in the drawing, which must be the intermediary version, but in the miniature, one of the onlookers grabs the Basque by the hair, seeming to restrain him, perhaps forcing him to fall. Thus he aids the saint and the Basque falls apparently from physical force rather than divine retribution, a transformation which neutralizes the sense of the earlier miniature.²¹

It must have been seen as problematic one hundred years later, when the whole notion of inserting liturgical gestures into narrative scenes was dropped.

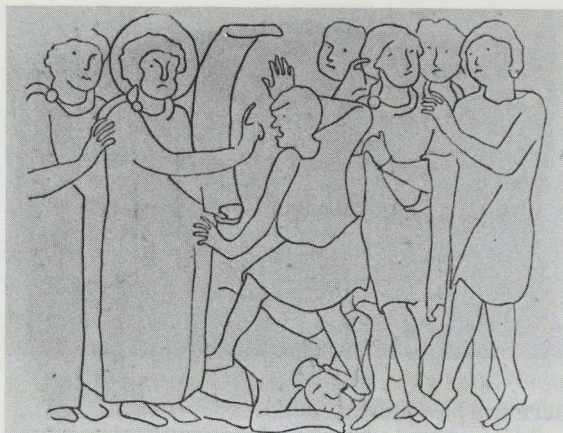


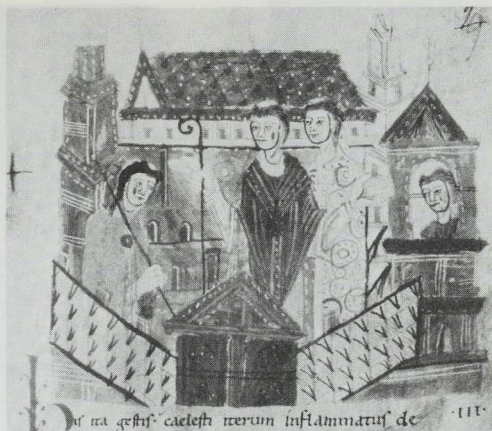
Fig. 10: The sacrilegious Basque (Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 500, f. 57v., author's tracing)



Fig. 11: The sacrilegious Basque (MS 500, f. 65r.)

Throughout the miniatures in the later manuscript, profile and frontal figures are separated consistently into narrative or symmetrically-composed liturgical scenes, so liturgical poses are used realistically, where church services are actually celebrated. This appears to be a self-conscious correction of the earlier miniatures where liturgical poses are inserted into the narrative in order to exaggerate the appearance of the saint's power.

Fig. 12: The Bishop of Bourges welcomes Amand (MS 502, f. 9r.)



Origin and Meaning of the Frontal Figure

Frontality, immobility and hierarchy in the ceremonial appearance of the Emperor, both living and pictured, increased in the Late Empire in inverse proportion to the erosion of this economic, political and military authority. The narrative imagery of Trajan's column is slowly displaced by frequent ceremonial images, isolated from the narrative, in which the emperor appears in the center of a three-part hierarchic group with his subordinates turned towards him.²² Such formal postures continued to be used by emperors as well as by high clergy when the two institutions were assimilated to each other in the fourth and fifth centuries.²³

Although the figure type and some of the combinations, even specific gestures, derive from these authoritarian images, they are given a specific and contemporary content in the life of St. Amand, by their assimilation to liturgical figures, which by the late eleventh century belong to a developed pictorial tradition.

In its early Medieval origins, the frontal figure type did not carry with it the particular sense of destructive power visualized in the scenes from the life of Amand, but had quite a different sense. This original sense is still apparent in the illustration of the Bishop of Bourges welcoming Amand to his city (Fig. 12). Throughout the Early Middle Ages, bishops are represented by this figure type whenever they celebrate liturgical ceremonies. A pair of ivory covers from a ninth or tenth-century Gospel book show bishops in this posture leading a choir and celebrating mass (Figs. 13,14).²⁴ Among the lives of saints, the standard illustration of episcopal consecration or acclamation of a newly-consecrated bishop shows the saint in this posture (Fig. 15,16).²⁵ The frontal figure also becomes standard for commemorative portraits of bishop-saints by the late-tenth century, for example the series in the Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier (Fig. 17).²⁶ The saints themselves are sometimes portrayed this

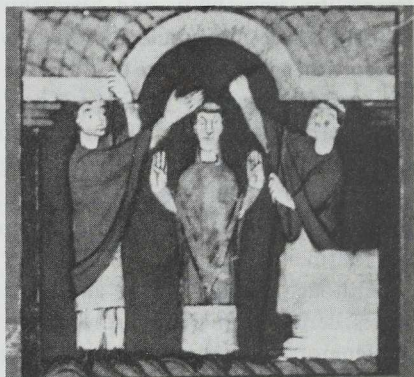
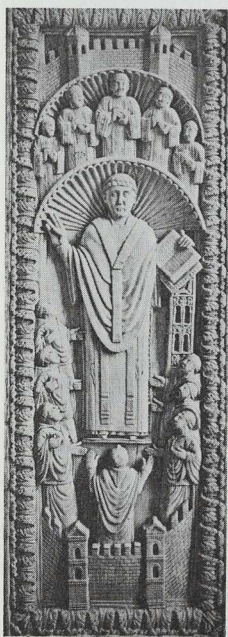


Fig. 13 (links, oben): Bishop celebrating Mass. Ivory Book Cover, Germany 9th-10th cent., Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek Nr. 20 (from A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1914-26) – Fig. 14 (links, unten): Bishop Leading a Choir. Ivory Book Cover, Germany, 9th-10th cent., Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (from Goldschmidt) – Fig. 15 (rechts, oben): Saint Ambrose Consecrated Bishop. Gold altar of St. Ambrose, Milan, Wolvinus, ca. 850 (from G. de Francovich, *Arte Carolingia et Ottoniana in Lombardia*, in: *Röm. Jahrbuch f. Kunstgesch.*, 6, 1942-44, 113-256) – Fig. 16 (rechts, unten): Liudger Consecrated Bishop. *Life of St. Liudger*, Germany, late 11th cent., Berlin, Prussian State Library, Theol. lat. fol. 323, f. 11r. (from H. Schrade, *Die Vita des Heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder*, Münster 1960)



Fig. 17: St. Maur. Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier, Trier, end 10th cent. Cividale, Bibl. Cod. sacri N.6., (from H. Sauerland and A. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts v. Trier*, Trier 1901)



Fig. 18: St. Millán. Ivory panel from reliquary of St. Millán de la Cogolla, Spain, 1053-1067 (from Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*)

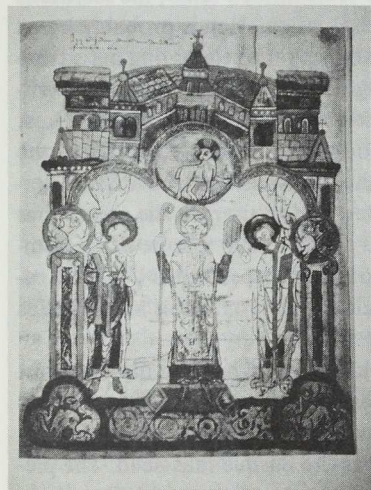


Fig. 19: St. Bertin and his companions. Lives of Saints Bertin, Folquin, Silvin, and Winnoc, Saint-Bertin Abbey, ca. 1000. Boulogne, Bibl. Mun. MS 107, f. 6v. (from J. Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures*, New York, 1959)



Fig. 20: St. Erhard celebrating Mass. Uta Codex made for Abbess Uta of Niedermünster (Regensburg) probably at St. Emmeram's, 1002-25, Munich, Staatsbibl. clm 13601, f. 4 r. (from A. Boeckler, *Das Erhardbild im Uta Codex*, in: *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, D. Miner, ed., Princeton, 1954, 219-230)

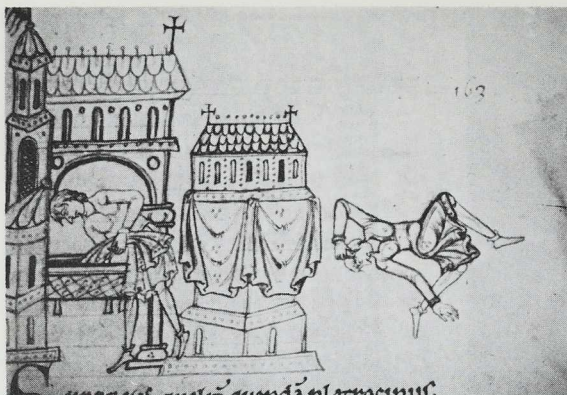


Fig. 21: A Thief Struck Down. Life of St. Cuthbert, England, 2nd quarter 12th cent. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Univ. MS 165, F. 163r.)

way in cult images like that of Saint Millán, attached to his reliquary casket, together with a series of carvings illustrating his life (Fig. 18).²⁷

Both types of image, the bishop performing a ceremony and his commemorative portrait, are combined in a portrait of Saint Bertin, from a collection of saints' lives written around the year 1000 in the abbey of Saint-Bertin, nearby that of Saint-Amand (Fig. 19).²⁸ A cross-limbed lamb, the sacrificial figure of Christ, appears above his head. This configuration is probably based on a more elaborate picture, like that of Saint Erhard celebrating mass from the Uta Codex, Regensburg, 1002-1025 (Fig. 20).²⁹ Above the lamb is written the text of *Agnus Dei*, spoken by the celebrant when he breaks the host in preparation for communion: „Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.“³⁰ The lamb in the same position above Saint Bertin must also stand for the sacrifice celebrated on the altar, so the painter has characterized Saint Bertin's priestly authority as the main feature of his commemorative portrait, even though he does not actually perform a liturgical ceremony. It is this combination which most closely approximates and explains the figure of Saint Amand in the story of the Basque.

Amand differs from Saint Bertin only by looking and holding the book out toward the dying figure (Fig. 3). He also does not perform any liturgical ceremony. Like Bertin, he holds a staff, and he wears no vestments. Yet, like Saint Bertin, he seems to make a liturgical gesture as the Basque falls dead. The picture is meant to imply much more than the text or doctrine would allow.

The Connection Between Pictures and Relics

Hagiographical Texts and Chronicles

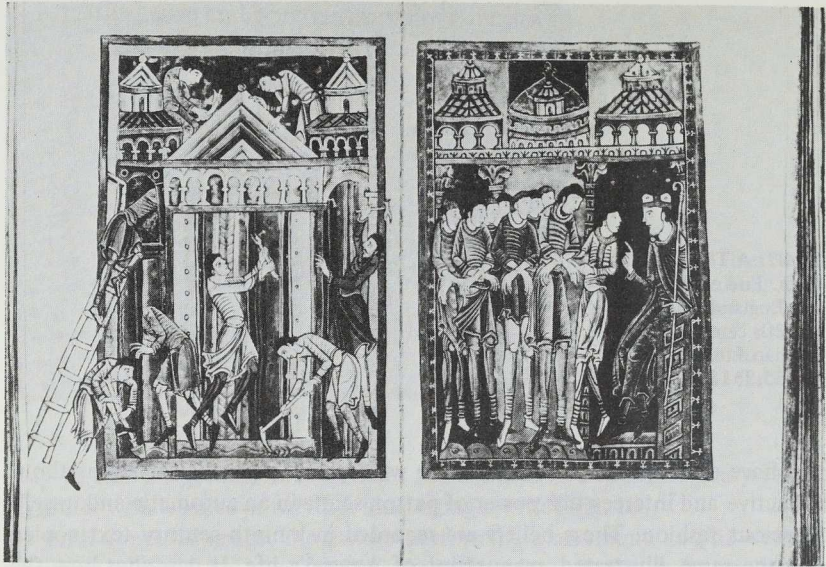
When the monks or abbot had their patron saint depicted presiding over suppressed or destroyed adversaries with contemporary liturgical gestures, they

Fig. 22: A Thief Struck Down. Life of St. Cuthbert, England, 2nd quarter 12th cent. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Univ. MS 165, f. 157r.)



may have done no more than visualize widespread monastic assertions about the active and intercessory power of patron saints in an automatic and unself-conscious fashion. These beliefs are recorded in a ninth-century text copied into the same illustrated manuscript of Amand's life. It describes how the monks displayed the body of the saint in the abbey for the veneration of pilgrims at the time of its seventh-century translation, while at the same time, the saint is proclaimed to be in heaven where, on the Day of Judgement, he will intercede on behalf of those who served him.³¹ Equally widespread was the assertion that a monastery's patron would act long before Judgement Day to protect his possessions. In several saints' lives there are illustrations of posthumous miracles which protect the saint's possessions: thieves are struck down in the life of Saint Cuthbert (Figs. 21,22), and thieves who try to break into Edmund's church are paralyzed until they are discovered in the morning and tried and hanged by the bishop (Figs. 23,24,25). Saint Edmund himself appears to King Sweyn and pierces him with a lance after he tried to extract taxes from Edmund's abbey at Bury.³² There are no posthumous miracles recorded in the eighth-century life of Amand, but terrorizing miracles seem to be incorporated into the life itself.

Stories of the active power of patron saints appear in different categories of texts, not only those which record the history of the saint (hagiographical), but also those which record the ongoing history of the monastery (chronicles). Authors of chronicles do not record the action of the saint in miracles, but the action of the saint through his relics. These are often accounts of miraculous interventions in economic and political disputes. Both the fantastic image of the destructive power of the saint as he appears in illustrations, and its realistic counterpart in the use of relics, are recorded in the manuscript of the life of Saint Amand, and in other texts written at the abbey during the same years. These describe how the relics of Saint Amand were used to enforce



settlements over contested lands and privileges in a ceremonial fashion similar to the way historical events of his life are pictured in the miniatures. Do the pictures of the saint, then, visualize the ceremonial use of his relics during these years?

*The Recourse to Relics*³³

In 1066, the monastery of Saint-Amand burned and the abbot and monks took the body of the saint across the countryside to collect money to rebuild.³⁴ In 1107, the abbot and monks again took the body of the saint across the countryside, but for a different reason. The casket was carried „through Brabant where there were evil men who had usurped monastic goods.“³⁵ The history of the 1107 journey was copied into the manuscript by a different scribe in different ink from that of 1066, so the texts and illustrations must have been compiled between these two dates.³⁶

In 1107, the relics of the saint were used as instruments of magical power to protect the monastery's rights and possessions in contested situations.³⁷ This defensive action was one outcome of the increasing number of disputes in the late eleventh century between the abbot and his feudal officers, who administered a variety of monastic privileges and domains, held as hereditary fiefs from the abbot. In every one of these disputes, the Counts of Flanders, Robert the Frison and Robert II, decided in favor of the abbey in their feudal courts.³⁸ Nevertheless, the conflicts continued and even intensified during the abbacy of Hugh I (1085-1107), the same abbot who organized and accom-

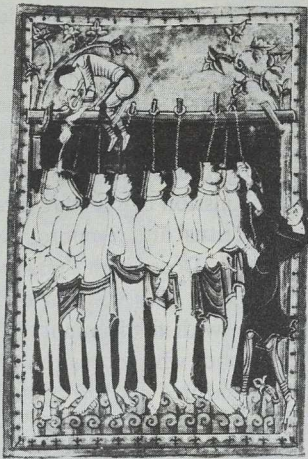


Fig. 23: Thieves break into Edmund's sanctuary. *Life of St. Edmund*, England, Bury-St.-Edmund's Abbey, 1124-25 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., MS 736, f. 18v.) – Fig. 24: Thieves sentenced by the Bishop. *Life of St. Edmund* (Morgan MS 736, f. 19r.) – Fig. 25: Thieves Hanged. *Life of St. Edmund*. (Morgan MS 736, f. 19v.)

panied the voyage with the saint's body in 1107,³⁹ and who may have ordered the texts and pictures compiled.

The worst of these was with Anselm II of Ribemont, who was accused of exacting rents from the peasants and lodgers of the abbey.⁴⁰ Hugh complained to Robert II, who ruled in favor of the abbey sometime after 1093. Anselm promised to make amends, but instead he committed further and graver crimes by building mills, and thereby flooding monastic properties upstream, and by setting up a right-of-way with a toll house on abbey lands. Through these he confiscated revenues due to the abbey from its own mills and right-of-way, from two of its most important sources, the grinding of cereals and cartage fees. A text of about 1097 describes the ensuing struggle: Hugh pronounced an anathema against Anselm, the severest form of excommunication, normally the prerogative of a bishop. „Accordingly ... we struck him with the sword of anathema, and so that he would be more and more terrified, we placed on the ground the body of Saint Amand and the bodies of other saints, and besides, a crucifix holding the complaint in its hand, and we did not cease to make the complaint every day before the body and the blood of the Lord (apparently during Mass).“⁴¹ Finally, Anselm made the following penance: „ ... terrified, how quickly he came to our monastery; before the body of Saint Amand, with bare feet, he prostrated himself, placing his amendment in the hand of the crucifix, and begged mournfully for mercy and absolution.“ He had to admit his crimes before his own men, the monks and the abbot.⁴²

Anselm, as a penitent, must have prostrated himself before the body of

Saint Amand in the same way the assassins prostrate themselves before the saint himself, and Abbot Hugh must have stood before the casket and Anselm in the same posture as Amand (Fig. 1). In the miniature the saint is made to act in the same way that his body was used during the same years. At the same time he seems to visualize the action of the presiding abbot.

To anathematize and preside over a rite of penance were reserved by canon law to bishops, even archbishops, in the west throughout the Middle Ages,⁴³ although abbeys sought and often received permission to excommunicate over specific matters relating to the house, both spiritual and temporal. According to this text, the abbot exercises these functions. Does Hugh thereby identify himself with the monastery's founder and patron, who was not only its first abbot, but also a bishop? Were these pictures, with their emphatic image of the power of the saint commissioned by an abbot who, though not himself a bishop, needed episcopal powers in order to enforce his authority in feudal conflicts?

A similar set of circumstances may explain a similar commemorative portrait of another bishop-abbot. Amand with the Basque looks very much like the figure of Durandus of Moissac, carved in a stone plaque, set up by an abbot whose history is similar to Abbot Hugh's (Figs. 3,26).⁴⁴ Durandus ruled the monastery between 1047 and 1072, and from 1059 he was also bishop of the adjacent diocese of Toulouse. His portrait was placed in the cloister of the abbey by one of his successors, Abbot Ansquetil (1085-1115) in the year 1100, a man who ruled far less securely than Durandus had, but who had consolidated his power shortly before at the expense of the bishops of four surrounding dioceses. In 1096, Pope Urban II had ordered these bishops, under the threat of excommunication, to give forty of their parish churches to the abbey. In the context of this dispute, the portrait of Abbot and Bishop Durandus in this ceremonial pose may have been set up as an assertion of his successor's right to claim episcopal possessions even though he himself was not a bishop.⁴⁵ Similar considerations may have motivated Abbot Hugh, Ansquetil's contemporary at Saint-Amand. Both houses, and especially a Cluniac dependency like Moissac, made it a policy to claim immunity, or independence both from temporal and spiritual overlords, specifically their diocesan bishops.⁴⁶ At the same time, abbots sought and apparently needed to increase their authority by acquiring functions normally reserved for bishops. In this context, seeking and receiving the right to anathematize could be seen as an act of independence, documenting the changing relations between the abbeys and their respective bishops on the one hand, and the relative power of an abbot to protect monastic possessions from feudal encroachments on the other. No relations are documented between the two houses which might account for the similarity in the portraits, but Saint Amand was believed by the community of Moissac to be its founder and first abbot.⁴⁷

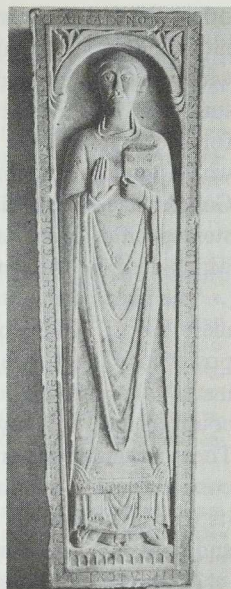


Fig. 26 (links): Durandus of Moissac. Carved relief from cloister of Moissac, 1100 (from H. Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1969) – Fig. 27 (Mitte): Rudolf of Swabia. Grave placq from Merseburg Cathedral, 1080 (from Fillitz) – Fig. 28 (rechts): Bishop Gottschalk. Grave placque from Iburg, 1119 (from H. Thümmeler, *Die Grabplatte des Osnabrücker Bischofs Gottschalk von Diepholz in der Klosterkirche zu Iburg*, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 18 (1964), 25-42)

The form of the Durandus relief is very similar to some early graveside plaques, like those of Rudolf of Swabia in Merseburg Cathedral, 1080 (Fig. 27),⁴⁸ or, even closer, Bishop Gottschalk of Iburg, 1119 (Fig. 28). One wonders if the pictures of Saint Amand also in this posture may have depicted or substituted for a similar portrait, placed together with his body in order to visually associate or even assimilate his past acts with the contemporary action of his relics. In the other instances ceremonial portraits of saints, together with picture cycles of their lives, actually decorated the boxes containing their bodies (Fig. 18).⁴⁹

The Monastic Charter as a Substitute for the Power Image of the Saint

Abbots and their monks had to use relics to settle disputes more and more frequently towards the end of the eleventh century. In an expanding economy, it can be easily imagined how the struggle over surplus between two members of the class who appropriated wealth must have intensified. As feudal officers became stronger, so did the clergy. In these disputes, the monks resorted more frequently to these virtually magical practices, which amplified

other aggressive measures taken to document and protect their possessions, including forging charters and producing spurious relics. Because this is so widespread, a few narrative pictures cannot by themselves document these issues. The whole effort to rewrite or recopy and illustrate hagiographical texts for the first time ⁵⁰ is part of the same documentation of monastic claims which appears also in cartularies from the same period or slightly later. De Gaiffier has shown that new lives of saints were sometimes compiled to bolster specific claims, and that there are hagiographical texts and cartularies which describe the same controversies in identical language.⁵¹

The first cartulary was drawn up at Saint-Amand in 1117. It was not a mere list of possessions, but emphasized specific economic grievances over possessions „lost through the negligence of superiors and the violence of evil men,“ ⁵² a formulation similar to the description of the usurpers in the account of the 1107 voyage with the relics as „evil men induced by the devil.“⁵³ These formulations are repeated because they are part of the continuing documentation of economic and political rights asserted first in the pictures of its patron's power in the saint's life, then chronicled in the use of his body, and now proclaimed in the cartulary.

After the cartulary appears as a record of territorial and other claims, narrative pictures of the saint's life no longer serve to argue these issues. The cartulary begun in 1117 was not completed until 1250. Twice during these years, around 1140 and again between 1160 and 1180, the life of Saint Amand was recopied and even rewritten and newly illustrated.⁵⁴ The manuscript of 1140 contains no narrative pictures; only portraits of the saint, those who wrote the texts, and witnesses to Amand's will and testament are copied. So the whole pictorial content is formed of a legal-like documentation of the abbey's early history.

In the late twelfth-century manuscript, the painter or the supervising abbot had the text of the life illustrated accurately and realistically. When compared miniature by miniature to the earlier version of MS 502, this appears to be a systematic effort to correct precisely those discrepancies between the eighth-century text and the late eleventh/early twelfth-century miniatures which depict contemporary issues,⁵⁵ issues which had either been resolved by the late twelfth century or had found a new forum furnished by the cartulary.

Notes

I would like to thank Karl Werckmeister for a critical reading of the text, and Professor Willibald Sauerländer, who also was kind enough to read this text closely. Their comments and my conversations with Irmgard Staeuble, Ruth Capelle and Peter Gran led to important changes.

1 A. Boutemy, „L'illustration de la vie de Saint Amand,“ *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 10 (1940), 231-249, esp. 236, and most scholarly studies of illustra-

- ted saints' lives assume that these are straightforward renditions of the older texts, taking no account of the discrepancy in time between the two. Exceptions to this pattern of investigation are L. Kalinowski, „Tresci ideowe i estetyczne Drzwi Gnieźnieńskich,” (Summary: „Le contenu idéologique et esthétique de la Porte Gniezno”), in M. Walicki, etc, *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie*, 3 vols., Wrocław, 1959, II, 7-146, 153-160, on the life of Saint Adalbert, (I am indebted to Jan and Mia Trousquier for translating passages of the Polish text for me, and, more recently, Malcom Baker, „Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, (1978), 16-49. For a detailed bibliography, see Abou-El-Haj, *The First Illustrated Life of Saint Amand*, U.C.L.A., 1975, 3-4, with notes.
- 2 Ibid., 50-91, chart, appendix A.
- 3 Semi-profile figures appear in seventeen miniatures, facing right and left. Among them are eight groups of exactly duplicated figures. There are eleven frontal figures, nine of the saint, one of the bishop of Bourges, f.9, and one of a bishop healing a blind beggar with water used by the saint, f. 24v. Most of these figures are engaged in action with ceremonial implications: Amand receives messengers from a penitent king, f. 21; he stands under the arched gate of the monastery while a prior, paralyzed because he disobeyed the saint, is brought there, f. 29. One of the figures is iconographical, derived from the similar scene from the life of Christ – that of the saint healing a blind woman idolator, f. 27v., Ibid., 83-86, 66,67, with literature.
- 4 Chapter 23: „Eodem fere tempore vir sanctus Domini Amandus ad Hildericum adiit regem eique humiliter postulavit, quatenus ei aliquod municipium ad construendum monasterium non ambitionis gratia, sed ob animarum salutem largire dignaretur. Deditque praefatus rex ei locum noncupante Nanto in quo vir Domini sagaci intentione coepit aedificare coenobium. Mommolus autemquidam Ozidinsis urbis antestis valde ferebatur moleste, quod isdem vir Domini eundem locum impetraverat a rege, invidiaeque facibus accensus, eundem virum Domini extinguere conabatur, missisque agilibus viris, ut eundem virum Dei a loco ipso contemptibiliter iniurias adfectum eicerent aut certe in eodem punirent loco. Venientesque ad eum ministri, simulato dolo, dixerunt quod ei locum aptum ad construendum monasterium ostendere deberent, tantum modo cum illis illuc properare deberet. Sed eorum fallacia, revelante Deo, latere non potuit. Cumque eum ad praedictum locum deducere simularent non inscius vir Domini Amandus, quo in loco cum interimere disponent, tandem pervenerunt ad supereilium montis, ut eum ibi capite truncarentur. Vir etiam Domini suis hoc ante indicare noluit, quia ad martyrium libentissime properabat. *Sed subito, orta tempestate, pluvia grandineque, omnem illius locum montis tenebrosa obtecuat nubes, ita ut apparitores, qui ad interficiendum eum fuerant missi, amisso lumine, nihil penitus viderent, spemque vitae nullam habentes, prostrati pedibus sancti viri, veniam postolabant, et ut eos vivos abire sineret, humiliter depraecabantur.* Tunc vir Domini ad consuetam recurrit praesidia, scilicet ad orationum auxilia: profusis in oratione lacrimis, tamdiu orationi iucubuit, donec, reddita serenitate, lumine etiam apparitores recepto non absque metu vel stupore ad propria reverterentur; talique percussi timore ministri, vir Domini mortem incolomis evasit.” (my italics). The text was edited by B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, V, 395-450, see 445-446 (hereafter MGM SSRM), and MS 502, f. 25-25 r. Krusch published the only complete set of photographs of the early life in the same volume, figs. 2-18.
- 5 R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven, 1963, 109, 123-124, 155-157, 189; A. Alföldi, „Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe, Römische Mitteilungen (Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) 49 (1934), 1-118; and H. Stern, „Remarks on the ‚Adoratio’ under Diocletian”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17 (1954), 184-189.
- 6 Alföldi, 66-68, 70-72.
- 7 See the description by Liudprand, bishop of Cremona (920-972), of his diplomatic mission to the Byzantine Court of Constantine VII in 949, Engl. trans. F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, London, 1930.
- 8 Alföldi, 61, n.6, with bibliog., 73-78.

- 9 Prostrate figures, combined with enthroned or standing figures, can be found from early Christian times on, several close in time to the Life of Amand. Often these are ritual gestures before the immobile and frontal figure of an emperor or Christ: eight court officials crouch at the feet of Basil II, Psalter 976-1025, Venice, Marcian Lib. Cod.gr. 17 (D.T. Price and M Hirmer, *The Art of Byzantium*, New York, n.d. pl. XI; S. der Nersessian, „Remarks on the date of the Menologion and Psalter written for Basil II“, *Byzantion*, XV (1940-41), p. 115; Facsimile: *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, VIII, Turin, 1907); Transfiguration, Gospels of Otto III, end tenth century, Munich, Staatsbibl.Cod.lat. 4453 (Cim. 58) (G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, I, Das sog. *Evangeliarium Kaiser Ottos III.*) In Gospel scenes figures sometimes make this ritual gesture before Christ as he performs healing or resurrection miracles: Raising of Lazarus, Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzenus 880-886, executed for Basil I, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod.gr. 510 (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1929, pp. 10, ff. and plates XV-LX, and S. Der Nersessian, „The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris, Grec 510“, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 196-228.
- 10 For prostration on knees and elbows, see Karl Werckmeister's analysis, „The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun“, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), 1-30, 18, with literature, esp. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age*, V, Louvain, 1961, Ordo L, XVIII, 29, p. 121. For the Roman-German Pontifical, see, C. Vogel and R. Elze, ed., *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle*, Vatican City, 1963.
- 11 The penitential configuration can only be suggested by these postures. A bishop would have conducted this rite in public; with assisting clergy, before his Cathedral church, for sinners who had committed grave public sins. At the moment the sinners prostrated themselves before the church door, the bishop may have faced them enthroned while his archdeacon stood before them, with their parish priests, all in a raised position in an exaggerated visual expression of their authority. See C. Vogel, „Les rites de la pénitence publique aux Xe et XIe siècles“, in: R. Gaillais and Y.-J. Riou, ed., *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, Poitiers, 1966, I, 137-144, esp., 137-138, 143.
- 12 Not only was the authority of the bishop visualized in these postures, but also the bishop could require or proscribe daily activities, even private acts, until the penitent was absolved. These could include physical mortification, seclusion and prohibition of conjugal life, *Ibid.*, 141-142.
- 13 Chapter 19. „Igitur tandem, parvam repertam insulam cui vocabulum est Chanaeus iuxta Scaldum fluvium, aliquantis diebus cum fratribus spiritalibus inibi Christo malitavit. *Sed verbi Dei contemtoribus per biennium fere ingens adtrivit plaga, ita ut ever-sae domus, agri in solitudine redacti, necnon etiam vici vel castra destruerentur, nullusque pene in his regionibus remaneret, qui virum Dei contempserant praedicantem*, (my italics), Krusch, MGH SSRM V, 443, MS 502, f. 22-22v.
- 14 Figures making gestures of submission (bent knees, bowed heads, extended, opened hands) and resistance (overcrossed arms, pointing as if talking back, and other awkward and even contorted movements, especially, and most explicitly, turning away) can be seen in the life of Adalbert, where they are strictly separated in different scenes according to the saint's success in his missionary work, and in the life of Saint Amand, where they sometimes appear together, f. 15v. In two scenes in the life of Amand, in the story of the Franks who are converted, and the assassins who submitted, and who turn to go home, the same gestures of resistance appear, inappropriately. Here it seems to be the motive of turning away which is automatically connected with these gestures. Similar turning-away figures in the life of Cuthbert and Adalbert make similar resisting gestures to figures of preaching saints. This happens because groups, as well as individual figures are duplicated among the miniatures in order to expand the number of scenes possible to illustrate unique events in the text. Life of Saint Amand, 58,60, 89-90. The number of Assassins changes from four to three for the same reason.

- 15 Four 9th and 10th century illustrated Apocalypses have survived, one possibly from Saint Amand. They have been divided into 2 iconographical groups by Peter Klein: Trèves, Bib. de la ville, MS 91, (early 9th century) and Cāmbrai, Bib. de la ville, MS 386 (early 10th century) form one; Valenciennes, Bibl. de la ville, MS 99 (early 9th century) and the Saint-Amand MS in Paris, Bibl. natr. nouv. acq. lat. 1132 (early 10th century) constitute the second group. Only the first two contain comparable architectural depictions; those from the area around Elnone do not. For Cambrai, see also f. 32r and for Trèves, ff. 35r., 45., 52r. See Peter Klein, „Les cycles de l'Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IX-XIIIe s.), 135-186, with lit. and C. Heitz, „Retentissement de l'Apocalypse dans l'art de l'époque carolingienne, 217-243, esp. 226-227, in: Ives Christe, ed., L'Apocalypse de St. Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques IIIe-XIIIe siècles, Genève, 1979; H. Omont, „Manuscripts illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux IXe et Xe siècles“, Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, (6), 1922, 84 ff., 62-95; Hans Aurenhammer, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, I, Vienna, 1959-67, 181-207. For Trèves, see Klein, „Der Kodex und sein Bildschmuck“, Trierer Apokalypse, Codices selecti, vol. 48, Graz, 1974 and R. Laufner/P.K. Klein, ibid. Kommentarband, Graz 1975.
- 16 Chapter 20. „Nec multo post, cum fratribus, quos ob animarum cura per diversa reliquerat loca, rogaretur, ut eis vir sanctus praesentia sua visitare dignaretur, et, et eos verbi pabulo reficeret, invitaretur, tandem, praecepta accepta, pervenit ad eos audivitque ab eis gentem quandam, quem Vaceiam appellavit antiquitas, quam nunc vulgo nuncupatur Wascones, nimio errore deceptam, ita ut auguriis vel omni errore dedita, idola etiam pro Deo coleret. Quae gens Transalpinis montibus per aspera atque inaccessibilia diffusa est loca, fretaque agilitate pugnandi, frequenter finibus occupabat Francorum. Viri autem Domini Amandus eorum miseratus erroris enixaeque laborans, ut eos a diaboli revocaret instinctu, dum eis verbum praedicaret divinum atque evangelium ad nuntiaret salutis, *unus e ministris adsurgens levis, lubricus necnon insuper et superbus atque etiam apta cachinnans risui verba quem vulgo mimilogum vocant, servum Christi detrahare coepit evangeliumque quod praedicabat pro nihilo duci. Sed eadam mox hora arreptus a daemone, miser propriis se coepit manibus laniare, atque coactus publice confiteri, quod ob iniuriam, quam Dei inrogaverat servo, haec perpeti mereretur, sicque in ipso constitutus tormento, spiritum exalavit extremum.*“ (my italics) Krusch, MGH SSRM, V, 443-444, MS 502, ff. 22 v. 23.
- 17 There are no representations of demoniacs in the life of Saint Amand. In one chapter a boy is saved from drowning by a demon, a metaphor for possession, but it is the demon itself which is represented, f. 12v., Life of Saint Amand, 90/91, 147-148. However, in most of the saints' lives demons are characterized by physical disfigurements similar to the mocking Basque: flame-like hair, enlarged and distorted physiognomy, exaggerated and awkward gestures, based on gospel representations of the healing of demoniacs. See G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, 3 vols., N.Y., 1971, 173-174, esp. figs. 525-528, and A. Boeckler, „Ikonographische Studien zu den Wunderszenen in der ottonischen Malerei der Reichenau“, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen, ns 52 (1961), 1-40, esp. 11 ff., 29 ff. Among saints' lives, similar figures of demoniacs occur in the lives of Adalbert and Cuthbert (Figs. 8,9). For a list, see Life of Saint Amand, Chart, appendix A.
- 18 See for instance the figure falling from the defensive walls of Verona during Constantine's siege, Arch of Constantine, Rome, 312, in R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Rome. The Late Empire, New York, 1971, fig. 67, and Medieval descendants, the 11th-century Canterbury Psalter, Vat. MS Reg. 12, Ps. 82: 13-18, the enemies of the Lord overturned, in F. Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Century, London, 1952, pl. 27A.
- 19 See also the thieves who attack St. Cuthbert's shrine struck down, Figs. 21 and 22.
- 20 Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. MS 500. The text was commissioned by Abbot Hugh II from Abbot Philippe of Aumone (ca. 1150-1160) and illustrated shortly after it was brought to Saint-Amand. See E. de Moreau, Saint Amand, apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France, ouvain, 1927, 62-68. For the text, Acta Sanctorum Feb. I,

- 857-873 (hereafter AA SS Feb. I). That it was meant to update the eighth-century version believed to have been written by Baudemonde can be seen in the author's prologue: „exercitio vigili recipiant obscura lucem, modum superflua, hiantia iuncturam minus habentia supplementum“, Moreau, 63, AA SS Feb. I, 857. Boutemy suggests that the drawings and paintings in MS 500 were added in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, around 1180, because no illustrations are mentioned in the ancient catalogue of the monastic library, the *Index maior*, drawn up in the third quarter of the twelfth century, „*Vie de Saint Amand*“, 241. MS 500 contains additional texts on Saint Stephen, the passion of Saints Cyr and Juliette, and diverse texts on Amand, Boutemy, 232-244, Moreau, *Ibid*.
- 21 For similar transformations of miniatures in MS 502 by the artist of MS 500, where the drawings are clearly intermediary, see *Life of Saint Amand*, 147 ff., 160 ff. For an assessment of these changes, see below pp.
 - 22 See the comprehensive treatments by Brilliant and Alföldi, esp. Brilliant, 179, 189-192, with bibliography, H.P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire*, Princeton, 1965, 75, 124-125.
 - 23 L'Orange, 103, 104, 125 with bibl.; Alföldi.
 - 24 A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, 4 vols., Berlin 1914-1926, I, LIII: 120, 121, also LXI: 44. See also Saint Clement celebrating mass, Church of San Clemente, Rome, ca. 1100, H. Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter*, I (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 5), Berlin, 1969, 373.
 - 25 See the scenes from the lives of Saints Ambrose, Gold altar from the church of San Ambrogio, Milan (V.H. Elbern, „Der Ambrosiuszyklus am karolingischen Goldaltar zu Mailand“, *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, 7 (1953), 1-8 with literature), Liudger, f. 11 (H. Schrade, *Die Vita des heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder*, Münster, 1960, fig. 7), Amand, MS 500, f. 57, *Life of Saint Amand*, 56, 160-162.
 - 26 Trier, end of the tenth century, now in Cividale, Bibl. Cod. sacri N. 6, H. Sauerland und A. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier*, Trier, 1901, pl 7, ff. See also Rhein und Maas, *Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, 2 vols., Cologne, 1972, 1973, pgs. 183, 186, 196: portraits of Bishop Sigebert of Minden, ca. 1030, Saint Benedict, and Saint Severus; and p. 227, probably Dietrich of Stavelot, ca. 1048, who is very similar to the figure of Saint Amand.
 - 27 Saint Millán is clearly identified as a bishop, an enormous figure holding a chalice and book out symmetrically to smaller figures of Saints Aselo, Etocio and Sofronio, Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, 290.
 - 28 Saint Bertin and his companions, *Lives of Saints Bertin Folquin, Silvin, and Winnoc*, from Saint-Bertin, ca. 1000, Boulogne, Bibl. mun MS 107, f. 6v., see J. Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures*, New York, 1960, pl VI, and P. Héliot, „*Les Manuscrits illustrés de la bibliothèque de Boulogne*“, *Bulletin du Comité Flamand de France*, No I (1934), 189-221, esp. 194-195, 205.
 - 29 Portrait of Saint Erhard, bishop of Regensburg, celebrating mass, Uta Codex, made for Abbess Uta of Niedermünster (Regensburg), probably at Saint Emmeram, Munich, Staatsbibl. clm 13601, f.4. See A Boeckler, „*Das Erhardbild im Utacodex*“, *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, 219-230, fig. 172.
 - 30 „*Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nostri*“, *Ibid.*, 219. On another ivory bishop Sigebert of Minden (1022-1036) is also represented in vestments, his hands outstretched between two deacons, seeming to read from a book. In the upper corners of the plack are a lamb holding a book and a dove (see above, note 26).
 - 31 Among the additions to the eighth-century life by the ninth-century monk Milo is this one, on the translation of the saint's body, believed to have been carried out by Saint Eligius sixteen years after Amand's death. In it Milo describes the double role of the saint for the monastery, that his physical body remains within the community to be venerated while his soul acts on behalf of the monks in heaven. „The day after the body was found miraculously incorrupt, a great crowd assembled and kissed Amand's hands and feet (divinae virtutis miraculum, corpusculum videlicet sancti patris ... in-

- corruptum ... ipsius sancti pedes atque amnis concessit osculari virtutum operatrices)" Krusch, MGH SSRM, V, 472, 473, MS 502, ff. 58, 58v. Milo ends the sermon by describing the saint in heaven as intercessor for the community on the day of Judgement „iam cum Christo positus ... as precibus intervenientibus, reddetque nobis ex irato Domino patrem serenissimum". Krusch, 474-475, 476, MS 502, ff. 60-60v., 62v.-63, Life of Saint Amand, 152-153. My thanks to Kathryn Keefer for checking my English version of this text. On the role of the saint after his death for the community, see B. de Gaiffier, *Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, Brussels, 1967, esp. „Les heros", 455-456.
- 32 Life of Saint Cuthbert (Cambridge Univ. MS 175, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, second fourth of the twelfth century): There are two scenes of thieves attacking Cutbert's relics and the monastery who are immediately struck dead, ff. 157, 163. There is also a „ribald pagan" who is struck down, presumably for sacrilege, f. 149. In the Life of Saint Edmund (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 738, from Bury-Saint-Edmunds, 1124-25), the saint does not exact the thieves' execution, and Abbo describes at length the bishop's contrition. But this in fact is not depicted. Instead the tiny portion of text describing the trial and execution is illustrated in two miniatures, and the thieves hanging dead with open mouths in a particularly gruesome scene emphasizes retribution for their violation of the shrine. There is also an illustration of a monk whose house burns after he refused to shelter Edmund's body during the Danish invasions. See Abou-El-Haj, „Bury St. Edmunds Abbey between 1070 and 1124: a History of Property, Privilege, and Monastic Art Production", *Art History*, 6 (1983), 1-29, with literature.
- 33 The history of the monastery of Saint-Amand has been investigated in two complementary studies by Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340*, Paris, 1962, and *La justice seigneuriale de l'abbaye de Saint Amand. Son organisation judiciaire, sa procédure et sa compétence du XIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris/Louvain, 1965, with a description of archival documents, a list of printed primary sources, and a complete bibliography of secondary literature. Platelle has also published important monastic documents: „Le premier cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand en date du 16 décembre 1116", *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 126 (1960), 61-82. See also Edouard de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, 4 vols., Brussels, 1945, esp. II, and the analysis of texts in MSS 502 and 500 in Saint Amand, apôtre.
- 34 See Platelle, *Le temporel*, 124-126, 125 n. 23, *La justice*, 118-119, nn. 18, 19, on the fire and dedication of the newly-built Abbey church. The dedication is recorded in the *Annales Elnonensis*, ed. Ph. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Brussels, 1937, 160, under the year 1088. For the author's prologue, MS 502, f. 126v., Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, I, 3-14, AA SS Feb. I, 895, Moreau, Saint Amand, apotre, 74.
- 35 „Huiusmodi causa necessitatis urgente, scilicet ea quae dudum a Regibus et religiosis Principibus, ab salutem animatum suarum, Deo et Amando collata fuer in pago Brabantii malignis hominibus auferre cupientibus, et iam violenter ablata retinentibus", MS 502, f. 138, AA SS Feb. I, 900 MGH SS, XV, 852-853. On the voyage of 1107, see Moreau, Saint Amand, apôtre, 75, 285-291, Platelle, *Le temporel*, 127-128.
- 36 Miracle dated 1090 appears at the end of the 1066 account in a different hand. The 1107 text and another miracle was also added to the earlier texts in the second hand, perhaps shortly after that date, so these years, 1066 and 1107, mark the terminus post and ante quem for the manuscript. Boutemy doesn't mention the 1107 voyage, only the miracle of 1107 which ends the manuscript, „Vie de Saint Amand", 232. For the texts, see MS 502, ff. 126-143v., MGH SS, XC, 848-853, AA SS Feb. I, 895-903, Moreau, Saint Amand, apotre, 69-76, 285-293.
- 37 Platelle, *Le temporel*, 127-128, *La justice*, 61, Moreau, Saint Amand, apôtre, 289-291, *Histoire*, II, 222. All but one of the miracles performed by the relics are recounted in general terms. According to the author, these caused the culprits to return usurped possessions to the monastery. Future offenders are threatened with

- excommunication. See MS 502, f. 139, AA SS Feb. I, 901.
- 38 Platelle, *Le temporel*, 144, *La justice*, 59-60. See also *Le temporel* 123, on the early establishment of hereditary feudal officers under Abbot Malbod; 128-129, on the power of the Counts of Flanders as high advocates; and 133-142, on the lower advocates and lay provosts. These are also discussed in *La Justice*, 31, and Moreau, *Histoire*, II, 222.
- 39 Platelle, *La justice*, 31, 61-63, 74-75, 96-97, appendices, 417-431; and *Le temporel*, 126-128, 144-145.
- 40 For the history of Anselm, see Platelle, *Le temporel*, 132; and *La Justice*, 62, 79, appendix IV, 421-427, with the entire text of the complaint.
- 41 Notum sit omnibus fidelibus christianis, presentibus et futuris, Anselmus multas injurias huic ecclesie Sancti Amandi ... intulisse, in villis Sancti Amandi injuste jacuisse, stipendia a rusticis vi accepisse, ab hospitibus Sancti Amandi redemptionem extrahisse, multaque alia mala inflexisse. A quibus injuriis cum sepe precaremur eum tam per nos quam per alios religiosos viros ut se retraheret, de preteritis penitens, de futuris se cessaturum promittens, super altare Sancti Amandi emendavit, sed malum facere non cessavit. Unde gravi merore affecti proclamationem apud comitem R(otbertum), eo presente, fecimus; qui secundum curie judicium per justiciam comitis omnia nobis emendavit. Ut autem de curia recessit, nobis parcere noluit, immo ad augmentum malitie sue molendina apud Bulcinium ad confusionem molendinorum Sancti Amandi antiquitus existentium in Nova Villa et Louch fieri fecit ex homines, qui in molendinis Sancti Amandi consueverant molere, ad sua ire coegit et aquam, que solebat fluere ad molendina Sancti Amandi, et pisces, facta sclusa, retinuit. Quam sclusam ita levavit ut aquam, que solebat transfluere, per culturas Sancti Amandi faciat redundare; transitum etiam qui fiebat per Novam Villam ita nobis abstulit ut volentes transire per eam, facta in culturis Sancti Amandi injuste via, per Bulcinium vi faciat transmeare. *De hac itaque malitia cum nullo modo se tetrahere vellet, gladio anathematis eum percussimus, et ut magis magisque terreretur corpus Sancti Amandi aliorumque sanctorum corpora, insuper et crucifixum manu proclamationem ante corpus et sanguinem Domini cotidie facere non cessavimus.* (my italics). See Platelle, *La justice*, 422, also Valenciennes, MS 33, guard leaf. For the importance of mills to the economy of the abbey, see the account of the battle over mills built by the neighbouring monastery of Hasnon to the detriment of those of Saint-Amand during the same years, *Ibid.*, 125-126, n. 42, 129, and Abou-El-Haj, „Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand“, *Art Bulletin*, 355-56.
- 42 „Quod cum multorum relatione didicisset, multum pertimescens, ut suscepturi emendationem ad eum veniremus mandavit. Nos vero, quos similiter multotiens deceperat, eum adire nolumus, dicentes quoniam, nisi prius veniens super corpus Sancti Amandi quiquid peccaverat emendaret, numquam nos corpora sanctorum de terra sublevatuos quoadusque omnipotens ominis apertam justitiam nobis de eo faceret. *Unde ineffabiliter perterritus quam citius potuit ad monasterium nostrum venit, ante corpus sancti Amandi nudis pedibus se prostravit, emendationem in manu crucifixi faciens, misericordiam et absolutionem lacrimabiliter petiit.* Nos vero lacrimis et petitionibus ejus concendentibus, hac conditione eum absolvimus ut in crastino, presente abbate Haimérico) Aquicinensi et presentibus fratribus nostri monasterii, se in villis Sancti Amandi injuste jacuisse et cautionem injuste fecisse profiteretur et filium suum tales exactiones relinquere faceret.“ (my italics) See Platelle, 422-425, 79. Though it would appear that these tactics were successful where the authority of the Count of Flanders had failed, in fact the monastery had to pay a heavy price, 120 silver marks, to buy back Anselm's advocacy of these possessions. Again the body of Saint Amand was used in this transaction; it was carried to the places which now passed under the control of the Abbey.
- 43 On anathema and excommunication, see A. Vacant and E. Mangelot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, col. 567. On penance, see F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 14, col. 211, 212, and Vogel (note 11).
- 44 See Fillitz (note 24), pl. 130.

- 45 I am indebted to Karl Werckmeister for this commentary on Durandus and Ansequetil and for bibliographical references. See R. Aubert, „Durand de Bredon“, DHGE, XIV, Paris, 1960, coll. 1156 f., M. Vidal, „Un grand abbé clunisien de Moissac: Durand de Bredon“, Xe Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés Académiques et Savantes de Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne, 1956, 101-111, Gallia Christiana, I, 159; XIII, 12 12 f., J. Hourlier, „L'entrée de moissac dans l'ordre de Cluny“, Annales du Midi, 75 (1963), 353-363, E. Rupin, L'abbaye et le cloître de Moissac, Paris, 1874. On the history of Abbots serving as bishops, see P.R. Oliger, Les évêques réguliers, recherche sur leur condition juridique depuis les origines du monachisme jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge, Paris, 1958.
- 46 Cluny claimed total exemption from lay or episcopal control. It had been placed, from its foundation, directly under the authority of the papacy. For the scholarly arguments on this issue and its effect on relations between the monastery and local bishops, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform, Oxford, 1970, esp. XIII-XVII, with literature. Although Saint-Amand claimed immunity, certain prerogatives were retained by its diocesan bishop, and generally good relations existed between the two. Beginning in 1107, a number of privileges were granted by the papacy which specify the nature of this immunity, Platelle, Le Temporel, 173-175. Like most Flemish houses, Saint-Amand was never incorporated into Cluny, but it did adopt some Cluniac customs by the end of the eleventh century, Ibid. 178-179, A. Wilmart and L. Brou, Un office monastique pour le 2 novembre dans le Nord de la France du XI^e siècle“, Sacris Erudiri, V (1953), 247-330, esp. 271 f., 293.
- 47 Rupin, Moissac, 24 and n. 5, 25, 26. Aymeric de Peyrac and Andurandy in the fourteenth century even claim that Amand ruled the monastery for fifty-nine years, from 574 to 633, p. 26. The cult of Saint Amand was widespread in France, especially in the south, since he was born in Aquitaine. See Moreau, Saint Amand, apôtre, 269-316. There is even a description of a golden cult statue of Saint Amand taken to the synod held at Rodez, along with the statue of Saint Foy of Conques and other statues and shrines, by Bernard of Angers in a critical account of how these were distributed under tents and pavilions as if they were to argue for their respective congregations. „Sancti Amandi eosque confessoris et episcopi, aurea majestas“, (from the Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis, ed. A. Bouillet, 71f. in H. Keller, „Zur Entstehung der sakralen Vollsulptur in der ottonischen Zeit“, Festschrift für Hans Jantzen, Berlin, 1951, 71-91, esp. 78-79, n. 44).
- 48 Fillitz, Das Mittelalter, noted this similarity, pl 130, 122, and page 169, as did H. Thümmel for Bishop Gottschalk, „Die Grabplatte des Osnabrücker Bischofs Gottschalk von Diepholz in der Klosterkirche zu Iburg“, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 18, (1964), 25-42, fig. 1.
- 49 The closest figure would be that of Saint Millán (see note 27), but there are also enthroned figures of saints who serve similar functions, for example, that of Saint Heribert. See D. Kötzsche, „Der Schrein des heiligen Heribert“, Rhein und Maas (note 26) I, 277-278; II, 221-223. Like Saint Millán, it is also attached to the saint's reliquary casket, whose roof is decorated with enamels representing his life. The enthroned figure of the Saint is also very similar to the miniature of Saint Edmund enthroned in heaven, which appears at the end of his illustrated life (note 32), p. 42. These enthroned figures in metal and painting closely resemble the enthroned statue-reliquary of Saint Foy of Conques, mentioned in the account of Bernard of Angers, a golden majesty, along with the figure of Saint Amand (note 36). See J. Taralon, „La majesté d'or de Sainte-Foy du trésor de Conques“, Revue de l'art, 40-41 (1978), 9-22.
- 50 Many lives of saints were written or recopied in the eleventh century, also many feasts of saints were added to monastic calendars, Ibid., „L'hagiographe et son public“, 475-507, esp. 479, 490. New discoveries of relics, elevations and translations were especially numerous in Flanders as were voyages with relics across the countryside, p. 491, and „L'hagiographie dans la Flandre ...“, 415 ff., 421, 4520457. Even fictitious new biographies were constructed, „Les héros de la littérature hagiographique“, 452-474, esp. 458-459. See also H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, Notre Dame,

- 1961, 99-102. On hagiography at Saint-Amand and the parallel between hagiography and elaborated miniatures, *Life of Saint Amand*, 155-157, 171-172.
- 51 „Revendications de biens“, 136 und n. 3.
- 52 „multa sint seu per negligentiam praelatorum, seu per violentiam malorum subtrac-
ta“, Platelle, „Le premier cartulaire“, (note 33), p. 319.
- 53 From the text of 1107: „sic homines nequissimi, diabolo suadente res ecclesiis et mo-
nasteriis a fidelibus traditas invadere“, AA SS Feb. I, 900, MS 502, f. 138, Moreau,
Saint Amand, apôtre, 289. A similar description of idolators from Ghent, the same
region, occurs in the eighth-century life; „diaboli laqueis vehementer inretitum“,
Krusch, MGH SSRM, V, 437, MS 502, f. 14 (fig. 6).
- 54 Boutemy, „Vie de Saint Amand“, (note 1).
- 55 On the systematic correction of the miniature of MS 502 in MS 500, see *Life of Saint
Amand*, 145-170.