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Bringing Out the Saints:
Journeys of Relics in Tenth to Twelfth Century Northern France and Flanders

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Kate Melissa Craig

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Bringing Out the Saints:
Journeys of Relics in Tenth to Twelfth Century
Northern France and Flanders

by

Kate Melissa Craig
Doctor of Philosophy in History
University of California, Los Angeles, 2015
Professor Patrick Geary, Chair

The social importance of saints' relics during the European Middle Ages is well documented, yet relics have rarely been treated as mobile objects beyond discussions of their transportation from one permanent location to another (a "translation"). This dissertation examines the practice of taking relics on out-and-back journeys to explore the consequences of temporarily removing these objects from the churches in which they were housed and displayed, focusing on northern France and the Low Countries during the high Middle Ages. Medieval relics were considered direct conduits to the supernatural power of the saints, and an itinerant relic projected religious, economic, and political authority onto the areas it traveled through. However, travel also brought a relic into contact with unfamiliar audiences. Using evidence from customaries, hagiography, charters, and images, I demonstrate that while moving relics transformed them into versatile tools of power, it also exposed them to criticism, antagonism, and danger from both lay and ecclesiastical groups.

The first chapter argues that relics traveled frequently and regularly by tracking the appearance of instructions for temporary relic movement across eleventh-century customaries, mainly from the monastery of Cluny. The next three chapters examine hagiographical texts to reveal the complexity of the interactions between those performing relic journeys and three groups that they might encounter en route: other ecclesiastics, lay property owners, and the laity at large. The second chapter shows that while bringing their relics together could serve as a demonstration of goodwill between multiple monasteries, moving one relic into the physical presence of another might also provoke intense conflict. The third chapter examines the roles mobile relics could play in monastic property disputes, ranging from intimidation of lay opponents to more subtle assertions of authority over a landscape. The fourth chapter demonstrates that although medieval lay devotion to relics is often taken for granted, a mobile relic might also incite dissent or rejection from local laypeople. Finally, the fifth chapter explores visual and textual imaginings of relic journeys and their significance, especially the use of the Ark of the Covenant as a motif to valorize the experience of transporting relics.

The dissertation of Kate Melissa Craig is approved.

Teofilo F. Ruiz

Min Li

Patrick Geary, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

For Ethel and Nelda

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AASS	*Acta sanctorum* (68 vols., Société des Bollandistes, Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940). Digitized by Chadwick-Healey as the *Acta Sanctorum Database*.
AASSOSB	*Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, ed. Jean Mabillon (9 vols., Paris, 1668-1701; 2nd ed., Venice, 1733-40).
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BM	Bibliothèque municipale (of city)
CCH Paris	*Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum, Biblioteca nationali parisiensi*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* (Turnhout)
CCM	*Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
Mansi	Mansi, Giovanni Domenico, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SS	*Scriptores (in folio)*
SS rer. Mer.	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844-64).

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8 Utrecht Psalter, fol. 75r. Psalm 131.

9 Eadwine Psalter, fol. 203v. Psalm 113.

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"Relics on the Road: Writing the Power of the Saint Beyond the Monastery." 48th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, May 10, 2013.

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Introduction

Modern visitors to the Illinois State Military Museum have the opportunity to view a somewhat surprising object: a prosthetic leg of the Mexican general Santa Anna, captured during a raid by the G Company of the 4th Illinois infantry during the battle of Cerro Gordo. The leg had a long history of itinerancy before settling down in its current home: it was toured through fairs, in private homes, and at exhibitions, and even after its donation to the museum traveled with a "Grand Heritage Mobile" in the 1970s. Alan Knight, writing in *Past & Present* about the history of this strange "secular relic", compares the leg to a medieval relic only once. When describing Illinois' refusal to loan the leg for an exhibit in Texas, Knight characterizes the museum as "a medieval monastery jealous of its splinter of the True Cross". Intriguingly, the comparison to medieval relics is evoked only when the leg is immobile in its permanent home, and protectively guarded against further travels.[1]

This treatment of medieval relics characterizes a longstanding impression that medieval relics were essentially stable objects, displayed as permanent "exhibits" like Santa Anna's leg in the Military Museum (where it is placed in a diorama with a false roast chicken and coins, the other spoils discovered and consumed by the G Company). Yet relics, though perhaps not as peripatetic as Santa Anna's leg, often had histories that depended on mobility as much as stasis. In this dissertation, I address the tenth to twelfth century as a period in which relics had a high level of "everyday" mobility; that is, they traveled not only from one permanent home to another but also on out-and-back journeys. Relics moved far more frequently and regularly during this

[1] Knight's conclusion is that Santa Anna's leg was in fact not comparable to religious relics in Mexico: "Therefore, it may be best to draw a sharp line between the two and conclude that talk of secular saints, cults, and relics is, at best, metaphorical and, at worst, seriously misleading." I would argue for a striking level of importance of movement in constructing social identities for mobile objects, whether they are significant in a religious framework or another symbolic system (in the case of Santa Anna's leg or, perhaps, the Liberty Bell, a nationalist "sacrality"). Alan Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna: A Saga of Secular Relics," *Past & Present* 206, no. suppl 5 (January 1, 2010): 227–55.

period than has been thought, and in doing so found new levels of use as mobile and local tools of power. Furthermore, this new level of relic mobility provoked complex and at times antagonistic responses from the groups, both ecclesiastical and lay, that relics encountered during these journeys. Itinerant relics moved through a preexisting landscape of other religious and secular influences, and so moving relics created both opportunities and problems that did not exist, or were at least less intense, when they remained stationary.

In this introduction, I will first very briefly review the broad outlines of the medieval cult of relics, before moving on to discussing their transportation and mobility. The historical literature has tended to treat the displacement of relics according to the stated purpose for their movement, and I will be following those divisions to discuss the key historiographical contributions. Finally, I will turn to the limitations of this typological approach and situate my own work within recent trends towards considering relic mobility in terms of its effects, particularly the new focus on the potential for ambiguity and conflict when relics were removed from the defined ritual space of the church.

Relics in medieval Europe

Relics, by the tenth century, were well-established as a central feature of medieval religion. For centuries in Flanders and elsewhere, they had been discovered, translated, bought,

sold, stolen, venerated, gifted, criticized, tested, broken apart, and "humiliated".[2] Relics could be some part of the physical remains of a saint, their entire body, or an object associated with them (often clothing, as for example St. Martin's cloak or St. Honoratus' shoe). In addition, the spiritual power of relics was considered contagious, so that another object that touched the relics, or liquid that had been poured over them (whether water, wine, or oil) could take on some of the relics' potency as a "contact relic".[3] The cult of relics began with the veneration of early Christian martyrs, and the possession and use of corporeal relics is known from the fourth century onwards.[4] For most purposes, relics were considered direct conduits to the saints living in heaven, because they retained some aspect of a saint's power and provided a physical link through which they could operate on earth. The space surrounding relics, then, was a powerful area in which the saint was considered particularly likely to miraculously aid those seeking his or her help. Critically, however, relics tended also to be small and highly portable.[5]

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[2] The classic study of relics remains Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints: formation coutumière d'un droit*, Collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975). The most recent contribution to the study of medieval saints and relics, which significantly updates Herrmann-Mascard's work, is Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013). Other significant studies on medieval relics (among many others too numerous to list) include: Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvetius, eds., *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles*, Hagiologia (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Edina Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à saint Louis: protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir*, 1 vols., Bibliothèque historique et littéraire (Paris: Beauchesne, 2007); Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints : The Diocese of Orlèans, 800-1200* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra : Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); Patrick Geary, "L'humiliation des saints," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 34, no. 1 (1979): 27–42; Martina Bagnoli et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[3] These contact relics were in fact more common in places such as North Africa where the actual bodies of the martyrs remained entombed. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 12–13, 244–250.

[4] Ibid., 239–241.

[5] For this emphasis on portability within a critical discussion of relics after 700 through the use of relic inventories and labels, Julia Smith, "Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c.700-c.1200)," *Proceedings of the British Academy Volume 181, 2010-2011 Lectures*, October 1, 2012.

The Carolingians (from the eighth to early tenth centuries) had especially worked to establish the cult of relics north of the Alps and thus had created and maintained an active relic trade with the Mediterranean world.[6] In addition, relics saw new political uses in the Carolingian period as a means to tame and Christianize pagan landscapes, as Hedwig Röckelein has shown was the case for Saxony, and in political processes of gift-giving.[7] The Carolingians also oversaw increased production of hagiographical texts designed to articulate the life histories of these saints, to explain why their relics were in their current location, and to extol their abilities to perform miracles after death. Loosely, these three goals corresponded to three different types of texts produced about relics: a saint's *vita* ("life") (or *passio*, "passion" in the case of martyrs where the focus was on their violent deaths rather than their holy lives), their *translatio* ("translation"), and their *miracula* ("miracles").

A single church could, in fact, contain many saints' relics. In the first place, relics were almost invariably used in order to consecrate churches and altars, making the continued importation, discovery, division, and verification of relics all the more important.[8] The Carolingian ceremonies for dedication indicate that these relics were enclosed within the

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6 Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 57–58. For the Carolingian uses of relics more broadly, Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 28–43.

7 Hedwig Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert: über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter*, Beihefte der Francia (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2001). Julia Smith, "Rulers and Relics c.750-c.950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven," *Past & Present* 206, no. suppl 5 (January 1, 2010): 73–96.

8 Were relics necessary to consecrate churches and altars? Hermann-Mascard took up this question explicitly. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 162–168. Bartlett notes that there is evidence that the Eucharist could be used in a dedication without relics, and that the relationships between the relics enclosed in an altar and the dedication of a church is not always straightforward. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 444–446. However, Charlemagne had required all altars to contain relics. Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen âge, IV: Les textes Ordines XXXV-XLIX*, vol. 4, Les ordines romani du haut Moyen âge (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, 1985), 326–334.

consecrated altar, and therefore sealed off from further transportation and use.[9] However, relics were also placed on top of or nearby altars in portable (and usually elaborately decorated) reliquaries.[10] Although all churches had relics, these items had particular significance for monasteries, which were likely to emphasize veneration of a single saint. Often, this would be the apocryphal founder of the monastery (as for Saint-Amand, Saint-Bavo, Saint-Ghislain, etc.).

Relic *translationes*

Even this cursory overview of medieval relics suggests how important movement was to the development of a relic's symbolic meaning and social life. A relic *translatio* (translation), in its strictest definition, refers to the transfer of a relic from one *permanent* location to another. The rituals surrounding a translation were intended to introduce the relic to its new community and to make a public statement about the permanence of the connection between this saint and the surrounding area.[11] From that point on, the saint would protect the area as one of the local patrons, and in return the people (lay and ecclesiastic) would venerate that saint. Veneration might be expected to include donations, formal liturgical acclamation, and the suspension of work on the saint's feast day.

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[9] Two of the *Ordines romani* (descriptions of liturgical practice, generally understood to have been based on the practices of Rome but which circulated for use north of the Alps) describe how relics were deposed in altars (41 and 42). A related *ordo* (43) describes more generally the practices for" raising, carrying away, or receiving relics". Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen âge, IV*.

[10] For an excellent recent work on the evolution, forms, and meaning of medieval reliquaries, Cynthia J. Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400 - circa 1204* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

[11] Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 282–295.On the rituals of translation during the period in question, Pierre-André Sigal, "Le déroulement des translations de reliques principalement dans les régions entre Loire et Rhin aux XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles*, ed. Anne-Marie Helvétius and Edina Bozóky (Brepols, 1999), 213–27. For the symbolic importance of Carolingian translations/consecrations, Dana M. Polanichka, "Transforming Space, (Per)forming Community: Church Consecration in Carolingian Europe," *Viator* 43, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 79–98.

A translation text was thus a record of the acquisition (by one means or another) of a saint's relics by a religious community, and was thus generally a production of the community who received the relics as part of their in-house hagiographical enterprise and development of the cult of that saint. The historiography on translations is extensive, because since the 1970s medieval historians have recognized the value of these texts for understanding relics as a special type of spiritual commodity, intimately linked to the self-presentation of monastic communities. The most succinct and comprehensive historiographical introduction to these events remains the volume *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* by Martin Heinzelmann, part of the *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental* series.[12]

More than anything else, translations were infused with the ideal of permanency. The saints, once ritually "introduced" to their relics' new home, were not intended to leave it. Yet many situations have been identified, beginning primarily in the tenth century, in which relics continued to travel after being associated with a permanent location. Temporary relic movement (in which the relics were returned to the same place they left) might be undertaken for a number of reasons, and the historiography has tended to focus on one of these types of relic movement. The sources themselves use a wide variety of terms to refer to temporary relic movement, for example *translatio* (even though the relics returned to where they came from), *illatio*, *delatio*, *circumvectio*, *circumlatio*, and *processio* (and there are certainly processions that occur as part of relic movement). Often, however, the movement is not identified in any particular way. In this work, I will refer to all temporary, out-and-back relic movements by the neutral term "journeys", the reasons for which the following sections will clarify. These other relic movements, not strictly translations, have been distinguished typologically by the texts' given

[12] Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1979).

justification for the movement, especially by Heinzelmann and more recently, Rita Tekippe, whose work is critical to the following discussions of the historiography of these types.[13]

Here, I will briefly review these types of temporary movement using the broadest categories possible: relic escapes from Viking attacks, relic movements intended to ward off or protect against disasters like plague or drought, recurring liturgical processions for Palm Sunday and Rogations, special variations on translations known as elevations or ostensions, and finally, movements of relics for economic purposes, whether the defense of property or the fundraising tours known in the literature as *quêtes itinérantes*.

Flight from Vikings

Moving backwards, then, when can we first start to talk about relic journeys that were distinct from translations (or at least, which blurred the lines between temporary and permanent relic movement)? Most authors identify the Viking incursions into northern France in the ninth century as the first time, uniquely, when many relics were set on the move. The most famous case of Viking-caused relic mobility were the monks displaced from Noirmoutier with the relics of St. Philibert, who made a long series of migrations throughout the ninth century before finally

[13] Rita Tekippe, "Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice, and Effects," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Rita Tekippe Sarah Blick, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Tekippe takes primarily an art-historical approach, also reviewing relic movements by type (particularly separating liturgical from non-liturgical movements) but focusing on the visual nature of these events and their connections to pilgrimage, the subject of the volume. A similar survey, also from an art historical perspective and taking a long chronological view but with a different geographical focus, is Kroos,Renate, "Vom Umgang mit Reliquien," in *Ornamenta ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle*, ed. Anton Legner (Köln: Stadt Köln, 1985).

settling in Tournus.[14] It is easy to follow along with the exciting escape narratives provided by many hagiographical texts to describe their close encounters and near misses. Some later authors would use the well-known disruptions and relic movements of the period as an explanation for the disappearance of a certain saint's relics (to be conveniently rediscovered later), or as an opportunity to explain the actions of host monasteries who acquired displaced relics and monks.[15]

These simple narratives of flight and escape, however, have been brought under more scrutiny as both the importance and complexity of these ninth- and tenth-century relics' movement have come to be emphasized. On the one hand, these "forced translations" of relics represent a rupture of Carolingian relic-cults in the north, with implications for the development of the post-Carolingian political and economic world.[16] On the other hand, what was presented as an exodus of desperate monks fleeing imminent attack also concealed much less palatable (from a later monastic perspective) realities. Felice Lifshitz has carefully shown how later narratives of relic flight from the Rouen area were in fact based on incidents of relic *theft* from

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[14] Eugène Pépin, "Saint Philibert et ses reliques.," *Centre international d'études romanes: Revue trimestriel* 4 (1975): 7–14; R. Boeuf, "Voyage Saint-Philibert de Noirmoutier à Tournus.," *Centre international d'études romanes: Revue trimestriel* 1 (1976): 9–23; Maurice Touzet, "Saint Philibert ou les pérégrinations d'un Elusate au VIIe et au IXe siècles.," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique, littéraire et scientifique du Gers* 84, no. 1 (1983): 17–31; Delphine Planavergne, "De Jumièges à Tournus: mémoire et culte de saint Philibert," in *Faire mémoire: Souvenir et commémoration au Moyen Age*, ed. Claude Carozzi and Hughette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1999), 277–98. Another classic case of wandering relics is the journey of the monks of Stavelot with the relics of St. Remaclius (H-C footnote 2 p. 804)

[15] As in the *Miracles* of St. Austreberta: "Miracula S. Austrebertae," *AASS* Feb. II, 427. Nicholas Huyghebaert, ed., *Une translation de reliques à Gand en 944: le Sermo de adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandinium*, Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire, 1978). The relics of Saint-Wandrille (Fontenelle) had already undergone a remarkable series of journeys prior to their movement to Flanders reported in this text.

[16] Daniel C. DeSelm, "Unwilling Pilgrimage: Vikings, Relics, and the Politics of Exile During the Carolingian Era (c. 830-940)" (University of Michigan, History, 2009).

the region by kings, lords, and other monasteries interested in acquiring powerful relics.[17] Thus, the idea of discontinuity and rupture brought about by Vikings (of which relic transfers were a part) disguised coerced relic movement and the unwelcome insistence that temporarily displaced relics remain with their "hosts". These discussions highlight both the tensions surrounding a new level of relic mobility in the ninth and early tenth centuries (for many of these relics, this was only the first of many movement/translation episodes), the potentially contested nature of moving relics, and the complicated nature of the stories told about these events. These are themes which would be continued into the late tenth century and beyond.

Collective disaster and the liturgy

Paradoxically for the narrative of relic flight, relics were also used as a portable defense against attack. This mirrored the larger development of transporting relics not only against enemies with swords, but also against the less tangible foes of plague, vermin, weather, and fire (what Pierre-André Sigal called the "collective search for a miracle"). Processions organized on an as-needed basis against disaster were practiced in the fourth century, gaining particular significance in the sixth century, but did not necessarily include the transportation of relics until the tenth century. By the eleventh century the practice of carrying relics with these processions was well-established.[18] Sigal admits that the logic underlying these movements seems somewhat inconsistent for a modern viewer; in general, relics were either moved to a specific location and back to the church, or in a circular path around the area of trouble. There is evidence for reading

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[17] Felice Lifshitz, "The Exodus of Holy Bodies Reconsidered: The Translation of the Relics of St. Gildard of Rouen to Soissons," *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992); Felice Lifshitz, "The Migration of Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: The Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft," *Early Medieval Europe* 4, no. 2 (September 1, 1995): 175–92.

[18] Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 155–63.

the second type as a kind of protection through circumambulation, but it was not applied consistently to the types of disasters (epidemic) for which it would seem to be most suited. In general, it seems that the act of moving the relic itself, rather than along any particular path (though certain communities developed traditional routes) was the key element of this kind of response.

The roots of this form of relic mobility aimed at the prevention or mitigation of communal disaster lay in the liturgy of procession more broadly, particularly in the calendrical celebration of Rogations (the three days prior to Ascension Day). Processions were a ubiquitous feature of the Middle Ages, and Rogations in particular had a penitential character that would be strongly associated with relic processions for disasters.[19] Rogationtide was also known as the major litanies following the practice of singing the litanies of the saints, the famous example being the procession organized in Rome by Gregory the Great in 590. These calendrical processions are familiar, both from their rise to prominence in the late Middle Ages as a mode of urban expression and their continued practice in some locations to the present.[20]

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[19] For a discussion of the functions of the processional form and comparative cases, C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001); Sabine Felbecker, *Die Prozession : historische und systematische Untersuchungen zu einer liturgischen Ausdruckhandlung*, Münsteraner theologische Abhandlungen, 39 (Altenberge: Oros, 1995); Ruth Ellis Messenger, "Medieval Processional Hymns before 1100," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80 (1949): 375–92.

[20] Late medieval calendrical urban procession has an extensive literature. For an excellent study from the geographical area treated here, Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). The Corpus Christi procession also shares many significant features with the procession of relics of the saints. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Elevations and ostensions

Elevations and ostensions have been treated as closely related to translations, because it can be quite difficult to define and distinguish clear boundaries between these events.[21] In general, texts that are identified as describing elevations involve the discovery of saints' relics (the name refers to the process of raising or "elevating" them from their underground tombs, often beneath the floor of the church) and their formal removal into a reliquary. "*Inventio*" (discovery) might also be used for this operation; both carry the connotation of formal recognition that a saint has been found and recognized as a saint.[22] The elevation ritual would usually involve removing the relics some distance from the church itself such that they could be formally welcomed back, as for a translation. Elevations might also be performed when relics were moved from an old reliquary into a new one, in the meantime going through a process of authentication.

Authentication was the more explicit goal of an ostension ("showing") of a relic. A relic ostension, as opposed to an invention, elevation, or translation, generally refers to a formal exposition of the relic (often outside the church) so that it could be viewed and venerated by laypeople.[23] According to this definition, an ostension might occur in the course of an elevation or translation. The accounts of events that we would call ostensions, however, rarely use the

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[21] Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, 33, 80–82. Sigal emphasizes how blurry these categories might be in his discussion of eleventh and twelfth-century "translations", which included elevations and ostensions. Movement into the church (usually involving a prior movement out of the church) was a critical component of these events, as his deconstruction of the event on page 221 shows. Sigal, "Le déroulement des translations de reliques principalement dans les régions entre Loire et Rhin aux XIe et XIIe siècles."

[22] Thus Herrmann-Mascard describes elevations as a form of canonization which would eventually be replaced by formal papal canonization. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 82–105.

[23] Herrmann-Mascard treats ostensions as a separate category by definition, as I do here, rather than by terminology. Ibid., 206–216. Heinzelmann is more careful with his categorization of ostensions. Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, 82–83.

term (at least before the late Middle Ages). For example, as a tool in their ongoing rivalry with Saint-Peter's of Ghent (who had made the accusation that Bavo's body was not actually in his reliquary), the monks of Saint-Bavo twice (in 1010 and 1058) opened their reliquary and moved the relics to a nearby hill as a means of generating public acknowledgment of their relics and documenting verifiable miracles.[24] Both of these incidents are referred to as translations, despite the fact that Bavo's relics were returned to Saint-Bavo's.

Judicial movements and the Peace of God

Edina Bozóky, in her study of relic journeys, described the movement of relics as a new (in the tenth century) assumption of the public role of maintaining order through the assurances of peace and justice in the absence of clear royal authority. One judiciary aspect was the transportation of relics in the course of property disputes (as in the previous section), but another was the preservation of peace through participation in what are known as the Peace of God councils. The "Peace of God", a series of broad gatherings intended to reduce the level of violence in society through the authority of the church and the general swearing of oaths, has attracted serious scholarly attention. One of the most important aspects of these councils was the collective transportation of many saints' relics to the site (often a field) chosen for the council, a practice which has drawn the attention of several authors.[25] This form of assembling the relics of

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[24] M. Coens, ed., "Translations et miracles de saint Bavon au XIe siècle: Miracula S. Bavonis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968): 60–65. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 293.

[25] The transportation of relics is particularly noted and discussed in several contributions to the classic edited volume on the Peace of God, especially Daniel Callahan, "The Peace of God and the Cult of the Saints in Aquitaine in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 165–83; Bernhard Töpfer, "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response*, ed. Richard Landes Thomas Head (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 41–57; Landes, Richard, "Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 184–218.

local saints could also take place for a church dedication, and is treated at length in Chapter 2. Taking oaths on relics and their use in judicial ordeals should also be included in this category, though the relics' movement was not often emphasized in these contexts.[26]

Defense of property

The dangers that mobile relics could be used to counteract were not limited to local and communal threats. Some of the earliest accounts of the movement of relics were intended to pursue the interests of the monastery itself and functioned as a means of formally complaining to the king or another figure of secular authority. The trade and transfer of relics had long been a feature of European political diplomacy and authority, and by moving their relics to political figures monasteries engaged in this type of political and ritual dialogue (in one famous episode, dumping the saint's relics on the king's dinner-table).[27]

Other modes of using mobile relics to pursue economic claims would also emerge over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The classic work on the use of relics to defend property was written in 1932 by Baudouin de Gaiffier, who noted that, beginning in the eleventh century, hagiographical documents and relics began to be used in practical ways by monasteries involved in property disputes. The tactics they developed included formal relic processions to the property in question, which he interpreted as a method of intimidating their adversaries. Other scholars have recently begun to refine this view. Steven Vanderputten has taken a broader view of the economic repercussions of relic movement, particularly analyzing relic mobility as

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[26] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 235–270. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 312–318.

[27] On the dinner-table use of relics by Stavelot, Tekippe, "Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice, and Effects," 740–743. For the political uses of relics, Smith, "Rulers and Relics c.750-c.950"; Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à saint Louis*.

an assertion of power and lordship over monastic property.[28] A recent detailed case study of the monastery of Bobbio in the tenth century has also added a new geographical and chronological element to the discussion.[29] Chapter Three takes up the question of the complicated relationships between relic movement and property more broadly in light of this historiography.

Quêtes itinérantes

The seminal study, invariably cited in reference to relic journeys and which will appear many times in this dissertation, is the pair of articles split across two volumes of the *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique* written by Pierre Héliot and Marie-Laure Chastang on what have become known as *quêtes itinérantes*: journeys of relics performed specifically to raise funds (more particularly, to raise funds for the building of churches).[30] They provided a list of 38 *quêtes itinérantes* which mention the transportation of relics occurring between 1060 (St. Ursmar of Lobbes) and the late 15th century, the rough chronological limits they identified for this practice, though they did not claim that this list was exhaustive. Notably, the transportation of relics was not necessarily part of a *quête*; Héliot and Chastang also provided a list of journeys performed that did not mention relics. Regardless, they saw *quêtes itinérantes* as a separate genre both of practice and text, defined by the explicit purpose of fundraising by traveling to openly solicit donations. Thus, they carefully justified their inclusion of the 1060 journey of St. Ursmar's relics from Lobbes (which had the goal of broad financial recovery, not necessarily the

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[28] Steven Vanderputten, "Itinerant Lordship. Relic Translations and Social Change in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Flanders," *French History* 25, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 143–63.

[29] Alexander O'Hara and Faye Taylor, "Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy: The Case of Bobbio and the *Miracula Sancti Columbani*," *Viator* 44, no. 3 (2013): 43–61.

[30] Pierre Héliot and Marie-Laure Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du moyen âge," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 59 (1964): 789–822; Pierre Héliot and Marie-Laure Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du Moyen Âge," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 60 (1965): 5–32.

solicitation of cash donations) as an intermediate stage between relic journeys for property defense, discussed above, and the supposedly more pure form of relic-based fundraising tour represented by the journey of St. Marculf's relics from Corbény in 1102. Similarly, journeys to escape Vikings did not count as true *quêtes itinérantes*.

Héliot and Chastang's work will be discussed in more detail at several points throughout this work (primarily in Chapter Four). It is worth noting here, however, that the particular frame for their discussions of *quêtes itinérantes* was the question of how to finance architectural construction, particularly in the new elaborate Gothic style. As such, their interest hinged on economic problems: the role of confraternities, the professionalization of hired preachers (and the imposters who mimicked them), and the gradual corruption of the practice into "a vulgar affair of money" from its pious origins in the mid-eleventh century.[31] Their interests did not lie in the transportation of relics as such, but in when and how their public monetization (in the sense of cash donations, rather than gifts of property) took place. Thus, they dealt primarily with the practical matters of how professional *quêteurs* were hired (or paid themselves for the privilege of performing a *quête*), how they were controlled and legislated (through letters from bishops or kings, through councils and synods) and more cursorily with the questions of how they traveled and exhibited relics (especially the preaching and granting of indulgences that might accompany relic exhibition), and the difficulties they might face. Much of this basic information was drawn from the more well-documented *quêtes itinérantes* of the late medieval period; the eleventh century again emerges in Héliot and Chastang's narrative as a primordial

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[31] "Comme toutes les oeuvres humaines, l'institution subit profondément la morsure du temps. Elle perdit graduellement ses allures primitives d'enterprise pieuse, particulièrement reconnaissable dans le récit des *Miracula sancti Marculfi*, pour prendre celles d'une vulgaire affaire d'argent." Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques," 1964, 815. The story of Marculf's journey will be addressed several times in the course of this dissertation, and in my opinion shows a much sharper attention to worldly matters than this characterization suggests.

stage when religious communities initiated and performed journeys themselves. While they did comment on the local peculiarities of several *quêtes* (the competing relic expositions of the cathedral chapter of Arras and the monastery of Saint-Vaast of Arras, for example) their work was essentially a holistic review of *quêtes itinérantes* as a clearly defined practice.

Yet, what Héliot and Chastang identified as the earliest accounts of *quêtes itinérantes* (from the eleventh and twelfth centuries) did not always fit cleanly into the narrative of origins. While seeking to determine how financially successful these early journeys were, Héliot and Chastang noted that the earliest *quêtes itinérantes* were documented through hagiography, rather than the letters, contracts, and conciliar restrictions of the 13th c. and afterward. Thus they provided little sense of the actual receipts of these journeys (with the exception of the canons of Laon, whose gains from their 1113 trip to England were reported). At the same time, these early *quêtes* were supposed to be performed out of a real need for money (prompted by the Viking invasions, the dissolution of the Carolingian state, and lay depredations). This differentiated them from the late medieval professionalized corps of *quêteurs* who were "anxious to earn their living and often less than scrupulous in the means of doing so."[32] Within this narrative, the ethical failings of these *quêteurs* and those who hired them exposed the legitimate veneration of relics to five hundred years (!) of abuse until the Council of Trent put an end to it at last.[33] Although this fits the story of *quêtes itinérantes* neatly within a Counter-Reformation perspective, the chapters that follow will avoid the question of the essential honesty or morality of relic movement. In the

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[32] "Déja s'était constitueé une corporation de quêteurs professionnels.... les uns et les autres soucieux de gagner largement leur vie et souvent peu scrupuleux sure les moyens d'y parvenir." Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques," 1965, 32.

[33] By the time that the Portuguese captured a supposed tooth-relic of the Buddha in Goa in 1561, relic mobility was such a recognizable practice (though embattled after the Reformation) a part of European culture that they planned to "tour" the tooth as a fundraising tactic: a *quête itinerante* that would have been performed half a world away. John S. Strong, "'The Devil Was in That Little Bone': The Portuguese Capture and Destruction of the Buddha's Tooth-Relic, Goa, 1561," *Past & Present* 206, no. suppl 5 (January 1, 2010): 190–1.

end, the relic journeys of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were no less the product of an active self-interest on the part of the monasteries than the late medieval cash-based fundraising that Héliot and Chastang castigated. While invaluable as a survey, then, Héliot and Chastang's work remained at a panoramic level of analysis, primarily concerned with synthesis across an extremely long chronology than differences between individual texts.

The 11th and 12th c. journeys, in fact, have subsequently attracted more historiographical interest than the clear-cut examples of *quêtes itinérantes* drawn from the 13th century and later. In particular, Pierre-André Sigal noted that Héliot and Chastang, while providing a survey of the phenomenon of *quêtes itinérantes*, did not fully address the "precise conditions and the modalities of relic displacements", which became his subject in a foundational 1976 article.[34] Sigal concentrated on seven classic hagiographical texts describing relic journeys to methodically and succinctly assemble evidence regarding a series of basic questions about these events. Notably, he used the term *voyages* and included a journey of St. Lewinna that Héliot and Chastang had not considered to be a *quête itinerante* because it did not identify financial profit as the motive for the journey. Sigal's seven texts will recur throughout this dissertation, as the most extensive hagiographical descriptions of specific relic journeys. It is worthwhile to list them explicitly here, though it is a goal of this dissertation to balance out the emphasis on these longer texts with shorter descriptions of relic journeys that have been overlooked in favor of this cohesive corpus.

[34] "Cette étude qui envisage le phénomène pour l'ensemble du Moyen Age et sous tous ses aspects ne consacre que peu de place, mis à part quelques exemples, aux conditions précises et aux modalités des désplacements des reliques" Pierre-André Sigal, "Les voyages de reliques aux onzième et douzième siècles," in *Voyage, quête, pelerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévale* (Aix-en-Provence and Paris, 1976), 91 note 6.

Sigal's Seven Relic Journey Texts

Date	Saint / House
1058	Lewinna / Bergues-Saint-Winnoc
1060	Ursmar / Lobbes
1066 / 1107	Amand / Saint-Amand
1102	Marculf / Corbeny (priory of Saint-Rémy)
1112	Virgin Mary / Laon (in France)
1113	Virgin Mary /Laon (in England)
1158	Taurin / Gigny (priory of Cluny)

Sigal's work in this article remains an excellent if short overview of the basic outlines of a relic journey. The questions he chose to address with this bounded corpus of texts were eminently practical: for example, the stated reasons for the journey, who was consulted for advice or permission, how the itinerary was decided, how long the trips lasted (between 59 and 162 days), the average speed traveled (9-14 km/day), etc. The answers to these questions were only occasionally consistent across texts. Although certain pragmatic aspects are visible in multiple accounts (for example, both Amand and Ursmar's relics had a tent carried along with them for temporary housing), Sigal's decision to focus on only seven journeys allowed him to highlight the variety rather than the consistency of the fundamentals of these trips. For example, while the monks of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc claimed that they wished to make Lewinna known as a saint to a larger audience, the monks of Saint-Amand took around their saints' relics in response to a disastrous fire (1066) and to recover property from local lay lords (1107). While the Laonnais canons consulted "wise and pious men", the monks of Saint-Amand and Lobbes consulted the count of Flanders, and the monks of Corbeny sought the authorization of the bishop. The texts themselves invite comparison, because of their similar genre and organization (a preface indicating the reasons for and preparation of the trip, followed by a stop-by-stop description of

miracles performed en route). At the same time, Sigal's careful analysis highlighted their differences, rather than claiming a false uniformity for the practice of relic journeys.

Reinhold Kaiser would take a middle path between Héliot and Chastang's strict focus on *quêtes itinérantes* and Sigal's more detail-oriented approach to the 11th and 12th century texts. His 1995 article focused on two questions: first, the origins and spread of the practice of *quêtes itinérantes* (where Héliot and Chastang were more interested in its late medieval evolution and decline) and second, the reactions to the practice. Kaiser located the impetus for *quêtes itinérantes* in the variety of relic movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries (particularly Viking attacks, as discussed above) and, like Héliot and Chastang, distinguished between journeys that were performed specifically for profit and other types of journeys.[35] He read the journey of Lewinna's relics in 1058, taken to acquaint the region with the saint (recently stolen from England) as evidence for a first phase of *quête* in which the motive was not only profit. The 1066 journey of Saint-Amand was then his example of a pure *quête* in its second phase of development.[36] Having constructed this division, he continued with a more detailed review of several of Sigal's questions on the nature of permission and the development of an itinerary. Notably, he follows Héliot and Chastang in their evaluation of the decay of the practice as the result of its professionalization.

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[35] "Les voyages avec des reliques sont manifestement à la mode dans la région de la France du Nord et de la Belgique" Reinhold Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec reliques pour financer la construction des églises (XIe-XIIe siècles)," *Le Moyen Âge* 101, no. 2 (1995): 210.

[36] This neat division is complicated by the fact that journeys that were not *quête*s continued to be performed and are clearly comparable: the stated purpose of the second journey of Amand's relics in 1107 was the recovery of property, not the solicitation of donations. My suggestion throughout this dissertation will be that attempting to define a *quête itinerante* in opposition to other types of relic movement is to some extent counterproductive for this period. Donations were made in the course of almost all relic movements (Chapter 4) and whether or not the need for such donations was claimed as the initial purpose of the journey seems to have more to do with the goals of an individual text rather than a linear development towards the more explicitly acquisitive late medieval *quêtes* (which, after the thirteenth century, were certainly a cohesive type of practice).

More importantly for this work, Kaiser's second question expanded on Sigal's initial observation that itinerant relics could not count on a positive reception from the people they encountered en route. Relics, he remarked, could in fact encounter surprisingly negative reactions (of doubt and rejection) along with enthusiastic welcome while on the road. Without going too deeply into individual accounts, Kaiser reviewed several surprising incidents (for example, the eviction of the canons of Laon from the church at Christchurch) to conclude that the reception of traveling relics had more to do with the specifics of the situation than an "imponderable popular piety".[37] These issues and examples will be addressed at length in Chapter Four, but here it is important to note that Kaiser demonstrated the valuable possibilities of studying the *audience* for relic movement, in addition to the goals, preparations, and activities of those performing the journey.

My work lies at the intersection, then, of two historiographical directions indicated by Kaiser and Sigal's articles. First, like Kaiser, I will be pursuing questions about the effects and consequences of relic movement, which are not necessarily related to the practice-based questions of their planning and execution. Second, Sigal's choice to study *voyages* rather than *quêtes itinérantes* indicates the potential for studying relic journeys separately from their explicitly stated purpose. This, then, is not a dissertation on the chronology and development of *quêtes itinérantes* (a subject that has been well-covered already, as this review indicates) or of any other type of relic journey, but on temporary relic mobility broadly understood. Considering, as Sigal did, the full spectrum of out-and-back relic journeys without concern for the type allows us to inquire into relic mobility as a broader phenomenon which impacted relationships between all medieval social groups.

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[37] Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec reliques," 220.

"The possibilities of procession": moving beyond typology

The discussion to this point has emphasized the varieties of types of relic movement, and the general trend within the historiography to treat relic mobility according to the putative reasons for which the relic was moved. Two additional articles, foundational for this work, study relic journeys not in terms of their rationale and function but for their ability to provide information on the results of the *encounters* between traveling relics and the groups they met. These authors have asked how we should understand the variable approaches to relics within medieval society, particularly in defining lay-clerical relationships, and the roles that mobility particularly played in that process. In this, they adopt my own approach to this material, but focus on individual saints.

The first article, with the evocative title "Sainte Foy on the Loose, Or, The Possibilities of Procession", was written jointly by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn. Their subject was a saint who has become the classic case study of relic mobility, St. Foy (Faith) of the monastery of Conques in southern France. We know that St. Foy's relics were taken quite frequently on journeys outside the monastery, thanks in part to the survival of an extensive book of her eleventh-century miracles (Chapter Three will discuss St. Foy's journeys in comparison to those in the north). In this article, however, Ashley and Sheingorn move beyond the fact of St. Foy's frequent movement to discuss the contentiousness that could surround these events. They note that although the processions of Foy's relics were intended to assert the monks' rights and "take monastic order into a public arena", there might also be some very undesirable results. The movement of the reliquary-statue (which, quite exceptionally, survives) was in fact "a catalyst

for very unpredictable and diverse responses by town and country folk."[38] These responses included clergy and laypeople openly mocking the saint during procession, a man who wished that the statue would smash so that he could gather up the precious materials, and implied competition with St. Marius when the relics were brought to a Peace of God conference. Ashley and Sheingorn interpret these incidents as evidence that the transportation of the reliquary moved it into a liminal state, which they define as "a zone of multiple possibilities and likely contestation."[39] Rather than a simplistic projection of monastic authority onto the surrounding landscape, moving St. Foy in some ways represented a loss of control over how her relics would be used and interpreted. In this work, I will make much the same argument regarding the relic journeys of northern France and Flanders.

Similarly, Geoffrey Koziol focused on the journey of a single saint's relics to explore the range of possibilities for their use. In a volume dedicated to the study of the Peace of God conferences, he examined the journey of the relics of St. Ursmar from Lobbes in 1066 (one of Sigal's seven texts and the *quêtes itinérantes*) to show that relics might be used as on-the-ground tools for ritual peace-making.[40] This was a process (apparently) completely disconnected from the purpose identified for Ursmar's journey, which was to better the monastery's financial condition after the war between Baldwin V of Flanders and Henry III. The portability and mobility of Ursmar's relics proved fundamental to the monks' peace-making efforts. In one episode described by Koziol, they tried (unsuccessfully) to circle a recalcitrant group with the

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[38] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose, Or, The Possibilities of Procession," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 54.

[39] Ibid., 62.

[40] Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 239–59.

relics, only to be prevented from completing their circuit by a black dog (interpreted as the devil). Later they would be more successful; Koziol provides a very careful and detailed analysis of an incident at Blaringhem, where the monks used the ad hoc transportation of Ursmar's reliquary into and out of a church where a known murderer was seeking sanctuary to reconcile him with the vengeful crowd outside. Placing the relics on the ground (a tactic also used successfully at Lissewege, when the reliquary smoked and levitated) was the critical action that finally forced a resolution.

Like these two articles, my work here attempts to move away from approaching relic journeys from a functionalist perspective based on the initially stated goals of the monks transporting the relics. With Ashley and Sheingorn, I would like to insist on the ambiguities and tensions present on these occasions: competition and criticism can be found alongside expressions of unity and devotion, and multivocal realities of negotiation and compromise must be read into representations of vengeful and powerful saints. I argue that relic movements gave both religious and lay audiences increased opportunities for participation in these rituals, including manipulation and rejection of monastic messages. Rather than treating relics as static entities within a church, I consider how the audience and perceptions of these objects changed when they were removed from that spatial context, moving away from top-down perspectives of a mobile relic's function and towards an understanding of its effects. A relic's journey may have offered opportunities for more spectacular displays of power, but it also stripped away the spatial and ritual protections of the object and revealed the difficulties of using monastic relics as tools of interaction and dominance.

Outline of the dissertation

In what follows, I approach relic movement from a tripartite perspective: journeys as imagined before the fact (Chapter One), journeys as they were performed (Chapters Two, Three, and Four), and journeys as revisited and reinterpreted after their completion (Chapter Five). In Chapter One ("The Liturgy of Transporting Relics"), I begin by tracking the creation of ritual scripts for temporary relic movement in monastic customaries and ordinaries. Partly descriptive and partly prescriptive, these texts show how relic movements were meant to impress their audiences with sight, sound, and smell, reveal the preoccupations of the monks performing these rituals, and suggest parallels with other types of processional spectacles. A series of four customaries created at the monastery of Cluny over the course of the eleventh century are the special focus of this chapter; they demonstrate the ritual differences between treating relics as minor portable liturgical objects (comparable to a text of the gospels, for example) and treating them as a kind of personage that needed to be sent away and received with a procession of the entire community. This treatment explicitly associated relics with the living dignitaries (kings, queens, bishops, abbots) who would be formally welcomed to a monastery with a procession.

The central three chapters concentrate on hagiographical texts produced by religious institutions, primarily monasteries, about the journeys they took with their relics. These texts include complex stories about the reception the relics received as they moved in the dangerous and unpredictable world outside the church or monastery walls. The purpose of this section as a whole is to understand the significance of these events for the relationships between the monasteries and the communities that they moved the relics through, as perceived and presented by the monks themselves. Close readings of these accounts reveal how the monks attempted to

control perceptions of their relics to their own advantage, and how they interpreted their successes and failures to do so.

Chapter Two ("Bringing Relics Together") takes up the question of how the practice of moving relics affected horizontal relationships between religious communities, by providing a means to express institutional friendship and by provoking or sustaining competition between the representatives of different saints (often both at the same time). Questions of precedence, reputation, and superior spiritual power were made more immediate when the saints, in the form of their relics, were face-to-face with each other. Bringing one saint's relics to meet those of another could be a touchstone for reimagining the friendship of those saints in life (thus representing the continued mutual goodwill of their communities), but it might also be interpreted as a recognition of the first saint's lower spiritual status. These horizontal relations could also change the vertical power structure; in descriptions of situations where the relics of multiple saints were present, lay participants might be assigned more agency because of their power to choose to venerate one saint over another.

As noted above, many relic journeys were taken with the goal of pursuing conflicts with local laymen and women over property. Chapter Three ("Property, Landscape, and Relics on the Move") revisits these accounts in more detail to explore the diverse relationships between mobile relics and monastic approaches to property. Recent studies of medieval religious communities have shifted from focusing exclusively on their formal property rights to the tactics used to project spiritual and economic influence on the surrounding landscape. My work in this chapter explores the variety of roles that portable relics could play in that process, especially by examining charters alongside hagiographical accounts. Although the prevailing view of these journeys stresses that they were a tactic of intimidation, intended to cow lay opponents through

the miracles performed by the mobile relics, my research reveals a more complicated picture. The aggression shown by the monks of Conques in southern France (which has become the classic example of these types of events) must be contrasted with more nuanced and preventative legal and economic uses of relic journeys in the north.

Building on the previous two chapters, Chapter Four ("Lay Agency and Audience") discusses more fully how the practice of moving relics from place to place raised new and difficult questions about the proper relationships between relics, religious communities, and the secular world. Understanding how laymen perceived the monastic cult of saints remains one of the most challenging problems of medieval European history, because the surviving documents are almost exclusively products of the literate, elite religious culture. Mirroring this perspective, the people who visited a relic housed in a church were a self-selected group, already eager and anxious to access the saint's power (and make donations in return). Out in the larger world, however, the same relic might encounter skepticism or even hostility. The active solicitation of lay donations, a common goal of relic journeys, especially provoked concerns about the appropriate uses of these objects: should a saint's relics travel? I show that the process of isolating and defining lay perspectives on these questions is more complicated than it first appears, and is strongly influenced by clerical accusations and eleventh-century narratives of reform.

Finally, Chapter Five ("The Imagined World of Relic Journeys") ends the focus on hagiographical texts by turning to artistic sources to show how the practice of relic movement came to be envisioned, stylized, and commemorated. Images of relic movement as sculptural elements of churches and in manuscript illuminations are often identified as depictions of the foundational *translatio* of the saint (the permanent installation of their relics in the church).

However, they can also be read as references to the more recent and temporary displacements of the saint's relics and even more broadly as evidence for contemporary mental images of medieval relic journeys. Medieval representations of the Ark of the Covenant can also be understood as a reflection of these mental images, suggesting that monks traveling with relics identified themselves as 'Israelites', traveling with their sacred object through a (potentially) unfriendly land. Exploring these imagined spectacles allows us to understand how the experience of traveling with relics was valorized and, at the same time, increasingly restrictive on the respective roles played by clergy and laypeople.

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During the tenth through twelfth centuries, relic movement had not yet solidified into the late medieval patterns that would be so vehemently attacked and defending during the Reformation. The experiences of displacing, viewing, and interacting with mobile relics were still highly experimental, and what follows is an attempt to trace some of these fluid and adaptable forms of encounter.

Chapter One: The Liturgy of Transporting Relics

> "Then finally, having been sanctified by three days' fasting with abundant giving of alms, with candles lit on candelabras, they raised the bier of his most holy body on their shoulders, so that they might be fortified with the defense of his merit..."
>
> -The *Miracles* of St. Trudo[1]

When historians have thought about how relic movement was organized and what it looked like, they have most often turned to hagiographical descriptions like the one above. In this description of the movement of St. Trudo's relics in 1012 to defend against a plague, we learn very cursorily that the relics' transportation was preceded by three days of penitential fasting and alms-giving, that candles on candelabras were lit (and possibly carried), and that the reliquary was carried on a bier on the porters' shoulders. These are useful observations, but hagiography is limited in its ability to tell us about certain aspects of these events. The purpose of medieval hagiography was to report miracles on a case-by-case basis, and we learn about the sensory experience of moving relics, the frequency and uniformity of these events, and their ritual framework only incidentally.

The goal of this chapter is to provide a fundamentally different view of relic movement using a type of source that, to my knowledge, has never been used to discuss this subject: monastic customaries. Customaries are unusual sources, partly prescriptive and partly descriptive, and I begin by discussing their nature and the recent revival of interest in them as a valuable but overlooked source. However, the main focus of this chapter is the series of four customaries produced at Cluny over the course of the eleventh century. This group of texts is unique because of the extremely rare situation in which multiple (extant) customaries were

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1 "*Tunc denique triduano ieiunio elemosinarum uberrima largitione sanctificato, cereis accensis super candelabra, scapulis sustollunt sanctissimi corporis eius feretrum, ut eius meriti munirentur propugnaculis...*" Stepelino, "Miracula S. Trudonis," *MGH SS* XV.2, ed. O. Holder-Egger, 824.

produced within a relatively short time period. As such, they offer us a chance to look at the forms and development of the practice of moving relics across the 11th c.: how, when, and why did Cluniac relics travel?

All four Cluniac customaries discuss some form of relic movement during calendrical celebrations (particularly Palm Sunday and Rogations), which I address in the first section of this chapter (after a discussion of the use of customaries as sources). However, the Cluniac customaries are especially important because two of the four customaries (the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary) also explicitly give instructions for *noncalendrical* movements of relics, the subject of the second section. The existence of these texts speaks to the regularity and expected nature of temporary relic movement, in a way that hagiographical anecdotes can rarely establish with certainty. They also provide critical information about the spatial and ritual aspects of relic movement, and the close relationships between relic departures/arrivals and the entries of (living) dignitaries. In the final section, I compare the Cluniac customaries with other extant customaries, including the three customaries which took Cluniac customaries as models. Surprisingly, the Cluniac models for moving relics appear to have had little textual afterlife, but an unrelated customary (for the monastery of Bec) contains a similar description for noncalendrical relic movement.

Monastic customaries as sources

The core of the life of a medieval monastery was the *Rule of St. Benedict* [*Regula Benedicti*], the authoritative guide to the monastic life in the medieval West since the Carolingian reforms. The *Rule*, at least a chapter of which was read by the monks on a daily basis, gave instructions about appropriate behavior, the responsibilities of the abbot and other office-holders, basic liturgical requirements, and what to do in certain special situations (such as the

excommunication of disobedient monks). However, the final chapter of the *Rule* (#73) made clear that the text did not describe all acceptable practices; despite its eventual status as the sole authority on monastic living, it remained relatively minimalist. Each monastery, then, was more or less free to develop its own traditions and practices alongside the *Rule*. Although monastic reformers might express shock at what they perceived as laxity or bad form in other houses, variations between the practices of different houses, as long as they conformed to the basic requirements of the *Rule*, tended to be expected and tolerated.

A customary, in essence, is a text describing these additional practices at a particular house; however, it is not clear that they were primarily produced for internal use. Rather, the interest of others in knowing the customs of a house (often when it was ruled by a particularly respected abbot) might prompt a request for a written description. This was the case for one of the earliest examples of a medieval customary-like text, the letter written by Theodemar for Theodoric to answer his request for information about the practices of Montecassino [778-797].[2] For this formal letter, the context of production was internal to the text itself, but for most other early written customaries their origins, purpose, and history are often a matter of heated debate. The relative scarcity of these texts before the 13th c. indicates that ownership of a written customary was probably the exception rather than the rule, and that oral transmission of practices likely took precedence over recourse to a written text.[3] This lack of manuscripts is particularly

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[2] Theodemar, "Theodemari epistula ad Theodoricum," in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae : consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 130 sq.

[3] The question of the purposes of customaries and the circumstances of their creation has been debated. More traditional perspectives claim that each house would have had a written customary of some kind, particularly those which were being reformed, but that these manuscripts were particularly susceptible to loss and destruction as they became outdated. For a recent overview of customary evolution and usage practices, cf. Isabelle Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard," in *From dead of night to end of day: the medieval customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 29–66. particularly pp. 31-37.

surprising, because we might expect that the dominance of a particular house and the rise of an order would be accompanied by production and distribution of a customary text for subordinate houses to follow. Yet requests for and reception of customary texts seem only loosely related to hierarchical relationships between monasteries; only later would these texts become normative and binding on their recipients. Thus, customaries are not entirely straightforward in either their classification or their interpretation; they lie between prescriptive and descriptive sources, because they often both look to the past to describe the way things had been done, but with at least some expectation that these descriptions would be a guide or at least an inspiration for future performances.

The ongoing publication of the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* series, begun by Kassius Hallinger in 1963, has particularly opened these texts and the questions surrounding them to a larger audience.[4] The critical editions published in this series unravel the often complicated textual tradition of customaries to make them more accessible for use by non-specialists. Although several authors have called for some time for greater use of these texts, only recently have customaries begun to be exploited for studies not exclusively focused on the history of a specific house or the monastic lifestyle. With this recent interest, several authors have taken up the question of how customaries as a group should be classified and interpreted.[5] The relative looseness of customaries as a genre is reflected in the variety of contemporary terms

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[4] A list of editions of customaries published outside the milieu of the CCM (up to 1963) appears in Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), LIX–LXXIV.

[5] Most recently, Isabelle Cochelin, "Customaries as Inspirational Sources," in *Consuetudines et Regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carolyn Malone and Clark Maines, Disciplina Monastica 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 27–72. I would like to thank Professor Cochelin for her advice on completing the research of this section, and especially for allowing me to see this article before its appearance in print.

used to label them: *consuetudines, statuta, instituta*.[6] Although most 'customaries' share basic characteristics, their history is deeply connected to the history of the relationships between houses and the history of the development of monastic orders. Eric Palazzo has summarized the development of customaries as essentially a process of codification and distribution; "...three main steps marked the history of the customaries: (1) the setting down of customs and usages derived from monastic rules in the Carolingian period; (2) the codification of usages in individual monasteries (appearance of customaries properly so called) in the tenth and eleventh centuries; (3) from the twelfth century on, the creation of new codifications in the new orders, aiming at regulating the relationships between the "mother-house" and the houses depending upon it (an example of this is the Cistercian Order's *charta caritatis,* dating from 1118-1119)."[7]

The four Cluniac customaries

The eleventh century at the monastery of Cluny, deservedly a focus of many studies on central medieval monasticism, is also a touchstone for studies of customaries because of the preservation of a series of four customary texts produced as the influence of the monastery expanded before 1100. The *Consuetudines antiquiores* [or "older customs"] were most likely produced in the 990's or early 11th c. and focus exclusively on practices associated with the liturgical calendar, and so they might be considered an ordinary rather than a customary.[8] Although no known copy of this text exists from Cluny itself, a series of redactions are extant

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6 See Hallinger, CCM I, XIII-XXXI, and Gert Melville, "Action, Text, and Validity: On Re-Examining Cluny's Consuetudines and Statutes," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

7 Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 219–20.

8 The question of what differentiates an ordinary from a customary can become blurred in some cases, as with the *Liber tramitis*. On this question see Aimé Georges Martimort, *Les "Ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 56 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991).

and have been edited in the CCM.[9] The second Cluniac customary, known as the *Liber tramitis* or "the book of the path", describes the practices of Cluny around 1040 during the abbacy of Odilo [994-1049]. The history of this text is convoluted; the only surviving manuscripts are housed at Farfa and St. Paul's in Rome, and so it was originally incorrectly believed to be a customary of Farfa.[10] It is unrelated textually to the other Cluniac customaries, and is presumed to have had a very limited circulation, possibly restricted to Farfa and its dependencies alone. Although it has been suggested that the Farfa copies must have been made from a written copy of the *Liber tramitis* kept at Cluny, there is no evidence for this manuscript having been conserved at Cluny itself. Nevertheless, the *Liber tramitis* is now almost universally recognized as a description of life at Cluny, not Farfa; the relics mentioned in the text are those held by Cluny, and a description of the abbey's buildings is included. The *Liber tramitis* is divided into two books: the first concerns activities on festivals and holy days and is organized by the liturgical year (making it, according to Martimort's definition, an ordinary), and the second deals with everyday activities, lifestyle, and special events unconnected to the liturgical cycle. This twofold division has attracted the attention of liturgists interested in the relationship between ordinaries and customaries; Martimort called the first book of the *Liber tramitis* the "first

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[9] Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudines cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 7.2 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1983). See Hallinger's introduction to these texts in CCM volume 7.1 for a discussion of the datation and manuscript witnesses . The redactions of the *Consuetudines antiquiores* can differ significantly, making their interpretation difficult. Here I will be discussing only the five 'core' redactions identified by Hallinger.

[10] Marquard Herrgott and Bruno Albers both edited the *Liber tramitis* as the customs of Farfa. Herrgott, Marquard, ed., "Guidonis disciplina Farfensis et monasterii S. Pauli Romae," in *Vetus disciplina monastica* (Paris: Osmont, 1726), 36–132; Bruno Albers, ed., *Consuetudines Farfenses*, Consuetudines monasticae 1 (J. Roth, 1900). On its reevaluation as a description of life at Cluny, though possibly produced at Farfa, see Peter Dinter, "Einleitung," in *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 10 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1980), XXI–XXIV. and Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres."

complete monastic ordinary", indicating that the production of the *Liber tramitis* represents the intermediate step through which ordinaries became entirely separate works from customaries.[11]

Two further Cluniac customaries were produced during the second half of the 11th c., one written by Ulrich [Udalrich] of Zell and the other by Bernard of Cluny. Although the *Consuetudines antiquiores* and the *Liber tramitis* were almost certainly produced independently of one another, and it is doubtful whether Cluny itself ever possessed a copy of either, the customaries of Ulrich and Bernard are closely related.[12] The relationship between the two texts and their relative dating has been the subject of significant discussion; they are similar to the point of being identical in parts, yet stem from very different contexts of production. Ulrich of Zell was not an initiate of Cluny itself but rather visited it as an adult. He spent a number of years there and therefore had personal knowledge of its operation; for this reason he was asked by William of Hirsau, a fellow German, to write a customary regarding Cluniac practice for use in reforming his monastery. Ulrich replied that he was happy to oblige if his work would be put to good use; he had apparently written an earlier Cluniac customary for a monastery (unnamed) who had never used it.[13]

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[11] Martimort, *Les "Ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*. Some of the more recent work on customaries might lead to a reworking of Martimort's view of this evolution. For example, Paris BN lat. 13874 was identified by Martimort (and by the annotator of the manuscript) as an ordinary produced by Corbie that had been bound with a customary from Cluny. Martimort thus uses this manuscript to demonstrate that customaries and ordinaries, although separate texts by the 12th c., might nevertheless be bound together *(Les "Ordines"*, p. 66). However, Isabelle Cochelin identifies both sections as derived from Bernard's customary, and thus a holistic variation on a single source rather than an entirely separate ordinary and customary. Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres," 30 ft. 4. Customaries' uneasy status as quasi-liturgical books is complicated further if Cochelin's idea of their inspirational character is correct; certainly more standard liturgical works, such as sacramentaries, cannot be considered 'inspirational'.

[12] On the question of Cluny's ownership of the four customaries, see Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres," 38–39.

[13] English and French translations of the letter and preface, along with a Latin edition, are given in Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 329–347.

Ulrich's customary was likely divided into three books: the first on the liturgical day at Cluny and the practice for various feast days, the second on the instruction of and rules for novices, and the third on the responsibilities of individual office-holders, such as the abbot, deacon, sacristan, etc., along with the rites performed for a dying monk. Ulrich presents some parts of his work in the form of a dialogue between a novice and a senior monk; the novice asks questions about Cluny's practices, and the monk answers them. This makes it a more lively read than most other customaries, particularly in combination with Ulrich's frank style of writing. He admitted his own lack of knowledge on some points, and at times even went so far as to criticize the Cluniacs and their practices. Despite these qualities (or perhaps because of them), it seems to have had a small level of circulation; only seven manuscripts of the text currently survive.[14] Recent scholarship holds that Ulrich, though writing in the early 1080's, was describing the practices of Cluny during his time there in the 1060's.[15]

Bernard, on the other hand, was a child oblate of Cluny and possibly held the position of *armarius* there. Unlike Ulrich, who described Cluny's customs for an audience at Hirsau, Bernard wrote his customary for the educational use of the novices of Cluny itself. It has a serious tone and extraordinary attention to detail; as Bernard wrote in his prefatory letter (addressed to Hugh, abbot of Cluny 1024- 1109), novices of Cluny often left chapter meetings more confused than when they came, on account of all the controversies [*controversiae*] that arose regarding the correct customs. Thus, he thought it a worthy task, impelled by Hugo's

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[14] For a detailed treatment of all surviving manuscripts of Ulrich, cf. Burkhardt Tutsch, *Studien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der "Consuetudines" Ulrichs von Cluny*, Vita regularis 6 (München: Lit, 1998).

[15] The complicated question of the relative dating of Ulrich and Bernard's customaries depends on their relationship to each other. In giving this dating of Ulrich's customary, I follow Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres," 29–30 ft. 3. where she also reviews the dating arguments of Joachim Wollasch and Burkhardt Tutsch.

authority, to compile everything he could discover into a single volume for posterity.[16] Bernard's customary is presented in two parts; like the author(s) of the *Liber tramitis*, Bernard chose to separate rules for officials, the daily life of the monastery, and special ceremonies (part 1) from the descriptions of liturgical practices which followed the cycle of the church year (part 2). More than 20 manuscripts of Bernard's text, in full or partial form, are still extant, suggesting it had a higher level of circulation and perhaps, a greater impact than Ulrich's contribution.[17]

Both Bernard and Ulrich made it clear in their letters that they had sources of information outside their own experience; Bernard notes that he looked for the truth regarding Cluny's customs in both written sources and through oral testimony and Ulrich at several points claims to have consulted others where he, as an outsider, found himself on uncertain ground. Although neither cites the other as a source, the near-identical texts of several chapters (to take just one example, "De circatoribus", *Ulr* 3.7 and *Bern* 1.4) makes it almost indisputable that one (or both) had access to the other's work- but who copied from whom? The question is complicated by the fact that different versions of either of the two texts might have existed and been circulated, and subsequently revised, even if there are no explicit manuscript witnesses to these earlier versions. Thus, one of the authors might have used a prior version of the other's text in constructing their own (and indeed, most of the solutions proposed by scholars of these texts involve multiple versions of one or both texts). It is not the purpose of this work to attempt to resolve this

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[16] English and French translations of the letter, along with a Latin edition, are given in *From Dead of Night*, pp. 349-353.

[17] Burkhardt Tutsch, "Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Consuetudines Bernhards und Ulrichs von Cluny," in *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter: Erfassen, Bewahren, Verändern*, ed. Hagen Keller, Christel Meier, and Thomas Scharff, Münsterche Mittelalter-Schriften 76 (München: W. Fink, 1999), 79–94.

question; as several authors have noted, a modern critical edition of one or both texts is essential to untangling their histories, and until one is produced there will likely be no final answer.[18]

I. Calendrical relic movement in the Cluniac customaries

Altogether these texts form a corpus that provides a unique opportunity to view the monastic life of Cluny from a variety of perspectives across a roughly hundred year period. Although Cluny has been the subject of extensive study, its possession and use of relics have not often been highlighted as for other monasteries. In what folllows, I discuss calendrical relic movement (dependent on the liturgical cycle) separately from noncalendrical relic movement (which could happen at any time), a division made by the customaries themselves. Whether attached to a particular celebration or not, portable relics were woven throughout the practices of Cluny.

Calendrical relic movement in the *Consuetudines antiquiores*

Beginning with the *Consuetudines antiquiores,* what mobile roles were envisioned for relics and other sacred objects during liturgical celebrations at late 10th/early 11th c. Cluny?

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[18] My restatement of this question derives from several other attempts to clarify the debate regarding the textual and chronological problems surrounding Bernard's customary [*Bern*] and Ulrich's customary [*Udal*]. Recent discussions or summaries of the relationship between *Udal* and *Bern* can be found in: Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition C. 900-1200* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9. and also William of Hirsau, *Willehelmi Abbatis Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*, ed. Candida Elvert and Pius Engelbert, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 15 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 2010), L–LVIII. Some of the authors that have proposed a sequence of events that could account for the similarities between the two texts are: Joachim Wallasch, Kassius Hallinger, Bernhard Tutsch, Candida Elvert, and Isabelle Cochelin. The most recent opinion is offered by Cochelin, "Évolution des coutumieres," 63–66; Cochelin, "Customaries as Inspirational Sources.", which presents a new perspective on the use and dissemination of these manuscripts by reconsidering the history of their production. Cochelin disagrees with Hallinger's idea that Ulrich was working with an earlier version (unknown from the manuscripts) of *Bern.* Rather, she claims, Bernard worked from a copy of *Udal*, potentially brought back to Cluny by the monks of Hirsau for clarification. She suggests that there did in fact exist two versions of *Bern* (which she calls *Bern* 1 and *Bern* 2), but that both of them postdated the creation of *Udal*. *Bern 1*, if it existed, remains almost unknown in the manuscript tradition; Cochelin believes that the second customary of St. Benigne of Dijon may have been a version of this text, but the other potential examples date from the 17th c. As for the editions of these texts, they have been in progress for a number of years with the CCM series, currently under the direction of Pius Engelbert.

Since we do not have a monolithic text of the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, but a series of redactions, the texts vary in their presentation of what relics were moved and how. The first place we encounter their use is in the procession held on Palm Sunday. In this procession, all the monks were dressed in white; palm fronds were blessed and then distributed to the brothers to carry, while the laypeople were charged with carrying banners before the monks. Of the five principal redactions, only the Galeata (G) redaction (written in the beginning of the 12th c.) does not mention relics at all in the context of the Palm Sunday festivities. The first and second redactions from Avignon (B and C) and the redaction from Nonantula (B1) specify that they are to be carried in the procession with other liturgical objects. There is only a slight difference in the description of the 'relics' between the two sets of texts:

> B B1: "Then two *conversi* come, who carry candles, another who carries holy water, another who carries a censer, and another who carries a cross; two or four brothers carry two evangeliaries. Then also two carry the large reliquary [*cassam majorem*], and two others take up the image [*himmaginem*] of St. Peter."[19]
>
> C: "*Conversi* are prepared to carry holy water, a cross, and a censer. After them, the evangeliary should be carried and two candles here and there. Then the box [*arca*], in which the relics of the saints are kept."[20]

The image of St. Peter was one of Cluny's most important reliquaries; the *Liber tramitis* lists the more than twenty-two relics that were supposed to be contained within it, ranging from a piece

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[19] "*Tunc veniant duo conversi, qui portent candelabra et alius aquam benedictam, itemque alius portet turibulum et alius defferat crucem, duo fratres deferent duos testos aut etiam quattuor. Tunc eciam duo portent cassam maiorem et alii duo aprehendant himmaginem sancti Petri.*" Hallinger, *Consuetudines antiquiores*, 63–64.

[20] "*Parati sint conversi ad portandam aquam benedictam et crucem et turibulum. Post quod portetur textus et duo hinc et inde candelabra. Deinde arca, in qua sanctorum habentur pignora.*" Ibid.

of the True Cross to a stone from Lazarus' tomb. The "image" itself was likely a silver-covered statue of Peter.[21]

The redaction from St. Benigne of Dijon (B2) does not describe the use of relics in the procession in a strict sense, but instead prescribes the construction of an object called an '*osanna*':

> B2: "On Palm Sunday after Matins, the *secretarius* should prepare an *osanna*, so that it can be carried by the canons to the place where it will rest until the salutation."[22]

This *osanna* is mentioned later in the chapter as the first destination for the main procession, where several antiphons and genuflections were performed, and so it seems not to have been carried as part of the procession itself.[23]

According to the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, relics were also carried at Cluny during processions for Rogations, the three days preceding Ascension Day, but in a very different format than during Palm Sunday. While the relics involved in the Palm Sunday processions were large objects, generally carried by at least two men, small capsules containing relics known as

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[21] Peter Dinter, ed., *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 10 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1980), 260–1. for the list of relics contained in the image. Although the image itself is no longer extant, a 12th c. inventory describes a statue of St. Peter that may have been this image or its successor. Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1950), 12–13. It may have been similar in style to the famous "image" of St. Foy. For a more complete discussion of the image, along with the other relics of Cluny discussed in the *Liber tramitis,* cf. Alain Guerreau, "Espace social, espace symbolique: à Cluny au XIe siécle," in *L'ogre historien: autour de Jacques Le Goff*, ed. Jacques Revel and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 171–76.

[22] "*Dominca in Ramis Palmarum post Matutinas debet secretarius preparare osanna, ut portetur a canonicis ad locum ubi servanda est usque ad salutationem."* Hallinger, *Consuetudines antiquiores*, 62.

[23] The editors of the *Redactio sancti Emmerami* suggest that this *osanna* was analogous to the "*portatorium in modum pheretri*" that appears in that text (for the Palm Sunday procession), which had "*philacteria sive bursae reliquiarum"* attached to it. This *portatorium* also seems to have served as the destination of the procession rather than a part of it. Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 7.3 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1984), 219–21.

phylacteria were distributed to individual brothers to be carried in the Rogations procession.[24]

Descriptions of this process appear in four redactions, B1, B2, G, and C.

B1 B2	G	C
"...The collect *Mentem familie* [is sung]. The custodian of the basilica should give *phylacteria* to all the brothers..."	"...The collect *Mentem familiae tuae* [is sung]. With this completed, the *secretarius* should give *phylacteria* to all the brothers excepting the children..."	"...The prayer *Mentem familiae tuae* [is sung]. The *secretarius* indeed should give *phylacteria* to everyone..."[25]

Uniquely, C also specifies that reliquaries, in addition to the *phylacteria*, were carried in the Rogations procession:

> "Therefore when they exit, all the trumpets sound and after the banners walk two *conversi*, one who carries the holy water, another who carries the cross. After them are carried the great boxes [*magnae capsae*] with the relics. *Conversi* follow them, then the students and last the cantors, singing the antiphon *De Iherusalem* and others, concerning this procession"[26]

The picture of relics on the move in the *Consuetudines antiquiores,* then, is relatively restricted. Major reliquaries were carried, along with other liturgical objects such as crosses and censers, in the Palm Sunday procession, while *phylacteria,* smaller mobile reliquaries, were distributed to individuals during Rogations (and also, in the B2 redaction, hung on crosses during Parasceve).

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[24] Although *phylacteria* are not specifically defined as containing relics within the *Consuetudines antiquiores* themselves, we know this from other sources, particularly Ulrich's customary for Cluny. See Hallinger, *Consuetudines antiquiores*., 195 nt. 88[25-26] and later in this chapter.

[25] B1B2: "...*Collecta* Mentem familie. *Custos basilicae debet donare filacterias ad omnes fratres..."* G: ".. *Collecta* Mentem familiae tuae. *His ita expletis donet secretarius philacterias cunctis fratribus exceptis infantibus..."* C: *"...Oratio* Mentem familiae tuae. *Secretarius uero debet omnibus filacteria dare...*" Ibid., 100.

[26] "*Cum ergo exierint, sonet totum classicum et post gonfanones eant duo conversi, unus qui ferat aquam benedictam, alter qui crucem. Post eos ferantur magnae capsae cum reliquiis. Quas sequuntur conversi, deinde scola et cantores ultimi cantantes antiphonam De Iherusalem et alias, que de ipsa processione sunt.*" Ibid., 100–1.

Calendrical relic movement in the *Liber tramitis*

The *Liber tramitis* expands on both these occasions and the mobile uses of relics at Cluny in much more detail. The first book of the *Liber tramitis,* like the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, follows the liturgical year to lay out Cluny's procedures for each yearly or daily celebration and similarly describes different types of portable relics being used on different liturgical occasions. However, it also adds a third type of portable relic, 'minor relics' [*reliquias minores*], as in the description of the procession of candles on the feast of the Purification:

> "Once more the bell sounds, giving the hour. At this point four senior brothers take up the minor relics, two boys dressed in tunics take the evangeliaries, two *conversi* take crosses, a third the golden crucifix, holy water, two [more] take golden censers and four [more] candles."[27]

These 'minor relics' seem to have been carried at times when the procession was not necessarily the main event of the feast or a major celebration; for example, they appear in the procession for the morning mass and the festival procession of the Nativity.[28] Although carried by senior brothers and not initiates, they do not seem to be singled out as the central focus of the procession; in particular, they are never associated in the text with any specific saint.

In contrast to the muted roles assigned to the "minor relics" is the *Liber tramitis'* treatment of the relics used in the Palm Sunday procession. The image of St. Peter was specifically named in the B and B1 redactions of this event in the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, but the *Liber tramitis* makes prestigious, 'named' relics like Peter's image the focal point of the procession. After the completion of Tierce, the priest approached the altar to bless the palm

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[27] "*<De processione cereorum> Denuo pulsato <signo> reddant horam. Ipsam exacta accipiant quattuor seniores reliquias minores, textos evangeliorum duos pueri tunicis induti, conversi duas cruces, tertium crucifixum aureum, aquam sanctam, duo turibula aurea necnon et quattuor candelabra.*" Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 41.

[28] Other processions in which 'minor relics' appear in the *Liber tramitis* are 13.4 *De processione festiua et de missa maiore* (p. 22-23), *De processione cereorum*. (p. 41), and *De missa matutinali cum processione* (p. 89).

branches that were to be carried in the procession; the branches were then distributed to the abbot and the brothers. The *armarius* outfitted two youths who were to carry the evangeliaries with tunics while singing the psalm *Pueri hebrorum*. Then the *conversi* took four crosses, two golden censers, holy water, four candelabras, and one of the priests took the arm of St. Maur (the first 'named' relic in the text), while three or eight other priests took the remaining ecclesiastical ornaments.[29] Sixteen other *conversi* (in teams of two or four) were charged with carrying Cluny's most prized relics: the image of St. Peter, the body of St. Marcelle (pope), the reliquary of St. Gregory (pope), and finally the relics of other unspecified 'holy fathers'. These had been prepared prior to the procession by being placed in "wooden constructions" in order to be carried in a suitable fashion.[30] The order of these important objects (preceded by *famuli* carrying the banners of the monastery) is specified in a table, which mapped out the procession of the relics onto the page:

[29] The inclusion of the arm of St. Maur has been used to date this section of the text; it was brought to Cluny in 1027, implying that this section was composed after that date. The arm is listed in the table showing the procession as "brachium". Certain other ecclesiastical ornaments (the golden globe, "pomum", for example) are used in other processions and were part of Henry II"s gift of the royal insignia to Cluny.

[30] "*Post principale altare reliquiae sanctorum coaptentur in lignorum conpositionibus, ut deferri congrue possint*." Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 67. Based on the iconographical evidence, we might surmise that these wooden constructions were some sort of bier or stretcher.

"They should go out thus by order as we show in these characters [i.e. the table], first the *famuli* with the banners two by two, advancing as if thirty:

Fanones Fanones	Reliquias sanctorum patrum quattuor vel duo	Gregorii papae quattuor fratres vel etiam duo	S. Marcelli papae quattuor fratres vel etiam duo	Imaginem s. Petri quattuor fratres deportent
<folio break>				
	Crucem	Crucem	Turibulum	Candelabrum
		Crucifixum	Cassulam	Textum
	Aquam sanctam	Crucem	Turibulum	Candelabrum
	Candelabrum	Sceptrum	Pomum	Sacerdos
	Textum	Sceptrum	Brachium	Candelabrum[31]

The importance of these relics is highlighted at the very end of the *Liber tramitis*, where Cluny's high-status relics are listed and described as part of an inventory (Chapter 189). The arm of St. Maur is not mentioned in the inventory, which dates it to before the composition of the Palm Sunday section (written after 1027). This inventory gives the description of the relics contained in the image of St. Peter mentioned above, and the bodies of Gregory and Marcelle are listed as being contained together in a silver reliquary. Apparently they were soon placed in different reliquaries, since the Palm Sunday procession indicates that they were carried separately.[32] A glass vase containing the hair of St. Maolus is also included, which presumably would have been carried during Palm Sunday with other "relics of the holy fathers". These 'named' relics were

[31] It is not entirely clear how the table is meant to be read. The other processions of relics discussed in this chapter suggest that liturgical objects were always intended to precede the relics, and that the banners would have been leading the procession. Thus, we might read the table right-to-left and bottom-to-top, such that the order would be banners, banners, evangeliary, candelabra, holy water, cross, relics of the holy fathers, scepter, etc. This table appears on Ibid., 68. Several of the other liturgical processions described in the *Liber tramitis* also have these explanatory tables, as on p. 42 where a 'cassula' or capsula appears. These are generally processions in which minor relics are being carried; nowhere besides the Palm Sunday procession are 'named' relics carried. One possible exception to this is during the feast of the Virgin, where her icon is carried and its placement in the procession is labeled in a table. See also p. 115 for the procession on Pentecost, and p. 108 for the procession on Ascension Day.

[32] Hallinger, *Consuetudines antiquiores*, 186. nt. 64 2a.

thus treated differently from the 'minor relics'; they were some of the most prestigious objects owned by Cluny, and the increased attention for their correct transportation and treatment in the Palm Sunday procession indicates the level of importance assigned to them.

The *Liber tramitis* also expands on the role of *phylacteria*, even outside the context of Rogations. When not being used in processions, they appear to have rested on the altar, or on certain occasions to have been hung from a pole.[33] It provides a more precise description of the objects themselves; in the procession done for the exaltation (part of the Ascension feast along with Rogations) the *secretarius* is meant to give each of four brothers "tiny golden capsules, or *phylacteria*, in addition to his dress".[34] The *Liber tramitis* also describes, in more detail than the *Consuetudines antiquiores,* the distribution of the *phylacteria* before the Rogations celebration, and their placement on the altar once the destination church had been reached:

> "Then the *secretarius* or the *armarius* should hand out *phylacteria* with relics [*cum reliquiis*] to each person, except the boys or those who have received contagion from the sleep of the night [i.e., have had a wet dream]... [once they have reached the church that is the next station for the Rogations]... The senior brothers should place the *phylacteria* on the altar on both sides just as they stand in the choir, bending their knees."[35]

This version of the use of *phylacteria* at Rogations is comparable to the descriptions that appear in the later customaries written by Ulrich and Bernard.

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[33] "*In maius scilicet altare necnon et crucifixos vel cruces <ponant>, quas in lignorum materiae post ipsam aram ordinent et quaecum<que> ibi sunt reconditae filacteriae. Tunc debent vestire se secretarii albis, cum accipiunt ipsas. Inde et ante maiorem altare in pertice suspendant et altariola atque auream coronam eademque de capsis faciant*". Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 83. Here is seems that the pole remains in the church rather than being used in any kind of procession. There is a reference to a reliquary being hung on a pole "with other *phylacteria"* in a church in the miracles of St. Autbert. A. Poncelet, ed., "De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi," *Analecta bollandiana* 19 (1900): 210.

[34] "*Tunc secretarius det vascula aurea minoris vel phylacterias ad quattuor seniores unamqua<m>que cum suo ornatu....*" Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 108.

[35] "*Tunc secretarius uel armarius tribuat filacterias cum reliquiis per singulos praeter pueros vel illos qui aliquid contagionis admiserunt noctis sopore... Seniores ponant phylacterias super altare hinc et inde sicuti in choro consistunt flectendo genua. Mox ut positas habuerint, faciant orationem simul et agant Nonam.*" Ibid., 103–4.

Calendrical relic movement in Ulrich's customary

In Ulrich's customary, less information is given about the treatment of the *phylacteria* at the destination church, but more about the physical form of the objects themselves:

> "The relics of the saints enclosed in little crosses, boxes, and brooches should be divided between the brothers by the *secretarius*, so that they can be carried hung from their necks. Before they leave, all the bells should be rung. The cross and holy water, and the evangeliary, should be carried before the procession. First the *conversi*, then the boys, cantors, and finally the priors should follow."[36]

This passage, along with the one from the *Liber tramitis*, confirms that in fact *phylacteria* did contain relics and this was the reason for their veneration and use in processions. The physical form of *phylacteria* could apparently vary (crosses, boxes, or brooches as Ulrich notes) but they were all apparently small enough to be hung from the neck when carried by the brothers in a procession. Since Ulrich was writing his customary for an audience who had never seen Cluny and its practices, this may be the reason why he did not identify these objects using the term *phylacteria*, as the three other customaries do, and described their physical appearance instead.

Calendrical relic movement in Bernard's customary

Bernard, writing for an internal audience of Cluniac initiates, was less concerned with describing *phylacteria* and more interested in clearly defining their appropriate use. He elaborated significantly on the procedures described in the *Liber tramitis,* especially the method for placing the *phylacteria* on the altar of the destination church. This may not reflect a change in actual practice, but a desire on the part of Bernard to give the most specific instructions possible:

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[36] "*Sanctorum reliquiae cruciculis, capsulis, et nuxis. inclusae per fratres a secretario dividuntur, ut ab eis collo suspensae portentur. Priusquam exeant, pulsantur omnia signa. Crux et aqua benedicta, et textus Evangelii praefertur processioni. Sequuntur primum conversi, pueri, cantores, et priores extremi."* The editor of the PL edition suggests that *nuxis* should be read as *nuscis,* and suggests *fibulis* as a synonym. Ulrich of Zell, "Consuetudines antiquiores cluniacenses," *PL 149*, 670.

> "... the children return to their stations in the choir; two of the *secretarii*, one on the right side of the choir, the other on the left, hold *phylacteria* in silver dishes, serving them to two others, who distribute them among the brothers. They should not be given to children, nor to those to whom something of this kind touched in the night [i.e., who have had a wet dream]. While all this is being done, everyone should be silent in the choir; then before they go out, all the bells should be rung. Then the *armarius* begins the antiphon *De Hierusalem*, and holy water, a cross, and the evangeliary are carried before the procession; the *conversi* follow, the *pueri* follow them, and finally the cantors according to their rank, with the newer cantors going in front... when they come to the church, each one as he enters should place his *phylacterium* on the altar and once it is placed, ask forgiveness. The right choir [should place their *phylacteria*] on the right corner [of the altar], and similarly on the left, and those who distributed [the *phylacteria*] adjust them on the altar; and when after the end of the mass the brothers take them back, no one should take up any except his own, and at that time forgiveness is not asked." [37]

Thus, in both the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary, two aspects of carrying *phylacteria* in the Rogations procession were singled out for attention. First, there was a concern that suitable people be selected to carry the *phylacteria.* Children and brothers who had been contaminated by a wet dream were not eligible to carry these relics, indicating a concern for the 'worthiness' of the bearer of relics.[38] Second, the practice of placing relics on the altar of the destination church was a highly ritualized and symbolic act. Though the *Liber tramitis* is more laconic on this point, Bernard especially suggests that there was a strong personal connection between individual brothers and the *phylacterium* that they carried. Each brother placed their own *phylacterium* on the altar, and this was the cue for them to individually beg for forgiveness. Their organization in

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[37] "*... redeunt infantes in chorum in stationibus suis; duo autem secretariorum, alter in dextro choro, alter in sinistro, in scutellis argenteis tenent philacteria ministrantes ipsa duobus aliis, qui dividunt ea fratribus. Infantibus vero, neque his, quibus tale quid in nocte contigerit, minime dantur. Interim vero dum hoc totum fit, tacetur in choro ab omnibus; deinde priusquam exeant, pulsantur omnia signa. Postea Armarius incipit antiphonam,* De Hierusalem*, praefertur aqua benedicta, et crux, ac textus evangelii ipsi processioni, sequuntur conversi quos pueri sequuntur, et deinde cantores, sicut est ordo eorum, novitiis praecedentibus..... ad quam ecclesiam cum pervenerint, quisque sicut intrat ponit suum philacterium super altare et posito, petit veniam. Dexter chorus ad dextrum cornu, et similiter ad sinistrum, et illi qui ea distribuerunt, aptant ea super altare; et cum post finem Missae eadem repetunt fratres, non debet quis nisi suum accipere; et tunc non petitur venia.* " Bernard of Cluny, "Ordo cluniacensis," in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris: Osmont, 1726), 328.

[38] This concern for the personal worthiness of those transporting relics is also reflected in the prayer given in the *Ordines Romani*, "*Aufer a nobis*", used during translations, and in certain hagiographical anecdotes. See, for example, the "Miracula S. Agili," *AASS* Aug. VI, 587–92. in which a lay lord is judged unworthy to carry the relics (expressed through their immobility) because he is unjustly occupying property belonging to the saint.

the choir was reflected in the layout of the *phylacteria* (because of the careful right-to-right and left-to-left placement), in a sense equating the brothers with the relics. Furthermore, Bernard was emphatic that the *phylacteria* should not be considered interchangeable; each brother must leave with the same one he came with. This suggests that the practice of transporting relics in the form of *phylacteria* during Rogations at Cluny was deeply associated with the salvation of the brothers as individuals; they had to deserve to carry the object, but at the same time the object accompanied them personally on their penitential quest for forgiveness and redemption. In this role, each *phylacterium* could only be associated with a single brother, giving them a kind of individual patronage and protection that may have mirrored the use of portable reliquary 'necklaces' by high-status laypeople, and may have also evoked the wearing of textual amulets, also known as *phylacteria*, in the Old Testament and Jewish tradition.[39]

The use of bells to signal the departure of the Rogations procession is also significant, because it serves to associate the use of *phylacteria* with the use of the larger reliquaries in liturgical processions. In a later chapter discussing the departure of relics from the monastery (discussed later), Bernard says that:

> "All the bells are rung before they [the procession carrying relics] leave the church, as for when the brothers carry *phylacteria*, on account of the relics; similarly when the return to the entrance of the church."[40]

In specifying that the bells are rung during the departure of processions with large reliquaries, as for processions with *phylacteria*, Bernard associated these two types of objects. *Phylacteria* were thus, in many ways, akin to larger reliquaries like the ones carried by two or four brothers

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[39] For lay reliquary necklaces, see for example in the "Miracula S. Gengulfi," *AASS* May II, 180. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle,* p. 41-42. The connection between the textual amulets that *phylacteria* traditionally referred to and these small reliquary boxes is interesting, particularly because the use of textual *phylacteria* had been condemned by Jerome and others. See Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (Penn State Press, 2006).especially pp. 36-37.

[40] See note 52.

in the Palm Sunday procession; they were holy objects to be given special treatment, whether inside the church or during a procession. Unlike larger reliquaries, however, they were more closely linked to the brothers carrying them, both physically and spiritually.

Phylacteria were the only types of relics explicitly mentioned in descriptions of recurring liturgical processions written by Ulrich and Bernard. Their treatments of the Palm Sunday procession are exceptionally short, and do not mention the involvement of relics or specify the exact nature of the procession. They tell us only that there are two processions for Palm Sunday, the first a procession like the one performed every Sunday (that is, through the cloister) and the second involving the blessing and carrying of palm fronds. Bernard mentions that the destination of this second procession is the church of St. Maiolus., but beyond this there is little detail. It would be unwise to read too much into this "disappearance" of the major relics of Cluny from the Palm Sunday procession after the extensive attention given to them by the *Liber tramitis*; Bernard and Ulrich may have taken for granted that the relics of Cluny would be carried in any important festival procession, accompanied by censers, candles, and other liturgical accoutrement.

II. Non-calendrical relic movement in the Cluniac customaries

However, calendrical processions like Palm Sunday were not the only occasions at Cluny when relics were transported. Both the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary provide guides to a ritual process for moving relics outside the monastery "in case of necessity" and for welcoming them back afterward (the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, as ordinaries, only treat calendrical events, and the unusual historiographical issues surrounding Ulrich's customary will be discussed later in this section). These events were unrelated to any calendrical occasion, and, because the relics were expected to return to the monastery, also fundamentally different from the practice of

translating saints from one permanent location to another. The appearance of these procedures places an important benchmark in the historical development of relic movement. Relics that were central to the identity of Cluny were being moved outside the monastery regularly enough in the 11th century to warrant the creation and updating of a written procedure.

Non-calendrical relic movement in the *Liber tramitis*

To begin with the *Liber tramitis,* the generalized procedure for relic movement is located in the second book, as opposed to the calendrical events previously discussed which were treated in the first book. It is remarkable first, because it considers the act of procession as a separate kind of ritual action; section 27 is labeled "Concerning processions" (*De processionibus*) The five types of processions described in this section are: the processions held on Wednesday and Friday to the church of Mary (167), the procession to accompany the movement of relics away from the monastery and their reception back to it (168), the proper reception of a king (or queen) arriving at the monastery (169), and the reception a bishop (170) or abbot (171). Although only the second description explicitly involves the movement of relics, it is important to note its association with these other types of events. The logic of grouping the reception of relics with the processions to welcome visiting kings, queens, bishops, and abbots strongly suggests the incorporation of relics into the liturgical tradition of the imperial a*dventus*, and more broadly, the treatment of relics as personages rather than liturgical objects.

XXVII. *"De processionibus"*
167: *Quandocumque fratres processionem quarta vel sexta feria faciunt*
168: *De sanctorum reliquiis qualiter defera<n>tur ad locum ubi necesse sunt deportande processionaliter aut qualiter recipia<n>tur cum laude*
169: *Ad regem deducendum*
170: *Ad episcopum deducendum.*
171: *Item ad abbatem <deducendum>*

The generality of the title of chapter 168 is reflected in its text; although it applies to situations in which the relics must be moved "processionally" to some place for some necessity, both place and justification remain unspecified. This is another point of difference from the performance of liturgical processions, which have a goal (correct celebration of a special day or time) and often a fixed destination. Here the question of what might necessitate a relic movement goes unanswered. The text of chapter 168 also gives no clues about what the relics and the people accompanying them did while they were on their journey; there are no ritual prescriptions for the "on the road" phase of the practice. It is strictly concerned with the processions performed by the community at large, beginning with the procedure for the movement of relics out of the monastery:

> "Concerning the relics of the saints, in what way they are to be carried to a place where it is necessary that they be carried processionally, and in what way they are to be received with praise: Whenever relics are to be carried off somewhere, they should do it in this way: everyone should be dressed in copes, the boys in white by the *armarius* or whoever is in charge, by signaling or by speaking if it is the time for speaking.[41] The relics are suitably placed. The custodians [*secretarii*] of the church ring the bells. Two candles are carried out by *conversi*, then holy water, a cross, and incense, [then] banners are carried by *famuli,* and one bell is sent with them. The cantor begins the response *Sancte*

[41] This refers to the system of gestures used at Cluny during periods of extended silence within the community. See: Scott G. Bruce, "Monastic Sign Language in the Cluniac Customaries," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 273–86. and Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism*.

> *Marcelle,* or a different [response] according to whose relics are being carried out. The relics are incensed and everyone goes out together to the doors in the walls which circle the monastery. Then other brothers are present, who take up the saints' relics, and *famuli,* so that they can be taken where necessary. The brothers should begin the psalms *Ad dominum cum tribulare* and return to the choir. They should take off their robes and each go back to his own business."[42]

The procession, the involvement of the community, and the interest of the *Liber tramitis* all ended at the wall of the monastery. Beyond this boundary, the relics were the exclusive responsibility of the brothers and *famuli* assigned to carry them. This departure of the relics might be viewed as a rite of passage: the community needed to formally accompany their saint as he or she passed out of one state (stability) and into another (itineracy). The wall, separating the monastery from the secular world, was the natural point of transition and the destination of the procession. And just as the relics had to be seen safely and properly across it when leaving, their return also warranted a procession to reintroduce them to the monastery:

> "At the time when they [those accompanying the relics] are about to return, they should manage to announce it ahead of time in the monastery, so that all the brothers can be in copes, and the children in white. The prior begins the psalms *Miserere mei deus, Deus in nomine tuo, Deus in adiutorium meum,* and *Deus misereatu,* and they go out into the path [*obviam*] of the holy relics. The secretaries (or the servants) ring the bells, until everything is completed. Then they begin the response *Iste sanctus*, the priest says the verse *Magna est gloria eius* or another according to what the relics are, [and] the pertinent collect and prayers for them. Then they are incensed. Going back they begin another response suitable to the holy relics. And with this done they go into the

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[42] *"De sanctorum reliquiis qualiter defera<n>tur ad locum ubi necesse sunt deportandae processionaliter aut qualiter recipia<n>tur cum laude. Quando reliquie deportande sunt alicubi, hoc modo faciant: Annuente armario vel loquente si tempus fuerit loquendi vel illo qui ordinem tenuerit, revestiantur cuncti in cappis, pueris in albis. Reliquiae sint congrue collocate. Secretarii ecclesie pulsent signa. Candelabri duo deportentur a conversis, aquam sanctam, crux, incensum, phanones a famulis deportentur et unum signum cum eis mittatur. Cantor incipiat responsorium* Sancte Marcelle *vel secundum quales reliquie sunt et incensentur exeantque omnes pariter extra portas murorum quibus circumdatum est monasterium. Tunc sint praesentes alii fratres qui suscipiant sanctorum reliquias et famuli, ut deportentur ubi necesse fuerint. Et fratres inchoent psalmos* Ad dominum cum tribularer *et revertantur in chorum. Et exuant se et pergant unusquisque ad officia sua."* Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 240–1.

> monastery and the relics are placed where they are to be placed. Then they are incensed and everyone goes each to his own business."[43]

In the descriptions of these two processions, it is difficult to miss the attention to liturgical spectacle that built Cluny's reputation as a spiritual powerhouse: in the first place, there was almost continual speaking or singing. Special dress codes for the procession were so important, that the arrival of the relics had to be announced to allow for time to change. The liturgical paraphernalia (holy water, crosses, candles), the incensing of the relics, and the continuous ringing of bells all constructed a special type of sensory experience for this event that was shared, in part, with the other processions for receiving kings, queens, bishops, and abbots. The following table compares certain aspects of these receptions. Certain differences were likely meant to express the relative importance of these events; for example, the bells are rung continuously for the reception of relics, less for the reception of kings and queens, less for the reception of a bishop, and not at all for an abbot. Similiarly, dress codes, items carried, and periods of singing/silence were changed slightly; that this was a reflection of personal status is indicated by the note that the personal status of an abbot should be used to determine whether the full community should wear special dress to receive him.

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[43] "*Illo tunc tempore quando reversuri sunt, procurentur antea nuntiare in coenobium, ut sint omnes fratres in cappis, infantes in albis. Prior incipiat psalmos* Miserere mei deus, Deus in nomine tuo, Deus in adiutorium meum, Deus misereatur *et eant in obviam sanctis reliquiis. Secretarii pulsent signa (vel famuli) usquedum sint omnia peracta. Tunc inchoent responsorium Iste sanctus, dicat sacerdos versus* Magna est gloria eius *vel secundum quales reliquiae fuerint, ad ipsas pertinentem collectam et praeces. Deinde incensentur. Rursum inchoent aliud responsorium congruum sanctis reliquiis. Et ita peractis eant in monasterium et ponantur reliquie ubi ponende sunt. Denua incensentur et pergant unusquisque ad opus suum.*" Ibid., 241.

	Relics (reception only)	King/Queen	Bishop	Abbot
Dress code	Brothers in copes; children in white	All in copes, including the *conversi*; children in tunics	All in copes; children in white	Only those carrying [items?] in the procession [wear copes], unless the abbot is of a certain level of dignity, when the brothers might wear copes and the boys (*pueri*) wear white
Items carried	Not specified for reception procession	Specified in special table: holy water, three crosses, two censers, six candelabra, three evangeliaries	Holy water, cross, two candelabras, one evangeliary	Not specified
Going to meet the visitor	Psalms: *Miserere mei Deus, Deus in nomine tuo, Deus in adiutorium meum, Deus misereatur*	Silence	Silence	Silence
When the visitor is met with	The relics are incensed; response, verse, collect and prayers pertaining to the saint are sung	Holy water is given to him/her; the evangeliary is kissed and incensed	Holy water is given to him; the evangeliary is kissed and incensed	Not specified
Returning with the visitor	Another response pertinent to the saint	*Ecce mitto angelum meum* (For a queen, the antiphon *Cum sederit filius hominis* is sung when entering the church)	*Ecce vere Israelita* and *Audi Israel*	Silence
Bells	Bells are rung continuously until everything is completed	Two large bells sounded as procession leaves church; all bells are rung as they return to the church	All bells are rung as they return to the church	No bells are rung
In the church	Relics are placed 'where they are to be placed'	Two cloths are placed, one in front of the altar of the holy cross and one in front of the greater altar. The abbot begins the antiphon he wishes. Then he says a *capitulum* and two prayers: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui caelestia simul et terrena moderaris* and *Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famulo tuo*	Two cloths are placed, one before the principal altar and another before the altar of the holy cross.	Not specified

Within these general liturgical elements, however, there is also a concern that the processions to send away and receive relics be tailored to the saint who was being carried. Whenever the relics were physically present (on the first stage of the procession leaving the church, and after the procession has met the returning relics) the liturgical pieces being sung had to be specific to the saint, as indicated by the phrases "*secundum quales reliquiae sunt/fuerint*". When the relics were not present, that is, when the monks were returning to the church after the relics' departure or leaving it before their arrival, only psalms were sung. The liturgy of these events, then, drew on common elements of the reception spectacle to emphasize their importance, but was also dependent on the relics themselves, making each event to some extent *sui generis.*

The *Liber tramitis* also provided an example of the kind of saint that this type of event might apply to: St. Marcelle, pope, whose body Cluny had apparently had since at least the abbacy of Odilo.[44] The responses listed, *Sancte Marcelle/ Iste sanctus/ Magna est gloria eius* are taken from his office, in keeping with the ideal of having the liturgy match the saint. Marcelle's identification as an example was not exclusive, suggesting that other relics of comparable prestige were being transported, such the relics of pope Gregory and the image of St. Peter which were featured along with Marcelle in the Palm Sunday procession discussed earlier. The suggestion of Marcelle's relics as a candidate for potentially long-term departures from the monastery differentiates these events from the calendrical processions in which *phylacteria* or minor relics were carried, and further associate these events with the other processions meant to welcome (living) dignitaries by giving the relics a name.

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[44] The *Liber tramitis* makes it clear that Cluny actually had the relics of two Marcelles, one the pope and the other, a martyr of *Cabillon* (Chalon-sur-Saône) whose relics were contained in the image of Peter. The feast of Marcelle martyr and the *exceptio* of Marcelle, pope were celebrated as a joint feast (Sept. 4th).

Chapter 168 also includes a second version of the departure/reception processions for relics (labeled "*Item de eodem"*). Within the *Liber tramitis* as a whole, there is significant internal evidence that points towards a series of stages of composition, and the appearance of this 'alternate' procedure (chapter 167, on the Wednesday and Friday processions, also includes an alternate text) is one of the clearest indications of this process.[45] Dinter interprets these additions as earlier renditions of these practices that were copied over during the creation of the *Liber tramitis* as it appears today. This second version of chapter 168 is shorter and less detailed than the first:

> "Also concerning the same matter [*Item de eodem*]: Whenever a holy body is to be carried abroad, they ought to be dressed in white and sing the response or antiphon concerning that saint whose relics are being carried, until the prior makes the sign for returning. In returning they should sing psalms. When the relics are carried back, the brothers ought to run out dressed in copes. And when they are about to go out, the prior should begin in the choir *Miserere mei deus, Deus in nomine tuo, Miserere mei deus miserere mei, Deus misereatur, Deus in adiutorium meum* et *Ad dominum cum tribularer clamavi*, until they come to the relics. After the release of incense the prayer [*oratio*] concerning that saint is said, then the *armarius* begins the song [*cantum*] concerning that saint and thus they go on into the monastery."[46]

There are only minor changes to note here: no mention is made of the wall of the monastery as the point of transition, there is much less specific information on the processions (e.g., specific liturgical objects are not mentioned), and St. Marcelle is not indicated as an example of what saint might be on the move (no saint's name is given as an example). If this does represent an earlier version of the *Liber tramitis*, the reasons why it was copied alongside the more expansive version are unclear; however, it might be read as evidence that the practice of moving relics was

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45 Cf. Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, LII–LVI.

46 "*Item de eodem: / Quando corpus sanctum foris portandum est, in albis debent esse vestiti et de ipso sancto cuius portantur reliquiae vel responsorium vel antiphonam cantent, donec revertendi prior signum faciat. IN revertendo psalmos dicant. Cum vero reliquie reportantur, in cappis vestiti debent fratres occurrere. Et cum exituri sunt, in choro debet prior incipere* Miserere mei deus, Deus in nomine tuo, Miserere mei deus miserere mei, Deus misereatur, Deus in adiuitorium meum *et.* Ad dominum cum tribularer *clamavi, donec ad reliquias perveniant. Post missum incensum de ipso sancto dicatur oratio, deinde de ipso sancto cantum armarius incipiat et sic in monasterium pergant."* Ibid., 241–2.

given textual and liturgical attention even before the compiliation of the *Liber tramitis* in the 1040's.

Non-calendrical relic movement in Bernard's customary

Bernard's customary presents an even more complicated and detailed picture of temporary relic movement. There are two chapters in which Bernard describes taking relics out of the monastery, analogous to chapter 168 of the *Liber tramitis*; first, one titled "Concerning procession for tribulation" (1.32 *"De processione pro tribulatione",* or in one manuscript, "*De processione in rogationibus"*[47]) and second, "Concerning the relics of the saints, in what way they should be escorted or received" (1.56 "*De reliquiis sanctorum quomodo prosequantur sive recipiantur*"). These two descriptions occupy different contexts within Bernard's work. Like chapter 168 of the *Liber tramitis*, the procession for tribulation was grouped with other procession-based events (1.33, "Concerning processions for receiving personages" and 1.34 "Concerning processions for taking up the dead"). The *De reliquiis sanctorum* chapter, however, appears in the section describing the duties of various officials. Isabelle Cochelin considers that it was placed there as part of a group of customs for which the sacristan (or *apocrisarius*) was responsible.[48] Although these chapter groups are not identified by a separate title as in the *Liber tramitis*, they do give a sense of the 'categories' Bernard used in arranging his customary.

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[47] Arras BM ms. 864. This should not be interpreted in the sense of formal Rogations, because the text itself differentiates these processions from Rogation days (in terms of who is responsible for obtaining the staffs that the monks will use). Nevertheless, this procession, like the Rogations procession, emphasizes penitence with a view towards turning away divine wrath.

[48] Bernard tells us that while *sacrista* is the common name for this official, the more honorable and fitting term is *apocrisarius*; several manuscripts of *Bern* label these sections accordingly.

Chapter groups in Bernard's customary (numbering taken from Herrgott edition)[49]

"Processions" (not labeled in text)
1.32 *De processione pro tribulatione*
1.33 *De processionibus ad recipiendas personas*
1.34 *De processionibus ad defunctos suscipiendos*
....
"Duties of the sacristan" (not labeled in text)
1.51 *De majori sacrista ecclesia / De apocrisario*
1.52 *De hebdomadario sacrista / Item de apocrisario et sociis eius*
1.53 *De hostiis quomodo/qualiter fiant*
1.54 *De corporalibus abluendis*
1.55 *De ostiario ecclesiae*
1.56 *De reliquiis sanctorum quomodo prosequantur sive recipiantur*

The *De reliquiis sanctorum* chapter is the close analogue of *Liber tramitis* chapter 168; the procedure Bernard describes follows the general pattern outlined there, but with several additions. To reveal these differences, and to accurately represent Bernard's level of attention to the details of this practice, this chapter is worth quoting in full:

> "Concerning the relics of the saints, in what way they are to be escorted or received: Whenever because of some urgent necessity the relics of the saints are to be carried out of the monastery someplace, the offices are to be performed in this way. First the sacristan places [the relics] on a decorated bier [*ornato feretrum*]. Then they are to be carried to the brother whose obedience it is, and also to another senior brother, to whom the care of these relics is specially entrusted by the prior, all the necessary items are supplied, that is, that is, two candelabras, a cross, a censer, a small jug of holy water, three flags, also a curtain and a bell which is carried by two men, a robe, and the remaining [things] appropriate for ecclesiastical uses. When they are to be brought out from the church, everyone puts on white; then the holy body, having been incensed by the prior, is entrusted to two cantors wearing white, to be carried up to the doors of the castle [*ad portas castelli*]. All the bells are rung; an appropriate response is begun by the cantor. With the procession going ahead, the porters of the holy relic follow, then the children, next the cantors, and at the end the *conversi.* When it [the procession] has come to the doors, laypeople [*laici*] receive the entrusted [reliquary] and with the response finished,

[49] Note that different manuscripts have different chapter orderings; here I am relying on the "standard" manuscript of *Bern*, Paris BnF lat. 13875.

> and with the prior beginning the psalm *Ad dominum cum tribularer*, that same procession goes back by rank.
>
> And when it [the relic] is brought back, first all the brothers put on white, and the two large bells are sounded, and then with the procession going ahead, that is, with holy water, censer, a cross and candelabras, in a similar manner in everything, they go out to the doors of the castle [*ad portas castelli]* with everyone silent. There finally the prior, having taken the censer, censes the holy relics, and with a response started by the cantor, and all the bells sounding, [to that same place] from where it had left it is presently taken up. When, however, the image of the blessed Peter is taken up, first an antiphon, which is *Tu est Pastor ovium*, is begun by the cantor, after whose beginning the whole convent, with hands lowered almost to the ground, bows deeply; then the versiculus *Exaltent eum in ecclesia plebis* is pronounced by the abbot or prior, and following that the collect *Deus, qui apostolo tuo Petro* is said. When that is finished, the cantor begins a response, and it is carried in that order described above to the church.[50]

The first difference between this chapter and the *Liber tramitis* is that there is a stage of preparation for the relics themselves. Bernard differentiates between the relics of the saints themselves and the decorated bier (*feretro ornato*) that they are placed on. Hagiographical texts describing the transportation of relics tend to use the term *feretrum* to refer to the entire item that is being carried; people interact with the *feretrum* as a single object.[51] Here, the preparation of a

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[50] "*Quoties aliqua urgente necessitate reliquiae sanctorum extra monasterium alicubi sunt ferendae, hujusmodi officiis sunt prosequendae Primum denique sacrista in ornato eas feretro componit. Deinde Fratri ad cujus obedientiam sunt portandae, alii etiam seniori, cui a Priore earumdem custodia Reliquiarum specialiter committitur, omnia necessaria, id est candelabra duo, crucem, turibulum, urceolum aquae benedictae, vexilla tria, cortinam quoque et tintinabulum, quod a duobus fertur hominibus, vestimentum, et reliqua ecclesiasticis usibus accommoda praebet. Cum ab ecclesia fuerint producendae, omnes albis induuntur. Deinde sanctum Corpus a priore incensatum, duobus albatis Cantoribus committitur, usque ad portas castelli ferendum. Omnia signa pulsantur, responsorium competens a Cantore incipitur. Precedente processione secuntur bajuli pigneris sacri: deinde infantes, postremo Cantores, ad ultimum conversi. Cum ventum fuerit ad portas, Laici suscipiunt commendatum, finitoque responsorio, et incipiente Priore Psalmum Ad Dominum cum tribularer: processio eodem revertitur ordine. Item quando reducitur, primum cuncti Fratres albis induuntur, et duo signa majora pulsantur, ac deinde procedente processione, id est, aqua b., turibulo, cruce et candelabris, simili per omnia modo, usque ad portas Castelli, cum omni silentio progredituntur; ibi denique Prior accepto turibulo, sanctas incensas reliquias, impositoque a Cantore responsorio, cunctisque resonantibus signis, eodem quo exierat, suscipitur modo. Imago autem b. Petre quando suscipitur antiphona primum, id est, Tu es Pastor ovium, a cantore incipitur, ad cuius initium omnis Conventus submissis usque ad terram manibus, altius inclinat; deinde ab Abbate vel Priore Versiculus, Exaltent eum in Ecclesia plebis, pronuntiatur, et subsequitur collecta, Deus qui Apostolo tuo Petro dr-; qua completa, incipiente cantore reponsorium, eo quo supra dictum est ordine, defertur ad ecclesiam"*Paris BnF lat. 13875 ff. 99v-100r.

[51] The term '*feretrum*' technically refers to the bier, but is used to indicate the relic-and-bier object as a whole in most hagiographical texts describing relic transportation.

feretrum is part of the process of extended relic transportation.[52] Bernard specified who was responsible for preparing the *feretrum* (the sacristan, likely the reason this was included in the section on his duties), who was responsible for assembling the ecclesiastical items for the procession (a brother and another senior brother), and who was responsible for carrying the relics (two cantors). Compared to the *Liber tramitis*, Bernard gives a fuller sense (possibly stemming from his experience as *armarius*) of order and responsibility in making arrangements for a relic's journey.

Second, Bernard labels the boundary point of the procession, where the relics transition outside as the "doors of the castle" [*portas castelli*] rather than the doors in the walls surrounding the monastery as in the *Liber tramitis.* This likely refers to the same physical place with respect to Cluny's geography, but interestingly, this phrase was changed in the manuscript copy of Bernard's customary produced at a different monastery, St. Benigne de Dijon. As Carolyn Malone and others have noted, this manuscript changed the Cluniac "*ad portas castelli*" to "*ad terminos cymitirii*" (to the edge of the cemetery), and later again to "*ad praedictum terminum*" (to the aforementioned boundary).[53] This suggests that the monks of St. Benigne, at least, were sufficiently engaged in this practice to have developed their own traditional "boundary" limit for the departure of relics and to modify their copy of Bernard's customary accordingly (no other modifications were made to this chapter).

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[52] Other texts also note a 'construction' phase preceding a relic jounrey, as with the "*osanna*" constructed for the Palm Sunday procession in the St. Benigne redaction of the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, or the "*portatorium in modum pheretri*" in the *Redactio sancti Emmerami* (cf. *supra*).

[53] Caroline Marino Malone, "Interprétation des pratiques liturgiques à Saint-Bénigne de Dijon d'après ses coutumiers d'inspiration clunisienne," in *From dead of night to end of day: the medieval customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 226–7. Paris BnF lat. 4339.

Third, Bernard's customary differs from the *Liber tramitis* in what happened at the boundary. In the *Liber tramitis*, brothers and *famuli* were identified as explicitly responsible for carrying the relics beyond the monastery walls to where they needed to go. In Bernard's customary, laypeople receive the reliquary after it has reached the boundary [*laici suscipiunt commendatum*]. *Suscipiunt* here means to formally receive the relics, as the laypeople of a town or the monks of a monastery would perform a procession to receive the traveling relics into their walls.[54] There is no mention of who would accompany the relics on their journey. The image of laypeople formally encountering the relics at the doors, and treating them as a type of gift (note the use of *commendatum* as the object of *suscipiunt*, rather than *feretrum*) might be intended to underline that the saint is transitioning out of the enclosed, Cluniac, monastic world, into one where he/she would physically be among *laici.* It also suggests that the transportation of the saint's relics was coordinated, to some extent, with the outside world ahead of time.

One final point of comparison between Bernard's customary and the *Liber tramitis* lies in which saint they mention as a specific case. In the *Liber tramitis*, Marcelle was given as an example of a saint that would be transported outside the monastery. In much the same way, Bernard discusses the special case of the transportation of the image of St. Peter, although he treats it as an expansion of the standard procedure rather than an example of it. As for Marcelle and the other saints, Peter's office is used to make the liturgy of the processions specific to him, but a very low bow by the convent is included. This addition of a solemn form of veneration was

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[54] For example, the *Consuetudines Hirsaugienses* use *suscipere* generally to refer to reception processions ("*De suscipiendis personis"*) William of Hirsau, *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*, 538. When the relics of Mary of Laon arrive at Tours, the canons of St. Martin and the abbot of St. Julian welcome them with a formal procession: "*Quo audito canonici Sancti Martini, cum abbate Sancti Juliani, obviam procedunt, et cum honore maximo reliquias Dominae nostrae suscipiunt*." Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," *PL 156*, 970. These reception processions to monasteries and towns will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 (concentrating on ecclesiastical and lay aspects of procession, respectively).

likely intended to highlight Peter's special status as Cluny's primary patron and further differentiate the transportation of his image from the journeys taken by the relics of other saints.

Despite these differences between Bernard's customary and the *Liber tramitis*, within this chapter he still gives no clues as to what situations led to the journey of a relic in the first place. However, an interesting passage elsewhere in the customary and disconnected from the procession descriptions provides a glimpse at what might have"necessitated" the movement of relics. This is a section of text describing fasting and processional practice during the Trinity season, and in listing the processions that ought to be continued, Bernard provides valuable insight into why the relics of the saints might leave Cluny:

> "However a procession is done... which ought to be done on the fourth or sixth weekday, or when we need to bury some deceased person, or when a personage of worth comes, for whom a procession should be done, or when the image of St. Peter, or other boxes [*capsae*] with relics of the saints, are sent to some village of ours, for fear of plunders and robberies [*pro timore praedarum et rapinarum*] (as often happens), when everyone puts on white, all the bells are sounded, they go out to the door of the castle, and they offer the same reverence when [the relics] are carried back."[55]

This is one of the only cases in which a customary suggests a reason for the transportation of saints: potential "robbery" or despoliation facing one of the villages belonging to Cluny. Throughout the 11th c., many monasteries found themselves in disputes with local families over the ownership of property, and the practice of bringing relics to contested properties is well established from hagiographical sources. However, Cluny has rarely been cited as one of the monasteries participating in this practice, and this customary evidence has not been used as a

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[55] "*Alia autem Processio pro qua ipsa, quae in quarta vel sexta feria fieri solet, remanet, fit vel quando defunctum aliquem sepelimus, et huic conventus debet interesse totus; quia pro ipsa remanet alia, cui omnes interessent, vel quando persona illius dignitatis advenit, cui processio facienda sit, vel quando imago S. Petri, vel aliae capsae cum reliquiis Sanctorum, ad aliquam villam nostram mittuntur, pro timore praedarum et rapinarum (ut saepe contingit) cum quibus omnes induti albis, pulsatis omnibus signis, usque ad portam castelli exeunt, et eandem reverentiam, quando reportantur, deferunt.*" Bernard of Cluny, "Ordo cluniacensis," 336.

counterpoint to the hagiography.[56] This passage again associates the practice of holding a procession to escort relics away from the church with the processional practices of welcoming a dignitary, accepting a body for burial, or the Wednesday and Friday processions within the cloister.

What Bernard conveys in these descriptions of this practice from the 1080's, more so than the *Liber tramitis* of the 1030's, is a sense of the frequency of these events. The references to specific officials in the *De reliquiis sanctorum* chapter spoke to a well-developed practice of arranging and carrying out these events. In the Trinity season passage, Bernard added the parenthetical "as often happens" to suggest that the threatening of Cluny's villages, and the transportation of relics in response, was a common occurrence. This impression is continued in Bernard's description of the procession done "for tribulation" [*De processione pro tribulatione*]. In this procession, which involved the entire convent walking barefoot from Cluny to another church, the carrying of relics was understood to be an optional addition rather than the central feature of this event. Nevertheless, the description of the treatment of the relics again suggests that relic transportation was a relatively common procedure with which Bernard's readers would have been familiar:

> "Concerning a procession for tribulation: When a procession happens for whatever tribulation, if the reliquary [*feretrum*] of some saint is being carried, there is a prayer, as is the custom, and with it finished, the antiphon *Exurge* and the psalm, *Deus in adjutorum* or *Deus misereatur*. First the reliquary should be incensed. Then, having begun some song concerning the saint whose relics are being carried, the brothers exit the choir. In first place [there is a] procession with holy water, a cross, candelabras, and the reliquary,

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[56] Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Les revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XIe siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 50 (1932): 123–38. Vanderputten, "Itinerant Lordship." There is corroborating evidence from Cluny's cartulary A regarding the tranportation of Peter's image in resolving property disputes, as noted by Guerreau, "Espace social, espace symbolique: à Cluny au XIe siécle," 174–5. The charter in question, likely contemporaneous with the *Liber tramitis*, describes a meeting in which Garnier, prior of Cluny, accompanied by monks and Peter's image, traveled to Valensole to resolve disputes with the local lords over Cluny's property. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 3, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), 101 no. 1866.

> as is the custom when relics are being carried. The children with the masters follow, after whom all the *conversi*, and then the cantors according to their rank. All the bells are rung before they leave the church, as for when the brothers carry *phylacteria,* because of the relics; similarly when they return to the entrance of the church..."[57]

The remainder of the text focuses on other aspects of the procession unrelated to the relics, particularly the distribution and carrying of staffs as was done whenever the brothers went outside the monastery in a procession with bare feet. Once the song pertaining to the relics had been finished, the liturgy shifted to "antiphons concerning the tribulation" and the relics are not mentioned again in this chapter. Although they are not the focus of this procession, Bernard treats the carrying of relics matter-of-factly. He uses the phrase "as is the custom" twice, suggesting that he might have intended to refer the reader to the *De reliquiis sanctorum* chapter if there were any doubt on these points, but also that this would have been within the realm of a monk's experience at Cluny. Transporting relics out of the monastery, outside the liturgical cycle, appears to have been common enough to be expected.

The puzzle of Ulrich's customary

In this respect there is a surprising disconnect between Bernard's customary and its near-contemporary, written by Ulrich, which is remarkably silent about moving relics in both liturgical and non-liturgical contexts. Ulrich's omission of any discussion about relic transportation led Luc d'Achery to copy over the *De reliquiis sanctorum* chapter and two others from Bernard's customary into his edition of Ulrich's customary; this edition was subsequently recopied by Migne and so these chapters still appear in what remains the most recent edition of

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[57] "*Quando fit processio per qualibet tribulatione. si portatur feretrum alicuius sancti. facta sicut mos est oratione. et finita. A.* Exurge*. et psalmo* Deus in adiutorium meum*. Sive* Deus misereatur*. debet ipsum feretrum incensari in primis. deinde incepto aliquo cantu de sancto cuius reliquiae feruntur egrediuntur fratres chorum. primitus processio cum aqua benedicta. et cruce. et candelabris. et feretro. sicut mos est cum portantur reliquiae. secuntur infantes cum magistris. post quos conversi omnes. et deinde cantores sicut est ordo eorum. Signa autem omnia pulsantur. sicut cum fratres filacteria portant. antequam egrediantur aecclesiam. propter reliquias. Similiter cum redeunt ad introitum aecclesiae.*" Bernard of Cluny, "Ordo cluniacensis," 216–7.

Ulrich.[58] However, no such chapter exists in the manuscripts of Ulrich's customary, although he does discuss the sacristan and his duties throughout the year in a manner similar to Bernard. Aside from the relics (in the form of *phylacteria*) that he mentions were used during Rogations, Ulrich does not seem to have been interested in relics and their uses within the life of Cluny.

III. Relic movement in other customaries

Having reviewed the movement of relics across the four Cluniac customaries, are these patterns reflected in other contemporary customaries? The variance between the four Cluniac customaries themselves (particularly the discrepancies between Bernard's extensive treatment of relic transportation and Ulrich's silence, when the two customaries were textually related) suggests that we should not be surprised to find a lack of uniformity outside of Cluny. In fact, the customs for noncalendrical movement present in the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary appear in no other customaries besides the unrelated customs of Bec, an interesting outcome for the history of central medieval relic movement.

Relic movement in the three Cluniac "successor" customaries

Three contemporary customaries drew on Bernard's customary significantly: the customary constructed by William of Hirsau in consultation with Cluny, the *Decreta* of Lanfranc,

[58] Marc Saurette discusses in detail the textual and historical contexts of production of the early modern editions of the two customaries (focusing, however, on *Bern*), as well as the goals and interests of the editors themselves. It is to this article that I owe the observation that d'Achery had taken these chapters from *Bern.* Saurette also gives an English translation of d'Achéry's introduction, produced from the Latin given in PL 149, cols. 634-35. Marc Saurette, "Excavating and Renovating Ancient Texts: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Editions of Bernard of Cluny's *Consuetudines* and Early-Modern Monastic Scholarship," in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 103.

and the customary of Fruttuaria, founded by William of Volpiano, a Cluniac.[59] Although these three customaries work in interesting ways with relic transportation within the liturgical cycle, adapting and playing on Cluniac usage, none continue the tradition of the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary in envisioning relic movement happening outside of the liturgical cycle.

The man for whom Ulrich wrote his customary, William of Hirsau, demonstrably used material from both Ulrich and Bernard's customaries in constructing his own *Constitutiones Hirsaugiensis*, which replaced relics into the groundwork laid by Ulrich.[60] In the first place, William used the term *philacteria,* which never appears in Ulrich's customary but is used frequently in Bernard's (as in the Rogations procession discussed above).[61] He followed Ulrich in including a chapter on the sacristan (*apochrisarius*), but inserted several discussion of relics into his treatment of this office. At Hirsau, the sacristan needed to know "with what ornament a procession should be done on principal feasts" and make arrangements accordingly. This included curating the relics of the saints that were to be carried at the end of a procession, rather amusingly, by senior monks who had no desire to sing.[62] On Palm Sunday, the sacristan had to choose diligent men from among the *conversi* "who should know [how] to carry the boxes and arks [*capsas et archas*] of holy relics in procession on [their] shoulders"[63] Furthermore, it was

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59 Giles Constable, in his introduction to CCM vol. 6, identifies these three late-eleventh century customaries as strongly influenced by Cluniac usage, and thus those in which we might expect to find other indications of the practices described by Bernard. There is no mention of relic movement in the statutes of Peter the Venerable.

60 The introduction to the recent edition of the *Constitutiones* reviews the textual relationships of Bernard, Ulrich, and the Hirsau customary. *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*, L–LVIII.

61 Ibid., LVII.

62 "*...Deinde cruciculae, capsulae, ceteraque minora ornamenta, nouissime autem sanctorum reliquiae a quibusdam senioribus minus cantare valentibus portantur.*" Ibid., 169.

63 "*In die quoque Palmarum debet aliquos diligentiores de conversis eligere, qui capsas et archas sanctarum reliquiarum ad processionem humeris sciant portare.*" Ibid., 172–3.

the sacristan (with his assistant) who was responsible for the distribution of *phylacteria* to the brothers during Rogations. Even though these events occurred within the liturgical cycle, it is clear that at Hirsau the sacristan was expected to be well versed on the appropriate transportation of relics.[64] Nevertheless, despite his access to Bernard's customary, William did not include a chapter analogous to either *De reliquiis sanctorum* or *De processione pro tribulatione* that would treat non-calendrical relic movement.

The customary of Fruttuaria also envisioned a large role for relics in liturgical processions, particularly during Palm Sunday, Rogations, and interestingly, Ascension Day. For Palm Sunday, two manuscripts of the second *Consuetudines Fructuarienses* (The L manuscript, the *Redactio Lambacensis,* and the O manuscript, the *Redactio Ochsenhusana*) specify that an *osanna* is to be prepared, mimicking the terminology of the St. Benigne redaction of the *Consuetudines antiquiores* of Cluny.[65] These two manuscripts also describe the carrying of relics in the Rogations procession, both in the form of *phylacteria*, described as relics that would be hung on a cross, and also larger reliquaries that would be carried on a bier:

> "If a bier [*feretrum*] with the relics of the saints, which in the vernacular is called a *parata*, is to be carried to that place, it should be carried by two senior brothers, who are priests or deacons, dressed in white. Nevertheless this *feretrum* should never be carried

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[64] A further appearance of relics in the Hirsau customary is their use "against a rising storm", when they are placed with a cross and holy water in the cloister. This a fascinating example of the community's response to imminent danger, and the power of placing relics out of their normal context in an attempt to ward off that danger. Ibid., 177–8.

[65] Luchesius G Spätling and Peter Dinter, eds., *Consuetudines Fructuarienses-Sanblasianae*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 12 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1985), 146. Perhaps the idea that the *osanna* was a type of mobile object is not correct, since the S-manuscript of the Fruttuaria customary seems to suggest that the *osanna* was a place, rather than an object: "*Ipso die preparentur loca, ubi debent facere in crastinvm stationes*". Its treatment in St. Benigne's redaction of the *Consuetudines antiquiores* also suggests that it could refer to a special decorated place, not a transportable object (though it was prepared in the monastery and carried).

> in this procession unless because of drought. And when it is carried, then relics should not be hung on the cross nor carried by the priest or deacon."[66]

The reliquaries carried on a bier were seen a replacement for smaller *phylacteria* that might be hung from a processional cross or carried by individuals (the priest or deacon), but they were a replacement only to be used in the special case of drought.[67] This suggests that at Fruttuaria, the Rogations procession could take on the character of the "procession for tribulation" that Bernard described, related not only to the liturgical calendar but also current conditions of crisis.

Fruttuaria's customary also introduces a use of relics within the liturgical year that is minimized in the Cluniac customaries: the practice of circling the monastery (or a larger geographical area) in a procession with relics on Ascension Day itself.[68] This custom appears not only in the L- and O- manuscripts, but also the S-manuscript (the *Redactio Sigiberti*):

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[66] "*Si feretrum cum reliquiis sanctorum, quod uulgo parata dicitur,ibi portatur, post textum a duobus senioribus, qui sunt sacerdotes uel diaconi, reuestis in alba portari debet. Hoc tamen feretrum ad illam numquam portatur processionem nisi causa siccitatis. Et quando portatur, tunc in cruce reliquiae non suspenduntur nec a sacerdote uel diacono portatur.*" Ibid., 212. The '*parata*' terminology may reference the constructed nature of these feretories, as Bernard indicated the sacristan's responsibility for construction and decoration.

[67] The S manuscript (the *Redactio Sigiberti*) follows Bernard in prescribing that phylacteria be distributed to the brothers to carry in the Rogations procession ("*Tunc accipiant fratres phylacteria*", Ibid., 214.) and does not mention the larger reliquaries as an alternative to the *phylacteria*, as L and O do.

[68] The Ascension Day procession as described in the *Liber tramitis* does include relics in the form of "*vascula aurea minoris vel phylacteria"* that are carried by four senior brothers, and the *Liber tramitis* also provides a table of the procession. No *feretrum* or larger reliquary is mentioned.

LO: "After Tierce, the *secretarius* should give copes to all the brothers and the cantor should arrange the procession. Holy water should be carried, and then two candelabras and a censer in the middle, and afterwards a cross, and finally the evangeliary. And then two other candelabra follow, and another censer and after that another cross and finally an evangeliary. After this a *feretrum* with the relics of the saints, and this should be carried by two priests wearing vestments..."	S: "After Tierce the cantor should arrange a procession as on Palm Sunday, two censers, two crosses, two evangeliaries, two candelabras, relics. Afterwards two priests wearing copes, who carry relics. That day they should circle the whole monastery.[69]

This Ascension Day procession was meant to circle the monastery with the relics, whether within the cloister [*per claustrum*] or outside it [*foris in circuitu monasterii*]. Within the LO manuscripts there was even the possibility of a break built into this long procession, when all the brothers would sit in the choir to rest while the relics were removed from their *feretrum* and placed on the altar.[70] Lanfranc's *Decreta* contain a similar version of the Ascension Day procession, again including relics:

> "Concerning the procession on the day of Christ's Ascension: On the day of the Ascension of Christ there should be a procession in white either outside the cloister around the *curiam* of the monastery, preceded by banners and relics with the remaining [objects], which ought to precede a festival procession, or through the cloister without banners. When the procession begins to go out two bells should be rung, as is said above."[71]

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[69] LO: *"Post Terciam det secretarius cappas omnibus fratribus et cantor ordinet processionem. Deferatur aqua benedicta ac deinde duo candelabra et thuribulum in medio et postea crux et demum textus. Sequunturque alia duo candelabra atque aliud thuribulum ac post illud alia crux ac demum textus. Post hunc feretrum cum reliquiis sanctorum et illud portetur a duobus sacerdotibus indutis casullis..."* S: "*...Post Terciam cantor ordinet processionem sicut in Ramis Palmarum, duo thuribula, duo cruces, duo texti, duo candelabra, reliquiae. Postea duo sacerdotes induti cappis, qui portent reliquias. Ipso die debent circuire totum monasterium.*" Spätling and Dinter, *Consuetudines Fructuarienses*, 218.

[70] "*Si autem processio non per claustrum in cappis sed foris in circuitu monasterii in albis facta est, tunc finita antiphona, quae ad ingressum templi inchoata est, non debet canto statim introitum incipere, sed conventus sedeat in choro et post tam longam processionem parum repauset, donec secretarius / reliquias sanctorum de feretro habeat extractas et positas super altare.*" Ibid., 219.

[71] "*Die Ascensionis Christi fiat processio in albis uel extra claustrum circa curiam monasterii praecedentibus uexillis et reliquiis cum reliquis, quae ad festiuam processionem praecedere solent, uel per claustrum sine uexillis. Ex quo incipit processio exire pulsentur duo signa, sicut superius dictum est.*" Lanfranc, *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa*, ed. David Knowles, 2. Aufl, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 3-4 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1989), 53.

The *Decreta* also provide an extensive vision of the Palm Sunday procession and the involvement of relics. While too long to quote here at length, the Palm Sunday description pays a significant amount of attention to where the *feretrum* is at any given moment and how it is being treated. Uniquely in the *Decreta,* and perhaps a sign of changes to come, Lanfranc's *feretrum* was not understood to primarily contain the relics of the saints. Rather, "in this [*feretrum*], the body of Christ should also [*et]* be hidden". In this phrasing there is no indication that relics were also carried in the *feretrum,* but elsewhere the word *reliquias* is used where the *feretrum* is meant. David Knowles interpreted this change as either a holdover from an earlier version, in which relics alone were carried, or as indicating that relics were also enclosed along with the body of Christ.[72] This brings an interesting new perspective to the transportation of relics during Palm Sunday: the established custom of carrying relics during a procession to celebrate Christ's entry could be easily modified, though the inclusion of the *corpus*, to become a more literal reproduction of the entry into Jerusalem.

Thus, although these three customaries (of Hirsau, Fruttuaria, and Lanfranc's *Decreta*) work in interesting ways with relic transportation within the liturgical cycle, adapting and playing on Cluniac usages, none continue the tradition of the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary in allowing for a procedure to send away and welcome relics outside of these events.

The *Consuetudines Beccenses*: a non-Cluniac example

There is, however, a directly parallel text, from a customary (or rather, a complicated manuscript tradition of usages) considered by its editor to have little to no textual rapport with

[72] The use of "et" when describing the enclosure of the *corpus Domini* would suggest that something else, presumably relics, was also being carried. Ibid., 24 and note to line 11.

the Cluniac texts: the old customary of Bec, in Normandy.[73] The *Consuetudines Beccenses* (dating to the 13th c.) include, like the *Liber tramitis* and Bernard's customary, an extra-liturgical vision of relic movement:

> "'Concerning the procession for receiving relics: In the procession to receive relics, it should be done as when receiving a person. Holy water is not carried, but a cross, candelabra, and the remaining [items] [should be carried] as is said above. On a feast day they ought to be accepted after Tierce before the mass with everything done as we have said. When the abbot censes them, the cantor begins the response which pertains to this, and they should be brought back. And when they have been placed on the altar, a verse and prayer should be said which pertain to this, then they should be kissed by everyone and thus the mass should be sung."[74]

This section immediately follows the chapter concerning the reception of a person ("*De processione ad suscipiendam personam*") and references it as the basis of the procession to receive relics. There seems to be little direct textual connection here between the Bec customs and the Cluniac tradition of this practice (the Bec description does not mention bells or special dress codes, for example) but the procedure is quite similar. This suggests either that Bec was inspired by the Cluniac practice or (as seems more likely) that this attention to the formal reception of relics was more common and widespread than is indicated through studying the

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[73] In her introduction to the edition of the *Consuetudines Beccenses,* Marie Pascal Dickson argues strongly for the uniqueness of the old customs of Bec, and their non-Cluniac character. (p. XXX esp.) Her in-depth comparison of certain points of practice between the customs of Bec and other customaries does not treat the inclusion of the relic-receiving procedure. Marie-Pascal Dickson, ed., *Consuetudines Beccenses*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum 4 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1967), XXX. For the manuscripts and dating of the *Consuetudines Beccenses,* cf. Ibid., IX–XXVIII.

[74] "*DE PROCESSIONE AD SUSCIPIENDAS RELIQUIAS In processione ad suscipiendas reliquias fit sicut ad suscipiendam personam. Aqua benedicta non fertur sed crux et candelabra et reliqua sicut praedictum est. Die festo debent recipi post Tertiam ante missam omnibus peractis ut diximus. Cum eas incensaverit abbas, cantor incipit responsorium quod ad hoc pertinet et revertantur. Cumque super altare fuerint positae, dicatur versus et oratio quae ad hoc pertinet, deinde osculentur ab omnibus et sic cantetur missa."* Dickson, *Consuetudines Beccenses*, 12.

customaries alone. For example, Fleury engaged in sending out and receiving relics in this way, yet no mention of the practice appears in the 11th c. customary of Fleury.[75]

Conclusion

The inconsistent nature of central medieval customary production does not allow their silence on the subject of relic transportation to be interpreted as a lack of practice. Instead, these texts should be taken as witnesses to the frequency, nature, and importance of these events; the Cluniac customaries clearly indicate that the departure and reception of relics at the monastery was a special event, but nonetheless one that occurred on a regular basis and which was worth writing down among the practices of the monastery. Why other monasteries did not describe their own procedures for these events is unclear; certainly we know from hagiographical sources, the basis of the following chapters, that relics moved out and in of monasteries on a temporary basis in many central medieval monasteries.

Nevertheless, the appearance of these procedures in the Cluniac customaries illuminates some of the patterns and connections formed around this practice from a non-hagiographical perspective. There were close relationships between non-calendrical relic departures, and the liturgical events for which relics were carried in procession. On the one hand, they shared many elements of spectacle and religious performance; special dress codes, the ringing of bells, the format of "procession" itself and the carrying of special objects all signaled the formality and importance of the event, whether a relic's departure or Palm Sunday. Within these events, relics could either be emphasized as especially important objects (as in the *Liber tramitis'* instructions

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[75] Relic journeys performed by Fleury are described in multiple places in the miracles of Benedict, including the book written by Aimon of Fleury and Ralph Tortarius: Eugène de Certain, ed., "Les miracles de Saint Benôit" (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1858), 162, 319. Customaries of Fleury exist for both the tenth and thirteenth centuries: Anselm Davril, ed., "Consuetudines Floriacenses Antiquiores," in *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/X/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 7.3 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1984), 3–60.

for the Palm Sunday procession, or their treatment in Bernard's procession for tribulation) or downplayed as one type of sacred item among many (evangeliaries, censers, crosses). However, there were also clear differences between liturgical and extra-liturgical relic processions. The prayers and songs especially differed; on days like Palm Sunday and Rogations the liturgical emphasis was on the event itself, while during a relic departure or reception the liturgy was intended to glorify the saint (and the physical object of their relics), as if on their feast day. Even more significantly, the descriptions of extra-liturgical movements at Cluny (and later, at Bec) associated these events with other types of processions, most importantly with the monastery's reception of important visitors. Though the details of these processions differ slightly, this association indicates the treatment of a relic as a departing/arriving dignitary, and in some sense, as a living person.

Chapter Two: Bringing Relics Together

> "The body of this saint [Gregory] was to be moved out for a time according to custom because of the urgent necessity [overabundant rains threatened to flood the area]; around it was a crown of brothers, both clerics and monks, and a great number of the people. The bishop of [Soissons], the aforementioned Joslenus, was not able to attend because he had been laid up by his legs, and so he sent a messenger to the church of the Saints Crispin and Crispinian to say that the brothers, taking up the [relics of the] martyrs with them, ought to go out to meet the saint [Gregory] at the bridge, where he would equivalently go out to meet them.
>
> They indignantly responded that the bodies of the martyrs were to be carried to the city, but by no means should such great martyrs go out to meet a confessor! But he, wanting to destroy jealousy of rank whenever it did not follow wisdom, came to them and gave this reason to them: "While you think you are honoring your martyrs, you do what is neither pleasing to them, nor advantageous to you in the future. Didn't they leave an example of humility to you, when walking in the path of humility they struggled for it up to death? And if your words come from these facts, certainly apostles are older and more distinguished by honor of position than the martyrs. And surely you know that the Roman Apostolics [the popes] obtained the place of the apostles: and that one of them, sending his workers into his harvest, directed your martyrs into this valley. But is it possible that you think that any envy of temporal fame on earth is in the saints, whom the unity of love joins together imperishably in heaven?"
>
> -The *Miracles* of Ss. Gregory and Sebastian[1]

Despite Bishop Joslenus' [or Gauzlin/Joscelin, 1126-1152] remonstrances to the brothers of the church of Crispian and Crispinian, their position was understandable and defensible by contemporary standards. The bishop had ordered them to bring the relics of their martyrs

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[1] "*Exibat aliquando corpus huius Sancti secundum consuetudinem exigente necessitate, & circa eum corona Fratrum tum clericorum quam monachorum, & multitudo copiosa plebis: Episcopus autem ciuitatis, Ioslenus prædictus, accurrere non valuit quod infirmaretur e tibiis: misitque ad ecclesiam Sanctorum Crispini & Crispiniani nuntium, qui diceret, ut fratres, martyribus secum assumptis, sancto ad pontem occurrerent, vbi & ipse erat pariter occursurus. Qui indignabundi, se quidem ad vrbem delatura martyrum corpora responderunt; sed nequaquam martyres tantos debere confessori occurrere. At ille zelum quandoque habentium non secundum scientiam frangere volens, accessit ad eos & rationem ita reddidit eis: Dum vos Martyres vestros creditis honorare, agitis vtique quod eis non placet, nec vobis proderit in futurum. Nonne illi vobis humilitatis exempla reliquerunt, dum in via humilitatis gradientes pro ea vsque ad mortem decertarunt? Et si pensentur verba ex rebus, certe Apostoli Martyribus antiquiores & distinctione graduum excellentiores sunt. Et scitis profecto quod Romani Apostolici Apostolorum locum obtinent: & eorum vnus Martyres vestros operarios suos mittens in messem suam, in hanc vallem direxit. Sed numquid putatis inesse Sanctis inuidiam aliquam disparis claritatis in terra, quos vnitas caritatis inuiolabiliter connectit in cælo?*" "Miracula S. Gregorii et S. Sebastiani," *AASS* Mar. II, 749–51.

(Crispin and Crispinian) out in procession to meet the relics of St. Gregory, which were returning from a journey to prevent disaster to the crops. Their refusal to do so points to a difficult problem with the medieval cult of saints. Theologically, saints might be joined in heaven, a unified body of holy men and women with little care for their prestige on earth. Practically, their temporal reputations had significant implications for their cults and the men and women who curated their relics. A saint's reputation was all-important for attracting pilgrims of both high and low status, to have miracles worked for them and to donate the evidence of their gratitude.[2] The practice of holding a formal procession to meet an entering visitor some distance from a city (an *occursus*) had functioned as a ritual expression of the relationship between popes and emperors at Rome during an *adventus* ceremony, and the verb *occurrere* used here brings up those associations.[3] The distance from the city an *occursus* procession traveled could especially function as a 'quantitative' measure of the importance of the two parties. The brothers of Crispian and Crispinian interpreted Joslenus' request as an invitation to compare the *fama* of the saints and to publicly visualize their relative status. To allow the relics of Crispian and Crispinian to travel outside the city thus seemed dangerously close to an admission of their saints' inferiority to St. Gregory, which might threaten the success of their cult (or even their independence from the bishop himself).

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[2] The narrative arc of a central medieval saint's cult (as represented in their *Miracles*), often follows a very predictable trajectory. The saint, languishing in near or total obscurity, suddenly begins to make themselves known through the working of one or two miracles. These miracles cause a high-status figure (usually a bishop) to investigate further; relics are discovered (or re-discovered), a name is associated with them, and the cult is born. After an elevation or translation ceremony, formally recognizing the saint's relics and introducing them to the larger community, the miracles typically increase until the saint is attracting attention and pilgrims from far outside the local community.

[3] As Phillppe Buc notes while studying the textual histories of these highly charged *occursus* processions during the 9th century, "in text and probably in action, processions were instruments to measure the respective power of two parties in a political relationship." Philippe Buc, "Text and Ritual in Ninth-Century Political Culture," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 135.

Joslenus argued in response that the saints themselves could not care about this possibility because they were modeled on the Christian value of humility. The political implications of the *adventus* and the *occursus* did not apply to relics because saints, unlike emperors, were above a jealous regard for their position. However, Joslenus went on to reinforce the very perception he was fighting against by providing arguments for Gregory's superiority based on rank (apostles are more distinguished than martyrs) and legend (Crispin and Crispinian were sent into Gaul by a pope, who was 'apostolic') to put the monks in their place. In the process of denying that the situation should be problematic, Joslenus highlighted exactly why the brothers should have been concerned about accommodating him and moving their relics. This ambiguity continues to the story's conclusion: the monks were punished by a sickness which killed the prior, the abbot, and ten brothers, after which they "confessed to have sinned in all these matters": but did their sin lie in their projection of worldly concerns onto the saints, or in their failure to acknowledge Gregory's status appropriately? Relics and saints were integrated into forms of ritual display and competitive struggle that we associate more often with political and secular social power than religious encounters, and they could not be easily disentangled from these webs.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the roles relic movements played in the process of negotiating status and maintaining horizontal networks among monasteries and churches. I argue that displacements of relics, on one hand, were significant opportunities for medieval religious institutions (monasteries, collegial church communities, bishops, etc.) to express and maintain positive relationships with each other. Situations in which two or more relics were brought together provided special moments for the ideals of the medieval cult of saints to be articulated, and for institutions to present a united front through their participation. These

horizontal collaborations, however, had to be public to be powerful. As a result, they also tapped into the vertical relationships between the keepers of relics and the lay community of worshipers upon whom they relied; this addition of audience created powerful undercurrents of competition between the institutions and their saints that at times threatened to undermine the larger narratives of friendship and unity. Bringing relics together could be as dangerous as it was powerful.

I begin by discussing the occasions and contexts in which relics of the saints would be brought to meet each other, and the textual tactics used in the descriptions of these events to create a sense of shared participation. Although these situations varied in nature, they all relied on the physical encounter of sacred objects to provide a sense of increased power and authority. I then move on to discuss the locations of competition and rivalry during these same events: control of sacred space, the attribution of miracles, and ritual forms of precedence and submission all emerge as arenas of conflict which were unique to conditions in which multiple relics were physically near each other. Significantly, these situations of horizontal conflict between institutions changed their narrative approaches towards vertical power structures. The lay audience, often reduced to roles of passive acclamation in descriptions of friendly relic encounters, could be assigned new forms of agency (either positive or negative) when relics were understood to be competing with one another.

I. Hospitality, unity, and collective purpose

The dispute between bishop Joslenus and the monks with which I began this chapter might be read as a failed *occursus* procession, one that was never performed because of the (misguided, according to the hagiographer) concerns of the monks about the implications of their full participation. To counterbalance this negative perspective on the ambiguous nature of the

occursus, I begin with examples of successful meetings of two saints' relics, in which the interested parties took advantage of the encounters of relics to weave very different and positive narratives about the relationships between the two saints.

Meetings of two saints' relics

In the winter of1066, the monastery of St. Amand southeast of Lille burned to the ground, leading the monks and their abbot to travel with the relics of Amand himself in search of financial support for their reconstruction effort.[4] Gislebert of St. Amand, the author of the *Miracula* that reports this journey, carefully recognizes the nature of the reception the monks received at each location. Although a joyous crowd of laypeople was always indicated as being present, Gislebert paid special attention to what ecclesiastical groups organized their welcome and gave them hospitality. Names were given when they reached a well-known or important location; Gislebert specifies that Amand's relics were honorably welcomed to Cambrai by bishop Lietbert, to Coucy-la-Ville by a priest named Milo, and to Laon by bishop Elinand (who, only a few years earlier, had given the altar of Barisis near Coucy to St. Amand). Taken altogether, these descriptions of the welcomes received at each destination modified the narrative of a journey taken in response to disaster into a narrative of positive relationships with neighbors being expressed and renewed.

One description of a welcoming *occursus* procession, however, stands out among the rest. When Amand's relics reached Noyon, they were met outside the city not by a living bishop, but the relics of a deceased one:

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[4] These types of fundraising journeys, or "*quêtes itinerantes*", and especially their relationship to the rebuilding of churches, have been studied by Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques," 1964; "Quêtes et voyages de reliques," 1965. , see Introduction. For the monastery of St-Amand during this period, Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962).

> "After that we [the monks of St. Amand] arrived at Noyon, where we had been heading, and there the twin reliquaries of St. Eloi, a very close friend [*familiarissimi*] to St. Amand when each was alive, stood in our way; one carried by the monks, the other by the canons. There many people of all ranks-- suburbanites, urbanites, clergy, and monks-- flowed out [of the city], and taking up the reliquary of our patron with great veneration, they carried him with the highest devotion into the church of the pontifical seat."[5]

Amand's relics were greeted, not only by the jubilant lay crowd necessary to these events but also by the relics of the man remembered as his former friend, Eloi. Amand's reception at Noyon is the only time Gislebert mentions the presence of relics in the welcoming procession. The reference to two reliquaries of Eloi, one accompanied by monks and the other by canons, may have been a delicate point of etiquette on the part of Gislebert; by the 13th c., both the canons and monks of Noyon claimed to have the one true body of the saint and bitterly disputed the other institution's claim.[6] Although that conflict may not have been as acrimonious in 1066 as it later became, it is possible that Gislebert mentions two reliquaries in an attempt not to take sides on this issue. For the purposes of his narrative, St. Eloi had definitely been brought to meet St. Amand regardless of debates over which of the two reliquaries might contain some or all of the body of this saint.[7]

What particularly stands out in this description is the development of a personal connection between Eloi and Amand; Gislebert portrays the *occursus* of Eloi's relics as a kind of

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[5] "*Dehinc Noviomum, quo ire pergebamus, pervenimus, ibique sancti Eligii quondam sancto Amando, dum uterque adviveret, familiarissimi loculos geminos, alterum cum monachis, alterum vero cum clericis obviam habuimus. Ubi ex diversis quibusque ordinibus suburbani, oppidani, clerici cum monachis affuere, qui nostri patroni thecam cum immensa suscipientes veneratione ac summa devotione, in ipsam pontificalis cathedrae aecclesiam detulere*." O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Ex miraculis S. Amandi in itinere Gallico factis," *MGH SS* XV.2, 848–51.

[6] The 13th c. course of this dispute has been tracked by Erika Laquer, who used it to show the competing uses of ritual and documentary claims about the authenticity of relics. Erika Laquer, "Ritual, Literacy and Documentary Evidence: Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Relics of St. Eloi," Francia 13 (1985): 625–37.

[7] If the exact ownership of the body of Eloi was already contested between the monks and canons of Noyon, this may suggest that both parties saw Amand's visit as an opportunity to legitimize their own claim to Eloi, explaining why Noyon and no other city (at least, as far as Gislebert tells us) brought their own relics out to meet Amand's relics as they traveled.

reenactment of their lives and personal desires. Just as the living Eloi might have been expected to meet his friend Amand in order to welcome him to his bishopric, the relics of the two saints could be used to replay this ritual of friendship centuries after their deaths.[8] Far from an empty gesture, this reenactment publicly affirmed the good relationship between the monastery of St. Amand and the houses of Noyon. The ritual encounter of the saints required the participation and goodwill of all three institutions. Although practically, the monks of St. Amand needed a place to rest and exhibit their relics while on their journey, Gislebert's commemoration of the reception given to them at Noyon reinterpreted the meeting of the two saints' relics as a bridge between the personal friendship of the past and the institutional goodwill of the present.[9] Gislebert says nothing that might be taken as a comparison between Amand and Eloi; neither saint is identified in this passage as a confessor, missionary, or former bishop, ignoring (or perhaps, glossing over) the kinds of comparisons that proved so difficult to surmount at Soissons in the excerpt at the beginning of the chapter. Amand and Eloi are presented unequivocally as friends and, with no evidence to the contrary, peers.

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[8] As to whether or not there was a textual tradition of a close relationship between Amand and Eloi, their extant *Vitae* identify them as contemporaries but do not elaborate on their friendship; the verse version of the *Miracula,* also supposed to have been written by Gislebert, does not mention the transportation of Eloi's relics during the reception to Noyon. The *Vita* of Amand written by Baudemond mentions Eloi (Eligius) as having been summoned to Dagobert's court once Amand refused to involve himself with worldly business, without elaborating on their contact or friendship. Baudemond, "Vita Amandi," *AASS* Feb. I, 851.

[9] Ursio of Hautmont, writing the miracles of St. Marcelle, expresses this sentiment nicely; during the relic journey of this saint, he visited Soignies, the home of the (now dead) man who had had him translated from Rome, Vincent Madelgaire, also by then considered a saint. Marcelle was overjoyed to be received by his 'translator', and Ursio remarked explicitly on their posthumous 'friendship', writing that "the most beautiful kindness of hospitality prospers between such great hosts, that is a martyr and a confessor." "*Deinde processu itineris Sonegia extitit locus hospitalitatis; hospitalitatis autem gratia, inter tantos hospites, martyrem scilicet & confessorem provenit pulcherrima. Gaudebat sanctus Marcellus sui quondam translatoris condigna susceptione; sanctus vero Vincentius martyris sui hospitalitate, quem olim ab urbe Roma translatum Altimontensi præfecerat ecclesiæ tunc, quando per tales Deus parabat regnum in aeterna beatitudine. Quapropter exhibetur ei debita devotio, praemittitur deuota processio; non parum quippe laetificabat & clericos tanti hospitis visitatio*." Ursio of Hautmont, "Miracula S. Marcelli," *MGH SS* XV.2, ed. O. Holder-Egger, 802.

Despite the casual tone of Gislebert's description, the transportation of host relics to welcome visiting relics does not seem to have been taken lightly. Although an *occursus* procession comprised of both laymen and clergy is almost always noted when a traveling relic reaches a city, only rarely are relics mentioned specifically as an element of the procession. However, whether or not other relics were explicitly brought out to meet them, the honorable reception of traveling relics was not a neutral act.

In addition, certain expectations of future reciprocity might accompany these types of honorific welcomes to a host church, as we see in an account describing the journey of the relics of St. Marculf of Corbeny. Corbeny was a priory of St. Remigius of Reims, and Marculf's relics were transported to Péronne in 1102 during a journey to raise funds to relieve Corbeny's apparently critical financial situation. The account of this journey (again, in the form of a sequence of miracles) was addressed to the brothers of Péronne, functioning as a kind of commemoration of the miracle-generating combination of Marculf's relics and the pious city of Péronne, to which the hagiographer writes an effusive homage. Once the monks of Corbeny had reached Péronne, they were welcomed, as usual, by a procession of clergy, nobles, and citizens and brought to the main church of St. Fursy, patron of the city. However, after encountering some unpleasant mockery of Marculf there, they departed with the relics intending to leave Péronne altogether. After some concern had been voiced about whether a too-hasty departure would mean a potential loss of income, they rethought this plan and decided to wait a day in the nearby church of John the Baptist.

At this point in the story, when there is some uncertainty about the future of Marculf's stay in Péronne, the hagiographer adds an aside that illuminates the options facing an itinerant relic and the implications of relic receptions. Marculf's journey was being personally overseen

by the prior of Corbeny, Andreas, who had been responsible for persuading the monastery of St. Remigius to permit the trip in the first place.[10] Andreas remembered that when the relics of St. Vaast of Arras had been on a journey of their own fifteen years earlier (ca. 1086), they had been brought to Reims and honorably received there [*liberalitate susceptum*].[11] Accordingly, he traveled to Arras (43 km from Péronne) to request from the bishop that the relics of St. Marculf, as a saint associated with Reims, be allowed to come there in two days' time.[12] The bishop (Lambert) approved, and Andreas spent the night in Arras before returning. Although this proposed trip to Arras does not seem to have actually happened, Andreas (and the hagiographer) clearly felt that the previous hospitality shown to Vaast's relics at Reims created, if not an obligation, a reasonable expectation that Arras would be willing to host Marculf's relics in return. Memories of their own hospitality prompted a call for reciprocation, now that they found themselves in need of a host city and church.

The continuation of the story of Marculf in Péronne also illustrates the possibilities created through the act of bringing relics together, as with the 1066 meeting of Amand and Eloi.

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[10] Andreas had been assigned to Corbeny after the previous prior had unceremoniously quit, citing the dismal nature of the priory's finances. Andreas, upon taking office, also quickly reached the end of his rope, and returned to St. Remigius complaining that the situation was too far out of hand. He then issued an ultimatum: either they organize a *delatio* of Marculf's relics, or find someone else for his job. He rationalized the relic journey as a mode of fundraising by pointing to the fact (uncorroborated by other sources) that the clergy of St. Quentin were at that moment doing the same, and that the relics of Brictius had been put on tour six years before, after fire destroyed the basilica of St. Martin of Tours. Andreas thus appears as the real force behind this journey, and his side trip to negotiate Marculf's visit to Arras seems entirely in character for this somewhat aggressive and fiscally-minded prior. He certainly seems to have paid careful attention to the delationes being performed by other houses.

[11] There is no mention of this trip reported in the miracles of St. Vaast. The hagiographer of Marculf's journey gives the purpose of the Arras trip as the 'repair of their church' [*pro reparatione suae ecclesiae*].

[12] "*At præpositus, cuius erat omnia illa disponere, recordatus, ante quindecim annos, pro reparatione suae ecclesiæ feretrum beati Vedasti cum reliquiis Remis usque delatum, ac in beati Remigii archimonasterio sedula liberalitate susceptum; civitatem Atrebatensium adiit, episcopum convenit; quia cum eius favore corpus beati Marculfi post biduum illuc afferre cuperet, intimavit*." "Miracula S. Marculfi Peronae facta," *AASS* May VII, 535.

Once installed in the church of John the Baptist, Marculf began to perform a series of impressive miracles, attracting both the lady of the castle and Henry, the abbot of Mount-St-Quentin (praised extensively for his friendship to the church of St. Remigius of Reims) to pay their respects. These miracles also inspired two other communities to come 'visit' Marculf bearing their own relics: the canons of St. Fursy in Péronne (where Marculf had originally been installed) and the canons of St. Quentin of Arras.

The visit of the clergy of St. Fursy might be read as a ritual performance designed to reverse the circumstances that had led the monks of Corbeny to leave their church for the church of St. John the Baptist. They came to Marculf's new location, bringing the relics of Fursy himself, "moved by a stronger fervor of love", and no doubt encouraged by Marculf's new success in performing miracles. They stood in the entrance of the church, singing first *Veni creator spiritus*, and then the *Te deum laudamus*, often used to praise a saint after a miracle. This formal acclamation was followed by a request that Marculf be brought back to their church; on the one hand, they cited the small space of the church of John the Baptist as insufficient for the number of people visiting Marculf, and on the other, declared that they would be delighted both by the proximity of Marculf and by the "*coessentia*" (perhaps translatable as "togetherness") of the prior and monks of Corbeny. While this would have been gratifying under any circumstances, this public recognition of Marculf by name neatly inverted the insult he had previously received in their church; there, several adolescents had mockingly inquired who exactly this 'Marculf' was *[quisnam fuerit iste Marculfus]*?[13] The formal recognition of Marculf and his status equal to that of Fursy must have been calculated to patch over this wound. Although the monks politely declined to move Marculf at this time (claiming that it would be presumptuous on their part to

[13] This incident is discussed at more length in Chapter 4.

remove the saint from the place he had decided to grace with miracles), later they did move once again to the church of St. Fursy in what amounted to a second entry, complete with crosses, candles, incense, and a large crowd.

The transportation of Fursy's relics to Marculf's new resting place was a highly constructed gesture; the text itself suggests this by noting that it was done "not without the counsel of most religious deliberation". It functioned first of all as an occasion for the exchange of compliments on both sides; the clergy of St. Fursy are presented as humbly offering their hospitality to the representatives of Corbeny, who through their piety have convinced God to work these signs. Their placement in the entrance of the church and their use of solemn hymns signaled their seriousness and desire to make their offer known both to the monks and to the watching crowd. The prior and monks of Corbeny, for their part, gave extensive thanks for the show of goodwill [*benevolentiae*] and the hagiographer (almost certainly a monk of Corbeny and possibly a member of the trip) took the opportunity to praise the clergy as wise men [*eruditi viri*] and foreshadowed Marculf's eventual move back to St. Fursy by noting that their devotion, with St. Fursy's support, was destined to find favor with God. This text's production for an audience at Péronne makes this emphasis unsurprising; recording these events was the final stage of the evolving display of mutual respect, which the propitiatory meeting of Fursy and Marculf's relics had brought to a new level after an inauspicious beginning.

The second group to travel to Marculf's relics with their own patron were the canons of St. Quentin of Arras; this visit seems to have been more opportunistic, since they were already on a journey to raise funds for repairs following a fire. Having heard about Marculf's growing reputation and the miracles he had been performing, they came to the church of John the Baptist and "placing their *feretrum* alongside the *feretrum* of blessed Marculf, with prayers said,

venerating the Lord with harmony of the heart and prayer of the mouth, who is always marvelous in his saints, rejoicing they returned to their own place."[14] By visiting Marculf's relics, the canons of St. Quentin joined a number of other congregations who had come collectively to pay their respects; besides the canons of St. Fursy, the monks of Mount-St-Quentin (four kilometers from Péronne) had performed a barefooted procession in order to give gifts to Marculf. However, the emphasis on the physical proximity of the two reliquaries is striking; though we might suspect that the canons of Arras were hoping to gain some extra publicity for their own funding drive by association with Marculf, in the narrative the closeness of the saints was simply an occasion for shared praise and joy.

Thus, the meeting of two saints' relics could represent an important opportunity to affirm a positive relationship or patch up a slightly shaky one; although *occursus* processions in general lent themselves to public displays of joy and laudatory liturgical activity that reflected well on both groups involved, the addition of the physical proximity of two saints gave extra weight to the proceedings. This potential of relic encounters to make a powerful statement was naturally extended in the gatherings that brought the relics of many saints temporarily into a single place. The most well-known and well-documented of these relic assemblies were the ones that occurred in conjunction with the Peace of God councils, but church dedications or high-profile relic

[14] "*Per idem tempus cum Canonici S. Quintini in Atrebatensium partibus, ad reparanda intolerabilis suæ combustionis incommoda, Fidelium munificentiam cum reliquiis et feretro solicitarent; accepta tanti fama Patroni & miraculorum ejus opinione gavisi, non multo post cum eodem feretro & sanctarum reliquiarum insignibus, ad præfatamecclesiam, in qua sanctum servabatur corpus, venerunt: & feretrum suum juxta B. Marculfi feretrum deponentes, facta oratione votisque solutis, consono cordis & oris officio, Dominum, qui in Sanctis suis semper est mirabilis, venerantes, ad propria rediere gaudentes*." "Miracula S. Marculfi Peronae facta," 538.

elevations could also draw many relics together, although the involvement of 'visiting' relics was not part of the formal liturgy for either event.[15]

Relic gatherings for dedications and elevations

One well-documented example of a mass relic gathering, outside the context of the Peace of God, was the council and church dedication held at Hasnon in 1070. The description in the miracles of St. Donatian of Bruges offers insight into the logistics and rationale of assembling the relics of the saints on these occasions:

> "For the accumulation of the honor of such a great dedication, and also of his own love of festivity, he [Count Baldwin VI] ordered the bodies of all the saints of his entire princedom to be united with the bishops, priors, and abbots and those subject to them, all together friendly and devoted in the service of God."[16]

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[15] The 8th-9th c. *ordines* for a church dedication make no mention of the relics of other saints being transported to the church to be dedicated, only the appropriate treatment of the relics to be enclosed in the altar. Although any saints buried in the church had to be temporarily removed before being reintegrated into the sacralized space of the new church, the involvement of 'visiting' relics in this process is not mentioned in any liturgical source. See *ordines* 41, 42, and 43 given in Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen âge, IV: Les textes Ordines XXXV-XLIX*, vol. 4, Les ordines romani du haut Moyen âge (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, 1985). Certainly many church dedications seemed to have happened without the presence of other relics; the majority of hagiographic texts describing dedications do not indicate that other relics were present, one notable exception being the "Passio et translatio S. Romanae anno 1069," *AASS,* Oct. II, 137–140. in which several relics circle the church ahead of the bishop: "C*ongregata multitudine infinita, pater Guido ceterique Pontifices sacris accinguntur indumentis: qui, antecedentibus se sanctis corporibus, circuitione debita exteriora ecclesiæ purificant...*" The elevation ritual in many respects resembles that of a dedication ceremony; the relics are brought outside of the church to a 'neutral' area, where they might be inspected, washed, or installed in new reliquary before being re-associated with the sacred space of the church. See Pierre-André Sigal, "Le déroulement des translations de reliques principalement dans les régions entre Loire et Rhin aux XIe et XIIe siècles," in *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles*, ed. Anne-Marie Helvétius and Edina Bozóky (Brepols, 1999), 213–227.

[16] "*Ad cumulandum etiam honoris tantae dedicationis, tamque sibi dilectae festivitatis cunctorum corpora sanctorum totius sui principatus cum episcopis, praepositis, abbatibus sibique subiectis totus in Dei servitio devotus ac benivolus coadunari iussit. Unde factum est, ut cum Sanctorum reliquiis pretiosus patris nostri Donatiani corporis thesaurus stipsatus magna procerum caterva honorfice ad praedictum locum transferretur.*" "Miracula s. Donatiani," MGH SS XV,2, 857. Other examples of relic gatherings for church dedications are found in: A. Poncelet, ed., "De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi," in *Analecta bollandiana*, vol. XIX (Société des Bollandistes., 1900), 198–212; "Translatio S. Lifardi," *AASS, June I*, 302–304; "Passio et translatio S. Romanae anno 1069"; "Vita S. Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis," *AASS, June IV*, 585–606. "Vita S. Macarii Secunda, Miracula, Elevatio Anno 1067," *AASS* Apr. I, 890. "Miracula S. Audoeni," *AASS* Aug. IV, chap. 14–15.

Here, the impetus to bring relics together was provided by a central secular authority, Baldwin VI. The assembly of relics is imagined to be a natural extension of the influx of bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical figures to the dedication, adding to its prestige as well as its ludic character. Moreover, this ideal image of a grand ecclesiastical reunion emphasizes the unity of all those attached to the religious life, whether saints, bishops, priors, abbots, or common monks [*totus in Dei servitio devotus ac benivolus*]; a permanent mental union as a complement to their temporary physical one.

This subtext of ecclesiastical unity throughout Baldwin's "princedom" is mirrored in a list giving the names of the relics (as well as abbots and abbesses) present at the Hasnon dedication, mirroring the long tradition of listing bishops present at church councils.[17] This list appeared in the Hasnon additions to the chronicle of Sigibert of Gembloux (the *Auctarium Hasnoniense*) and a copy was added to the book recording the restoration of Hasnon (the *Tomelli Historia Monasterii Hasnoniensis*), which gave the same saints but in a slightly different ordering.[18] The ordering in the *Tomelli* version closely follows the hierarchy of the litany of saints, giving first the name of the pope-saint (Marcelle of Hautmont), followed by male martyrs, then male confessors, then female saints. The (earlier) version in the *Auctarium* is less strict, interspersing male confessors and martyrs, but preserving Marcelle at the top of the list and placing female

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[17] There are numerous examples in Migne, *Sacrorum conciliarum.*

[18] *Auctarium Hasnoniense*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, who believed that this part of the text was taken from the *Tomelli Historia*. Holder-Egger, the later editor of the *Tomelli*, argued the opposite; that the main text of the *Tomelli* was composed between 1070 and 1084, that chapter 18 (on the death of abbot Roland) was added after this event, and the second part of chapter 17 (the list of saints and abbots present at the dedication) was added much later from the Hasnon version of Sigebert's chronicle. The text in the *Tomelli* itself indicates that the list of abbots was taken from Sigebert's chronicle ["*Quindecim abbates etiam adfuerunt, quorum nomina ex Sigeberti chronica deprompta habentur*"] but this specification is made only for the abbots/abbesses, and not for the preceding list of saints. Although Holder-Egger's belief that this implies that this part of the *Tomelli* postdates the *Auctarium* is certainly correct, it may be possible to suggest that the list of saints derives from a different source than Sigebert's chronicle, especially since the ordering of the saints is changed slightly in the *Tomelli*, while the ordering of the abbots remains identical. A map of the Hasnon gathering appears in Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 299.

saints after male ones. Similarly, both lists give the names of the fifteen male abbots before the two female abbesses. This list can be interpreted as a kind of 'roll-call', indicating the prestige of the Hasnon dedication and the influence of Baldwin VI in drawing such a crowd, but also assembling the relics as a collective on the page. The presence of individual saints was minimized in favor of a vision of their aggregated sanctity (which preserved, nevertheless, some sense of hierarchy through the ordering of the list).

Another list of relics, commemorating who had been 'present' at the dedication of the church of Cambrai in 1064, is given in a text attached to the *Vita S. Lietberti* and helps to understand this mentality. Within the *Vita* itself, written by a monk of St. Sepulchre named Rodulph, this gathering of relics was interpreted primarily as an indication of the exceptional holiness of the place:

> "... with all the bodies of the holy martyrs, confessors, and virgins of [Lietbert's] entire diocese brought together, he consecrated the church in the honor and name of our Lord and the memory of his holy sepulcher... [a miraculous ring of light appears over the monastery the preceding night, an indication of Lietbert's future sanctity]... From this we believe that the honor of the Father is not absent, where so many bodies of saints were collected. They say that twenty-two were present, whose names I will omit to write lest my wordiness provoke disgust. Others wanting to know them are able to collect them for themselves."[19]

Rodulph's purpose in the *Vita* was to celebrate Lietbert, and while the number of relics which had been present at the dedication were important in showing Lietbert's devotion in assembling them (perhaps analogous to Baldwin VI) and in providing the holy scenery for the apparition, their names were not important enough to include (though he suspects that others may wish to know

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[19] "*Quod congregatis totius diocesis suae sanctorum corporibus martyrum, confessorum ac virginum in honore et nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi et memoria sancti sepulchri eius... Per totum noctis spacium , quae sanctae benedictionis precedebat diem , super ipsum monasterium spera lucis in modum coronae caelitus emissa pependit, profecto iam significante Deo pro hoc laboris impendio Lietbertum pontificem misericordiae coronam accepturum... Unde credimus ibi non defuisse Patris honorem, ubi tot sanctorum corpora convecta fuerant. Viginti et duo dicuntur affuisse. Quorum nomina, ne prolixitas fastidium gigneret, omittimus scribere. Ceterum scire volentes a se ipsis possunt colligere*." A. Hofmeister, ed., "Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodolfo monacho S. Sepulchri Cameracensis," *MGH SS* XXX.2 (Leipzig, 1934), 860.

them). The author of the text later attached to the *Vita,* a 12th c. Cistercian monk of Vaucelles, gave his list of saints specifically to correct Rodulph's omission in this respect. He explained his research process as follows:

> "...the describer of the deeds of this holy pontiff [Lietbert] asserts that 22 bodies of the saints of the diocese of Cambrai were carried to the dedication of the basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, nevertheless he declares that he does not designate them in writing on account of boredom, but that those desiring to know can collect them themselves. I however, knowing some of those saints, whose bodies were brought, and not knowing others, on that account note the names of the saints, not only of the twenty-two, but also of others, who either are, or were, in the bishopric of Cambrai, which I learned about either through reading or hearing."[20]

As Rodolph had expected might be the case, for a later reader of Lietbert's *Vita* the names of the saints in attendance at this dedication were important enough to research independently and, in this case, to write down. The monk of Vaucelles goes further and expands the twenty-two saints to twenty-eight, highlighting the somewhat ambiguous character of his list; is it truly a list of saints present at the dedication, or a list of the saints of the diocese? This duality points to its fundamental purpose: to be a holistic, unifying presentation of the local saints around Cambrai (and their institutions), rather than one narrowly tied to the dedication event. The author is correcting Rodulph's narrow focus on Lietbert, which led him to omit the names of the saints, and has rehabilitated the "group" aspect of the relic assembly. As in the list of Hasnon, the saints are ordered quite carefully. Pope Marcelle again heads the list, followed by an archbishop-martyr, then three bishop-martyrs, two martyrs, two bishop-confessors, one abbot-confessor, nine confessors, one virgin-martyr, and finally eight virgins. Altogether, they represent a vision of a unified Cambrai through a collectivity of regional saints who had physically assembled for a

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[20] "*Quia vero descriptor gestorum hujus sancti pontificis asserit, ad dedicandam Dominici Sepulcri basilicam XXII corpora Sanctorum diocesis Cameracensis fuisse allata, nec tamen ea propter taedium scripto designasse, sed scire volenti per se colligere posse asseverat; nos quidem, quinam fuerint illi Sancti, quorum corpora sunt advecta, ex parte scientes, et ex parte nescientes; idcirco hic annotare libet nomina Sanctorum, non solum viginti et duorum, set etiam aliorum; quod scilicet in Episcopatu Cameracensi vel esse, vel fuisse, sive legendo, sive audiendo didicimus*." Ibid., 867.

significant spiritual event. Thus, for the monk of Vaucelles, it was better to be as inclusive as possible than keep to the numerical limit given by Rodulph.

Through these lists of the saints, we see that explicit participation in these mass relic gatherings was taken quite seriously.[21] Not to be present if attendance was expected could be considered a serious slight; the monks of Marchiennes brought the relics of Rictrude to the dedication of the church at Anchin in 1086, despite their reservations about moving any of the saints housed at Marchiennes except in times of imminent danger.[22] On the other hand, there were strong incentives to willingly transport relics to these events. Participation in relic gatherings meant public recognition (or re-recognition) of a relic's status, as well as an opportunity for highly visible devotion and miracle-working.[23] The usefulness of this type of

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[21] More casual mentions of saints present at dedications and other relic gatherings could be included with these formal lists of Hasnon and Cambrai as efforts to demonstrate greater prestige of the event and emphasize multilateral participation. Informal 'lists' of saints present are found in the "Passio et translatio S. Romanae", for example, and are also present in some descriptions of Peace of God councils (for example, Book I.28 of the *Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. Sheingorn p. 98, where Marius, Amans, Saturninus, the Virgin Mary, and Foy are listed as the especially memorable relics brought to the council held outside Rodez around 1012.)

[22] The hesitation about moving relics from Marchiennes came from their experience of a failed fundraising relic trip to England with the relics of Eusebia. Although travels for fundraising specifically were what the saints considered offensive, the movement for the dedication was what triggered this explanation. A. Poncelet, ed., "Miracula S. Rictrudis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 20 (1901): 455s. See also Vanderputten, "Itinerant Lordship," 150–151. Both Rictrude and Eusebia seem to have attended several church dedications; they are listed as being present at the dedication of Hasnon. O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Tomelli Historia Monasterii Hasnoniensis," *MGH SS* XIV, 157. If Marchiennes had refused to transport its saints it might have been considered particularly poor form, because neighboring relics had been transported to the dedication of their own church in 1026. Poncelet, "De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi." The presence of Autbert's relics at this dedication were especially significant for the hagiographer, who believed that Autbert had completed the first dedication at Marchiennes himself, though Karine Ugé does not consider this attribution historically likely, Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York medieval press, 2005), 133. Thus, the "*dedicator antiquus*" was eager to show that he was not absent from this second dedication by performing miracles. This hagiographical interest in connecting the saint's life history and activities to the posthumous movement of their relics has parallels elsewhere.

[23] Stephen Vanderputten, comparing relic transportation for dedications to transportation to defend property, notes that "the rewards for the monks [in participating in these relic assemblies] consisted of little more than a confirmation of their status among the ecclesiastical institutions of the region." "Itinerant Lordship," 150–151. Though they were perhaps not as ecstatic as the Peace of God gatherings, I would argue against too strong a devaluation of these later events, especially since bringing relics together could represent a challenge to their status, as I discuss in the following section.

legitimization was especially apparent in situations such as the elevation of the head of St. John the Baptist at Angély in 1017, where the presence and miracles of well-known and accepted relics bolstered the potentially tenuous status of the newly created relic.[24]

Relic gatherings: the Peace of God councils

The concept of gathering regional relics together was not restricted to dedications and elevations, and like these events, other types of mutual relic trips reinforced a sense of unity and common purpose among the participating institutions. The transportation of relics to Peace of God councils has usually been analyzed as an aspect of the interaction between the ecclesiastics and the crowds of laypeople present at these events, whether the relics were understood to attract the crowds, to appease them, or to coerce them into supporting the goals of the churchmen. While this vertical element was certainly an important aspect of the relics' involvement in the Peace of God, here I would like to focus on how these events were seen as a horizontal act of unity among the institutions that brought their relics to them.

Letaldus of Micy's description of the transportation of St. Junian's relics to the council of Charroux in 989, called in order to reprimand lay lords for stealing church property, gives a succinct statement of the collective goals achieved by transporting relics to meetings of this kind:

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[24] "*Factum est autem quodam tempore, vivente magno Willelmo duce Aquitaniae, cum plurimis videretur dubium utrum caput sancti Iohannis haberetur apud Angeriacum, praecepit ipse comes et dux magnam synodum congregari omnesque pontifices et comprovinciales et extraneos convocari, ut eorum consensu tam pretiosus thesaurus dignissimi capitis sancti Iohannis Baptistae requireretur et sacratis manibus sanctorum praesulum dubitanti populo monstraretur. Quod et factum est. Nam requisitum inventum est et super sanctum altare oblatum et ab universo populo adoratum. Ad hoc igitur venerabile mysterium deportatae sunt quam plures reliquiae sanctorum. Ostensa sunt autem ibi multa miracula in corporibus debilium et infirmorum meritis et intercessionibus sanctorum.*" "Miracula s. Leonardi Liber I," *AASS* Nov. III, 155–59. This event is also described by Ademar of Chabannes, Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.56 179-82. Based on this text, Richard Landes has also pointed to the collective, reciprocal nature of the "relic jamboree" at Angély, writing that "as they [the other relics] confirmed the Baptist's presence, so did he, theirs..." Landes, Richard, "Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God," 199. The transportation of St. Martial of Limoges' relics to Angély strengthens this observation; not only Leonard needed the visibility and confirmation this event provided.

> "I think that this council was held at the monastery of Charroux and that a great crowd of many people [*populus*] gathered there from the Poitou, the Limousin, and neighboring regions. Many bodies of saints were also brought there. The cause of religion was strengthened by their presence, and the impudence of evil people was beaten back. That council--- convoked, as it was thought, by divine will-- was adorned by frequent miracles through the presence of these saints. Along with these various relics of the saints honored by God, the remains of the glorious father Junianus were brought with proper honor."[25]

Here, Letaldus imagined the relics as a holy army; brought together by divine will, they were a driving force behind the success of the council. The miracles that they performed provided further evidence that divine favor was present, and thus lent support to the regulatory ambitions of the organizers.[26] His final step is to note that Junian's relics were present and included in this group of saints 'favored by God'. The collective success of the relics was projected onto the individual saint.

This collective success could also be expressed through other means than miracles; in the *Miracula S. Veroli*, the saints are interpreted more as a body of divine police. The text describes Robert the Pious ordering that relics be brought to the council of Héry in 1025 so that those who were disobedient to earthly legislation would listen out of fear of God and the saints, whom they saw "present and awaiting them" at the council. This would lead them to agree to peace accords more quickly and make them more hesitant to break their agreements later on, because they had

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[25] Translation by Thomas Head, Richard Allen Landes and Thomas Head, eds., "Delatio corporis S. Juniani," in *The Peace of God: social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, trans. Thomas Head (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[26] Töpfer reaches the same conclusion: "The assembly of relics at these gatherings served the same dual purpose as recorded above: to draw the greatest possible public and secure the widest publicity and supernatural sanction to the Peace regulations issued by the hierarchy." Töpfer, "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage," 56.

given their faith in the physical presence of the saints.[27] Thus, the saints as a group were expected to act as guarantors of the promises made at the council, because their relics had witnessed the event "in person". A similar vision of the saints (and bishops) as aggressive, collective enforcers appears in the *Miracula s. Privati*, describing a council at Le Puy in 1036:

> "[Stephan] asked all the neighboring bishops to come together in that place with the relics of their saints, where by the authority of such great ones [bishops and saints] they might establish what was right to strengthen, restrain the levity of the people, at least through reverence for the saints, and bring together a firm consensus, with everyone swearing faith [taking an oath]."[28]

The congregation and consensus of the bishops and relics, then, was envisioned as the key element that will guarantee compliance and agreement among those they are trying to convince. Even when this strongly top-down perspective was not emphasized in a text, authors could draw on the idea of a collectivity of saints that jointly brought blessings through their relics' assembly:

> "...while that council [at Anse, 1025] was in preparation, many relics of the saints in different kinds of vehicles were carried to that place by the faithful as it was customary to do, so that the grace of the saints, through merits and prayers, might descend to all the people."[29]

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[27] "*...jussit cunctos valentes episcopos occurrere et abbatos apud Airyacum, villam in Autissiodorensi diocesi sitam et cum sanctorum pignoribus adesse; quatenus si malitiae amatores minus libenter, pro terreni principatus districtione, pacificari vellent; saltem pro Dei et sanctorum ejus, quos praesentes seque quodammodo exspectantes viderent, timore, pacis concordiam et promptius firmandam exciperent; et sanctorum, in quorum praesentia firmassent, semper memores, irruptam arctius conservarent."* "Vita, translatio, et miracula S. Veroli," *AASS* Jun. III, 385.Swearing on relics as part of a judicial proceeding was a subject of legislation during the Carolingian period, and in the 10th and 11th c. it gained a new, collective variation as relics were used during the oaths taken during the Peace conferences. Daniel Callahan, "The Cult of the Saints in Aquitaine," 176–178.

[28] *"Apud Podium Sancte Marie, quod alio nomine Anicium dicitur, beate memorie Stephanus, ejusdem urbis antistes, concilium pro statuenda pace mandaverat, rogavitque omnes vicinos episcopos, ut illuc cum suorum sanctorum reliquiis convenirent, quatenus tantorum auctoritate que firmande erant rectius constabilirent et levitatem populi, saltem pro reverentia sanctorum, compesceret atque ad firmum consensum, data ab omnibus fide, conducerent."* Clovis Brunel, ed., Les miracles de Saint Privat (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1912), 14.

[29] *"Quodam igitur tempore, dum idem concilium praeparaetur haberi, multa sanctorum pignora in diversis apophoretis, ut solitum erat facere, illuc delata sunt a fidelibus, ut sanctorum gratia, meritis et precibus exinde omni plebi oriretur profectus. Contigit autem ut beatissimi viri Hugonis corpus iluc cum ceteris deferretur..."* Jean Mabillon, ed., "Vita, miracula, et elevatio s. Hugonis prioris Enziacensis," *AASSOSB* V, 771. **T**he reference to multiple modes of transportation is intriguing; we might imagine that each reliquary had a special cart used to bring it on the road.

In this excerpt from the *Miracula S. Hugonis* it is the 'faithful' who bring the relics, but the saints are still portrayed as a group to be brought together (the idea of this activity being 'customary' suggests the frequency of these events).

By describing the transportation of their saint to these gatherings, these authors were not only explaining the historical context for the miracles the saint individually performed there. The pattern in each description is the same: after introducing the main organizer of the council, its location and goals, and the rationale for the involvement of relics (which varies in emphasis between texts), the hagiographers immediately state that the relics of their saint joined the others at the council. The anonymous author of the *Miracula s. Berchari* (also titled *De diversis casibus Dervensis*), describing the conference at Héry, provides a final example:

> "The glorious king Robert is known to have held a council at the village of Héry. When multitudes of innumerable people of both sexes and different ages came there, many bodies of the saints began to be carried there by faithful men to increase the devotion of the people setting out. Among these venerable remains, our monks [*seniores*] carried the not-unknown relics of the holy body of our patron suitably in a bier which was prepared for their translation."[30]

This combination, elaborating on the worthy purposes for bringing relics together while claiming their own participation, explicitly wrote the relics and the community into the joint project of the council. Through their involvement, communities saw themselves as active members of a unified group, physically and mentally aligned with the other representatives bringing relics. The joint transportation of relics forged, if only temporarily, a sense of the saints and their keepers as a collective.

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[30] *"Gloriosus rex Robertus, apud villam Aireyas nomine noscitur concilium habuisse; ubi cum innumeræ plebis multitudines diversi utriusque sexus et ætatis concurrerent, ad cumulandam quoque populi proficiscentis devotionem, plurima Sanctorum corpora a fidelibus viris advehi cœperunt, inter quorum veneranda pignora, seniores nostri de sacro patroni nostri corpore non ignotas detulere Reliquias convenienter in feretro, ad earum translationem præparato.* " "De diversis casibus Dervensis cœnobii et miraculis S. Bercharii," *AASS* Oct. VII, 1011–30.

Yet even these group-oriented meetings could include special demonstrations of welcome and hospitality for individual saints. When the relics of St. Privat arrived at Le Puy in 1036, they were met outside the city by all the inhabitants, along with the bishops who had come to the council and the entire clergy of the city, who brought other relics of saints with them.[31] Although this case seems to have been unique (possibly because the host-guest dynamic of an *occursus* may not have translated well to open-air councils with many relics present), it demonstrates how one mode of expressing friendship through the meeting of relics could easily blend with another.

Taken altogether, movements and meetings of relics offered their guardians occasions to display their unity and solidarity. The situations discussed in this section have shown that the travels and receptions of relics could be used to emphasize collaboration and common purpose; however, the curators of each saint's cult had their own concerns that lay beneath these expressions of unity and mutual respect. As in the account of Soissons with which I began, the very mechanisms of relic movement that could reinforce the bonds between communities could also touch deep nerves and provoke bitter dispute. The movement of relics was a time to negotiate and reassert their status, as much as to establish positive relationships with other institutions, and it is to this competitive aspect that I now turn.

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[31] "*Igitur, concurrentibus populis, episcopus etiam Mimatensis, nomine Raymundus, occurrit cum clero et populo, ferens sancti martyris Privati corporis admirabile pignus. Quod audientes, Anicienses omnes ei in obviam proruunt, quoniam sancti martyris virtus apud eos famosissima habebatur. Sed et episcopi qui convenerant cum omni clero civitatis, divinis adornati paramentis, occurrunt, ferentes et ipsi sua quisque pignora sanctorum. Cumque prope extra urbem utraque sibi obviaret processio, statio fit, et clerici laudes resonantes divinas, turbaque tanta convenerat gemitibus et orationibus sancti martyris clementiam propulsabat...*" Brunel, Les miracles de Saint Privat, 14–15. The reference to the meeting of the relics at a distance as a *statio* calls up interesting associations with Rogations, in which the visitations of different churches are referred to by the same term.

II. Tension, competition, and exclusion

Active promotion of a saint's power was the key to maintaining their reputation, and through it, the survival of the community attached to their relics.[32] A saint whose cult could provide evidence of past successes was more likely to be sought out by further pilgrims, increasing their prestige exponentially through the performance of further miracles. This evidence could be visual, in the form of *ex voto* gifts placed near their relics or the magnificence of the reliquary itself. A richly decorated reliquary visually represented the miracle-working prowess of the saint, in part because donations (especially of precious materials) might be 'reinvested' in the reliquary of the saint responsible.[33] *Ex voto* gifts deposited near the reliquary also attested to the saint's reputation in more nuanced ways; the number of candles or coins placed in gratitude could be taken as a quantitative indicator of success, while other kinds of *ex voto* objects hinted at the qualitative nature of the miracles performed (crutches, broken chains, models of the healed body part, etc.)[34]

Textual evidence also provided readers and listeners with proof about the saint's prowess; however, promotion through the power of stories, written or spoken, sometimes meant implicit or explicit comparison to other saints' miracle-working powers. Hagiographers often drew on

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[32] Töpfer locates the late 10th c. as the starting point for the very conscious and aggressive promotion of relic devotion, and through it the power of the clergy, in Burgundy and Aquitaine. Töpfer, "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage."

[33] For example, Bernard of Angers singled out two golden doves attached to St. Foy's throne as a gift miraculously demanded by the saint from abbot Bernard of Beaulieu. Pamela Sheingorn, trans., *The Book of Sainte Foy*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 81–2. Easily identifiable modifications, like the doves, connected stories about the saint to the physical appearance of the reliquary. Additionally, improvement of a reliquary itself could be the rationale for a relic fundraising journey ("Miracula S. Berlindis," *AASS* Feb. I, 381–84.) or the saint could be 'rewarded' for a successful run of miracles through improvement to their reliquary ("Translatio capitis S. Valentini Gemmeticum et miracula," *AASS* Feb. II, 758–62.), again linking the visual aspect of the cult to the oral/literary fabric being woven around it.

[34] For a discussion of categories of *ex voto* gifts and their purposes, see Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 86–107.

the trope of a far-traveling pilgrim who had visited many shrines without success, only to be healed once they reached the saint in question. This ability of one saint to succeed where others had failed could be presented in a non-threatening way, since some hagiographers clarified for their audiences that the powers of the saints were not in question, and that the problem was simply that the pilgrim had not yet found the saint for whom God had reserved the glory of the miracle.[35] Whether or not this was the impression of the sick wanderer, the distance between holy sites often meant that questions about whether one saint might be more 'efficacious' than another could be left comfortably vague if necessary.[36] When the saints were set up next to each other in the same place on the same day, however, the idea of the wandering supplicant turned thankful devotee might take on a sharper edge.

Competition and ranking among the saints

The saints that were very close to each other, housed in the same church or group of churches, were not necessarily in competition.[37] On the one hand, there was a clear spatial and liturgical differentiation between the 'major' and 'minor' relics housed in the church; many stories about the re-discovery of a saint paint a picture of neglected reliquaries stuffed in the

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[35] Sigal reviews these modes of competition and the willingness or unwillingness of hagiographers to compare the powers of respective saints, especially tactics for transforming competition at a distance into cooperation, Ibid., 216–23. Particularly interesting in Sigal's treatment is the 'professional courtesy' hagiographers depict between the saints, and the question of how churches dedicated to the Virgin dealt with the specter of competition between themselves for adherents.

[36] That this vagueness was not necessarily desirable is clear in some accounts where saints are more or less explicitly compared. Certain houses engaged in very pointed dialogue with their competitors, particularly regarding their relics' authenticity and power. For example, there was a longstanding rivalry between St. Bavo's and St. Peter's in Ghent, which resulted in a series of translations (elevations) of Bavo that were intended to confront any accusations from St. Peter's. Cf. *supra*, Introduction.

[37] "...il ne semblait y avoir aucun problème de concurrence et une collaboration entre saints paraissait normale lorsque les reliques de ces saints coexistaient dans le même sanctuaire." Sigal, L'homme et le miracle, 220. For a possible counterexample, the author of the miracles of saint Babolenus notes that a church was constructed with two altars, one consecrated to Babolenus and the other to Fursy, and that when it burned down, Fursy's altar was destroyed but Babolenus' was not. "Miracula S. Baboleni," *AASS* Jun. V, chap. 11.

recesses of the church, noticed only when their cult received a spark of life through a rash of miracles.[38] A saint who suddenly became active (or rather, had miracles newly attributed to them by their custodians) might be boosted up to a more prominent position within the church. Nevertheless, donations to these saints ended up in the same treasury. Older saints or the adherents of older cults were not normally presented as being jealous of the new-found reputation of their companions in the church. Saints might even share the physical space of their reliquary; a single reliquary could contain relics from many saints, who might have miracles attributed to them in tandem or not.[39] Groups of relics belonging to a single community might be carried together, and the resulting miracles interpreted as a joint effort.[40] Relics housed in other communities were a different matter. When multiple relics of saints were present at the same place, at the same time, rank and prestige became immediate and visual matters for discussion.

The medieval liturgy strongly reinforced the perception of ranking among the saints. The saints were organized into categories (apostles, martyrs, bishops, abbots, confessors, virgins) that affected how they were treated within the liturgy and within the church. The Litany of the Saints, recited on various occasions throughout the church year, made this categorization, and

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38 For example, Poncelet, "De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi," 209.

39 The famous image of St. Peter held at Cluny held relics from a number of saints (Dinter, *Liber tramitis*, 261.), and SS. Waldebert and Eustasius of Luxeuil seem to have shared a physical reliquary. Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," in *Adsonis Dervensis Opera hagiographica*, ed. Monique Goullet, Corpus Christianorum 198 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 91.

40 "Miracula patronorum Altivillarensium saeculo XI," *AASS* Aug. III, 618–22.

particularly the hierarchy that it implied, quite explicit.[41] Mary and the angels came first, with St. John, followed by patriarchs and prophets, apostles and disciples, martyrs, bishops and doctors, etc., with the female saints following the male ones. The liturgy and structure of the church feasts contained a clear message: not all saints were equal. As discussed above, even extra-liturgical lists of saints tended to adopt a hierarchical format based on these categorizations.[42] These perceptions of ranks among the saints, and the sentiment that different saints deserved different levels of treatment, were not restricted to the ecclesiastical community. At Arras in 1025, Gerard of Cambrai interviewed several 'heretics' who, among other concerns, claimed that only apostles and martyrs should be venerated; confessors had no gift of special power, and therefore should not be treated as their equals.[43]

When a community's prestige and income depended on the ranking of one or more of these figures, it is not hard to see how bitterly these categories might be challenged or defended. The long fight of the community of St. Martial of Limoges to have their patron recognized as an

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[41] Significantly, the litany was used when a procession of monks or clergy, at times bearing their own relics, traveled to other churches during Rogations. Before entering, they would pray to the patrons of the church and recite the litany. This list, though locally variant, was probably known at least partially by heart. Ordinaries give us some insight into the process of completing a *'statio'* at a certain church and reciting a certain part of the litany to accompany it; by the late medieval period, the routes through a city were fixed. Pascal Collomb, "Les processions dans les livres liturgiques du diocèse de Lyon dans la seconde moitié du Moyen Âge (XIIe-XVIe siècle). Recherches préliminaires pour une histoire des rituels ambulatoires médiévaux." (Université Lumière-Lyon II, 1997). Paris BnF lat. 1017 (Ordinary of Lyon).

[42] Kantorowicz references the motif of "Déesis" in the context of his study of the *laudes regiae,* which meshed the litany sequences of the saints with ruler acclamation. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae; a Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, v. 33 (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), 31–53. See also Ibid., "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (January 1, 1942): 56–81. Other types of medieval iconographic representations also suggest heavenly hierarchy; representations of the Apocalypse, for example, have the ranks of martyrs and elders organized visually.

[43] "*...nullum in sanctis confessoribus donum virtutis spectare, praeter apostolos et martyres neminem debere venerari...*" Philippe Labbe, Gabriel Cossart, and Gian Domenico Mansi, eds., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 19 (Florence: A. Zatta, 1901), 423. Robert Bartlett reads this as a watered-down version of the criticism of the heretics at Orleans in 1022, who claimed that it was useless to venerate any saints. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 591–2.

apostle, and not only a bishop-confessor, underscores the very real sense of rank based on category underlying the medieval theological understanding of sainthood. It is worth nothing that one of the tactics they employed was to include Martial's name with the apostles in the Litany recited during a celebration of the anniversary of the basilica.[44] Returning again to the example of Soissons given at the beginning of the chapter, the monks of SS. Crispian and Crispinian argued their case based on the categories of saints involved; martyrs were more prestigious than confessors, and to demand that the bodies of their martyrs travel to meet Gregory's relics violated this liturgical etiquette, to borrow a phrase from Kantorowicz. The bishop replied to them using the same language, claiming that Gregory as a pope would in fact outrank the martyrs.

These tensions meant that the very situations which could most effectively demonstrate the friendship and collaboration of multiple saints could represent significant danger to their individual cult, if care was not taken to vigorously defend their *fama* at the same time. Several aspects of the transportation of saints were especially dangerous as potential triggers of conflict over status. First, the close physical proximity of multiple saints' relics could collide with contemporary understandings of a relic's 'sacred space' to create conflict over the attribution of miracles. Control of space, or exclusion from it, was a central concern for those accompanying relics. Second, certain situations called for the prestige of different saints to be publicly mapped out, whether onto the linear space of a procession or the two-dimensional space of a field. These situations forced issues of precedence and ranking, usually left comfortably vague or glossed

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[44] This occurred during a council held at Limoges to determine whether or not Martial was an apostle; thus this is was a very public argument within the context of the council, and it became a flash point for further discussion. Labbe, Cossart, and Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, 19:532. Ademar of Chabannes is responsible for the series of liturgical forgeries that styled Martial as an apostle; his process and approach has been studied in depth by Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034*, Harvard Historical Studies 117 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995).

over, to be resolved in a highly visible manner. Finally, the hospitality and welcome shown to traveling relics were not guaranteed; the most common form of problem experienced by traveling relics was forcible exclusion from churches en route. Faced with these issues, the travelers resorted to new kinds of approaches and allies to reaffirm their status against their competitors.

The control of sacred space: contesting miracle attribution

The powers of the saints, as elaborated in medieval hagiography, were not necessarily constrained to a physical distance surrounding the body of the saint; saints could act across vast distances, by freeing prisoners in faraway lands for example. Nevertheless, throughout the medieval period the most propitious place to seek a saint's help was considered to be as near as possible to their body. Recent studies have introduced the concept of a 'sacred space', created by and surrounding sacred objects and buildings. The fixed space of the church was made sacred through the ritual of dedication, but certain movable objects could sacralize the space around themselves when treated with the appropriate ritual, as Eric Palazzo has shown in his study of the portable altar.[45] People journeyed to the relics of the saints, not only to give their requests in person, but to sleep or pray near or under the reliquary itself.[46] Even crossing an invisible boundary into the saint's 'space', by entering the church or even approaching the monastery, could be the trigger for the performance of a miracle.

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[45] Eric Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré dans le Christianisme : la liturgie de l'autel portatif dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

[46] Lying underneath the reliquary seems to have been considered particularly efficacious; see Sigal, L'homme et le miracle, 134–144. See also the *Gesta abbatum s. Bertini*, where in a search for a collective miracle the bodies of the saints are placed on a kind of platform at the entrance to the church, so that the stream of people entering pass underneath them. "Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini," *MGH SS* XIII, 631.

Where multiple saints' relics were housed in the same church, some amount of space between them was often considered desirable; that way, any miracles done could be spatially associated with the correct saint.[47] However, this neat separation within the church could be undermined when other relics were temporarily introduced, creating an overlap between the sacred space (loosely defined) of the 'sedentary' relics and that of the visitor. The following account of the transportation of St. Peter's relics to the church of St. Hilary in Poitiers (in the early 11th c.) illustrates how some of the guiding principles of 'sacred space' broke down when relics of different saints shared physical space:

> "At a certain time, as those who were present and saw [these things] still bear witness, when the relics of the prince of the apostles [Peter] were held in the seat of Poitiers, contained in an admirable work in gold and gems, they were carried in a procession by the clergy of that church to [the church of] St. Hilary, as was customary. A certain paralyzed man came there with the hope of recovering his health, who had already previously stayed in the church of that confessor. Having heard that the aforementioned relics were coming there, he lay down in the middle of the basilica for the relics to pass over him, and devotedly awaited the pity of the Lord. When the relics were just above him, amazingly he soon felt health return to his limbs, and moving them, he stood himself up on his feet, healed, and gave thanks to God in a loud voice. Hearing this, the clergy of the church of the blessed Hilary, out of joy for the miracle, rang the bells and sang the *Te Deum laudamus* in an equally loud voice, as is done in these cases. The other clerics, who had come to the church with the relics, unanimously contradicted them, [saying that] the miracle was [done by] the prince of the apostles, because previously, the paralyzed man was not cured at all by staying in that church, until their arrival with the relics."[48]

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47 Landes observes that in 11th c. Limoges, the relics of Valeria were moved away from those of Martial, in order to better distinguish and attribute miracles performed by each; Landes, Richard, "Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God," 191. More broadly, a large church would have had multiple altars, each dedicated to a specific saint; thus monastic customaries, for example, speak of honoring the saint on their feast day with a mass performed at their altar.

48 *"Quodam autem tempore, sicut ii qui viderunt praesentes adhuc testantur, dum eiusdem principis apostolorum reliquiae, quae in auro et gemmis miro opere collocatae habentur in Pictavis sede, a clero eiusdem ecclesiae ad sanctum Hilarium pro consuetudine deferrentur in processione, accidit quendam paralyticum spe recuperandae sanitatis jam pridem in ecclesia ejusdem confessoris commorantem, audito quod eo praefatae reliquaie adventarent, in medio basilicae reliquiis pertranseuntibus substerni et Domini misericordiam verbi[s] praestolari devote. Supra quem cum eaedem reliquiae essent, mox miro in modo in membris suis sospitatem sensit, et illis amotis, in pedes se sanus erigens, Deo gratias clara voce egit. Quo audito, clerici ecclesiae beati Hilarii prae gaudio miraculi signa pulsant et Te Deum laudamus, ut fit in hujusmodi, pariter excelsa voca cantant. Quibus alii clerici, qui cum reliquiis illo venerant ecclesiae, unanimiter contradicunt, et principis apostolorum rationabiliter fuisse miraculum, pro eo quod antea paralyticus, in eadem commoratus ecclesia, donec in adventu suo cum reliquiis minime sit curatus.*" "Miracula S. Hilarii," in *CCH Paris*, vol. II (Paris: Picard, 1890), 115.

During this event, two types of sacred space had been brought into conflict with each other. First of all, the miracle happened in the church consecrated to St. Hilary and which contained his relics. At any other time, any miracle performed in the church would have been incontestably attributed to his power. The healed man himself clearly believed in the power of this type of sacred space, since he had been coming to the church in search of a cure for some time. Yet, Hilary's control over the entire space of the church had been undercut by the transportation of Peter's relics; the gold, bejeweled reliquary projected its own sphere of influence that, within a short range, overlapped and competed with Hilary's. The man's action, lying down so that the reliquary could pass over him, was intended to tap into the power of this new sacred space in the most effective way possible, suggesting that he saw the moving relics as a more focused and immediate opportunity for a cure.

Notably, contention only arose when the clergy of St. Hilary begin singing the *Te Deum* and ringing the bells, because these actions laid claim to the miracle; as far as we are told, the healed man himself remained neutral and only gave thanks to 'God' at this point. The objections of the clergy of St. Peter were almost scientific in their attempt to resolve the sacred space question; they argued that the man had been in Hilary's sacred space for some time without being healed, and was only cured when he entered Peter's sacred space (or rather, once Peter's sacred space had come to him). Despite the common sense nature of this argument, accepting this claim would have meant a very difficult conclusion for the clergy of St. Hilary to swallow: that by accepting the relics of Peter into their church, a miracle done in the very aisle of their church was not theirs to claim. Their saint's space had been usurped. The solution to this difficulty, clever in its ability to resolve both spatial and ritual problems at once, is reported in the second half of the story:

> "A little distance from the two sides' bickering, the man who had been entirely cured reverted back into sickness and was made paralyzed. After crying and wailing the entire day for the health he had gained but lost so quickly, he fell asleep out of grief. In that same hour he saw blessed Hilary in a vision, who said to him: 'You received health yesterday, not by my power but by that of the blessed apostle, and, as should be obvious, because this was doubted by those arguing on both sides, you were returned to your original infirmity. Go therefore to his church at the episcopal seat of this city, and having asked in that place, you will receive health immediately from him.' Having said this the saint disappeared, and the man, waking up, started off as soon as he was able. Coming with great difficulty at last he reached the doors of the mother church, and finding the doors closed, began to hit them and cry out "Open up, open up for me, whom the blessed Hilary sent to your master Peter the apostle to be cured!" This noise woke up the custodians, and having learned the reason he had come, they opened up, and bringing him in they led him to the major altar, where the aforementioned relics had been placed. When he had prostrated himself on the pavement with a brief but fruitful prayer, at once he stood up healthy with lengthened members free from paralysis, and he returned to his own place safe and sound with great joy. Although this miracle illuminates the merits of the prince of the apostles, nevertheless it is also inserted into the works of blessed Hilary, in whose church certainly this was first accomplished, and by whose advice it was later repeated."[49]

The unfortunate pilgrim had been caught up in a tricky problem: when multiple saints were physically present, to whom did the sacred space 'belong'? This was obviously not a neutral question for the clergy of either church, and the solution (for the saints and the hagiographer) was a complete reversal of the miracle, so that it could be re-performed in a less ambiguous and contentious context. Even though the vision of Hilary definitively attributed the original miracle to Peter's relics, it was ultimately only a temporary one. Final, permanent healing was accomplished only when the man had visited Peter's relics, in Peter's church, placed on Peter's

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[49] *"Porro utrimque illis altercantibus, languidus iam curatus in pristinam aegritudinem revertitur rursusque, sicut fuerat prius, paralyticus efficitur, et clamans et hejulans tota die illa pro adepta sanitate tam velociter amissa, prae tristitia obdormivit, et in ipsa hora beatum Hilarium in visione vidit dicentem sibi: 'Non mea sed beati apostoli virtute salutem heri recepisti, et ut evidentius esset, quoniam inde altercantibus utrisque partibus dubitatem est, [ad] infirmitatem pristinam rediisti. Vade ergo ad ecclesiam ipsius ad episcopalem sedem hujus urbis, et implorato eo protinus recipies per ipsum sanitatem.' Quo dicto sanctus disparuit, et homo, somno evigilans, ut poterat statim ire coepit; perveniensque magno labore tandem ad valvas matricis ecclesiae, clausasque inveniens, instando pulsare ac clamare coepit: 'Aperite, aperite mihi, quem beatus Hilarius magistro suo Petro apostolo curandum mittit.' Quo clamore custodes excitati, ex ordine pro qua venerat [causa] edocti, aperuerunt, et introducentes eum ad altare majus, quo memoratae conditae manebant reliquiae, conduxerunt. Ubi cum pavimento prostratus brevem quidem sed fructuosam orationem fudisset, extensis nervis membrisque languore solutis protinus sanus erigitur et ad propria cum ingenti laetitia sospes regreditur. Hoc miraculum licet apostolorum prinicipis claruerit meritis, nihilominus tamen beati Hilarii est inserendum operibus, in cujus nimirum ecclesia primum patratum, postmodum ejus judicio est reiteratum."* Ibid., 115–116.

altar. This solution, while inconvenient for him, made irrelevant any question of whether or not the presence of Peter's relics nullified or replaced Hilary's power within his own church. The hagiographer's final statement reasserts this conclusion; even though Peter had the credit for both the original and second miracle, the fact that part of the episode occurred in Hilary's church and his active role meant that some of the glory was his. This, of course, is the reason for the story's inclusion in an account of Hilary's miracles. Hilary's right to his own sacred space, as well as Peter's to his, is carefully acknowledged in the end, transforming the narrative as a whole into a story of conflict and trouble overcome through Hilary's power. One suspects that this version of the outcome was carefully negotiated between the two sets of clergy; although Peter's power is credited, it did not come at Hilary's expense.[50]

A similar story of the spatial ambiguity surrounding relics and the dangers it presented is told in the *Miracula s. Donatiani.* Once Robert the count had left on crusade (1096), the narrative begins, Bruges dissolved into discord. With the inhabitants of the city turning against each other, the prior of St. Donatian of Bruges (with the consent of the brothers) decided that the remedy for this general conflict would be to move the relics of Donatian outside the church to the adjoining square. The event attracted a large crowd, and gave the priest the necessary occasion and attention to preach against the unrest (suggesting parallels with the Peace of God). By the miraculous power of Donatian, former enemies who could not be reconciled by silver or

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[50] This is not the only miracle in this series in which Hilary is presented as working in tandem with another saint; a previous miracle in the same text, titled "*De muto et surdo per beatum Hilarium Pictavensem episcopum et beatum Martinum Turonensem archiepiscopum sanato*", has Hilary curing a deaf-and-mute man of his deafness, but then telling him to go to Martin of Tours to have his power of speech returned. The hagiographer portrays this situation as Hilary sending the man to "his disciple" Martin [*sancto Martino discipulo suo*] to finish what he had begun, because even though he could have done the entire miracle himself, he wanted to share the honor with his old friend [*Quod cum per se quidem facere potuisset, familiaritatis antiquae gratia sancto eidem honorem detulit*]. Ibid., 112–113. 'Living' friendships between saints were occasionally used to interpret the meetings of their relics during journeys. Perhaps miracles were easier to share with Martin in Tours, than with Peter, with whom Hilary had to share the patronage of Poitiers.

gold were thus convinced to make a pact of peace. To demonstrate and seal the success of the peace pact, a boy who had been disabled all his life was placed next to the reliquary of the saint. This boy said that he had seen in a dream that he would be healed by Donatian, and after praying for health he was entirely cured.

At this point, however, the situation became complicated for St. Donatian and his representatives; their attribution of the miracle to Donatian was contested by a majority of the population of Bruges. Their objection, according to the hagiographer, was that a saint 'Ilherus' [Hilaire], and not Donatian, was the true performer of the miracle, because the cured boy had crept up close to Hilaire's reliquary at the time he was cured.[51] No mention had been made of other saints' relics to this point.[52] The monks' reaction was to vigorously beg their saint to show a clearer sign in order to dispel the disbelief of the people, but after hours spent fruitlessly in prayer they gave up on the hope of another miracle and brought the saint back into the church as the crowd dispersed. Although later Donatian redeems himself by healing a paralyzed girl inside the church, this anecdote again illustrates the danger of relics sharing physical space. Whether or not the author misunderstood or misinterpreted the situation with Hilaire, he believed that the

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[51] *"Quod major portio populi Brugensis, utpote invicem sibi dissonantis, & ad credendum admodum tardi, non per Sanctum Donatianum, verum per beatum Ilherum, cujus feretro propius miser ille obrepserat, elucidatum fore astruebat.*" "Miracula S. Donatiani," *AASS* Oct. VI, 503–4. The use of "*elucidatum*" to describe the miracle may explain why Meyerus thought that the boy was blind, not disabled. There is an interesting difference between the descriptions of the boy's proximity to the two relics: he was passively 'deposited' next to Donatian's reliquary [*juxta feretrum Patris nostri depositus*] but had actively 'crept up" [*obrepserat*] to the reliquary of Ilherus.

[52] The exact history of Ilherus/Hilaire is relatively unknown; he appears to have been honored at Bruges itself. See the entry *AASS*, Oct. VI, p. 398C and Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 216. In addition, while the Hilary/Peter conflict focused on contention between groups of clergy for the rights to the miracle, here it is the people [*populi*] of Bruges who are presented as being involved in the process of miracle attribution. Like the clergy of St. Hilary, the clergy of St. Donatian were challenged when they claimed the miracle publicly, but their opponents were the crowd itself rather than a rival ecclesiastical group. This provides an interesting contrast to the usual portrayal of the agency of the crowd, which is most often only responsible for praising a miracle when it has been done and attributed. Here they offer an alternative interpretation (or rather, an alternative saint), defining the outcome of the event itself.

closer physical proximity of the healed boy to Hilaire's relics was a serious and believable rationale for contradicting Donatian's claim to the miracle. Situations like this one transformed the physical space around the reliquary, typically constructed as a space of power and healing, into a space of contention.[53]

Contesting rank: the case of St. Baldricus

The act of physically bringing relics together, beyond provoking questions about the attribution of miracles, could cause trouble from a ritual standpoint. Just as the meetings of kings, queens, popes, and noblemen and women forced issues of rank and standing to be resolved spatially and ritually (who greeted whom first? who rose, entered, or exited first?), similar concerns faced those accompanying relics.[54] A very early example from Flodoard's *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* illustrates both the motivations for bringing the saints together for the collective good, and the concerns about precedence and prestige that these occasions could provoke. Book Four of the *Historia* contains a short hagiographical excursus on the life and

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[53] The space around a traveling reliquary seems to have been ambivalent, in terms of expectations for behavior. For example, on the trip of the canons of Laon to England in 1113, the Virgin was reportedly offended by the nonchalant atmosphere around her reliquary; some Englishmen were leading on one of the young Laonnois with Arthurian tales and they almost came to blows. Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis." In other cases, the meetings that brought competing relics together also brought living enemies together; in at the council of Hasnon, a fight broke out in the tent housing St. Donatian's relics and the saint was displeased, even though the community had no official interest in the feud. In the same vein, see the study by Geoffrey Koziol of the relic journey of St. Ursmar, in which the monks attempted to circle two feuding parties with the relics to create a 'protected' space in which quarreling was not possible/allowed. Their failure to stop the fight was attributed to a black dog who ran in and broke their circle before it was completed. Koziol, "Monks, Feuds and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders."

[54] Whether or not we can exactly determine what these rituals may have 'meant', the importance of these practices in medieval political and religious life is evident. Buc, "Text and Ritual in Ninth-Century Political Culture."

miracles of St. Baldricus as part of a discussion of the churches and monasteries surrounding the city of Reims.[55]

Around the late 9th or early 10th c., Baldricus' relics were carried in a procession from Montfaucon to meet the relics of Jovinus [Jovin or Juvin] to obtain rain during a drought.[56] The two processions had only just met [*mox ut simul venerunt*], bringing the saints together, when a heavy rain began. This emphasized the importance of the proximity of the two relics; their physical meeting created a moment of power in which the miracle could be performed. The 'special' nature of the meeting was then highlighted by another shared miracle; the cloths covering both reliquaries remained dry while everyone else was dripping wet. After this joint success the relics of both saints returned to Montfaucon, but before they had entered the monastery, the relics of Baldricus became suddenly and miraculously too heavy to carry. This was Baldricus' typical mode of expression during movements of his relics; he had also made his reliquary too heavy to carry when it was initially brought to Montfaucon. At that time, the canons had attempted to place him in the church of St. Germain, rather than in the church of St. Laurent where he had prepared his own tomb while still alive. The relics had had to remain outside for three days before the canons figured out what the saint was trying to tell them. Here,

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[55] According to the short section on Baldricus' life, he was a son of Sigebert I who founded one of the two convents in the city of Reims with his sister Bova, where she became abbess. Then, guided by a falcon, he discovered the site of Montfaucon and established a regular community there. On a trip to visit his sister, he died in Rheims and was buried there. This led, many years later, to a relic-theft performed by the canons of Montfaucon to regain his body, the first of a series of movements of his relics for various causes. Flodoard of Reims, "Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae. Lib. IV.," *MGH SS* XIII, ed. Johannes Heller and Georg Waitz.

[56] Jovinus proves to be a bit of a mystery; it seems clear from the text that Baldricus is brought to meet Jovinus (that is, they are not both housed at Montfaucon), but that the two relics return to Montfaucon together. But where was Jovinus coming from? The *AASS* has an entry for Jovinus or Juvinus who was born in Rheims; after death, his body was transported to several potential burial sites in the area but became immovable until brought to the oratory he himself had constructed (the comparison to Baldricus' immobility-based communication is suggestive). *AASS* Oct. III, *BHL* 4617. The village of Saint-Juvin (dépt. Ardennes) is a candidate for the site of the oratory (20 km from Montfaucon), but there seems to be some debate on this point, based on the introductory commentary in the *AASS*. It is interesting that Jovinus is not included in the annual meeting of relics instituted by Dado; possibly there is no connection between this event and Dado's innovation.

the solution was reached more quickly; Baldricus only allowed his relics to be moved again once the relics of Jovin had moved ahead to enter the monastery first. Through the immobility of his reliquary, Baldricus (with, perhaps, some assistance from the canons of Montfaucon) had made a point about his status relative to Jovin.[57] Although the collective miracles had not triggered any discussion about their relative power, the linear format of the procession forced one saint's relics (even if only temporarily) to lay claim to a higher status relative to their companion and co-worker.

The two themes of miracles accomplished jointly and saints' concern for their own reputation were continued in the further history of Baldricus' relics. Dado the bishop of Verdun [880-923], perhaps having heard of the success of the meeting of Baldricus and Jovin, established an annual meeting of the relics of the saints of three local monasteries. The relics of saints Victor [Vitonus] and Ageric [Agericus] were to be carried from the episcopal seat in Verdun, saint Roduique [Rodincus] from Wasler [Wasloius, identified by Waitz as Beaulieu], and Baldricus from Montfaucon. Dado chose *Gaudiacum* (modern Jouy-en-Argonne) as the point of the meeting, because it was equidistant from the three monasteries. This specification was almost certainly intended to assert the equality of the saints involved; the bishop no doubt wanted to avoid a situation in which one of the communities felt that their saints had been

[57] The argument might be made that this was intended to show Baldricus' humility, rather than his superiority (or even his superior humility). The hagiographer offers us no interpretation of the event; comparison with liturgical processions involving multiple saints' relics from the same church suggest that the less prestigious relics preceded the more prestigious ones. See, for example, the Palm Sunday procession at Cluny, in which the diagram given in the *Liber tramitis* indicates that the image of St. Peter (arguably Cluny's most important relic at the time) was carried last behind the unnamed relics and the bodies of Gregory and Marcelle. Dinter, *Liber tramitis*.

slighted by having to travel farther.[58] Despite this statement of equality and the communal purpose of the gathering, each saint stood to be promoted as the most powerful and most sought-after. The author of Montfaucon from whom Flodoard likely adapted his account was certainly interested in clarifying that Baldricus was personally involved in making sure that he received credit for miracles performed:

> "In this gathering, innumerable miracles were later accomplished, so that hardly one of these encounters took place in which no sick person was restored to health; but mostly those who were seen to seek the protection of blessed Baldricus [were healed]. During one of these meetings a certain mute was given speech, whom the people from Verdun took hold of and began to lead away with them, asserting that the strength of the saints whom they had brought performed this miracle. But then when they separated to return home, the bones of saint Baldricus became so heavy that they remained completely immobile. Many people ran back to the wonder of the miracle, while they complained to their [saint], [asking] why he wanted to stay in that place and what he wanted to be done there. It came to them, that the speaking man who had been mute might be needed. And at length, when he had been called back and led to the place where the relics were motionless, suddenly the holy body was lifted with no difficulty and carried back to his monastery with joy."[59]

Even though the meeting as a whole was sanctified by miracles done by all the relics present, Baldricus' hagiographer marked him out as the saint that was most effective. This relatively passive assertion is not surprising, but the episode of the immovable relics represents a very assertive willingness on the part of the canons to force the issue of status during the event itself. Baldricus, unwilling to have credit for his miracle taken by the saints of Verdun (envisioned,

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[58] *"ut omnibus annis trium monasteriorum sacra pignera simul in quendam medium deferrentur locum nomine Gaudiacum"* Flodoard of Reims, "Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae. Lib. IV.," 593. The choice of location was not perfectly equidistant (and perhaps favored Verdun), but would certainly have been manageable for all three delegations. Jouy-en-Argonne is about 23 km from Montfaucon, 13 km from Verdun, and 19 km from Beaulieu-en-Argonne. There is no indication in the text of how long these meetings lasted.

[59] *"In quo conventu innumera postmodum sunt patrata miracula, ut vix quaequam preterierit huiusmodi coitio, in qua non aliquis infirmorum fuerit sospitate redintegratus, maxime tamen illi qui patrocinia beati Balderici sunt expetere visi. Quodam tali conventu quidam locutus est mutus, quem Virdunenses arripientes secum ducere coepere, asserentes, quod sanctorum virtus quos detulerant hoc miraculum perpetrasset. Sicque dum separati quique referrentur ad sua, tanto sancti Balderici pondere aggravata sunt ossa, ut penitus manere viderentur immobilia. Ad quem miraculi stuporem recurrentibus multis, dum queruntur sui, cur inibi vellet immorari et quid ibidem disponeret operari, accidit, ut requireretur ille qui locutus fuerat mutus. Tandemque revocatus, ubi ad locum defixi perductus est pigneris, mox absque difficultate sublatum et ad suum sacrum corpus gratanter est coenobium reportatum."* Ibid.

interestingly, as an anonymous collective), immediately and visibly intervened through the immobility of his reliquary. Although the canons, along with the author, presented this incident in terms of the wishes and desires of the saint, it is not hard to reframe the incident in terms of competing bands of clergymen. The representatives from Verdun had made an active and public claim to the miracle by physically taking the formerly mute man with them; to dispute this claim, the canons of Montfaucon needed to make a competing and equally visible counter-claim. The return of the crowd to the immobile relics indicates that this new 'miracle' was instantly broadcast, in order to reverse the departure and refocus attention on Baldricus' relics.[60]

Through this incident, the 'neutral' meeting grounds of the three institutions became a site of tension, dispute, and affirmation. The area that had been shared by all three delegations became a site owned, in a sense, by Baldricus alone; his power to assert his own dominance and superior miracle-working prowess became the final word from the meeting. Just as the linear, one-dimensional space of a procession aggravated concerns about precedence and rank, these problems (or opportunities) also existed in two-dimensional space.

Exclusion from churches and lay allies

In the first section I treated welcome, particularly in the form of the *occursus* procession, as a valuable way to express a positive relationship between guest and host institutions. Conversely, one of the most common 'dangers' encountered by traveling relics was exclusion from the sacred space of a church by its custodians. As relics journeyed across the countryside

[60] Although this 'active' witnessing was necessary for the success of the tactic, it is doubtful that any members of the crowd would have been allowed to try to lift the 'immobile' relics and test the canons' claim. As for the healed man himself, it is worth noting that he may have been highly personally invested in the question of which saint was responsible for his treatment; a man who regained use of an eye during Baldricus' meeting with Jovinus returned home happily 'without glorifying God' and lost the eye again as a result. The necessity of proper gratitude to God and the responsible saint (in the form of donations) is one of the most common hagiographical *topoi*, and assuming that at least some recipients of miracles took it to heart, by thanking the wrong saint they might be believed to be putting themselves at risk for a relapse.

they might be temporarily housed in private homes or tents, but often the waypoints were churches. As a section from the *Miracula* of St. Adelard illustrates, churches were more than preferred stopping places; exclusion from a church was perceived as an effective tactic to block the relics' progress altogether. In this case, Adelard's relics were being brought to Count Robert of Frisia, who had confiscated Corbie's property by force in retaliation for their change in loyalty (also forced) to King Phillip. After a fruitless plea to the king for help, Abbot Fulco and the monks of Corbie decided that their best course of action was to bring Adelard's relics to the count himself (c. 1073). His reaction to this news reveals the perceived importance of churches to the success of a relic journey:

> "With the story flying ahead [of them], the count heard that the saint was going to be presented to him by the brothers, and he forbid that the entrance of any church stand open to them, supposing that in this way none of them would be able to approach him. But the matter turned out otherwise. For when they came to the village which is called Curba, where by hereditary law the church is held by s. Peter [that is, held by Corbie], the priest, following the order of the count, having barred the doors of the church, sought out a hidden place with the keys so that he would not be able to be found. At length they came to the church and demanded the keys. The priest was searched for everywhere, but the means to find him were denied to them. A miracle, seeking a faithful hearer! While with some delay they were looking for the priest of the church, suddenly the locks broke apart on their own, the door-bars burst apart, the doors of the church stood open, and they made themselves passable to the saint and to all those who were accompanying him. This was not done in that place by magic or by mechanical arts, but to show the merit of s. Adelard, the strength of heaven appeared to open the doors."[61]

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61 "*Fama autem præeunte comes sibi sanctum a fratribus praesentandum audierat, et ne illis alicuius ecclesiæ pateret introitus interdixerat, existimans taliter nullum ad se ab illis posse fieri accessum. Sed secus ac ratus est res habita est. Nam tendentibus illis ad villam quæ dicitur Curba, ubi S. Petri iure hereditario habetur ecclesia, presbyter secundum comitis præceptum obseratis ecclesiæ foribus, secessum occultum ne posset inveniri petierat cum clauibus. Tandem ad ecclesiam pervenitur, claves requiruntur, presbyter circumquaque quæritur, sed quaerentibus facultas inveniendi denegatur. Mirum dictu, fidelem quaerens auditorem! Dum aliqua mora fieret quaerendo templi sacerdotem; illico sponte sua confractis seris, dissilientibus repagulis, patuerunt fores ecclesiae, et sancto, cunctisque eum comitantibus se pervias præbuere. Non magica, non ars ibi operata est mechanica, sed ad ostendendum s. Adalardi meritum, virtus apparuit caelestis in apertione valuarum*." "Miracula s. Adelardi," *AASS* Jan. I, 121–23.

The count's desire to block the advance of the relics led to his command that the churches be closed to them; in doing so, he set up his right to control these sacred spaces against the right of the monks and their relics to occupy them.

Although the conflict is framed in terms of the count against the saint (represented by the monks), there is an important third group present here. The immediate coda to the break-in is a celebration, in which not only the monks and clergy, but a huge crowd of people burst into the church with loud praises for the miracle. This joyful entry styles the people as the supporters and companions of the visiting relics in victory. Like the visitors, they too have been excluded from the church, and the entrance of the relics into the previously inaccessible church is depicted as their victory as well. This theme is taken up again as the monks continued their journey; after this first miracle, no further doors were closed to Adelard's relics. Instead, large crowds of people came out in *occursus* processions to receive the relics. Not only these people insisted that the churches be opened for the saint, the hagiographer tells us, but "as many ecclesiastics as secular people" defied the anger of the count and kept the doors open. Despite this assertion, the 'ecclesiastics' were the latecomers; their support indicated the strength of opinion in Corbie's favor, but the first and strongest champions in this conflict had been the people who flooded into the church alongside Adelard's relics.

This centrality of the laity in fights to control access to churches marks other accounts as well. Adelard's miraculous forced entry into the church is paralleled elsewhere, but those

traveling with relics could not always count on a miracle.[62] Where their fellow ecclesiastics were hostile, they often claimed to have found allies among the local people. An account from the first journey of the canons of Laon (1112) into France, carrying relics of the Virgin, provides a fascinating example of the forms this support could take. Leaving Tours, they had come to S. Laurentius of Cala on that saint's feast day. The monk living there refused to allow them to place Mary's reliquary on the major altar, fearing to lose the customary offering given to Laurentius on his feast day. Instead, he insisted that they place it on a lesser altar in a different part of the church, intending to spatially marginalize Mary's relics in relationship to Laurentius'.

This tactic to reassert control over the sacred space of the church, however, was unsuccessful. The people from Tours who had followed the relics spoke about the miracles that they had seen, which encouraged all the pilgrims to abandon the major altar of Laurentius and offer their gifts to Mary instead. The monk, spiteful and envious, then ordered that Mary and all the other relics from Laon be ejected from the church. Despite this setback, the fortunes of the Laonnois held firm; the prior of the castle, reproaching the monk, prepared a spacious tent for the brothers. The women of the place brought curtains to decorate it and lights were hung to make it

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[62] St. Ghislain also forced an entry into a closed church during a journey in 1030. Abbot Heribrand and the brothers of St. Ghislain were returning from a trip to Emperor Conrad; when they came to the village of Wisatium [modern Visé, Belgium] the *matricularius* closed the doors of the church and would not yield even after extended pleading. They were preparing to depart to an island in the middle of the river when the doors of the church were opened by divine power [*divina virtute aperiuntur ostia ecclesiae*]. They then left to camp on the island, having only needed the church to celebrate mass. A. Poncelet, ed., "Vita et miracula S. Gisleni," *Analecta Bollandiana* 5 (1886): 286–287. Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 304–5.

glow throughout the night, creating a visually appealing alternative space for Mary's relics to inhabit exclusively.[63]

The canons of Laon, then, won their battle for control of sacred space, but not through the miraculous intervention of their saints. First, the people accompanying them from Tours had allowed them to overcome marginalization within the church, to the extent that their minor altar attracted more attention and donations than the major altar (on Laurentius' own feast day, nonetheless). Second, local but non-ecclesiastical allies (the prior of the castle and the women) had aided them to set up an alternate, rival sacred space to compete with the church once they had been thrown out. The conclusion of their experience dovetails their redemption by the people with divine vengeance; at Vespers that evening, the monk fell to the ground sick in front of the people, the great bell of the church fell from its tower and broke, and the bell-tower itself collapsed. Regretting his actions in the wake of these events, the antagonistic monk came barefoot to Mary's reliquary and prostrated himself in front of it, begging that she be carried to the major altar.[64] The canons, however, did not agree to his request; their alternative sacred space

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63 "*Egressi de urbe Turonensi venerunt ad Sanctum Laurentium de Cala, in festo ejusdem martyris. Monachus quidam ibi habitans noluit eis concedere ut poneretur feretrum Dominae nostrae super altare Sancti Laurentii, sed super quondam minus altare in parte ecclesiae fecit illud poni, timens videlicet amittere offerendam consuetam in eodem festo. Sed cum Turonenses qui reliquias nostras prosequebantur, referentes miracula quae viderant, omnes peregrinos supervenientes exhortabantur ut, relicto majori altari, ad feretrum Dominae nostrae offerrent, invidiae livore percussus idem monachus jussit feretrum et omnes reliquias ejici de ecclesia. Praepositus vero castelli, vituperans monachum statim tradidit fratribus nostris tentorium spatiosum quod sibi paraverat. Matronae quoque loci cortinas plurimas deferentes idem tentorium decentissime perornare studuerunt, luminaribus insuper sufficientibus splendidissimum tota nocte fecerunt*." Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," 970. The canons encounter an almost identical situation on their trip the following year to England, at Winton, where they are again begrudgingly allowed into a church to set up the relics on a minor altar, only to be evicted, and then collaborate with local laymen and women to set up an alternative space. See discussion below.

64 "*Sed rex justus Jesus Christus noluit injuriam Matri suae illatam dimitti impunitam. Ad vesperas siquidem praefatus monachus, morbo caduco subito depressus, coram omni populo in terram cecidit, magnumque terrorem videntibus incussit. Campana etiam major de turre cadens confracta est, ipsa quoque turris in superiori parte fissa et disrupta crepuit. Quod videns monachus, sero se male fecisse poenituit, nudisque pedibus coram feretro terrae prostratus, Reginae coeli humiliter satisfecit, utque super majus altare feretrum deferretur rogavit, sed fratres nostri noluerunt acquiescere roganti*." Ibid.

had triumphed over the sacred space denied to them (literally, by partially destroying it), and they had no further need of it.

The canons' success, however, was intimately linked to their ability to gain and maintain local support. In an account taken from the miracles of S. Gerulph, the support of the laypeople was entirely literal. The monks of Drongen had been denied access to the church at Suivenghem by the custodian, who "angry from some unknown cause, or perverted by some advice, responded haughtily to their requests, swearing and cursing, that the way would never be open to those with s. Gerulph".[65] He then went into the church and barred the doors against them. This situation was remedied when a large crowd of people, both men and women, came to the relics as they stood outside the church. Deploring the exclusion, they physically supported the relics high on their shoulders. A little while later, a paralyzed girl placed on top of the relics was healed, and the miracle softened the custodian enough to let them inside the church. The people again helped the travelers win the day; but in this case their own bodies were the alternative to the sacred space of the church. Their protest was highly visual, emotional, and effective, a complement to the donations they later offered; when the people took the part of the visiting relics, the only graceful exit for the custodian was to capitulate.

The lay supporters of S. Audomar [Omer] in the tenth century adopted a more active approach, according to the author of his third *Vita* (written in the twelfth or thirteenth century). Omer's relics were carried by the canons of St. Omer to protest the alienation of church property to Emperor Otto I [962-973] as he assembled a council at Nimwegen. When they reached Thiala

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[65] *"Ille autem custos, nescio unde iratus, vel cujus consilio depravatus, petitionibus eorum superbe respondit, conjurans ac detestans, illi cum S. Gerulpho numquam patere ingressum. Quo dicto, indignans eos ulterius audire, rapido cursu se illis subtraxit, & januas templi propagulis oppositis & ferreis seris, ne incederent, obstruxit.*" The journey from Drongen took place c. 1088, and was to raise donations for the rebuilding of the church. "Circumlatio s. Gerulphi," *AASS* Sept.VI, 266–67.

[modern Tiel], however, the custodian of the church not only barred the door against them, but blasphemed the relics, rebuked the servants and companions of the saint, said that everything they were doing was superstition and delusion, and left to go to the bath. The crowd of faithful then opened the doors by force in order to place the relics on the altar as they deserved.[66]

Another kind of 'active' response to this type of situation, though more fiscal than violent, was taken by the merchants of Christchurch during the second relic journey of the canons of Laon to England in 1113. The canons arrived on Pentecost, a time of assembly for the merchants. It was raining heavily, and so they sought out the deacon of the church to gain entry. In a sequence of events extremely similar to their experience in France a year earlier, they were grudgingly admitted to the church but only allowed to place Mary's reliquary "on a minor altar, in a remote part of the church, only until the rain let up".[67] Nevertheless, when the deacon saw Mary's relics drawing crowds and gifts (in part because of the testimony of merchants who were familiar with the miracles done at a prior stop, Winton), he became concerned about losing the donations needed to rebuild his own church and threw them out into the rain. The misery of the canons at this new development is palpable; the whole village was full of merchants, no shelter

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[66] "*Fidelis vero turba, per vim apertis januis, sanctas reliquias introduxit, easque super altare, prout dignum erat, constituit.*" "Miracula S. Audomari," *AASS* Sept. III, 406–17. There is a different and shorter version of this story given by Folcuin in the *Gesta abbatum s. Bertini.* "Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini." In Folcuin's version, the custodian of the church denies access to the canons, blaspheming and cursing the relics, as in the story from the *Vita*. However, there is nothing said about the crowd forcing their way into the church; rather, it goes directly to the monks receiving word through a messenger that the custodian had been taken suddenly ill at the bath and without their intercession would soon be dead. One monk takes up the eucharist and another the relics, but then a second messenger arrives with the news that the custodian is dead because of his blasphemy to Omer. Hearing this, the people then come to the church and honor the relics. The Bollandists believed that the version in the *Vita* was fleshed out from Folcuin's account, with obvious embellishment. The conclusion of the story given in the *Vita* is that the furious custodian (now referred to as an *aedilis*) returned to the church as the priest was performing mass, comes to the altar, takes the donations given to the saint, and extinguishes all the candles. He dies in his bed that night, but the brothers return good for his evil and take care of his funeral before proceeding to Nimwegen.

[67] *"Vix tamen nobis concessit ut, donec nimietas pluviae cessaret, feretrum Dominae nostrae super quoddam minus altare poneretur, in remota ejusdem ecclesiae parte.*" Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," 979–980.

was available, and it was raining as hard as ever. At this point, a merchant's wife heard about their troubles and convinced her husband to evict a group of (unlucky) merchants who had rented one of his houses and use it to shelter the canons and relics instead. The canons, having dried out, even had a portable altar with them and so were able to celebrate mass in the guesthouse. More importantly, their situation drew further support from a non-ecclesiastical faction in the town, the merchants who had gathered for Pentecost:

> "One of the merchants hung up three bells which he had for sale on the roof of this house, and using them called together his associates. Getting up onto a high place, he told them how the deacon ejected the reliquary from his church, and urged that none of them should go to that church, but rather come together at our [the canons'] guesthouse to hear the divine office. After this, they all together unanimously passed a proclamation that, if any of the merchants should go into the church, they should pay 5 *solidos* to their associates."[68]

Rather than forcing an entry into the church, the merchants set up a sort of trade embargo; protesting the deacon's control of sacred space with their money rather than their physical strength. Once again, the visiting monks had found allies, but those allies were local secular groups who helped them oppose their competitors and enemies within the ecclesiastical establishment.

Creating alternative sacred spaces, boycotting the traditional sacred space of churches, and even physically taking over churches themselves were ways in which the people could show their support for the outsiders. For this support, they could expect to be rewarded; in the conclusion to the canons' experience at Christchurch, after they departed a fire-breathing dragon (!) rose out of the sea and burned up the town. The deacon's church, for which he had been so anxious to protect donations, was so completely destroyed that not only the wood, but the very

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[68] *"Unus ex negotiatoribus tres campanas, quas venales habebat, ad domus ejusdem laquearia suspendit, earumque sonitu convocat socios, et locum ascendens eminentiorem, quomodo decanus feretrum nostrum de ecclesia sua ejecerit refert, et ut nullus eorum ad ipsam ecclesiam eat, sed omnes potius ad hospitium nostrum divinum officium audituri conveniant exhortatur. Postremo cuncti, pariter congregati, unanimiter edictum proponunt ut, si quis negotiatorum ecclesiam ingrederetur, quinque solidos sociis persolveret.*" Ibid., 980.

stones were burnt, and the altar itself reduced to a pile of ashes. The house of their hosts however, remained safe, along with the neighboring house where they kept their sheep. As for the merchants who had assisted them, they lost nothing to the dragon, having packed up their goods prior to its arrival.[69]

Choosing sides: lay opinion as a driving force

Even in situations where the competitive space was relatively neutral, and the rival clergy groups not overtly antagonistic with each other, the laity could play a key role. In the early to mid-11th c. it became a tradition for the houses and saints of Corbie and Amiens to meet annually.[70] The choice of a central, neutral space for this meeting complemented its peace-maintaining functions; formal suits and informal disputes were resolved, and the laws [*decreta*] of each place were renewed and proclaimed to the people.[71] In this idealized version of the meeting, the laypeople were the audience; from the monks' perspective, this had been a time to

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69 "*...Respicientes post tergum, videmus totam villam succensam cremari. Interrogantes vero quomodo id contigisset, audivimus ab eis draconem de proximo mari egressum, nobis discedentibus in villam advolasse, et primitus ecclesiam, deinde quasdam domos flamma, quam ex naribus suis emittebat, succendisse... Redeuntes vero usque ad ecclesiam jam eam invenimus concrematam, et sic incredibiliter, ut non solum ligna, sed et ipsi parietes, imo maximi lapides, ipsaque altaria in favillam et cinerem funditus essent redacta, ita ut omnibus inspicientibus stupor exinde mirabilis incuteretur... Ad domum quoque hospitis nostri venientes, et quomodo se haberet scire volentes, invenimus eum, salva domo, et omnibus quae habebat, exsultantem, suamque liberationem bonae hospitae suae coeli Reginae deputantem. Non solum vero ipsa domus ejus, in qua hospitati fuimus, sed et alia procul posita, in qua pecora ejus servari diximus, mansit illaesa, ita ut de omnibus rebus suis nihil omnino perdiderit. Negotiatores etiam, qui multam nobis impenderant benevolentiam, ita superna fovit gratia ut aut nihil aut parum de rebus suis amiserint. Quia enim ibidem consuetudo erat uno tantum die durare nundinas, finito prandio jam omnes sarcinas suas collegerant, et circumligatas antequam draco veniret reposuerant.*" Ibid., 981.

70 "There grew up between those of Amiens and those of Corbie a new respect, and out of that respect a new custom sprang forth, which each year was reciprocated. On the octave of Rogations, they came together from each side into one, and the bodies of the saints were brought together in that place." *"Adoleverat etiam inter Ambianenses & Corbeienses noua quædam religio, & ex religione pullulauerat consuetudo, quæ etiam reciprocabatur omni anno. Octauis denique Rogationum, ab vtrisque partibus conueniebatur in unum: ibique conferebantur corpora Sanctorum"* "Miracula s. Adelardi," 120.

71 "*...soluebantur lites: ad pacem reuocabantur discordes: mutabantur a populo orandi vices. Decreta vtriusque loci renouabantur: populo perorabatur, sicque redibatur."* Ibid.

reaffirm the friendship between their two institutions and at the same time, to allow their respective saints to display their power to make peace and inspire devotion. Over time, however, the lay element present at the meetings apparently took a more active role in defining its character:

> "But with the passing of time, at length this meeting began to become worthless, and much veneration to become irreverence. Both sexes engaged in raucous laughter and games, began ring dances, and acted irreverently; and thus almost everyone neglected the bodies of the saints. This matter displeased the good monks very much."[72]

The perceived usurpation of the event provoked Richard, the abbot of Corbie [1033-1048], to decide to withhold Corbie's saints from the meeting, allowing them to 'rest in their beds' [*in cubilibus suis requiescere*] rather than go and be offended by the irreverence done to them. The brothers protested this decision, claiming that the delegation from Amiens, coming with their own saints, would judge them as prideful if they did not act likewise; their argument (even if a construction of the author) highlights the expectations created by such a meeting of saints and the potential hazards of failing to meet them. The monks' fears were, in fact, realized; even though the abbot allowed them to bring a single saint (Adelard) to the meeting, they were criticized for not bringing the more prestigious relics of Peter and Gentian as well. Though the hagiographer reminded his readers that it was in protest for the irreverent atmosphere and not Corbie's pride that led to this situation, this did not prevent the laypeople from reaching their own conclusions. While the canons of Amiens and St. Firmin enjoyed the customary prayers and

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[72] *"Sed procedente tempore, cœpit aliquando res ipsa vsu vilescere, & inreuerentia fieri ex multa veneratione. Uterque siquidem sexus cachinnis & lusibus intendere, ordiri choreas, & inreverenter agere: & sic pene omnes corpora Sanctorum negligere. Displicuit res illa bonis & maxime monachis."* Ibid.

gifts of the people of Corbie, "St. Adelard, placed out of the area, was not visited with that veneration which he deserved. No one prayed by him, no one asked anything from him..."[73]

The perceived inferiority of the Corbie delegation and their lone saint, then, was reflected physically and visually at the gathering through the activity of the laity. Only after Adelard was able to demonstrate his power to the people through the performance of a miracle, was his reputation (and that of Corbie) restored. He healed a blind and deaf official in spectacular fashion: blood flowed from his mouth, nose, and ears, splashing over the saint's relics. This visual aspect of the miracle was critical, because the hagiographer pointed explicitly to the still-visible splashes of blood on the reliquary as proof of the miracle's reality against any potential disbelief, and of its performance by Adelard (erasing any potential doubts about attribution to him). Interestingly, the delegation from Amiens helped in the effort to spread the news; one of them preached the miracle to the crowds, who responded by overwhelming the reliquary with prayers and donations. Thus, in the end, the lay participants in the meeting were the means to fix the situation that they, supposedly, had created; their refocused attention on Adelard rehabilitated the monks of Corbie from their disgrace in comparison to Firmin and the canons of Amiens, even though that disgrace was supposedly the result of their initial irreverence. The people were constructed both as the protagonists, in the competition between the saints for precedence, and the antagonists, in the competition for the character of the event itself.

Thus, the tensions created by moving relics and occupying or creating sacred space could mean an increased role for the laity. They were depicted as a force which could ally with traveling relics to oppose, confront, and undercut local religious institutions, in a sense making or breaking the success of the journey. This inverts their roles in the narratives with which I

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[73] *"S. Adalardus positus e regione non ea frequentabatur, qua dignus erat veneratione. Nemo apud eum orabat, nemo aliquid ab eo petebat..."* Ibid.

began, which used traveling relics to underline friendship between institutions and where the laity were expected to be passively forced or cajoled into supporting the goals of a united ecclesiastical front. The expectation that the laity would have some amount of agency in deciding the fate of the travelers, however, could come at a cost.

The author of the *Circumvectio S. Taurini* described a situation in which laypeople, caught up in the competition between groups of traveling relics, could be vilified just as easily as they could be praised.[74] In this case, the competition took place during two fundraising journeys, one being performed by clergy from Sens and the other by the monks of Gigny, a priory of Cluny, who were accompanying St. Taurinus. The Sens group's most important relic appears to have been a silver arm reliquary (as we later learn, of St. Donatus); the hagiographer's ill will towards this competing group (or perhaps, his hesitance to be more explicitly negative about other saints) is displayed when he does not identify their relics by name. Rather, he says that the group from Sens claimed to be carrying relics of "those saints, who were most favorable to the multitude of rustics and common people", implying that their popularity was partially based on their clever marketing.[75] A certain blind woman had attended these relics for several days without success, before abandoning this company to seek out Taurinus (giving a mobile twist to the standard hagiographical motif of comparison). Before she even reached Taurinus' reliquary (perhaps a hint that there was some spatial ambiguity adding to the conflict) she was healed and specifically thanked Taurinus as her benefactor.

If this had been a situation in which the two teams of relics were not traveling, the story might have ended there. Instead, the clergy of Sens (inspired, as Taurinus' hagiographer thought,

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[74] This story is discussed briefly by Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 216–7.

[75] "*...quae referta esse dicebant reliquiis sanctorum illorum, qui magis favori sunt rusticanae multitudini et plebeiae*." "Circumvectio corporis sancti Taurini," *AASS* Aug. II, 650–55.

by the devil) decided to bribe the woman into claiming that her miracle had been performed by Donatus (the first time their saint is specifically named) and not Taurinus. Her greed, combined with her instability as a woman, made her susceptible to this kind of trickery, but the hagiographer lacerates the clergy as well; they deceived *(decipiunt)* her and corrupted (*corrumpunt*) her with promises, in order to steal glory from Taurinus and compare him unfavorably to Donatus by convincing her to reassign the miracle.[76]

The woman's punishment for the lie was accomplished by divine power; she was made blind again, worse than before, though the author seems to think her bad conscience was just as troublesome to her as this misfortune. After she had publicly exposed the conspiracy, and singled out the clergy from Sens as the source of the 'bad counsel' and seduction that led to her false claim, she returned to Taurinus' presence and was again healed. The clergy's punishment, however, did not similarly come from a divine source: “the people of the village, admiring what was done miraculously by the saint of God, harassing the clerics with many insults, made them leave that place.”[77] Although the situation was expected to play out under divine influence, the people of the area took on the responsibility for hearing the woman's confession and acting on it to favor one rival group of clergy and relics over the other. As susceptible to bribes and other enticements as they were depicted to be, the laity were understood to be the hinge on which the success of a relic (and its companions) turned.

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[76] “*...Taurino gloriam suam furari, et eam suo sancto Donato injustius comparare volentes...*“ Ibid.

[77] *“Populus villae admirans quod mirabiliter factum fuerat a sancto Dei, multi injuriis clericos lacessens, loco eos cedere fecit.”* Ibid.

Conclusion

Beyond their initial translations, the movement of 10th and 11th c. relics was an essential part of their character and construction as sacred objects. Bringing relics together provided a vision of the saints acting as a collective, similar to that envisioned on All Saints' Day or in heaven itself. Relic gatherings, in this sense, replicated a kind of divine unity on earth and alerted the ecclesiastical world to the power of putting the saints on the road. Even small-scale events, such as the meeting of the saints of Amiens and Corbie, tasted of divine peace; not only the ideal of peace in society as a whole, but also collaborative respect and cooperation between the churches and monasteries that added their relics to the collection. This respect, however, operated best at a distance; the intricate ritual framework constructed around relics made them exclusionary by nature. This dependence on a certain understanding of sacred space, riskily combined with relics' new level of mobility, could lead to the aggressively hostile situations described here.

In the end, however, both the power and the danger of moving relics stemmed from the fact that they had a watchful and participatory audience waiting beyond the walls of the church. As Richard Landes remarked on the early eleventh-century crowd listening to arguments for and against St. Martial's apostolicity, "we find [them] behaving in ways historians rarely consider when thinking about the 'silent majority': actively listening, rejecting claims, choosing (changing) sides."[78] Although the crowds present at the Peace councils have attracted much attention as the monolithic 'allies' of bishops and monks against the peace-breakers, their active roles on less harmonious occasions have been overlooked. When the *fama* of a saint was at stake against a competitor, monks, canons and hagiographers did not allow the 'silent majority' to stay

[78] Landes, Richard, "Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God," 215.

silent, transforming them instead into a new type of vocal, or even violent, ally for the saint's cause.

Chapter Three: Property, Landscape, and Relics on the Move

> "And because there was no king or judge, who would be able to offer resistance to the depravity of these impious people by the consideration of true justice, many of the clergy were compelled to carry around the relics of the saints against the bold audacity of their pillaging, so that, those whom human power could not restrain, holy strength on display could curb."
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> -Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Life of St. Waldebert*[1]

According to the classic narrative of the feudal revolution (or mutation or transformation, depending on the author in question), the late tenth and eleventh centuries saw a shift in the nature of public power.[2] These changes did not only affect laypeople; in this picture, the collapse of the Carolingian state and the difficulties of the tenth century stripped monasteries of their comfortable confidence in royal or ducal protection, and placed them and their property at the mercy of the rapacious local nobility. These local lords (and ladies), eager to carve out power for themselves, resorted to brutal and violent tactics to take and assure their dominance over the landholdings of the monasteries, as well as to repress and exploit the workers of that land. In the quote above, Adso of Montier-en-Der straightforwardly expresses the logic of moving the saints' relics under these circumstances. Like the majority of ecclesiastical authors, Adso paints a bleak picture of the monasteries as the hapless victims of acquisitive and ruthless local lords, abandoned by their royal allies and supported only by the saint in their attempts to regain their

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1 "*Cumque rex non esset et iudex, qui verae intuitu iusticiae huic impiorum pravitati vellet ex toto resistere, compulsi sunt quam plurimi clericorum contra temeratam audatiam diripientium suorum pignora circumferre sanctorum, ut, quos potestas humana non compesceret, virtus ostensa divina coherceret."* Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," 88.

2 The literature on the feudal revolution is understandably extensive. An essential outline of many of the key issues remains the spirited back-and-forth debate published in *Past & Present.* T. N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present*, no. 142 (February 1, 1994): 6–42; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present*, no. 152 (August 1, 1996): 196–223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present*, no. 155 (May 1, 1997): 177–208. The most recent significant contribution to this discussion is Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution.'" It is not my intention here to enter this debate; however, the highly constructed nature of monastic narrative will be a recurring theme.

rights. Where secular human power had failed the monks, infallible divine power would rise up to save the day.

Adso's summary of the situation is mirrored almost perfectly in the early historiography regarding the relationships between relic journeys and monastic property. Baudoin de Gaiffier's 1932 article on the monastic use of hagiography as a tool for pursuing property disputes was the first study of movements of relics in the context of monastic ownership and legal defense. His appraisal of the eleventh century situation for monasteries and their property, reflected in the following quote, has for many years stood as the accepted narrative.

> "If we now transport ourselves to the eleventh century... and we look for the guarantees that the Church still has to protect its possessions, we realize that all have disappeared, except the spiritual guarantees; that is, the protection of the saints and their efficacious intervention... it is not surprising that the monks, stripped of all other protection, abused hagiographical literature to support their lesser known rights, to reclaim their confiscated property, to establish the justice of their cause, and to show that the saint, sooner or later, exerted resounding vengeance on those bold enough to pillage their possessions."[3]

For de Gaiffier as for Adso, tactics based on the manipulation of saints' cults, including relic movement, provided a last and best defense in the absence of a dominant secular authority. Carrying the relics of the saints activated divine power, in much the same way that liturgical cursing or the monastic ritual of the clamor (in which the relics of the saints were kept within the church, but placed on the ground) were intended to inform the heavenly authorities of the

[3] "Si maintenant nous nous transportons au XIe siecle...et que nous recherchons quelles sont les garanties dont l'Eglise dispose encore pour proteger ses biens, nous constatons que toutes ont disparu, sauf les garanties spirituelles, c'est a dire la protection des saints et leur efficace intervention... Des lors il n'est pas etonnant que les moines, denues de toute autre protection, aient abuse de la litterature hagiographique pour faire valoir leurs droits meconnus, revendiquer leurs biens confisques, etablir la justice de leur cause, et montrer que le saint, tot ou tard, tire une vengeance eclatante des audacieux qui pillent ses biens." de Gaiffier, "Les revendications de biens," 126.

complaint and provoke them to action.[4] Like ritual cursing and the clamor, however, moving the relics of the saints was a social action. Although the saints and God were the ones being directly called upon, and success interpreted as the result of their actions, these rituals tapped into a complex social reality for their power. The thorns blocking the door of the church during a clamor symbolically represented disaster and danger to the monks, but also prevented physical access by the community. Results depended as much on public display, and the opinions evoked by the ritual, as on spectacular displays of divine power.

Relic-moving from the tenth to twelfth century was never as 'fixed' an event as the clamor; as seen in Chapter One, written liturgical rules about how and when to move relics existed but were not widely reproduced. In fact, it is hard to define movements of relics as a single type of ritual, comparable to the clamor. While they drew heavily on the symbolic language of liturgical procession, relic movements usually followed no written guidelines. This meant that those deciding to send out relics to pursue a conflict had more opportunity for innovation than if they had held a clamor, both in the course of the journey and in its commemoration after the fact. Though their techniques were more flexible, however, their results were more unpredictable as they attempted to control a situation that they themselves had made more volatile by raising the spiritual stakes. Disentangling their reports about their experiments and experiences, then, is not straightforward.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the social and cultural complexities behind these 'defensive' (or aggressive, depending on perspective) relic movements. I propose a new, more fluid interpretation of relic movements taken in the course of property disputes, one that relies as

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[4] For liturgical cursing, Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). For the clamor, Geary, "L'humiliation des saints." Both of these works represent the reevalution of monastic disputes within a framework that includes more than the presence or absence of public (royal) justice. This interpretation goes back to the classic article by Fredric L. Cheyette, "Suum Cuique Tribuere," *French Historical Studies* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1970): 287–99.

heavily on innovation in *post facto* interpretation as on spur-of-the-moment action. In particular, I would like to take a less functionalist approach than de Gaiffier by examining not only the contexts and results of specific relic movements, but also the larger narrative strategies by which monks retooled the act of relic movement to to make it a means of exerting, projecting, reinforcing their control of the landscape, extending the significance of these relic journeys beyond one-time events.

In the first half of the chapter, I examine specific examples of relic journeys (as presented in hagiographic descriptions) to demonstrate the variability in how they could be performed and interpreted. What expectations, limitations, and practicalities came into play in these situations? Legal norms were not as absent as the monks' narratives of victimization would have us believe; as Geary and others have shown, methods of regulating conflict in the post-Carolingian period may have taken a different tone and character, but they were never totally absent.[5] Revisiting relic movements in this light, we see that quite often they operate in tandem with other social processes, and though we are meant to take away an impression of the saint as the inevitable victor, these were often negotiated outcomes. I begin with the well-known case of Conques in the south, whose patron saint Foy has become especially familiar to medieval historians as one of

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[5] Much of the more recent historiography on monastic property (based on both charters and hagiography) has emphasized the variety, rather than the uniformity, of monastic approaches to these issues. An explicitly comparative approach is taken by Barbara H. Rosenwein, Thomas Head, and Sharon Farmer, "Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach," *Speculum* 66, no. 4 (1991): 764–96. The three authors' respective studies of Cluny, Fleury and Marmoutier show that the Cluniac model of compromise, also described by Rosenwein in *To Be The Neighbor of St. Peter,* contrasted with a more aggressive hagiographical approach at Fleury and a blended strategy at Marmoutier. These three cases also suggest a documentary difference, in which charters are read as more propitiary and hagiography as an active assertaion of rights. On this issue of genre, Warren Brown, "Charters as Weapons. On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 3 (2002): 227–48. Brown has also has tracked the transition, using a single cartulary, of expectations about property during the dissolution of Carolingian authority. There, increased conflict came from new expectations that monastic property rights would be clearly defined; no longer would a monastery hold a property 'in trust' for a family, but would defend their absolute rights over it. Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society*, Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2001).

the most colorful miracle-workers of the period. Many of Foy's miracles were produced in the course of being moved around the countryside, providing a rich and vivid depiction of the power of this tactic that has influenced the historiography on relics journeys as an uncontested assertion of lordship. However, even Foy's journeys are not as straightforward as they may seem at first. Even within a single text, we can uncover different methods of performing and commemorating relic journeys. These events represented a new type of foray into the world of central medieval conflict over property and goods, and they are not easily generalized.

In the second part of this chapter, I return to northern France to discuss larger narrative strategies used by monastic authors who described relic movements to properties. One of the recurring themes in studies of medieval property is the frequent lack of permanent, definitive resolutions to conflict; properties that were stolen once were likely to be stolen again. Barbara Rosenwein has tracked this process at Cluny, showing that the process of alienating and renegotiating the return of property to a monastery served to link families economically and spiritually to the monastery and their patron, Saint Peter, and that specific properties often traded hands in this way over the course of generations.[6] Although Rosenwein studied charters as guides to these gifting and re-gifting processes, relic movements and the literary productions based on them carried similar significance. A written description of a relic movement, while it might focus on the spectacular events of the present, was often created according to a distinct vision of its implications for the past and future of the monastery, the saint, and their property. The results of the journey may have been less important, in the end, than the way in which they

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[6] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter : The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). Rosenwein used the anthropologist Marcel Mauss' ideas regarding gift exchange to understand monastic property, not as an economic good to be sold, donated, or fought for, but as a symbol for a large network of social associations and a tool to create and maintain those bonds of "social meaning". This understanding of medieval property does not map directly onto a modern Western concept of unambiguous ownership.

were woven into new narratives about the persona of the saint and the inscription of their authority onto the landscape itself.

I. Revisiting narratives of intimidation

The monastery of Conques, as presented in the *Miracles of St. Foy*, provides one of the most detailed and explicit visions of the roles of relic journeys in regaining property. The first two books of the *Miracles* were composed by Bernard of Angers, after his visits to Conques between 1013 and 1020; these books contain the majority of the material regarding the movement of Foy's reliquary. The third book was written by a monk of Conques between 1012 and 1050, and the fourth by several authors around the mid-eleventh century.[7] At least eight journeys of Foy's image are described or referenced in different contexts, and Bernard makes it clear that moving the relics of Saint Foy to regain property was far from rare. He provides us with one of the clearest statements available regarding the practice, placing it within the standard repertoire of life at Conques:

> "For it is a deeply rooted practice and firmly established custom that, if land given to Sainte Foy is unjustly appropriated by a usurper for any reason, the reliquary of the holy virgin is carried out to that land as a witness in regaining the right to her property. The monks announce that there will be a solemn procession of clergy and laity, who move forward with great formality carrying candles and lamps. A processional cross goes in front of the holy relics, embellished all around with enamels and gold and studded with a variety of gems flashing like stars. The novices serve by carrying a gospel book, holy water, clashing cymbals, and even trumpets made of ivory that were donated by noble pilgrims to adorn the monastery. It is certainly incredible to report what miracles were worked in processions of this kind."[8]

Reflected in this description are many of the elements of spectacle discussed in the previous chapter. The sounds of the trumpets and cymbals, the display of other liturgical objects (the

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7 Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 25.

8 Ibid., 120–1, Chapter 2.4; Auguste Bouillet, ed., "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," in *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, vol. 21 (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1897), 100–4.

cross, the evangeliary, the candles), the participation of both clergy and laity, and the visually impressive appearance of the reliquary, the gold and the jewels, and the unfamiliar prestige objects (the ivory trumpets) would all have identified this as a quasi-liturgical event to its viewers.[9] The case of Conques is also unusual in that Foy's rather ostentatious reliquary is still extant, making it easier to imagine the sensory impact of the procession.[10]

Although Bernard provides a clear impression of what the procession looked like, he is not direct about what the role of the relics actually was in recovering the property. Saint Foy herself is being brought to the contested property as a 'witness', but her involvement in the proceedings is left unspecified. Fortunately, other parts of the *Miracles* offer the chance to view these relic journeys in action, and to better understand how the monks perceived the situation regarding their property, and the different ways in which they used relic journeys (and their written descriptions) to pursue their goals.

The ideal of miraculous victory

A story told by Bernard in Book 1, Chapter 11 illuminates the monks' perspective on what type of impression the movement of relics was meant to produce on their opponents. A farm called Alos had reportedly been alienated from the monastery by a woman named Doda, who then returned it to the monastery on her deathbed. Her grandson Hildegaire, however, believing it to be part of his inheritance seized it again from Conques. The monks decided that the appropriate response was to travel with the reliquary to the property in order to regain it "through divine intervention"; this is entirely in line with Bernard's general statement quoted

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[9] This description is also highlighted by Ashley and Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose." Ashley and Sheingorn discuss many of the processions under examination here, but in order to demonstrate the multiple reactions to the reliquary's movement as opposed to its relationship to the economic strategies of Conques.

[10] On the reliquary, Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 16–17.

above.[11] Fear had already served once to give the monks control over this property in convincing the dying Doda, "troubled and concerned for the cure of her soul", to release the claim she had held during her life.[12] The miracle related in the chapter shows that outright intimidation was the goal of the relics' trip as well. According to Bernard's retelling, one of the grandson's men, along with his wife and five servants, were killed in the collapse of his house because he mocked the ability of the saint to recover the property through this journey. Beyond insulting the monks themselves, this man (unnamed) reportedly boasted that:

> "he would not care a straw if the monks carried her statue, which he thought of as a demon that should be ridiculed and spat upon, to that estate over which both parties were wrangling. No such method would scare him away from defending his lord's rights."[13]

Ashley and Sheingorn took this incident as important evidence that the reliquary could face open mockery and disdain when it traveled, which it certainly is. It also demonstrates how the monks imagined the misguided bravado of their opponents. The movement of the statue is clearly portrayed as a tactic of aggression; fear was the desired response, and an unwillingness to be intimidated amounted, within the monastic narrative, to playing chicken with the saint.

Bernard's introduction and conclusion to this chapter forcefully reiterate the moral by assuring "plunderers and ravagers of Christian property" that horrific punishments await them, if not in this life, then in the next. To ward off the arguments of those who might have claimed this

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[11] Ibid., 71–73.

[12] Doda's charter of donation is preserved in the cartulary of Conques. Gustave Desjardins, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, Documents historiques publiés par la Société de l'École des chartes (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1879), 348. In at least one other miracle account, relics were brought to visit a dying aggressor who had at last agreed to donate the property, suggesting that relic movement could be used at many different stages of the process of acquiring and maintaining monastic rights, not only in defense against an aggressor.

[13] Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 72. *"miles... affirmens etiam se floccipensurum, si monachi suam imaginem, immo larvam ridendam et conspuendam, ad id predium, de quo utraeque partes ambigebant, transportarent. Neque se eo pacto absterrendum, quominus senioris sui jus violentissime strenueque defenderet..."* Bouillet, "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," 40–41.

incident was an accident, Bernard adds the detail that the seven bodies were thrown away from the house, making this a divine judgment rather than a simple accident. Extreme examples of punishment like this one, according to him, are only small tastes of God's potential wrath which he performs only on occasion to remind greedy landholders of his vindictiveness. Although a relic journey is not actually described in this chapter, the threat of one was supposed to be enough to trigger these associations for Bernard and his readers.

A later miracle, told in the third book by the anonymous hagiographer, shows the kind of result the monks hoped for when relics were actually moved, following through on the threats made in relating the house-collapse miracle. Foy's reliquary was carried to a manor being held by a man called Reinfroi; the author tells us that Reinfroi believed he owned the property because of his longstanding use of it.[14] The reliquary was first brought to the property before being carried back to a nearby church at Belmont where they were staying.[15] Reinfroi himself was unaware of this journey while it was happening, and he only heard about it and reacted once the monks had returned to Belmont. His response was to take fifty horsemen to attack the monks, but as soon as he passed into the disputed property he and his men were struck blind.[16] They are healed once he travels barefoot to the relics at Belmont for forgiveness and promises to

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[14] Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 162–4. Bouillet, "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," 152–3.Although these cases are invariably presented as defense of monastic property against usurpers, these details hint at the kind of processes described by Warren Brown in *Unjust Seizure*, where older concepts of ownership (based on longstanding use or familial inheritance) were being actively challenged by enterprising monasteries using narratives of illegal alienation of donations.

[15] The wording of the chapter suggests that the dispute with Reinfroi was not the only one which the monks were pursuing in the area. The chapter begins by noting that the reliquary was being brought to property in Quercy near Belmont. The property disputed by Reinfroi is then described as "another of Sainte Foy's manors". This multiplicity of targets signals a similarity to the journey of Amand's relics through Brabant in 1108, where multiple property disputes were pursued during a single trip.

[16] Boundary-crossing as the trigger for miraculous action also appears in the Miracles of St. Hubert and ther *Miracles* of St. Feuillan, both discussed later in the chapter. Another comparison is found in the *Miracles* of St Autbert, where a knight who has supposedly taken property from the monastery is struck blind on entering the church. Poncelet, "De miraculis S. Autberti Cameracensis episcopi," 270.

relinquish the property on his death (he was later pressured by Foy through a series of visions into signing it over while he is still alive). Here, the relics' movement was not presented as part of a legal proceeding being held at the disputed property.[17] The monks go to the property with the relics and return, apparently having been observed but without encountering Reinfroi himself. Given his angry and armed response, this was probably a wise decision on their part, but it reveals an important attitude about what the movement of relics could accomplish. By bringing Foy to the disputed property, the monks sacralized it through the physical presence of her relics, in addition to claiming it for the use of the monastery. Because medieval possession was based on use of and presence on the property (this is why Reinfroi believed that the estate was his) the visitation of property was an economic act as well as a spiritual one. Crossing the boundary into this newly created sacred space with his armed following was the trigger for Reinfroi's punishment, despite the fact that the relics were no longer physically present there.

Reinfroi's case might be considered an example of an idealized story of the defense of property using relics. It is what the monks hoped for and envisioned, since it enacts Bernard's warnings and threats surrounding the incident of the collapsed roof. Reinfroi is unable to resist or oppose the power of the saint once her reliquary and its bearers have set foot on the ground they consider hers (and theirs). The portrayal of Foy's relics in this story is very one-dimensional; as the direct possessor of the property in question, the saint herself is coming to take it back with celestial power at her disposal. Once she has physically claimed the space,

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[17] This was the case in the discussion of the dispute over Pallas, discussed later in this chapter. The appropriate venue for deciding cases of disputed ownership seems to have been considered the property itself, though these meetings often included "formal" legal elements such as a council, judge, or arbitrator. This has interesting implications for the study of the spaces and places of medieval legal culture. On the question of the material components of medieval judicial practice, Kevin P. Smith and Andrew Reynolds, "Introduction: The Archaeology of Legal Culture," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 5 (December 1, 2013): 687–98; Andrew Reynolds, "Judicial Culture and Social Complexity: A General Model from Anglo-Saxon England," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 5 (December 1, 2013): 699–713.

even after she has left there is nothing Reinfroi can do besides capitulate. However, few stories of property dispute and relic movement are this tidy and clear-cut. Although the aggressive, take-no-prisoners approach to opponents tended to make for a more confrontational situation (and to rely on spectacular miracles for a resolution), the multivalent nature of relics and their movement made most situations more complex and context- dependent.

Secondary destinations and targets: leaving room for compromise?

In Bernard's general description of relic-moving during property disputes quoted at the beginning of this section, the destination of the journey is clearly identified as the contested land itself, and Reinfroi's experience bears that out. Yet in at least one example from Book 3, the movement of relics is combined with a form of the clamor, and the destination is not the area of the trouble. When harassed repeatedly by a man named Siger, the monks carried the image of Foy, not to any particular property (possibly because there was no specific piece of land under contention) but to the public square. There they displayed the relics, along with a banner and cross, and "aroused all the people assembled there so that the holy virgin would be moved to stir up God's wrath against the tyrant and preserve her own territories from the violence of this cyclops".[18] The movement of Foy's relics, in this case, was not intended to sacralize a space against an aggressor but to broadcast the monastery's grievances against Siger, as much to the community as to the divine powers. While this was also the goal of a clamor, a clamor was performed exclusively in the interior of the church. The ability to move relics outside the monastery allowed the possibility of taking the clamor 'to the square', and making more explicit the goal of inciting public (as well as divine) opinion against their opponent.

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[18] Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 166.

Although the ideal narrative of the relic journey to retake property ended with uncontested miraculous triumph, within the *Miracles* of St. Foy we also see attempts to rework what at first seems like an unrelenting rhetoric. Going back to the story of the collapsing house, we might be led to question whether the story matches the moral. Divine wrath, in this case, was directed not toward the primary legal opponent, Doda's grandson Hildegaire, but a secondary "stand-in" target who conveniently set himself up for destruction by claiming that he would not care if the relics were moved. In fact, we are not told the result of this property dispute at all; one suspects that if the monks had succeeded into pressuring Hildegaire into giving up the property as a result of the incident, this would have been reported as the triumphant conclusion. Yet, all the energy of the story is directed towards vilifying the unfortunate secondary target and issuing threats. Given Barbara Rosenwein's analysis of the relationships between monastery and family brokered at Cluny, this suggests that the monks might have been unwilling to directly take to task the grandson of their donor. Perhaps it was safer, when dealing with local lords and potential future donors, to direct the most negative rhetoric toward less prestigious targets.[19]

A similar process seems to be at work in the chapter immediately following the story of the house collapse (Book 1, Chapter 12). Although the family claiming the property against Conques is vilified, in the end they are not themselves affected by divine vengeance. In this incident, a woman named Grassenda (or Garsinde) claimed a property called Pallas, along with its saltworks, as an inheritance from a former marriage. According to Grassenda, the man who had donated Pallas to Conques (Count Raymond II) had illegally taken it from her late husband,

[19] This might be true also of women. In St. Foy's miracles, women especially seem prone to being constructed as the enemy of the monks.

Raymond of Carcassone.[20] The property, then, rightfully belonged to her son by this marriage (William). She and her new husband, Bernard the Hairy (or Bernard d'Anduze), first met at Conques with the monks but did not reach an agreement. A second round of negotiations was then held at Pallas itself in 1013. The arrangements seem to have been relatively formal; a place was arranged with seating, where the two parties then argued their case before a judge or mediator, named Bernard.[21] This Bernard had reached a preliminary decision in favor of the monks, but vigorous protests from the other side made him concentrate instead on calming everyone down.

The author of the story (Bernard of Angers) seems resentful that this meeting happened at all; he remarks that the back-and-forth arguing on the occasion is only what "one would expect when the arbitrary judgments of humankind are considered to be equivalent to laws".[22] According to him, the dispute seemed near a solution (Grassenda was about to agree to a cash payment in return for relinquishing her claim to Pallas) when a fiery young man named Pons, displeased with this arrangement, jumped between the two parties and offered to settle the matter with trial by combat rather than see his lord (William, Grassenda's son) lose the rights to his inheritance. This call to arms led his companions to run for their swords, and the monks, afraid

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[20] Count Raymond II's charter survives in the Conques cartulary (no. 17). Desjardins, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, 22. The collection of documents regarding Pallas in the cartulary is peculiar and will be explored further. Not only did the monks have Count Raymond II's charter, but also charters regarding a dispute between Grassenda and her sister Senegund and the grant of Pallas *in precaria* between Grassenda's grandson Peter Bermund and the abbot of Conques. The Grassenda/Senegund document is particularly interesting, because it stands as evidence for the type of lay documentary practice discussed in Warren Brown et al., eds., *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[21] Sheingorn believes that this judge could not have been Bernard the Hairy, because of his personal interest in the case; I think that it most likely is, because of the reference to 'the stepson' (*privigni*) in the following sentences which would only make sense with reference to Bernard. It is not entirely unreasonable, if Bernard also had an interest in keeping up a good relationship with Conques, that he would serve as a mediator between his wife and step-son and the monks. Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 291 n. 58.

[22] Ibid., 74.

for their lives, to make an undignified retreat to Conques. Pons, however, rode to intercept them on the road to avenge the injustice to his lord's family. On the way, he was apparently struck by lightning and instantly killed; Bernard of Angers spends a long time happily gloating over his death, in both prose and in verse. Pons' death convinces Grassenda, out of fear, to give up her claim to Pallas. Again, however, the wrath of the saint has been unleashed on a secondary target and not the powerful family in question.

Focusing on relic movement reveals an interesting evolution of the story of Pallas within the *Miracles.* In the story of Pon's sudden death in 1013, there is no mention of Foy's reliquary moving to Pallas as part of this dispute. However, there is evidence in other books of the *Miracles* that a relic journey to Pallas did occur on this occasion. In Book 2 Chapter 4 (written ca. 1020) after relating a long series of miracles done on a journey into the Auvergne to take possession of a place called Molompize (this is also the chapter where the general description of the practice of moving relics at Conques appears), Bernard of Angers adds that many miracles also happened when Foy's relics were moved to claim Pallas, and explicitly states that he means the incident with Pons:

> "A procession made into Gothia at another time was equally celebrated for the glory of its miracles. That was the time when Sainte Foy took possession of the land and saltworks that Count Raymond had given her. In the previous book I told about the young man who objected to this gift and was struck by lightning from heaven. The grace of the heavenly Maker never ceases to do similar things always on behalf of His own saint, both in these processions and in other processions made into other regions".[23]

One of these miracles is later described in Book 3, Chapter 20, written between 1020 and 1050. Intriguingly, though, by this point there is no reference to the reason the relics were being taken to Pallas. The hagiographer (now no longer Bernard) simply says that this miracle happened

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[23] Ibid., 124; Bouillet, "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," 104. "*Nec fuit processio retro acto tempore in Gothiam facta, miraculorum gloria minus celebris, quando potita est sancta Fides terra illa sive salinis, quas ei Raimundus comes donaverat. Cui dono contradicentem juvenum, in priore libro, fulmine caelesti adactum diximus."* The translation here is Sheingorn's.

when "the elders of the monastery had agreed that the venerable golden effigy of the virgin should be carried in procession to this church [at Pallas]."[24] The reader is assured that so many miracles were worked during this procession, it is impossible to tell all of them, but one example (the resurrection from death of a small boy) is described.

Thus, in the course of three books of the *Miracles,* the emphasis in the story of the Pallas journey has shifted radically. In the description of the original dispute, no mention was made of the relics' journey. Then we learn that the relics were moved during the property dispute, and that this was the occasion for miracles that are not described in detail, but which are equated with those of a similar journey. By the time the journey to Pallas was mentioned for the third time, the reason for the journey was no longer at issue; the only item of interest was the miracles performed on the road. The history of the relic journey has evolved, as the authors begin to prefer a 'softened' version of this story that gradually forgets Pons' dramatic death and remembers other miracles unrelated to the property dispute but which highlight the relics' movement as the central feature of the story. In the general description of relic movement at Conques, and in much of the historiography on relic journeys, there is a clear distinction between the cause of the journey (the defense of property) and its secondary effects (the performance of miracles along the way). The story of Pallas, however, undermines this literary detachment between the relic journey as a chance to regain property, and the relic journey as a chance to perform miracles, by showing how memories of these events could shift over time.

Furthermore, following the story of Pallas from the parallel evidence of the cartulary suggests that these evolving hagiographic memories of property transfer and relic movement occurred alongside the fraught continuation of the dispute. The cartulary contains a series of

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[24] Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 169, 229 nt. 49; Bouillet, "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," 160–2.

charters regarding Pallas that suggest very different claims and counterclaims than are reported in the *Miracles.* First, Charter 18 records Grassenda's defense of her right to Pallas against her sister, Senegund, as an inheritance from her father Count William of Béziers.[25] This is peculiar considering that the *Miracles* claimed that Grassenda defending her son William's right to the property through her first husband, Raymond of Carcassone, rather than through her own family. In addition, it seems that the property was subsequently claimed by her son by *Bernard*, named Bermund, rather than by William, her son by Raymond. We know this by the final pair of charters, which record the donation of Pallas (or rather the quitclaim) by Peter Bermund, son of Bermund and grandson of Grassenda and Bernard and its re-donation to Peter Bermund by Stephen, abbot of Conques. In Charter 20, we have an unusual and extensive description of the afterlife of the Pallas dispute through the mid and late eleventh century:

> "In the year 1078 A.D., Stephan the abbot of Conques came into the region of Gothia, and made complaint to count Raymond and the viscountess Hermengard concerning bad practices and customs which Bermund was holding or requiring in the case of the *honore* of St. Salvator and St. Foy which is called Pallas. On account of this the abbot and Bermund had many courts [*placitos*], but they were not able to come to any agreement. Finally they met in a court [*juditio*] of bishop Matfred and Frotard the abbot of S. Poncius and Guitard Lupus and of other noble men; and Bermund did not want to do what they judged.
>
> On account of this the count, realizing the injustice that Bermund was doing, took away from him everything that he possessed in the above mentioned *honore*, destroyed his manses and gave the rule of the entire *honore* to the abbot. Therefore I Peter, the son of that Bermund, recognizing in justice what my father did, and fearing to lose the *honorem* completely, with the advice of the count and the viscountess and my friends, abandoned

[25] Desjardins, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, 22–23. This charter is dated 1013 and Grassenda was already married to Bernard. For the genealogy of this family,

> what my father had possessed unjustly and ordered that this charter be written in this way:..." [26]

Although the *Miracles* claimed that Grassenda was so frightened by what happened to Pons that she gave up the property, there is no charter for this donation, and her son and grandson apparently continued to contest aspects of the rights to Pallas until forced to capitulate in 1078.[27] Even though Peter Bermund concedes his father's guilt in the charter, the movement of Foy's relics to Pallas during the dispute with Grassenda was certainly not the end of the story. Rather, reworking the significance of the relic journey to Pallas within the *Miracles* seems to have have been part of an ongoing process of memory, conflict, and the evolving relationships between the monastery and the family.

The narrative choices made in describing these journeys of relics, through the choice of secondary targets for divine violence and the decision to remember the miracles rather than the conflict, suggest that the monks of Conques were engaged in a more complex procedure than simply intimidating their opponents using their powerful relics. Though the *Miracles* at times

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[26] "*Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo septuagesimo octavo, Stephanus abba Conchacensium venit in partibus Gothiae, et fecti querimoniam Raimundi Ruthenensium comiti et Biterrensium vice comitisse Hermengardi de malis usis et consuetudinibus quas Bermundus Agathensis habebat vel requirebat in honore sancti Salvatoris et sanctae Fidis qui vocatur Palacium Propter hanc causam praedictus abbas et Bermundus multos placitos habuerunt, sed nullam concordiam facere potuerunt. Ad ultimum in juditio Matfredi Biterrensis episcopi et Frotardi abbatis Sancti Poncii et Guitardi Lupi aliorumque nobilium virorum venerunt; et Bermundus facere noluit quod judicaverunt. Quamobrem supradictus comes, cognita injusticia quam Bermundus faciebat, cuncta ei abstulit quae in supra scripto honore possidebat, mansiones illius destruxit et de omni honore abbati potestatem dedit. Ego vero Petrus, illius Bermundi filius, in justiciam quam pater meus faciebat recognoscens honoremque ex toto perdere metuens, cum consilio comitis et vicecomitissimae meorumque amicorum, quod pater meus injuste possederat dereliqui et hanc cartem taliter scribere jussi:..."* Desjardins, pp. 25-26. The charter continues with a guarantee that Peter will give up his right to sell or give Pallas to anyone besides the monks of Conques, and an assertion that his son will be held by the same terms. Rosenwein described these grants *in precaria* as a tactic designed to create and reinforce bonds between a donating party and the monastery, since the property was gifted to the monastery and at the same time, the right of the donating party to the property was recognized and reinforced. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter : The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049*, 115–22.

[27] The Raymond who helped Conques against Bermund and Peter Bermund was Raymond of Toulouse (1041/2-1105, also Raymond of Saint-Gilles). This incident forms part of the takeover of the Rouergue by the counts of Toulouse in 1079. Jean Dunbabin read this development as part of the localization of power in the south and the dissolution of local comital power.

presented Foy as sweeping all before her, moving her image could not be relied on to override legal procedures, to cow the opposition into capitulating, or even to stave off potential violence. Writing stories about the bad ends of those who mocked the image's travels or claimed property against the monastery's interests was perhaps a way to issue threats, but not necessarily resolve situations.

II. Interweaving the legal and spiritual through relic movement

Given these traces of ambiguity and negotiation even within a text frequently noted for its aggressive claims about the saint's vengeful power, can we detect similarly variable roles for mobile relics in northern France? In Bernard of Anger's general description of Saint Foy's relic journeys, quoted at the beginning of the previous section, he noted that the saint was brought out as a 'witness' to recover the rights to the property (*in recipiendi juris testimonium)*.[28] As the previous section has suggested, there was quite a bit of flexibility for the saint in fulfilling this role of recovery; the journey of the relics might come to be remembered only in the context of miracles performed en route (as at Pallas), or as directly responsible for making the property inaccessible to the aggressor (as at Belmont). Is the use of the word 'witness', then, only a juridical styling to dress up the hope that relics would simply intimidate the other party into capitulating? In the north, there seems to have been even more variation in when and how relic movement might interface with the acquisition and maintenance of monastic property, as well as more explicit uses of relic transportation as a legal action.

[28] Bouillet, "Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis," 100.

The saint as a portable witness

A description of a relic journey taken from the *Miracles* of St. Hubert provides direct view of the idea of the saint acting as a 'witness' to a property transfer, and the movement of relics as a precise legal action that could be used as evidence of possession. Although divine punishment served as the hagiographical resolution of the dispute, this account reveals that relics could also be moved to the property as part of the initial donation process. This made the saint a witness to their rights in a very literal sense, by transforming their body into a type of physical evidence for the donation.

In 955, the hagiographer's story begins, the count Stephen gave a gift of property at *Calvenciaco* (today, the commune of Chauvency-Saint-Hubert) to the monastery of St-Hubert-en-Ardennes (*Andaginensi*).[29] Bruno the archbishop of Cologne and Balderic a priest at Liege were involved in the transaction, and they requested from abbot Albert and the brothers of the monastery that the body of Hubert be taken to this *fiscum*, because of the 'great love' they had for this saint.[30] Hubert's body, then, was present at the public affirmation of this gift, along with the counts Raginerus and Gislebertus, and other princes. The names of these nobles would have been formally included on a charter recording the donation, if one had ever been created. However, no charter is extant, and whether or not Hubert's body was actually moved to

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[29] *"Anno incarnationis dominicæ nongentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, imperii autem Ottonis primi vicesimo, comes Stephanus dedit Andaginensi ecclesiæ legali dono quicquid sui juris erat in Calvenciaco et hoc præsente Brunone archiepiscopo Coloniensium et Baldrico pontifice Leodiensium. Cujus cum esset erga beatum Hubertum affectus magnæ dilectionis, ut corpus ejus ad prædictum fiscum deferretur, ab abbate Alberto et fratribus obtinuit; ibidemque illi vestituram ejusdem allodii coram Raginero et Gisleberto comitibus multisque regni principibus publice firmavit."* "Miracula S. Hucbert (Liber secundus)," *AASS* Nov. I, chap. 20.

[30] The most direct route from Chauvency to Saint Hubert is around 66 km, a roughly 13 hour walk.

Chauvency in 955 must remain an open question; no other source mentions the relic journey.[31] The precise inclusion of names suggests that this story itself was meant to fulfill a quasi-legal function, by referring to the witnesses of the donation. The point of this preamble is not only to report the basis on which the monastery claimed possession of Chauvency, but to show that the dead saint joined company with the living witnesses by viewing the donation 'in the flesh'.

The importance of this historical background is demonstrated in the second half of the story. "A long time afterward" (before 1026/27, around 60 years after the 955 donation), Frederic, a brother of Duke Thierry, violently invaded this same allod and attempted to take it away from the church.[32] Because Frederic was unwilling to listen to reason in the matter (that is, unwilling to relinquish his claim to the property), the body of Hubert was carried out a second time to Chauvency. To emphasize the repetitiveness of this movement, the hagiographer uses the verb 'to carry back' (*'referre')*. Frederic, upon learning of the presence of the saint, became furious and entered the villa in question to place his power in opposition to the claim represented by the presence of the saint. Leaving the villa, however, his horse's neck was broken, and he fell and died on the spot. The hagiographer attributes this outcome to the justice of God, and puts this sentiment into the mouth of the surviving Duke Thierry, who reportedly "condemned the reckless pride of the unjust invader, who did not respect the presence of so great a priest and his

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[31] Other sources do exist for the donation itself. Although the *Miracula* simply states that Stephen made this gift, the *Chronicle* of St. Hubert explains that Stephen had apparently transgressed on the monastery's rights by "violently and unjustly" building a castle (Mirvot) on their possessions, and the gift of Chauvency was intended to put things right. Bethmann, L.C. and Wattenbach, W., eds., "Chronicon Sancti Huberti Andaginensis," *MGH SS* XIII, 571.Two excerpts, transcribed during the 17th c. and currently in the Archives de l'État à Arlon, add that Stephen only made this concession after having been struck with paralysis, and that he died as a *conversus* in the monastery. Godefroid Kurth, ed., *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Hubert en Ardenne* (Brussels: Kiessling, P. Imbrechts, 1903), 9–10.

[32] The editor of the charters of St. Hubert suggests that Frederic is Frédéric de Bar; however, there seems to be no brother of Duke Thierry I (978-1026/27) named Frederic. However, his son and grandson were named Frederic, so perhaps the "*frater*" is a mistake on the part of the hagiographer.

lord".[33] This triumphant finale is not unusual; most of Hubert's subsequent miracles involve the untimely death or forced repentance of local lords who made an attempt on the monastery's property. What is unusual is the hagiographer's use of the transportation of Hubert's body as the link between the establishment of the monastery's rights, and their defense of them.

The relics' physical presence (*praesentia*) at the disputed village served as both the cause of Frederic's attack and the perceived reason for his divine punishment, as the Duke's narration explains to the reader at the end. However, the final condemnation of Frederic was intended to have a double sense; while the installation of Hubert's relics at Chauvency in the eleventh century may have been the provocation for his actions, Frederic's lack of respect for Hubert's 'presence' also seems to have referred to his transportation in the original tenth century donation proceedings. The span of time between the two events meant that the saint's body provided a type of legal continuity; the relics became a form of contract, witnessing the tenth century donation and standing as the 'proof' of it a century later.

In the absence of the other tenth-century witnesses (and possibly, though unlikely, no written charter), Hubert's body was the only physical bridge to survive between the past and the present. On the one hand, the relics' transportation sacralized the space of the village, which became the mechanism for Frederick's punishment (it is no accident that his death occurred *in exitu*, that is, while crossing the boundary of the disputed space; we saw boundary-crossing as the trigger for Reinfroi's punishment at Conques). This miracle established Hubert in a classical

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[33] "*Longo post tempore, quidam Fredericus, frater ducis Theodorici, idem allodium violenter invadens, ecclesiæ subtrahere tentavit. Cumque nulla justa ratione ab ipsa invasione vellet reprimi, beati Huberti corpus illo referre necessitas ipsa coegit. His Fredericus auditis, et indignatus se insequi præsentia pontificis, urgente se ultione divina, eamdem villam irrupit, solito temerarior, ut quasi ad injuriam sancti videretur in ea potentior. Qui dum equo sedens, spatiaretur per plateas flexibus incompositis, in ipso exitu villæ idem equus fracto collo sub eo concidit; ipse quoque toto collisus corpore, ibidem expiravit. Hujusmodi fratris interitus cum duci Theoderico referretur a quibusdam, ille divinæ vindictæ laudabilem probavit justitiam, et iniqui pervasoris temerariam improbavit superbiam, qui tanti pontificis et ejusdem domini non reveritus est præsentiam.*" "Miracula S. Hucbert (Liber secundus)," 827.

saintly role as the defender of the property. On the other hand, however, because the relics had already been present at the property during the original donation, the second journey was only a renewal of the original claim to possess the space, legally and spiritually.

Preventative journeys of possession

Other miracle accounts show that movement of the saint's body could serve as a preventative procedure, which might be reported even without the shadow of a later dispute as in the Hubert example. The *Miracles* of St. Corneille of Nineve reveals that the relics of St. Corneille were taken on an annual tour (a "*circumambulatio*") of the monastery's possessions on his feast day. This served to refresh the idea of the sacred and legal space of monastic holdings on a regular basis, but apparently could also provide a flash point for challenge and conflict.[34] In this, it resembles the English custom of "beating the bounds" of the parish, as well as the circular routes of the processions for plague that encircled a protected area.

Another more complicated example of relic movements performed during the donation process appears in the *Miracles* and cartulary of St. Theoderic at the monastery of Mont d'Or. The *Miracles* and cartulary give two versions of this donation, but both include the movement of Theoderic's relics to the property (Harlebeke) as a key element of the account. In the *Miracles,* the hagiographer says that Robert, count of Flanders, passed through Mont d'Or while escorting his sister Adele to her new marriage to the Duke of Sicily; she was formerly married to the king of the Danes and so is referred to as 'queen' in the text. The abbot, Rodulph, welcomed them with a formal procession to the monastery, decorated especially for the occasion. The count then donated Harlebeke to the monastery, and advised Rodolph to bring Theoderic's relics to the

[34] "*Contigit autem in brevie, in die scilicet anniversario, quo possessiones ecclesie cum parrochianis nostris in nos etiam furentibus perambulaverant, ut venirent tres fratres, comini scilicet de Sotengem, cum suis sequacibus ad pugnandum contra Ninivenses...*" Rockwell, William, ed., *Liber Miraculorum S. Cornelli Ninivensis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 77.

property in order to place it under the monastery's possession.[35] The abbot did so as soon as the royal company departed, first procuring a sealed letter from the archbishop vouching for the respect due to the saint wherever he traveled.[36] The abbot reached Harlebeke (now, strangely, described as donated by both the count and queen) with no trouble, and the healing of a priest named Egard en route finishes the story.

The cartulary, however, presents a slightly different picture: two charters regarding Harlebeke are extant, the first dated to 1090 and which has Adele, not Robert, initially donate the property. This donation happened at Harlebeke itself, and the presence of Theoderic's relics is specifically mentioned. Adele says that she went out with a procession to welcome the relics to the church.[37] The second charter was done by Robert at Mont d'Or in 1096; there he said that while he was on his way to Jerusalem, Abbot Rodulph received him honorably with a procession at the monastery (which aligns with the hagiographical account). He then re-donated Harlebeke, originally the gift of his sister Adele but which he had wrongly alienated from the monastery (says the charter) on the advice of his followers. Adding a piece of meadow to the original gift, he directed his wife Clemence to see that no one did violence to the monks or their servants. A relic journey to take possession of this land is not mentioned.

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[35] "*Comes juris sui fundum,quod Harlebeccæ villæ proximum est, viro dei suppliciter attribuit. Quo facto, ut quantocius ad eumdem sibi sortiendum & jure perenni possidendum, sanctus in loculo suo veheretur, benigne prudenterque consuluit.*" "Miracula S. Theodorici," *AASS* Jul. I, 78.

[36] The mention of this letter is a surprising and interesting counterpoint to the letters of safe passage documented by Héliot and Chastang. Although other accounts of relic journeys mention getting permission from the bishop, this letter specifically vouches for the authenticity of the relics; but this is decidedly not a *quete itinerante* since the purpose of the journey is to establish the claim to Harlebeke. This suggests both that the abbot may have expected to encounter suspicion of his relics (a theme discussed in Chapter Four) and that obtaining permission for relic movement was important beyond the narrow categorization of *quetes itinerantes*.

[37] "*Abbas Rodulfus....electis sibi fratribus quibusdam corpus sanctam...Servavit integrum. huc in nostram presentiam advexit. Cuius adventum cognoscentes obviam ei processimus cum clericis et proceribus nostris cum laudibus et ymnis in ecclesiam nostram introducentes eum cum digno suscepimus honore*" Reims BM 1602, fol. 214v.

Regardless of the explanation for the discrepancies between the accounts in the *Miracles* and the cartulary, the importance of the movement of Theoderic's relics to Harlebeke is preserved across both types of documentation.[38] In the *Miracles,* the journey established Mont d'Or's possession of Harlebeke after Robert's donation; in the cartulary, Theoderic's relics came to Harlebeke to 'witness' Adele's donation, much as Hubert's relics had acted as a witness. Symbolic fear of the saint's power and divine retribution must be balanced with the legal and jurisdictional undertones of moving relics. The saint's body was a locus of power through which the divine could act; charters did not sacralize the space around them, though they might attract violence in the same way a reliquary could. Preventative movements of relics, however, could also emphasize their status as an object that served as a token of the monastery's possession.

Supportive roles for mobile relics

Similarly, relics could also assume relatively neutral, judiciary roles, even when being moved to a disputed area. In the *Miracles* of St. Folliani, a movement of the saint's relics is used to resolve a boundary dispute, but the movement itself is not portrayed as aggressive or intimidating as at Conques. The *Miracles* were written by Hillinus, a canon and cantor of

[38] Nicholas Huyghebaert has studied this case in depth, and here I have followed his careful tracing of the two sources of evidence. He has suggested the following interpretation to bring the two in line with one another: Robert and Adele did stop at Mont d'Or during her marriage-journey, at which point Robert did advise a trip of the relics to the property. Adele then met Rodulph at Harlebeke (how she got there first is unclear) to create the 1090 charter. After her departure and marriage, around 1091 (not to the Duke of Sicily, as the hagiographer would have it, but to Robert Guiscard of Apulia), Robert violated her gift. Repenting of this on his way to take the cross in 1096, he created the second charter. The hagiographer has then conflated the two events, writing Adele out of the story to make Robert the primary donor (and to gloss over his transgression of the earlier gift) in 1091, when the relics traveled to the property (Adele's reception of them at Harlebeke was also written out). Nicholas Huyghebaert, "Les *Miracula Sancti Theoderici* et leurs auteurs," in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VIe au XXe siècle: Actes du colloque international d'histoire monastique*, ed. Michel Bur (Saint-Thierry: Association des Amis de l'Abbaye de Saint-Thierry, 1979).

Fosses, shortly after 1102 and no later than Oct. 5th, 1112.[39] Chapter 15 introduces a conflict over the boundaries dividing the territory of Fosses from those of the villagers in the estate of *Mihertinis* (modern Mertenne, near Walcourt, Belgium).[40] The conflict had been continuing for a while; on the day of a prearranged legal assembly, certain relics of Feuillan (his staff and satchel) were brought and placed in the middle between the two parties. This is treated as a relatively passive event in the narrative; the assembly continues with a decision, made between the judges and both parties,that the advocate should ride around the boundaries of the territory he considered his, and then confirm this path by an oath taken before witnesses. Hopping onto his horse, he over-confidently crossed the just boundary.[41] The earth then began to open up beneath the gathering, and panicking, everyone present urged him to admit that he was in the wrong. Confused, he admitted his guilt, and promised not to infringe on ecclesiastical rights in the

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[39] This attribution and dating according to O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Miracula S. Foillani," *MGH SS* XV.2, 924. The current manuscript of the text is Mons, BM 196, discussed by Holder-Egger in note 2. The Bollandists used a 17th c. copy of this manuscript, Brussels 8928, for the AASS edition, "Miracula S. Foillani," *AASS* Oct. XIII, 417–26.

[40] The previous chapter also deals with a dispute at Mertenne, over an oak-grove, though no relics are moved on this occasion. A nobleman (unnamed) argued that his rights to the neighboring village of *Bossuth* (Bossus) extended to the oak-grove; the core of the conflict was whether or not a small stream is the correct boundary. An inconclusive legal gathering is adjourned to the following day, only to find that the grove had miraculously switched sides of the river overnight. Hilduin's general hagiographical program of property defense by St. Foillani is briefly discussed in de Gaiffier, "Les revendications de biens," 132–133.

[41] Again, we see boundary-crossing as a key moment of power.

future. The hagiographer presents this solution as a victory for both sides; the advocate was saved from the sin of perjury, and the monastery held onto its rights.[42]

At least in theory, then, the presence of Feuillan's relics was not meant to provide an alternative to a legal solution, by forcing the other party to back down out of fear, but to infuse the legal proceedings with a sensitivity to the spiritual. The relics could not, in these situations, override a formal process or an opponent's claim by their very presence; however, they could guarantee that some occurrences or outcomes would be connected with the saint's activity or displeasure. One of the oldest uses for relics was during oaths; ordeal-takers, especially, were required to swear to the justice of their cause while touching holy relics.[43] The implication was that perjury would then be personally punished by the saint or god himself. Feuillan is not presented as directly defending his rights in this situation, but guaranteeing that the proceedings will be free of perjury, which just happens to lead to the monastery taking control of the property.

The complexity of the question of relying on the saint's action, and what form that action might take, is also illustrated by a story from the miracles of the relics of St. Urban, a 4th c. bishop of Langres, whose relics were kept at the monastery of Saint-Benigne-de-Dijon. Two knights had taken away the wine harvest from the areas surrounding Marcennay (*Marcenniacus)* and *Canabis* for their own use, which the monastery claimed as their own. The bones of Urban

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42 *"Item in eodem fundo, scilicet MIhertinis, dum de proximis vicorum terminis ageretur, et inde maxima lis inter villicos oriretur, die denominata per advocatos, quaedam pignora martyris, pera videlicet et baculus, ibi deferuntur, et in medio partium utrarumque ponuntur. Ibi quidem in publicum oratione partium promulgata, judicibus ex utraque parte sedentibus, communi censura decretum est, ut advocatus loca quae fore sui juris aestimabat, perambularet: et mox ea sui juris esse jurejurando per idoneos testes legitime confirmaret. Ille itaque caballum ascendens, justi limitis metas praeteriit, sed divinae potestatis justitia protervam ejus confidentiam sic correxit. Nam solida terra coepit sub eo repente dehiscere, et tanquam profunda palus infra se cornipedis vires per singulos passus exhaurire, donec currentibus multis et clamantibus, ne se perditum iret, immo potius ab incepto desisteret, et iram vindictae Dei non incurreret, confusu acquievit, reumque se confitens, coram omnibus pollicitus est, in res ecclesiae non se ulterius delinquere, vel aliqued temere praesumere. Hoc autem miraculo et vir prohibetur a perjurio, et a peccati liberatur laqueo, et ecclesia laetatur suo jure retento."* Holder-Egger, "Miracula S. Foillani," 926.

43 For oath-taking with relics, most recently: Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 311–318.

were carried out to the scene as soon as the news reached the brothers, but the knights were already in the process of putting the wine in the cart to take it away. The inhabitants of the area and the prior of the monastery, carrying the relics with them, then attempted themselves to steal back the wine "encouraged by the help of God". This enraged the knights, who unyoked the oxen, cut the cords holding the wine, and carried off the drivers. Nevertheless, "to show the merits of S. Urban", the wine remained unspilled; it rested in its containers like a solid, and so was brought back to Marcennay without effort.[44] In this account, Urban was not identified as directly responsible for the punishment of the perpetrators or the retaking of the wine; he plays an essentially supportive role as the villagers and the prior do the re-stealing of the wine. Although he prevents disaster at the finale, he is in the position of helping those who are at least partially taking matters into their own hands.

What these kinds of stories show is that there were a range of possible meanings and outcomes inherent in every relic journey, and authors could choose how to emphasize the presence of the saint and the operation of their power. Like living owners of property, the saints had a variety of options in dealing with rivals, and the movement of their relics was not necessarily a tool only of intimidation and threat. Mobility of relics gave a greater range of ways for the saint to be 'present' at the proceedings, and greater flexibility to authors in negotiating, through text, the place of the holy object in the unfolding of a conflict.

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[44] "*Accidit igitur quodam vindemiæ tempore, vt milites quidam in vicinia Diuionensis pagi manentes, Richardus scilicet Vesolensis & Winlencus Salitiensis pertinaciter auferrent ea quæ in Marcenniaco & in Canabis præfati erant monasterii, sibique seruire mansores eorum cogerent. Qua de re permoti fratres iam dicti loci, sacra B. Urbani ossa plena cum fide eo deportarunt. Cum ergo censale vinum iidem nequam prædones monachis abstulissent, & plaustro impositum abducere vellent; Marcenniacensis vici indigenæ sacras reliquias illuc deportantes, una cum Præposito abstulerunt eis vinum, Dei confortati auxilio. Quod indigne ferentes aduersarii, illico boues disiunxerunt, ligamina vasorum gladiis præsciderunt, duciculosque abstraxerunt. Verum ad ostendenda S. Vrbani merita, vinum eiusdem vt fuerat quantitatis, quasi solida substantia dissolutis remansit in vasis, & sine vi vlla trahentium iuuencorum Marcenniacum deductum est*." "Vita S. Urbani Episcopi Lingonensis," *AASS* Jan. II, 492.

III. Writing possession onto the landscape

To this point, my discussion of the significance of moving relics has focused on the individual event, the actions and results taken regarding a single property. This final section of this chapter, takes a broader view of possession beyond individual disputes. Moving relics was an action of larger significance for the monastery and their ongoing relations with their neighbors that was not necessarily limited to a single moment. The authors who described movements of relics looked beyond the dispute at hand, to consider the journey's place in the past and future of the monastery's stories about itself. By creating mobile, active identities for the saints, these travel narratives could have lasting spiritual and economic implications for the relationship between the monastery and its surroundings.[45] In particular, monastic authors used two hagiographic strategies to build permanent significance around the movements of relics.

First, hagiographers could draw on the life history of the saint whose relics were being transported. Missionary and founder saints in particular could be remembered as having had personal connections to the locations that they were revisiting as relics. Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Life of St. Waldebert,* along with other texts, illustrates how the life of a saint could be meshed with his posthumous travels as relics. Creating textual links between saint and landscape provided a way to rationalize the departure of relics from the monastery, but also established the saint personally as a permanent unifying force between the monastery and these locations. Second, when describing relics' travels, authors could refer to landmarks that either resulted from these journeys or attested to them. Enduring markers of power such as wooden crosses, erected

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[45] Some of the issues I raise here have been skillfully explored from an art historical perspective for the parallel case of medieval Ireland by Karen Eileen Overbey, *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines and Territory in Medieval Ireland*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages, v. 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012). Despite the difference in relic practice (for example, Irish sanctity was more frequently invested in "associative objects" like croziers), Overbey insists on the portability of Irish relics and the itinerancy of Irish saints as a fundamental means of understanding Irish landscapes of significance.

where the relics had rested and which continued to perform miracles after their departure, attached neighboring communities to the history of the monastery as places that acknowledged (or needed to acknowledge) that saint's authority. These references to the physical landscape outside the monastery transformed an ephemeral event, the relics' journey, into a statement about the continued connections between the saint, now housed in the monastery, and the external world.

These two retrospective tactics changed the liminal spaces outside the monastery walls into sites of past memories and contemporary associations. Although movements of relics were significant in themselves, their full potential was only realized when they were woven into narratives about the past and future of the monastery. Through their descriptions of relic journeys, authors could produce a vision of the role of the monastic community and their saints that was active, engaged, and participatory, laying claim to localized authority and relevance in a much larger sense than we have seen previously.

The saint's *Life* as a guide for relic movement

The *Miracula SS. Waldeberti et Eustasii,* also known as the *Vita Walberti*, written by Adso of Montier-en-Der after 968, illustrates how the life history of the saint could be meshed with their posthumous travels as relics, particularly regarding defense of property. The text technically deals with both the lives and the posthumous miracles of two saints, Eustasius and Waldebert, the second and third abbots of Luxeuil after its foundation by Columbanus, though Waldebert is the primary figure. Adso explains in his prologue that although he is only going to write about their miracles performed after death and recently, he does want to tell his readers

about their lives.[46] This first section functions more broadly as an early history of Luxeuil or a *Gesta abbatum*, developing Eustasius and Waldebert in their roles as founder figures with reference to now-lost *Vita* texts and the catalog of the abbots of Luxeuil. [47]

While Eustasius is simply remembered as a nobleman, who governed wisely and folllowed the institutions of Columbanus, Waldebert emerges as a much more developed character; also born noble, he passes a happy adolescence becoming a skilled fighter in a village called Nant.[48] Adso expands extensively on the relationship between Waldebert and Nant; Waldebert counted it as part of his family inheritance, and worked a miracle to protect the fields from a flock of destructive geese. As for the village itself, Adso breaks his chronology to note that the village enjoyed prestige as Waldebert's birthplace and childhood home up until his time of writing. Beyond fame, the tenth-century inhabitants of Nant also believed that the holy well dedicated in Waldebert's name brought safety to their town.[49] When Waldebert went on to give up his life as a landowner and warrior by entering Luxeuil, he handed over his extensive property network to the monastery and hung his arms in the church as a sign of his conversion (where,

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[46] Monique Goullet, ed., "Adsonis Dervensis Opera hagiographica," Corpus Christianorum 198 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), XLIV–XLV. The text must have been written after 968, because Adso refers to himself as an abbot, but there are only stylistic changes to consider when placing the *Vita Walberti* chronologically with Adso's other hagiographical works. Goullet believes that it was an early work of his hagiographical corpus, and vigorously defends the text's attribution to Montier-en-Der, despite the fact that the chronicler of *De diversis casibus* does not list it as one of his works. Also see the introduction to O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Miracula SS. Waldeberti et Eustasii," *MGH SS* XV.2, 1887, 1171–76.

[47] From Adso's prologue, they are "*fundatores et rectores*": Luxeuil, it is important to note, did not have the relics of Columbanus himself, which were indisputably held by Bobbio. Thus, Eustasius and Waldebert were the oldest figures who were still bodily accessible to Luxeuil. See discussion in Gilles Cugnier, *Histoire du monastère de Luxeuil à travers ses abbés, 590-1790* (Langres: D. Guéniot, 2003).

[48] Holder-Egger and Goullet both follow Mabillon's identification of *Nant* with Nanteuil-lès-Meaux.

[49] "*Intra fines Franciae, in pago videlicet Meldinse, famosi vicus est nominis prisco nomine Nant vocatus. Qui scilicet vicus sibi a progenitoribus iure hereditario competebat; ortu quoque eius et puerilibus incrementis hic locus usque in presens admodum habetur insignis. Ad laudem etiam eius nominis fons illic exoritur memorabilis, ex quo perfusa turba popularis laetiora se arbitratur ad sua referre ob memoriam beati viri lucra incolomitatis."* Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," 82.

Adso says, they could still be seen).[50] Past and present mingle in this narrative of Waldebert's early life, as distant events are connected to contemporary sites of memory (the fountain and the arms hanging in the church) which serve as evidence for their reality.

Elected as third abbot on Eustasius' death (after some time spent as a hermit), Waldebert comes into his own as a powerful figure in Luxeuil's history. Whatever was left undone by Columbanus and Eustasius, we are told, Waldebert not only finished but perfected. Most importantly, as abbot he worked actively to gain properties for the monastery, and Adso carefully mentions that among these acquisitions was Nant. Here the language of the text becomes quasi-legal: as his 'native soil', Waldebert is said to have bequeathed Nant with all its appurtenances to Luxeuil with the threat that if anyone should take it away, he would be eternally cursed.

> "He [Waldebert] also brought many villas and estates... into the use of the monastery. Among these he also gave that village, which I mentioned above called Nant, his native soil, with all its appurtenances, under the threat that whoever snatched away that [village] from the place would succumb to eternal punishment."[51]

This warning mimics the penalty clauses which were attached to charters in order to dissuade potential usurpers by threatening them with punishment. Next, another property acquired by

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[50] *"...ac traditiis rerum suarum illic, quae per diversa terrarum loca amplissime possederat, praediis, armisque depositis, quae usque hodie in testimonium sacrae miliciae eius in eo loco habentur, servorum Dei numero addicitur sociandus"* Ibid.

[51] *"Villas quoque et predia copiosa traditione publicae facta in usus monasterii contulit; inter quae vicum quoque, quem superius Nant vocatum diximus, genuinum videlicet eius solum, cum membris adiacentibus sub interminatione tradidit, ut, qui eum a loco auferret, eternae maledictioni succumberet."* Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," 84.

Waldebert as the abbot is introduced, the village of *Herlieum* (Herly).[52] Again, the text mirrors the language used in contemporary charters of donation.

> "He also bestowed a village named *Herlieum* in the pagus of *Tarnensus*, with everything pertaining to it [and the villa of Wandana], or whatever he had possessed by firm law in Pontivus, and he made the blessed apostle Peter the heir of all his properties in perpetuity."[53]

The fact that these two properties are mentioned by name as the special acquisitions of Waldebert, accompanied by legalistic language, should alert us to the fact that more is at stake here than the dead abbot's sanctity. The manuscript tradition bears out this suspicion; a later writer added the note "and the villa of Wandana" to the description of the donation of Herly, in order to clarify what Waldebert had acquired for the monastery. This indicates that the readers of this manuscript were interested in this text as a legal document as much as a hagiographical narrative.[54] Nant had previously been established as a place personally significant to Waldebert and which continued to honor his memory; here Nant and Herlieum are singled out as the donations of Waldebert to Luxeuil which he was interested in protecting.

The text continues with Waldebert's death and an abbreviated history of the troubles Luxeuil faced during the 9-10th c. from internal war and pagan invasions. This tale of old

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[52] Holder-Egger, "Miracula SS. Waldeberti et Eustasii," 1173. follows Henschen in identifying *Herlieum* with modern Herly (dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Montreuil, cant. Hucqueliers), though he notes that Longnon disputes this in 'Les pagi de la Gaule' I, p. 47 sq. Goullet, "Adsonis Dervensis Opera hagiographica," 98. suggests that Herlin-le-Sec (dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras, cant. St-Pol-sur-Ternoise) is also a possibility, but that Herly is more likely. Regardless of the precise location of *Herlieum*, it must have been close to the sea given its description in Adso's text; this means that the journey was around a 1,000 km round trip, a serious undertaking for the monks.

[53] "*In pago quoque Tarnensi vicum Herlieum nomine cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus [et Wandanam villam], seu quicquid in Pontivo solido iure possederat, obtulit et omnium rerum suarum beatum Petrum apostolum in perpetuum heredum esse contulit.*." Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," 84.

[54] The addition "*et uuandanam villam"* appears only in Goullet's manuscript M: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 2546, a legendary from the Cistercian abbey of Alderspach transcribed during the first half of the twelfth century. She suggests (p. 71) that this may have been an interlinear gloss incorporated into the text, originally written in by someone familiar with the region or who had access to diplomatic texts. *Wandana* is modern Wandonne, and lends credence to the identification of Herly with *Herlieum* because of its proximity.

difficulties is quickly juxtaposed with a new one; Adso paints a grim picture of local 'tyrants' who emerged after the death of Richard the duke of Burgundy in 921. These tyrants' primary activity (besides killing each other) is described as invading and despoiling the possessions of the church, or equivalently breaking the law and destroying all respect for religion. The monasteries, among them Luxeuil, watched as their possessions were torn out of their hands, with no king or judge to defend them. It is this desperate situation, we are told, that leads to the practice of carrying around the relics of saints.[55] This opening narrative of chaos and victimization clearly sets the stage for what follows; five chapters of stories involving the movement of the relics of Waldebert (occasionally accompanied by Eustasius, with whom he seems to have shared a reliquary) against lay aggressors and the miracles that accompany these movements. This series of descriptions of relic movements is a rich source of information about the practice, but here I would like to focus on how the personality and personal history of Waldebert, as constructed in the first section of this text, were consciously connected with his relics' role as a portable sacred object two hundred and fifty years after his death.

Before the stories of his relics' travels even begin, the reader is forced to notice that Waldebert is uniquely positioned to able to help Luxeuil with these problems. As a former warrior in life (as his arms, still hanging in the church, no doubt reminded his brothers), in death he could easily assume the role of a "holy champion" [*pius propugnator*]. Adso suggests that the

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[55] I began this chapter with Adso's pithy narrative of victimization. The fuller version is: "*Hinc iam usque ad haec nostra tempora pastoribus decedentibus, defuncto Richardo magne duce Burgundiae, dum invisi tiranni passim coepissent emergere ac sese invicem mutua strage collidere, aecclesia Dei confunditur, iura rumpuntur, legum statuta violantur, possessiones aecclesiae pervaduntur et ab impiis undique rapiuntur. Sacris non est reverentia locis, sed prevalente nequitia impiorum, totus pariter concidit honor religionis. Quod nimirum habitatores Luxoviensis coenobii, peccatis exigentibus, pleniter sunt experti. Nam villas et possessiones eorum in hereditatem sibi diripuerunt manus alienorum. Cumque rex non esset et iudex, qui verae intuitu iusticiae huic impiorum pravitati vellet ex toto resistere, compulsi sunt quam plurimi clericorum contra temeratam audatiam diripientium suorum pignora circumferre sanctorum, ut, quos potestas humana non compesceret, virtus ostensa divina coherceret.*" Adso of Montier-en-Der, "Vita Walberti," 87–88.

saint himself was eager to be involved, because of the level of divine power he subsequently showed on behalf of the monastery. Highlighting the strength of a saint in a hagiographical text is far from unusual; but here we can almost see Waldebert picking up his sword as his relics are picked up by the monks of Luxeuil.[56] This pugnacious picture of Waldebert the fighter is immediately connected to the memory of Waldebert the property-holder and acquisitive abbot; the first journey he makes (at least within the chronology of the text) is to Nant and Herly. Herly had been taken by force from the monastery by unnamed 'tyrants', and Adso is careful to remind his readers that Herly is the property he mentioned earlier in the text (that is, in his account of Waldebert's life) ["*Villa marinis litoribus contigua, quae superius Herleium est vocata, tirannorum vi sublata fuerat"*]. Although Nant is not similarly threatened, it is the only other stop mentioned on this trip. Again, Adso makes a special note of the fact that he has already discussed Nant, that Waldebert was born and grew up there, and that while living there he had performed miracles.[57]

The miracle Waldebert supposedly worked in Nant on his way to Herly, though unrelated to land ownership, points to a larger program of property defense and the saint's special relationship with this area. As the relics enter Nant, the townspeople (unsurprisingly described as extremely welcoming) showered gifts upon them. Among these gifts is a wooden cup, which one of the servants of the monastery accepted on behalf of the saint but which was then demanded from him by a certain young man. Upon being refused, this warrior attempted to attack the servant with a sword, but his hand was suspended in the air mid-stroke. This miracle

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[56] "*Inde est, quod loci huius incolae, alibi fiduciam non habentes, contra nequitiam pervasorum sancti Waldeberti, sui defensoris, latis sacri corporis eius soleant inferre virtutem, ut, qui quondam temporalis miliciae sacramenta servasse visus fuerat, ipse quoque inter casus suorum fidelium pius propugnator assistat. Cuius rei experimentum se ultro ingerit, si consideretur virtutis eius potentia, quam frequenter ostendit.*" Ibid., 88.

[57] "*Hinc itaque procedentes, paulo post ad predium perveniunt Nant superius memoratum, ubi videlicet ipse et vitae exordium temporaliter sumpserat et quibusdam miraculorum signis vivens illustrarat.*" Ibid.

was considered terrifying, mirroring the terror by which Waldebert defeated the tyrants when he finally reached Herly. In contrast to the miracle at Nant, however, the exact manner in which he achieves this result remains unspecified. We are told only that the unjust usurpers:

> "rise up, wanting to expel them [Waldebert and the monks] from their borders, because they realized that they had come to their loss. But the power of the holy man conquered by terror the minds of the wicked and restored the domestic lands, which had been plundered by the factions of strangers, to his own people."

The monks were then free to happily return home with their relics. At both Nant and Herly, then, Waldebert has protected his property (whether cup or *villa*) from violence and alienation, on the one hand with an immediate and striking show of power and on the other, with an unspecified program of shock and awe.[58] Although Adso is not as willing to give all the details of Waldebert's success as Bernard of Angers was for Saint Foy, this is still a very standard picture of the saint's relics conquering opponents through fear.

However, the narrative constructed around this trip reveals that it is meant to be understood as more than a simple tactic of recovery and defense. Waldebert is consciously presented as revisiting in death sites that were significant to him in life. The care with which Adso establishes the roles of Nant and Herly in Waldebert's life history, and his explicit references to these earlier associations when they appear in later contexts, indicate that the reader is meant to make connections between *vita* and *miracula.* The conclusions that they are meant to draw from these connections are equally clear. Waldebert's interest in Luxeuil's possessions is not abstract; rather, the topography itself is bound up in his history as a man and as a saint. The proof of Luxeuil's right to own these properties is not necessarily documentary (though the legal language used in describing Waldebert's acquisitions suggests that this text might have either

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[58] "*Insurgunt undique iniusti pervasores, volentes eos a finibus repellere, quos sui dispendio cernebant advenisse. Sed sancti viri virtus terrore mentes edomat impiorum et suis reformat domestica predia, quae alienorum factionibus fuerant direpta. Ita, licet cum labore, rebus compositus, cum sacris pignoribus monachi obsequentes, letiores redduntur propriis laribus.*" Ibid., 89.

drawn on charters or substituted for them) but founded in the memories preserved about the saint. Thus, the goal of reestablishing Herly as Luxeuil's property was inextricable from the process of strengthening Waldebert's personal and spiritual connection to both Herly and Nant as their native son and patron.[59] Although this level of intimacy is not established between Waldebert and the properties he travels to in later chapters, the carefully constructed account of this first trip, with its layers of emotional and legal significance, served to firmly establish Luxeuil's practice of moving Waldebert's relics as justified, sensible, and efficacious.[60]

The *Life* of St. Landeric (or Landry) duplicates this pattern almost exactly. In the first part of the text, the story of Landeric's life is bound up with his 7th c. saintly and noble family; as the first son of Vincent Madelgaire and Waldetrude (both saints as well), he presided over the collegial church at Soignies after the death of his father. No mention of property ownership and donation is made in this first section, but like Adso, Landeric's hagiographer actively worked to connect saint and property in the account of a relic journey placed immediately after Landeric's death.[61] The story concerns a *pagus* named *Fellepa*, which we are told was once Vincent

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[59] The same tactic, connecting the saint personally to properties owned by the monastery through the use of their *Vita,* was taken by the authors of the *Life* of St. Hiltrude and *Life* of St. Gudule. Both were composed within the context of reclaiming lost property. de Gaiffier, "Les revendications de biens," 127–129.

[60] The question must be raised whether these ideas of Waldebert's connections with these properties were entirely fabricated in service of the 10th c. legal needs of the monastery. Luxeuil's record is against it in this case; a forged privilege from Charlemagne, supposedly documenting all the properties held by Luxeuil, places Nant and Herly prominently in its lists of claimed properties. Gilles Cugnier has dated this document to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th c. There is also some suspicion that this privilege may have also been written by Adso himself (this is Cugnier's opinion), because of the close stylistic parallels between it and the *Life* of Waldebert. If this is the case, it would strengthen my argument here for Adso's association of the movement of relics, the life of the saint, and property rights. Cugnier, *Histoire du monastère de Luxeuil à travers ses abbés, 590-1790*, 268–284.

[61] The composition of this text and the performance of these relic movements cannot be dated by internal textual evidence. It was likely written in the late 10th or 11th century, during the development of the cult of Vincent Madelgaire (possibly coinciding with the construction of the church at Soignies).

Madelgaire's family property; Soignies had the right by custom to part of the produce.[62] The brothers of the collegial church were accustomed to go there each year to collect and divide up what was owed to them, but one year the advocate took it by force for himself. The clerics' response was to bring Landeric's relics along with them "for the purpose of revenge" [*causa ultionis*]. True to expectations, he punished the "invaders of his paternal inheritance" [*paternae hereditatis pervasores*] by causing any man (or horse) who ate the stolen provisions to become violently ill, making the trip a success.[63] Like Waldebert, Landeric was presented as personally anxious to defend his family inheritance, which he and his father had donated to the monastery they ruled. Moving his relics, in a sense, gives the saint the opportunity to have this satisfaction in person.

Retracing missionary movement

Other texts also engage with the idea of a personal link between saint and property as justification for a journey of their relics. The lives of missionaries were particularly suited to suggest enduring connections with places and people, even if these remained unspecified. Although these saints might not have donated family property like Waldebert or Landeric, their activities as wandering preachers and founders of churches and monasteries imprinted their lives on the landscape, making it easy for later hagiographers to evoke the parallels between these saints' lives of travel and the movement of their bodies as relics. This is the approach taken by

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62 *Fellepa* is identified by the editor of the AASS edition as Felep or Velp "ad Mosam" "Vita S. Landerici," *AASS* Apr. II, 491.

63 The story of this movement of Landeric's relics includes reports of two unusual miracles. A young man named Willebert asked, at the threshold of the church as the relics exited that he be allowed to carry them, but the reliquary then levitated and hung in the air. The hagiographer opines that this was because he did not examine his own worth thoroughly before presuming to consider himself worthy to carry the relics. In the second miracle, the clergy place the relics on a large stone which was intended to be used as an altar but which was too large to be moved. When the relics were removed and the masons tried again to move the stone, a few men were able to move it. Ibid., 491.

the anonymous author who described the circumstances that led the monks of Lobbes to travel with the relics of Ursmar in 1066. This time, it was the conflict between Emperor Henry and Count Baldwin V (r. 1051-1056) that had created difficulties for the monastery. Unlike the 10th c. tyrants encroaching on Luxeuil, Lobbes' loss of property was described as due to a drawn-out process of wartime and inactivity on the parts of its priors [*partim guerra, partim negligentia*]. This meant, we are told, that their possessions everywhere had been diminished, but particularly in Flanders, "where, when S. Ursmar had converted the *Menapenses*, *Wasiacenses*, and other Flandrensians to the Lord from the error of paganism, he acquired many lands for S. Peter by the grace of his teachings".[64] The potential ambiguity, whether Ursmar gained these areas for St. Peter in the sense of adding them to Christian territory on behalf of Peter, prince of the apostles, or in the sense of legally adding them to the possessions of Peter, patron of Lobbes, is glossed over by the author. However, he immediately equates this missionized land with the holdings lost by Lobbes through carelessness and the passage of time. The historic process of conversion, from the 11th c. perspective, was also a process of legal acquisition.

When Ursmar is brought out of the monastery to travel, then, it is with a dual purpose: to redeem his properties, and to restore the degradation of his affairs. As with Waldebert, the economic problems of the monastery are presented as being Ursmar's personal concern, since it was his activity (and more particularly, his travels as a missionary) that brought these territories

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[64] The church of St. Peter was also specifically mentioned as being in bad condition and needing repair, which has led to this journey being classified among Heliot and Chastang's quetes itinerantes (though they identified it as an "intermediate" stage). However, property loss is also listed as an issue facing the church: "*Erat enim gravis casus & non una occasio: templum enim S. Petri, quod in pace dejectum & refundatum fuerat, magis aliqua vetustatis ruina videbatur quam renovationis fundatio: & partim guerra partim negligentia majorum diminuta erat ecclesialis possessio, maxime autem in Flandriis: ubi cum Menapenses, Wasiacenses & ipsos Flandrenses S. Ursmarus convertisset ad Dominum ab errore gentilitatis, multas terras acquisivit S. Petro gratia suæ prædicationis, quas incuria priorum pene amiserat ecclesia, præ longitudine itineris*" "Miracula S. Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam facta," *AASS* Apr. II, 573–78; O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Miracula S. Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam facta," *MGH SS* XV.2, 838.

within the monastery's orbit in the first place.[65] Here, no specific properties are mentioned; only the reference to the groups of pagans converted by Ursmar gives the reader a sense of what the hagiographer might be claiming for Lobbes. This generality is matched by the following text, which focuses on the accounts of miracles done *en route*. Even when the monks reach Bergues and complain about their losses to the count and countess, again it is without reference to any property in particular. Although Ursmar's identity as a missionary was invoked at the beginning of his relics' journey, this text does not evoke as direct a connection between saint and property as for Waldebert and Landeric.

It is unsurprising that these figures were revived through hagiography, in order to play a role in the contemporary affairs of the monastery. Medieval property law relied on the length of possession and use to determine ownership; what better way to establish a long-standing hold on a property than by claiming that it was donated or acquired in the very earliest years of the monastery's existence? These founder-figures were extremely well-positioned to support these types of claims, both because the monastery was likely to possess their relics, and because they belonged to the quasi-mythical past which could easily support the creation of close connections between the economic and the spiritual. What is unusual, and what I want to point out here, is the use of the saint in a *personal* way to establish these connections, which linked them not only to the monastery but to the landscape. The many possible sides of a saint, the human (with a family and familial inheritance, or traveling through the region), the patron (linked, in death, to a particular community with particular concerns), and the spiritual (the intercessor in heaven) always existed together in hagiography. During a relic movement, however, these different

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[65] Koziol notes that the saint's history of missionization in the area also formed part of the 11th c. rhetoric of peace-making: "...bearing the relics of the saint who had converted the Flemish to Christianity, that he might now convert them to the true peace of Christ." Koziol, "Monks, Feuds and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders," 244.

aspects were more tightly bound than usual; the physical object of the relics, moving through geographical space, represented the saint in all their complexity and drew on multiple layers of significance simultaneously. Landholder, missionary, miracle-worker, lawyer, traveler, fighter, abbot; the moving relics could tap into various holy identities, and weave them together into a mobile, active whole.

Creating secondary sacred sites

Part of this intertwining of the spiritual and economic meant that the physical markers created during the course of a relic journey might also serve to map out the monastery's economic jurisdiction. Returning to the *Vita S. Urbani episcopi Lingonensis* discussed earlier in the chapter, we have an interesting example of how protection of property through relic movement could leave a permanent impression on the landscape. Many of St. Urban's miracles are devoted to defending the vineyards of the monastery during harvest time, and moving the saint's relics to the vineyards was one of the tactics the monks deployed relatively often for this purpose. Like the story of the wine freezing in its jars for a safe journey home, recovery of the harvest was usually the happy result. In Chapter 5, however, the successful defense of a vineyard at Surdiliaci was not the end of the story. On this occasion, the hagiographer writes (adding a *proh dolor!* for good effect) that the relics of the saint were wrongfully left in the open air ["*sub nudo aere*"] for several days and nights. This negligence prompted S. Urban to appear to the abbot in a dream, complaining about this treatment and demanding that a suitable shelter be built to prevent future occurrences. As soon as the abbot woke up, "with the greatest haste he built an oratory, in which that same autumn the priest of Christ rested suitably, guarded by his

people."[66] This process is repeated with a slightly different mechanism in the following chapter. After being carried out to protect another vineyard from seizure, Urban appeared to a man called Bonfilius, ordering him to go to the brothers and tell them to erect "a house for resting" for the saint. When Bonfilius protested that they wouldn't believe him, the saint gave him a sign in the form of three differently-colored crosses appearing on his clothing.[67]

These requests for shelter, and their fulfillment, gave permanence to Urban's ephemeral journeys to protect the vineyards. These oratories, built at the request of the saint to ensure that he was suitably venerated and housed, had primarily a spiritual purpose. Their construction made sense only because of contemporary beliefs about how the relics of the saints should be treated, that is that they should be kept under some sort of shelter when moved outside their permanent residences (we see this concern also in the accounts of other trips that describe the erection of tents to protect the relics of the saint; see the previous chapter). At the same time, however, they were inextricably linked to an economic situation; the saint had visited and defended these properties as his own, and he would return to do so again if necessary. The reference to Urban remaining in the first oratory for the autumn suggests that further disputes were anticipated, or at least likely enough to warrant an extended stay in the area. Even without the presence of the relics themselves, however, as permanent markers on the landscape these

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66 "*...summa velocitate oratorium construxit, in quo ipso autumnali tempore competenter a suis asservatus Christi Pontifex quievit."* "Vita S. Urbani Episcopi Lingonensis," 492.

67 *"Transacto non multorum annorum spario, emensa festiuitate S. Vincentij, pro simili ereptione vinearum & terrarum, quæ pertinent ad Diuionense monasterium, reliquiæ ipsius Marcenniacum deportatæ sunt. Vbi dum venerabiliter anno propemodum dimidio seruarentur; ostendit se isdem Beatus cuidam bonæ indolis viro, nomine Bonfilio, in stratu suo quiescenti, dicens: Vade ad Fratres meos, & dic eis, vt ædificent mihi domum ad quiescēdum. Tum iuuenis: Domine si quę iubes dixero, nullus credet mihi. Cui Sanctus: Ne dubites, dabo enim tibi signum, cui nullus poterit contradicere. Et protinus cambutta, quam manu gestabat, super lineum vestimentum, quo isdem iuuenis induebatur, tres depinxit cruces, colore dissimiles. Expergefactus itaque homo eadem hora prætendebat omnibus visionis suæ testimonia: quibus sine mora Fratres obediunt, paruumque oratorium ædificant, quo fideles quique conuenirent."* Ibid.

structures served as visual reminders of possession. They gave a physical presence to the memory of the saint's journey and to the promise of continued vigilance, movement, and defense.

Urban's oratories were erected by the community responsible for his care; these requests were fulfilled by the abbot and the brothers in direct response to Urban's personal demands. Yet demands from the saint to the monastic community were not the only means by which a temporary relic journey could become reflected on the landscape. In the conclusion to the dissertation I look at other examples in which the creation of secondary sacred sites imprinted sacred authority on the landscape.

Conclusion

The image of the holy object being marched to a property, accompanied by all the trappings of ritual and wealth, is incontestably an aggressive one. The hagiographic language of relic journeys tended to be a language of extremes: after establishing that they were in desperate times, monks constructed the movement of relics as a desperate measure. In this chapter, however, we have seen mobile relics operate in a variety of ways during a property dispute. Although it is clear that the ideal outcome for the monks was to have their opponent back down out of fear, this did not always happen, and authors experimented with different ways of explaining the saint's action in the field. The perceptions of relics as threatening objects, creators of sacred space, or relatively passive guarantors of justice, varied with the situation and with how the hagiographer chose to present them after the fact. Relics could even be moved at the time of donation itself to secure the property, and a second relic journey might then replay the original event as a unique form of contract if this property was later threatened. Moving relics was a time for experimentation and negotiation, both at the moment of the journey and in its

retelling, as well as a time to draw on standard hagiographical *topoi* of divine power and vengeance.

In addition, the memory of relic journeys was long; these were events that could easily be extended into the monastery's past and future, to create a much broader vision of its roles as a landholder and spiritual center. In a text they could be revisited multiple times, each time highlighting a different aspect of a relic's journey to shift its focus. Alternatively, the journey could survive in the form of new holy sites on the landscape which provided a visual reminder of the saint's physical presence and a liaison between the monastery and it surroundings. The impact of relic journeys for a monastery's property, then, went beyond ensuring success in a one-time encounter. They tapped into a deep well of significance, through which the saint's bodily presence became a physical link between the past, present, and future of a place. Control of property meant control of the landscape, and relic journeys helped monasteries to lay claim to spiritual and economic authority over their surroundings.

Chapter Four: Lay Agency and Audience

> "And because they had labored the whole day in journeying, they needed some refreshment.... everything was provided in full, except wine, which is able to cheer men's hearts by relieving roughness and driving out worries. There were however two evils before their eyes, because wine was neither lacking nor present. If they had known it was altogether absent, they would have been able to bear it easily. By chance, however, or rather by the disposition of God, the tavern-keeper was away, and no one remained at his house besides his daughter, with the doors closed and barred. And when the clerics wanted to open up the doors, the girl opposed them as well as she could. But a certain Baldwin, paying no attention to her objection, energetically wanted to break in the doors by force. Saint Marcelle anticipated his desire; the bar sprang back suddenly, handing over the wine through him and the others to his people. They had dinner, went to sleep, woke up early, celebrated matins, and resumed the journey."
>
> -The *Miracles* of St. Marcelle[1]

For the modern reader, this story is surprising and perhaps disconcerting: anecdotes in which saints miraculously help monks ransack an absent tavernkeeper's cellar despite his daughter's best efforts to keep them at bay are somewhat rare. This particular incident occurred as St. Marcelle's relics were resting in Soissons, traveling away from the monastery of Hautmont. It reminds us (with an explicitness that few hagiographies do) of the real and present power that was in the hands of the monasteries and their representatives to assert their privileges as lords. The blunt willingness of the monks to requisition the wine is even more surprising given that this journey of Marcelle's relics was presented as an answer to the request of lay communities to

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[1] "*Et quia laboraverant tota die itinerando, necessaria eis erat refectio... Quibus profusis necessaria ministrare, provenerunt omnia plenissime, excepta vini libatione, quae salebras relevando et curas expellendo hominum solet corda laetificare. Erat autem prae oculis duplex malum, quia nec aberat nec aderat vinum; quod si omnino scissent abesse, levius utique potuissent ferre. Forte enim, immo Dei dispositione, aberat tabernarius, nec aliquis domi remanserat prater filiam eius, clausis et obseratis tabernae foribus. Cumque clerici fores vellent reserare, obstitit puella qua potuit contradictione. Sed Balduinus quidam parvipendens contradictionem eius, cum vim foribus inferre vellet laetabundus, subito resiliente sera, voluntatem eius praevenit sanctus Marcellus, per eum et per reliquos vinum suis propinans diffusius. Coenatur, dormitum itur, diluculo surgitur, matutini celebrantur, iter coeptum iteratur*." Ursio of Hautmont, "Miracula S. Marcelli," 802.

have the saint brought to them.[2] Ursio of Hautmont, the hagiographer, describes the lay enthusiasm shown for the journey to couch the event as both motivated and supported by the laity, and apparently he saw no irony in celebrating the success of the wine raid as one of Marcelle's miracles *en route*.

This contrast, between the saint as benefactor of all and the saint as the benefactor of the monks, highlights some of the tensions and contradictions in the relationships between those performing a journey and the communities and individuals they encountered on the way. In the end, were the laity the beneficiaries, or the victims, of the type of "itinerant lordship" that relic journeys represented?[3] Did they anticipate or dread these events? These issues speak to larger questions about the social aspects of medieval Christianity, and the relationship of lay communities to the representations and rituals controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities. Historiography on medieval religious life has tended to fall into one of two patterns: assuming an antagonism on the part of the laity towards the hierarchical church as part of the theorized divide between "popular" and "organized" Christianity, or alternatively, seeing the laypeople as the hapless victims of a predatory and corrupt clergy.[4]

Both views have their roots in medieval ecclesiastical views of the laity, either as suspects for holding and propagating unorthodox beliefs (the "inquisitorial" perspective) or as those of simple faith, who could be led astray or abused by wrongdoing within the clergy or by heretical preachers (the "reformer" perspective, familiar not only from the Reformation but also from the

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2 "*Remotiores autem a loco, quia illuc eos convenire prohibebat multarum rerum impeditio, ut ad se martyris reliquiæ deferrentur, una et eadem uniuit petitio. Quibus petentibus et utilitatis ecclesiasticae quibusdam necessariis intercedentibus, quaeritur episcopalis licentia, a quo ut cum honore perferatur et custodia, statim procedit pastoralis sententia.*" Ibid., 800.

3 Vanderputten, "Itinerant Lordship."

4 In describing this paradigm I am following Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

many internal ecclesiastical reform movements that preceded it). Relics, interestingly, have played a central role in these dichotomies, both medieval and modern. Whether interpreted as only a step away from golden idols, necessary as a substitute for more 'traditional' deities in the minds of the people (the approach which Gregory the Great advised for Augustine of Canterbury in evangelizing the English), or as money-making tools to satisfy clerical greed at the expense of the faithful (accusations made famous by Luther and Calvin, but also present in the character of Chaucer's Pardoner), relics occupy an uneasy position within the history and historiography of medieval relationships between the clergy and laity.

These traditional viewpoints both rely on an essentially monolithic view of the laity. In the end, who are "the people"? Much of the rhetoric in hagiographical texts suggests a unified lay audience, admirably eager to show their devotion towards any and all saints' relics (or be exploited for this devotion, to adopt a Calvinist narrative). However, describing the lay reaction to relic journeys using these sources presents a number of methodological problems. Miracle texts are fundamentally moralistic stories, in which those who express their devotion (through prayers, vows, and donations) are rewarded spectacularly, and those who oppose the saint's power are punished, often even more spectacularly. The perspectives and roles hagiographers ascribe to laypeople, then, were created with very specific purposes in mind. On the one hand, laypeople were valuable, even essential, to the narrative structure of a miracle. Who could benefit from the saint's power, if there were not a ready supply of devotees to be healed or helped? Who would bring the votive offerings and candles to the saint's altar that so visibly attested to their efficacy? On the other hand, stories of punishment served as cautionary tales. But do these stories reflect an "actual" pattern of dissent and critique on the part of the laity, or merely ecclesiastical anxieties?

Complicating matters further is the fact that these texts cannot be seen as passive reflections of the events and circumstances they describe. These texts were explicitly intended to glorify the saint in question by whatever means possible, and by extension to glorify those who had dedicated themselves to the saint. The point bears repeating: they are written by the people who stood to benefit from creating and maintaining as universal a belief in the saint's power as possible. To that end, they may not *reflect* lay belief so much as *encourage* it, and attempt to direct it in ways deemed appropriate from an ecclesiastical perspective.[5] How, then, can we say anything about the goals and perspectives of the laity, who would neither have been able to read these texts or write anything in response (at least, that has been preserved)?

In Chapter Two, I ended by concluding that competition between relics led to new narrative roles for the laity. The lay audiences for relic journeys were more often presented as arbitrators and decision-makers when multiple relics were available to "choose" from. Here, I will be addressing the more difficult problem of lay reactions more generally, especially outside explicitly competitive situations. My goal is to attempt to differentiate between two threads of analysis: the representations of the laity by the authors, and the hints of the variety of lay perspectives that we can read against the grain of these representations.

I begin by contrasting two relic journeys (one planned, one performed) to examine more closely the different ways the desires of "the people" could be represented. These two journeys present multiple groups of laypeople contesting the movement of relics: one group, demanding that the relics not move, the other, demanding that they do. I use the comparison to show that, in both cases, the authors used the idea of consensus and demand among the laypeople to support

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[5] For a discussion of these questions, Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints : The Diocese of Orlèans, 800-1200*. John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (1986): 519–52. Smith, "Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c.700-c.1200)."Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven*.

the narrative needs of the two texts, demonstrating the difficulty of using these texts to discover a unified lay perspective on relic mobility. Next, I address a specific accusation intimately tied to the performance of noncalendrical relic journeys: that because donations were expected, they were performed out of greed. Although there is some evidence that certain laypeople may have equated relic journeys with ecclesiastical acquisitiveness, this concern seems to fit more neatly into internal, reform-minded narratives. That is, questions about greed and preaching appear more often as clerical accusation made against other clerics, than as a general sentiment among the laity. Finally, I examine descriptions of interactions between laypeople and mobile relics, particularly during their entries and exits from towns and villages. Rather than a generalized discomfort and critique with the *practice* of relic journeys or with the cult of relics, lay questioning focused almost exclusively on *individual* saints and the desired relationships between themselves and that saint. In this, we recover a sense of the "local religion" which was suggested by William Christian as an alternative to "official" and "popular" dichotomies. Saints within their own "territories" might be the target for antagonism based on their lordship, while saints outside their areas of influence ran the alternative risk of being ignored.

I. Contested mobilities: should relics travel?

I begin by comparing two incidents that at first appear to reveal very different lay perspectives on the legitimacy of relic movement. The first story, appearing in a narrative of the miracles of St. Riquier, claims that the laity prevented the relics from leaving their "home" out of fear of losing the saint's protection and of making the saint a "beggar". In the second and more complicated account, occurring at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme, the laypeople are presented as *demanding* the relics' departure, apparently out of a desire not to be cheated of the spectacle of the saint's mobility. In both cases, however, these sentiments ascribed to the people echo

precisely the goals of narrative goals of the two texts. Both authors used the motif of consensus from the devoted faithful to support their own perspectives. In what follows, I would like to use this comparison to demonstrate the difficulty of seeing through these narrative goals, but also to attempt to recover (particularly using the Saint-Valery text) some sense of the tensions and perspectives (both lay and ecclesiastical) surrounding the question of whether it was appropriate or desirable to move relics at all.

Prevented relic mobility at Saint-Riquier

The incident at Saint-Riquier is reported in Hariulf's *Chronicon centulense.* In the text, a relic journey is proposed to defray the costs of rebuilding the tower of St. Salvator and the basilica it had fallen onto after a fire. Riquier's relics, it was decided, "should be carried through the neighboring castles to ask aid for the expenses, so that by the donations of the devoted people the new work of the basilica would be able to be begun."[6] This places the text firmly in the tradition of justifying a relic journey through the need to undertake a specific building expense. This text is unusual, however, because it is the only example of a text which claims that the journey was *not* undertaken. Instead, it describes a very specific "ritual moment" in which the journey was begun but prevented, by lay dissent, from actually being performed.

The exact contours of the description of this "ritual moment" are worth exploring in detail. On the appointed day, a huge crowd gathered "to the new spectacle" [*ad novum spectaculum*], including count Guido, many nobles, and the people of neighboring settlements [*maxima multitudo vicinae coloniae*]. The description of the raising of Riquier's body corresponds well to the Cluniac descriptions of these events discussed in Chapter 2: crosses and

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6 Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint Riquier (Ve siècle-1104)*, ed. Ferdinand Lot (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1894), 276.

banners were prepared for the procession, candles were brought to precede the saint's body, and the saint was lifted up from his altar with honor. At this point, however, the 'script' was suddenly changed. Rather than the liturgical acclamation expected on such occasions (for example, chanting the office of the saint), the monks entered into a formal lamentation. Hariulf's text changes to rhyming verse for this scene, highlighting it as a key moment of transition:

> "The greatest sadness, the most terrible dread of the monks,
> Exceeded their voices, and joy left the voice,
> The chant ceased, and soon a lamentation began to rise;
> The monks were consternated, they remembered the time of the Daci
> Who burned up, and took away anything unburned
> That seemed to them better than to take the saint anywhere."

Thus, according to the text the monks dramatically changed the liturgical character of the event at the key moment of departure; they ceased chanting and begin to lament, transforming the rituals which would normally recall elevations or translations into a recollection of past disasters (the invasions of the "Daci", possibly a reference to Viking attacks). These actions, according to the text, prompted a similarly emotional and formalized response from "the people" [*vulgus*], who insisted that the relics remain at Saint-Riquier and physically took the relics back into the church, offering to make up the lack of funds themselves:

> The people also were consternated, and then many made a clamor:
> 'See! What are we doing, for what great crime do we endure this?
> This, our celebrated lord, our kind and best father,
> Who always had been a rich man [*dives*] and not a wanderer [*peregrinus*],
> Leaves his seat, and will leave the cloister and altar widowed,
> And will beg, and will inhabit foreign properties?
> This is his land, this [novellus?] remains with us,
> The dear nurturing patron who protects everything;
> And we will send him away by not giving whatever we have?
> Stay your step, father, do not suffer this retreat,
> We would prefer to die rather than to lose you, father.
> The nobles bewail you, the people beat their breasts for you,
> Remain, holy father, the time will not be made empty,
> Whatever work is to be done, the stonemason will have enough.
> The homeland will rejoice, this your troop will be glad.'
> Saying these things and taking hold of the box of the saint,
> With many tears for the bereft altars,
> Singing songs, with psalms and crying on all sides,

They restored the relics in which they placed all their joy."[7]

The words attributed to the people (who, of course, did not speak Latin, much less versified Latin) express two concerns about the practice of removing the relics: first, that Riquier's patronage and protection would be temporarily lost along with the physical presence of his relics.[8] Second, they feared that a relic journey would transform the character of the saint itself. Moving the relics would transform him from a rich man [*dives*] to a wanderer [*peregrinus*;

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[7] "*Maximus ille dolor, monachorum pessimus horror,*
Vocibus excessit, vox laetitiaque recessit,
Conticuit cantus, mox coepit surgere planctus;
Sternuntur monachi, memorantur tempora Daci
Qui combusserunt, qui non combusta tulerunt
Esse sibi melius quam quoquam tollere sanctum.
Sternitur et vulgus, fit clamor denique multus:
Eheu! quid facimus, scelus hoc per quanta subimus?
Hic noster dominus caelebs Pater almus opimus,
Qui semper fuerat sic dives nec peregrinus,
Dimittit sedem, viduabit claustra et aedem
Et mendicabit, alienas res habitabit?
Haec sua stat tellus, nobis manet ipse novellus
Carior almifluus qui protegit omne patronus;
Et dimittemus non dando quidquid habemus?
Siste pater gressum, ne quem patiare regressum;
Ante mori volumnus quam te, paster, careamus.
Te proceres plangunt, te plebis pectora clangunt:
Sancte Pater remane, non fiet tempus inane,
Quidquid opus fuerit satis hoc latomus habebit.
Gaudebit patria, laetabitur haec tua turma."
Haec sic dicentes capsam sanctique tenentes,
Cum lacrymis multis altaribus hic viduatis,
Cantica psallentes, cum psalmis undique flentes
Pignora restituunt quibus omnia gaudia credunt"

Ibid., 277. A French translation of the text has also been published: Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, trans. Louis Augustin Le Ver (Paris: Imprimerie Fourdrinier et Compagnie, 1899), 291.

[8] A similar concern was expressed in the *Miracles* of St. Winnoc. While the relics were absent on a journey, several monks and the abbot fell ill, and the relics had to be quickly carried back in order to save them. The absence of the physical relics was equated with a loss of the saint's protection 'at home' in the monastery.

mendicabit] seeking donations in "foreign lands", despite the fact that the extent of the journey was only imagined to have been through the surrounding castles.[9]

This text has been cited as evidence by Reinhold Kaiser that there was significant lay concern about the essential correctness of using the relics of the saints to solicit money because it was a form of begging, a natural enough conclusion from the text.[10] But does this reflect a"grassroots" lay resistance to the idea of moving relics? Several aspects of this text might give us pause. First, there is the representation of the event as a spur-of-the-moment and unanimous decision on the part of the laity to prevent the journey, prompted by the monks' lamentation. Gerd Althoff and Geoffrey Koziol, among others, have thrown considerable suspicion on the spontaneity of political ritual in the medieval West. Events which featured apparently unplanned ritual expressions (throwing oneself to the ground to beg the king's forgiveness, for example) were in fact carefully coordinated as part of a previously arranged compromise.[11] Similarly, there are reasons to suspect that the "ritual moment" at Saint-Riquier had also been scripted in advance. The departure of the relics had been planned and preannounced to the extent that local nobility (including the count) and people from the entire area were able to come to view the 'spectacle' (it is one of the few relic journey texts that uses *spectaculum* explicitly) on the

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[9] This was not the only way to conceive of the changes that would affect a saint having gone on the road. The verse version of the 1066 journey of the relics of St. Amand valorize him as a pilgrim and exile, missed by his people but who returns to them triumphant (having brought wealth back to them). Gislebert, "Carmen de incendio s. Amandi Elnonensis," *MGH SS* XI, ed. L.C. Bethmann, 409–32. Similarly, all relic journey narratives aside from this Saint-Riquier text and the failed relic journey of Marchiennes (discussed later in the chapter) seem to consider the successful completion of a journey as a triumphant *confirmation* of the importance and reputation of the saint, rather than a detriment to it.

[10] "Une autre critique fondamentale de cette coutume était d'y voir un forme de mendicité. Les habitants de Saint-Riquier trouverent insupportable que les patron du monastére et de la ville soit transporté à travers le pays pour mendier" Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec reliques," 224.

[11] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1992). Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

appointed day. Presumably, the actual physical movement of the saint's relics and the monks' lamentations were unnecessary to alert the people to the fact that the relics were actually departing.

Furthermore, despite this incident, the relics *were* carried as far as Abbeville (approximately 9 km away). There they received many donations, but the text claims again that the people of Saint-Riquier considered it a great disgrace if the relics were to be carried farther [*aeteruum opprobrium reputantes si sanctus longius efferretur*] and so they were brought back the following day, limiting both the physical and temporal distance the relics traveled. This subsequent, limited journey to Abbeville also suggests that a protracted discussion of what was necessary, allowable, or desirable had already taken place (and the mention of extensive donations gained at Abbeville suggests that the burden of financing the construction was not exclusively borne by the people of Saint-Riquier). The journey to Abbeville seems to have been a kind of shorter, more acceptable version of the trip that, while collecting substantial donations, nevertheless preserved the appearance of not having allowed the saint to beg in "foreign lands".

Avoiding the question of its essential accuracy, this narrative presents us with an impression of a stylized ritual that allowed all participants to benefit. The monks (who, it should be noted, also ran the risk of being labeled "beggars"!) did not have to perform the journey, and the people of Saint-Riquier were publicly recognized and textually celebrated for their willingness to pay for the basilica and devotion to the saint. After describing the journey to Abbeville, the text continues (once again in verse) with an enumeration of the gifts brought by the people of the area (everything from cows to tiaras), with everyone competing to give more than their neighbors. The creation of this text, then, stands as a monument to the devotion of the people of Saint-Riquier, but also a model of the ideal relationship (from a monastic

perspective) between a monastery and a lay community, as evidenced through an unwillingness to allow their patron's relics to travel. This text suggests, uniquely, that a relic journey when actually performed represented a failure on the part of a saint's local lay devotees; where the good people of Saint-Riquier were willing to step in to save their saint and his monks, other communities might not be so generous.

In this it smacks of a monastic fantasy: the proposed relic journey was not performed because of a spontaneous outpouring of devotion and financial support from the surrounding community itself. Most other relic journey texts (describing journeys actually performed) celebrate the miracles performed *en route*, as evidence not only of the saint's power but also their willingness to travel. It is perhaps too simple, then, to identify the concerns attributed to "the people" of Saint-Riquier as evidence for a basic lay discomfort with letting their patron's relics travel. These concerns have parallels in other texts, but there they are identified as *monastic* concerns, as suggested by the fact that even at Saint-Riquier the monks are portrayed as the instigators of the liturgical reversal. While this is certainly evidence for the hopes (and fears) of a monastic community considering a relic journey, the presentation of the laity's concerns aligns very suspiciously with the goals of the monks.

Enforced relic mobility at Saint-Valery

These suspicions become more pronounced when the narrative from Saint-Riquier is contrasted with the representations of lay desires in a text describing a very similar situation, in a text added to the miracles of St. Valery (*Walaricus*). Geographically, the two events are closely related: the monastery of Saint-Valery-sur-Somme (or Leuconay) only lies about 30 kilometers

from Saint-Riquier.[12] Yet, at Saint-Valery the situation was inverted: "the people" were presented as *desiring* the relics' departure, against the machinations of the lay advocate of the monastery (and his supporters, possibly monks themselves) who wished to prevent them from traveling. This complicated account tracks some of the tensions surrounding the performance of a journey, and the different ways the laity could be presented as supporting the desires of the monks.

The justification for this journey was to assert possession of a property, rather than to raise funds, which is why (to my knowledge) the two have never been compared. The monks of Saint-Valery had recently won a contested property in the area of Faucourt from a knight named Gislebert. The brothers and prior assembled in the chapter and decide to move the relics of Valery to the property to solidify their claim.[13] The news of this decision to "transfer" the saint to the property was publicized so that, according to the text, all the people of the surrounding areas knew about, agreed with, and celebrated the forthcoming event. This claim to popular support for the journey was juxtaposed with the opposition of the lay advocate of the monastery, named Rainaldus. The text asserts that the reason for Rainaldus' antagonism was that he had not been consulted on the decision, but it also claims that he tells his followers (his *satellites*) that it was "not fitting that the monks perpetrate something illicitly, and remove their patron unwisely from

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[12] Valery was a very itinerant saint post-mortem. His relics were at Saint-Bertin until they were "brought back" to Saint-Valery-sur-Somme by Hugh Capet (BHL 8763), until they were removed again by Richard Lionheart to Saint-Valery-en-Caux in 1197. The text describing the journey to Faucourt (BHL 8764) appears in the AASS as an appendix, and its relationship to the rest of Valery's miracles is unclear. "Miracula S. Walarici," *AASS* Apr. I, 29–30.

[13] See Chapter Three for my discussion of property and movement; this text stands as yet another example of a relic movement being performed, not to intimidate the landholder, but after the property had already been donated. The charters of Saint-Valery have been edited by Brunel, Clovis and Salter, H., *Chartes des abbés de Saint-Valéry extraites des archives de New College à Oxford* (Abbeville: 1910). and by Georges Bilhaut, "Documents inédits concernant l'abbaye de Saint-Valery", *Bulletin de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville* (1958) pp. 117-126.

his own seat."[14] This suggests that not only a power struggle over leadership and decision-making for Saint-Valery was taking place, but that there was also a perception that relic movement, regardless of the reason, could be considered illegitimate and dangerous.

The negatively-presented fear attributed to Rainaldus is strikingly similar to the positively-presented concerns that had been raised by the monks and people of Saint-Riquier: that the saint leaving or being removed from "his seat" was essentially inappropriate or undesirable ["*dimittit sedem"* (Riquier) "*...non decere monachos... suumque patronum... a sede propria removere*." (Valery)] The monks' counter-argument was that Rainaldus had no right to impede an action which would be "useful" to them, suggesting that they understood this journey as an essential action for the monastery's property management (and likely also as a statement of independence from lay involvement in their affairs, a contentious topic in the eleventh century).

As with the Saint-Riquier poem, these issues culminated in a "ritual moment", in which "the people" were presented as a monolithic force supporting the desires of the monks, but in this case *requiring* rather than preventing the relics' movement. Having failed to achieve his ends by diplomatic means, Rainaldus ordered that the doors of the town be locked and the keys hidden in his castle to prevent the exit of relics and monks. On the appointed day of the "translation" [*translatio*], the text presents the movement of the relics as the desire of the *people*, in opposition to the advocate, with the monks trapped in between. According to the text, the people were annoyed at having been called together for no reason and claimed that the monks had been greedy, while on the other hand the advocate accused them of presumption and negligence:

> "Meanwhile the day of the translation came, the entire region came together, the entire province was called from here and there. The part of the people within the town [[threatened?]], along with the part outside. Those outside were forbidden to enter, those

[14] "*...non decere monachos aliquid illicite perpetrare, suumque patronum minus discrete a sede propria removere*." "Miracula S. Walarici," 29.

> inside were forbidden to go out; however with all one heart, the same desire, that same voice resounded, Blessed Valery should go out: it was by no means fitting that so great a holy father should have called together a multitude of people and foolishly troubled unlimited people.
>
> Meanwhile the prior as much as the monks, hesitating over the outcome of this matter, ran back to the general chapter deeply troubled on two fronts. On one hand the people (*populus*) urged that the proposition stand firm; on the other hand they feared the tyranny of the advocate. The people called them guilty of ambition for offerings: the advocate of presumption and negligence. What more? In the end, drunk from the chalice of confusion, they ceded to the advocate, and denied the saint to the people."[15]

This presentation of affairs is peculiar given that the original stated purpose of the journey was to solidify the monastery's claim to a property; yet, at this point the specter of not performing the desired journey is framed as "denying the saint to the people".

The reported outcome of the story highlights this evolving representation of the journey as performed primarily for the people and spiritual reasons, *not* for the political and economic benefit of the monks. Two young monks, frustrated at the chapter's decision, left and encountered the elderly treasurer of the monastery, named Evrard. When questioned, they reported that the chapter had decided not to move the saint, because "they revere a man more than God, they follow the advocate more than the nobility of the place." Evrard claimed that this was contrary to the custom of Saint-Valery and compared the saint to a donkey that needed to be beaten into performing a miracle. He then took matters into his own hands, ordering the two young monks to pick up St. Valery's relics while he continually threatened the saint with

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[15] "*Interea dies translationis instat, tota regio confluit, tota hinc & inde provincia convocatur. Pars populi intra villam, pars vero exterius imminebat. Exclusis intrare, inclusis exire vetabatur: omnibus tamen cor unum, voluntas eadem, vox eadem insonabat, B. Walaricum debere egredi: nequaquam decere tam sanctum Patrem tantam convocasse populorum multitudinem, & infinitum populum inaniter vexasse Interea tam Prior quam monachi super hujus fine rei hæsitantes, ad commune recurrunt Capitulum, hinc & inde graviter anxiantur. Ex una parte populus urgebat, ut starent proposito: ex alia vero parte tyrannidem Advocati metuebant. Populus eos ambitionis reos, offerendarum causa, inclamabant: Advocatus vero præsumptionis & negligentiæ arguebat. Quid plura? Ad ultimum, inebriati calice confusionis, cedunt Advocato, Sanctum populo negant*." Ibid.

dishonor and physical violence (to be meted out by him personally).[16] The text carefully notes that while the two young men removed the saint, they began the response *Sancte Walarice*, the correct liturgical practice for relic removal on a journey according to the Cluniac customs.

Significantly, the first step on this rebel itinerary was to expose the saint's relics to the people near the altar, thus "granting their wish". Then the people joined the threesome to take the relics of the saint towards the closed and locked doors of the city. Hearing Evrard's shouted threats to the saint, the other monks hurriedly left the chapter to follow the relics to the doors of the city. This procession to the closed gates, then, was made up of both the monks and the people; after a final invective from Evrard, Valery miraculously pulled back the iron bars blocking the gates, all the doors of the city opened at once, and the monks and clerics began singing the *Te Deum*. Then they, along with "the humble people" (*cum humili plebe*) left the city in an image of triumphant unity that mirrored the ritual of a relic's entry (discussed in the following section).

This unity, miraculously enabled by Valery himself, is contrasted with the conflict that erupted after the partisans of the advocate caught up with the procession at the edge of the woods near the city. The text reports that their desire to prevent the relics from going any further was so strong that the situation devolved into a physical fight in which the reliquary of the saint itself was placed in danger. The advocate's party (he is not described as being present himself) was defeated; they retreated but followed along on the journey, and when the saint reached his destination (Faucourt) they approached with bare feet and staffs, prostrated themselves, and

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[16] This is an aspect of the text somewhat shocking to the editors of the AASS, who note that surely this must be hyperbole! I think that there may instead be an element of comedy and parody here. The text mentions frequently Evrard's disability as the reason he must use the cane with which he threatens to beat Valery. Evrard in his own speech notes that both his cane and hand are trembling and so his threats to the saint are perhaps meant to be humorously ineffective.

sought forgiveness. A sentence of excommunication was pronounced against anyone who would alienate the property in future (the only reminder that this journey was initially meant to secure property rights!), and Valery was returned home.

In comparing these two texts, then, what do we learn about lay attitudes towards relic movement? The difference between the joyful, staged prevention of Riquier's journey and the contested performance of Valery's is striking. In both, however, there is a suspicious amount of synchronicity between the goals of the text and the representations of the fears and desires of "the people". The monks of Saint-Riquier are presented as being hesitant about the journey they themselves proposed, and "the people" insist that they stay. The monks of Saint-Valery are intent on moving their saint, and "the people" claim it is shameful if they do not. In this respect, the laity and their wishes are represented as a monolithic entity whose demands conveniently correspond exactly to the goals of the monks and the narrative.

At the same time, there are also hints of multiple perspectives (with subtly shifting rationales) on the question of whether a saint's relics should move, particularly in the Saint-Valery text. The lay advocate, his partisans, the abbot and the chapter, Evrard and the two junior monks, potential rival claimants to Gislebert's property, and "the people" all emerge as actors with a stake of some kind in the movement or lack of movement of the relics. The sentiment among the lay advocate's monastic supporters was strong enough to prompt them to attempt to physically prevent the relics from going further even after they had successfully left the city. Even more notably, this fierce level of contention was provoked by a journey whose length and duration were short, fixed, and comparable to Riquier's "acceptable" mini-journey to Abbeville.

These texts may contain, as Kaiser took the Saint-Riquier example to be, a reflection of lay concerns, but it seems problematic to attempt to attribute the origins or even the exact nature

of these concerns to a specific group. Groups of laity ("the people") were narrative tools used to give the force of popular consensus to the ideas that the text was actively promoting, while individuals (like the lay advocate, Rainaldus) might be identified and singled out for censure. It is not coincidental, however, that both of these contentious episodes center on the monastery's acquisition of wealth, whether based in property or more liquid assets. The fear that the journey of Riquier's relics would turn the saint from a rich man into a beggar was not an isolated case; the contested mobilities of relics were closely connected to questions about how a saint, and by extension a monastery, could and should profit from interactions with the world outside the monastic enclosure.

II. Donations and preaching: untangling narratives of "greed" and "deception"

Two interrelated issues lie at the heart of interpreting relic journeys as connections between monasteries and the laypeople beyond their walls: the question of donations, and the question of preaching. These are in fact proxy questions for larger issues facing the medieval church beginning in the eleventh century, centered on how it was meant to interact with the secular world. This was a particularly acute question for monasteries, envisioned as entirely isolated from temporal affairs. How were they then to "make money", and what problems did this create? Preaching and donations, the exchange of words and goods, stood in for larger concerns about interaction broadly understood. Itinerant relics formed an island of the sacred moving through the sea of the secular, and the concerns surrounding how their boundaries were to be defined and maintained reproduced apprehensions about the inviolability of the monastery itself in an urbanizing and commercializing world. These questions are at the core of both the rationale for relic journeys performed specifically to raise funds, Héliot and Chastang's *quêtes itinérantes*, and in narratives about the evolution and "abuse" of the practice. The issues here are

complex, and more than for any other subject, entangle lay attitudes with monastic anxieties, and particularly narratives of reform.

Accusations and historical memory at Saint-Ghislain

To begin, I'd like to embark on a reinterpretation of a problematic text, describing the transportation of the relics of St. Ghislain for money. This text was identified by Héliot and Chastang, following D'Haenens, as potentially the earliest description of a *quête itinérante*, that is, a relic journey specifically performed to raise funds. In their analysis they were forced in the end to dismiss it as a problematic exception to their chronological narrative.[17] However, the history of this text is less straightforward than it appears to be, and offers new insight into the atmosphere of ecclesiastical contention surrounding relic journeys as a mode of interaction with the secular world. The text in question is from the second *Life* of St. Ghislain, chapter twenty-five. According to the text a group of canons had occupied the monastery of Saint-Ghislain (*Celle*) since its abandonment under the pressure of Viking attacks in the tenth century. It goes on to list (in a "scandalized tone", to borrow a phrase from Héliot and Chastang) the shocking vices of these canons:

> "[The canons] rejoicing to live in an enormous fashion, were keeping wives, implicating themselves in secular business, and dishonoring the service of the kind confessor, whom they ought to have served with religiosity, because they had greater concern for the feeding of their families than for the glory of the church."[18]

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[17] "Récusons l'exemple de Stavelot, nullement convaincant, tout en retenant celui de St-Ghislain, quoique nous ne sachions point si ce dernier reflétait un usage acclimaté déja dans la région, mais habituellement tourné au bénéfice d'une noble cause, ou s'il devançait les coutumes de l'âge suivant. En tout cas nous sommes assez enclins á reculer au delà de 1050, sinon de l'an mil, l'apparation du phénomène étudié..." Héliot and Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques," 1964, 805.

[18] "*Qui enormi more vivere gaudentes , coniugiis adherentes , saecularibus negotiis sese implicantes , famulatum almi confessoris , quem cum religiositate gérere debuissent , erant dehonestantes , quia maiorem sollicitudinem capiebant de sua familia nutrienda quam de dominica aecclesia decoranda*." Poncelet, "Vita et miracula S. Gisleni," 274.

The complaints against the canons, however, also extended to the means they used to fund these activities, carrying the relics of Ghislain around in order to receive donations:

> "Also they carried the body of the holy confessor Ghislain through certain places, and whatever the abundance of the faithful conferred to his reliquary as it stayed around, they did not give to the use of the church, but kept secretly for their own use. This business often offended the dignity of the aforementioned confessor in an extraordinary manner, nor did he approve the habit (*consuetudinum*) in this way of those serving him."[19]

Héliot and Chastang identify an ambiguity here: are we expected to conclude that this means of raising funds (carrying around the saint's relics), or the purposes those funds were being put to, was offensive to Ghislain? On the one hand, it suggests obliquely that, had these canons used the money they raised for ecclesiastical purposes, the movement of Ghislain's body would have been justified. On the other, it associates the practice with canons who have already been accused of too much involvement in the secular world, suggesting a religious community might want to take a hard look at their motives before doing the same. We will return to these questions, but first must resolve the question of the dating of these events. According to the text, these activities took place prior to 931, when the reformer Gerard of Brogne was called by Duke Ghislebert to lead Saint-Ghislain. The duke was visited in a dream by the saint himself, who demanded that Gerard be called in to fix the situation, which he did by evicting the licentious canons and installing monks in their place. This early date, however, puzzled Héliot and Chastang, because accepting that these journeys of Ghislain's relics took place before 931 meant that they pre-dated the next example of a strictly understood *quête itinérante* by more than a century.

Newer work on the history of Saint-Ghislain and this text resolves some of these issues, while complicating others. In the first place, this text's claim about the eviction of the canons is

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[19] "*Ipsum etiam corpus sancti confessoris Gysleni per quaeque loca deportabant , et quicquid pro oblatione ad féretrum eius circum manentium fidelium largitas conferebat , non aecclesiae instrumentis dabant , sed ad proprios usus furtim retinebant. Quae res saepe miris modis dignitatem praedicti confessoris offendebat, nec taliter famulantium consuetudinem approbabat* ." Ibid., 274–275.

unsupported by the earlier hagiography from Saint-Ghislain and appears to be an entirely invented tradition.[20] Steven Vanderputten agrees with Marie-Anne Helvétius that Gerard was in fact called by the duke to *found* the monastery of Saint-Ghislain (as opposed to reform it and evict a prior community of canons) after the discovery of Ghislain's relics between 928 and 931.[21] Furthermore, the text containing the description of the canons' habit of carrying the relics of Ghislain (chapter 25) was not included in the original version (Version A) of Ghislain's miracles, which were written by Regnier, a monk of Saint-Amand, around 1000-1013. It was likely inserted in the reworked version (Version B) by an unknown monk sometime before 1035. It appears only in two of the seven manuscripts of the text (one a mid-11th c. manuscript, the other a 13th c. copy of it) and is omitted from a manuscript copied from these, which is missing only the chapter in question (25) and 32-37.[22]

This vision of the text as an early eleventh century creation and insertion explains its somewhat anachronistic character. The list of the canons' faults reads like a laundry list of the ideas promoted by eleventh-century reformers: the innate superiority of monks to canons, the marked concern for clerical celibacy, and the dangers of business with the secular world. Vanderputten has ably demonstrated the processes of memory and revision that heavily influenced eleventh-century Flemish monastic authors writing about tenth-century reform "programs", particularly that of Gerard of Brogne, and we should interpret Regnier's modified

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[20] Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, 5. Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 32–6.

[21] Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Abbayes, évêques et laïques: une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Age (VIIe-XIe siècle)*, Collection Historie in-8o, no 92 (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1994), 219. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 33.

[22] Helvétius, *Abbayes, évêques et laïques*, 340.

text in that light.[23] Even regarding Gerard of Brogne himself, Vanderputten has shown how difficult to determine what, if anything, his reforms actually entailed, and so it is not Gerard's actions that this text represents, but a constructed memory of his character as a reformer and what that meant to the history of Saint-Ghislain.

What then does this text tell us about relic journeys? Following Helvetius in concluding that there was no community at Saint-Ghislain prior to the tenth century leaves us with the following. An unknown monk (not Regnier) edited the *Vita Gislenii secunda* (Regnier's original early 11th c. text) to add in the text of chapter twenty-five, either inventing or relating an older tradition that in 931 the current community of monks had replaced a group of canons who were in the habit of transporting Ghislain's relics for the sake of donations.[24] Thus this does not tell us that a group of tenth-century canons were carrying around the relics of Saint-Ghislain for donations. Héliot and Chastang, although believing this text to be an accurate representation of tenth-century events, decided to ignore it as an outlier and continue to date the commencement of *quêtes itinérantes* to the mid-eleventh century (the 1050s). This dating of the text to the 1030s makes it decidedly less problematic for the chronology of *quêtes itinérantes*.

What it does tell us is that an eleventh-century monk, wishing to excoriate a group of tenth-century canons in the strongest possible terms, condemned them by accusing them of living "worldly" lives, carrying around Ghislain's relics, and keeping the resulting donations. It also suggests that repeated relic journeys (the canons are supposedly in the "habit", *consuetudinem*, of doing this) were common enough in the 1030s to make this a plausible accusation, and that funds might be raised for everyday financial need, not only the specific building projects that

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[23] Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, particularly pp. 31-49 on Gerard de Brogne.

[24] Helvétius, *Abbayes, évêques et laïques*, 221. This narrative follows what Helvetius considers the most reliable text on the early history of Saint-Ghislain, the *Relatio miraculorum*.

hagiographies reporting and glorifying relic journeys tend to rely on for their justification. The 'faithful' and St. Ghislain himself are portrayed as dual victims; the former have been cheated out of their donations, the latter has had his dignity [*dignitatem*] offended. This, as Héliot and Chastang pointed out, does not amount to a general condemnation of carrying relics as such, but is a strong indication that there was considerable concern about the justifications for the practice, and that relic journeys were strongly linked to anxieties about the relationships between religious communities and the outside world. Returning to the text, these sentiments are attributed to Duke Ghislebert as he addresses Gerard of Brogne while turning Saint-Ghislain over to him:

> "[the monastery of Saint-Ghislain] having been changed by sedition of the world from the order of monks, who were formerly serving there, now [the order] of clerics leading a disgraceful life there turn their hands to nothing. Which I beg that you [Gerard] will undertake for yourself, and change according to the institution of your order, with the voracious clerics having been ejected from there."[25]

Thus, from one of the earliest texts identifying a general lay audience for relic journeys (as opposed to a king or emperor), the practice is associated with "voraciousness", idleness, and a undesirable association with the matters of the world, more suitable (however undesirable) to secular clergy than monks.

Donations as part of relic movements

Yet the associations between relic mobility, donations, and preaching had deep roots, and were not as alien to monastic practice as the Saint-Ghislain text would have us believe. In an interesting account of the back-and-forth movement of the relics of Sts. Omer, Bertin, Valery, and Riquier between the monasteries of Saint-Omer and Saint-Bertin in 959, the motion of the relics provided unique opportunities for donations and preaching. The journeys were performed

[25] *"...mutato per seditionem seculi monachorum ordine, qui ibi quondam famulabantur, nunc clericorum turpem vitam illic ducentium manus ad nihilum trahunt. Quam precor ut ad vos recipiatis, et secundum institutionem vestri ordinis transmutatis, ejectis inde voracibus clericis."* Poncelet, "Vita et miracula S. Gisleni," 275.

in response to the sign of the cross appearing on items of clothing and oozing an oily liquid, a possible indicator of imminent divine wrath that terrified the people (*populi*) of the area. In response, the bishop Wicfrid of Thérouanne brought the relics of St. Omer from Saint-Omer (the "upper" monastery) to Saint-Bertin (the "lower" monastery), then brought the relics of saints Bertin, Riquier, and Valery back to Saint-Omer. Midway between the two monasteries, they paused while the bishop preached to the people (*episcopo sermonem faciente ad populum*) and a local nobleman and his wife made donations to Saint-Bertin of land and two golden 'moons' (*lunulas*) respectively. Then all the relics were brought to Saint-Omer and placed on beams the height of a man at the entrance of the church, so that the people entering the church would pass underneath them.[26] The abbot and relics of Saint-Bertin stayed the night before returning home.

This text challenges many of the standard classifications of relic journeys, and highlights the complicated relationship between relic journeys and financial gain. Its rationale was to guard against impending disaster, similar to journeys for plague and drought. The back-and-forth movement between two spiritual hubs (the two monasteries) and the mutual "visits" of the relics created a ritual tension that peaked at the midpoint of the return journey, where the bishop preached and the donations were made. It is not clear what relationship the donations had to the original purpose of the journey (were they intended to ward off the coming disaster?) or the bishop's sermon (did he suggest that it was a particularly apt time for generosity?) but they were evidently an important, and likely pre-planned, aspect of the event. The text specifies that Rodulf's wife and children approved the property transfer, but intriguingly the name of the property itself was left out (a blank space appears in the manuscript). What is absent here, and notable for its absence, is the question of whether the bishop's choice to stage this evocative

[26] "Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini," 631.

event may have been motivated by desire to prompt these donations. Similarly, in the tenth-century journey of St. Waldebert's relics to Hery and Nanteuil discussed in the previous chapter, donations were being actively accepted as the relics traveled. Even when a donated cup became a source of contention, there was no sense that the connection between these economic returns and the relic's mobility was considered problematic. Yet, by the 1030s when the Saint-Ghislain text was written, the association between relic movement and gain was the object of ecclesiastical suspicion.

Clerical discomfort and internal reform narratives

How did this perception affect representations of the lay audience? The laity appear primarily in two hagiographical roles; as the faithful who are rightfully moved by the need of the church (and miracles) to donate, and the targets and victims of ecclesiastical greed. Both representations, unusually, are present in the works of the twelfth-century author Guibert of Nogent. Guibert is an enigmatic figure, and even more so regarding the subject of relic journeys. On the one hand, his last work (*De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, likely written ca. 1125) was a scathing critique of the "abuses" of the cult of relics. One of the most evocative episodes, often cited in connection with relic journeys, describes his encounter with a traveling hired preacher exhibiting relics in the square. To Guibert's horror, this man recognized him in the crowd and called on him to support his claims. This leads Guibert to generally disparage the practice of *quêtes itinérantes*:

> "Frequently we observe these things [miracles] to be worn out by whispering, and made laughable by the carrying-around of reliquaries [*feretrorum*], and we see daily the depths of another person's purse stripped clean by the lies of those whom Jerome calls *rabulos* by the madness of their speechmaking. We are shaken so much by the scurrilities of these persons, we are so struck by the debasement of divine things, that as the

> aforementioned doctor [says], they surpass clowns, gluttons, and *catellanos* in licking-up, and outdo ravens and magpies in annoying garrulousness."[27]

Here, the lay audience members appear peripherally as the naive victims of these less-than-attractive preachers, in contrast to Guibert's own educated discernment consciously expressed through the multiple references to (and indeed, extensive reliance on) the works of Jerome.

However, Guibert's perspective is not cohesive across all his works. His condemnation in *De pigneribus* must be read against the tacit approval present in his earlier autobiography, where he provided an independent description of the relic journeys of the Laonnois canons through France and England in 1112 and 1113 (paralleled by the later account of Hermann of Tournai).[28] It has been speculated that the preacher who aroused Guibert's ire was in fact from the cathedral of Laon, and that this may have been a description of the same journey. Far from being judgmental in this work, however, Guibert simply noted that it was an established practice for raising funds: "Meanwhile following that custom, as it was, for collecting money the biers and relics of the saints began to be carried around."[29] Of course, Guibert was under no obligation to

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[27] "*Crebro teri perspicimus ista susurro et facta feretrorum circumlatione ridicula et eorum, quos a rabie declamandi rabulos Ieronimus vocat, mendaciis cotidie cernimus alieni marsupii profunda nudari. Quorum tanta nebulonitate concutimur, tanta divinorum adulteratione ferimur, ut iuxta prefatum doctorem scurras, elluones, et catellanos ligurriendo exuperent, corvos ac picas importuna garrulitate precedant*." Guibert of Nogent, "De sanctis et eorum pigneribus," in *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat ; De bucella Iudae data et de veritate Dominici corporis ; De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. R. B. C Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 127 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1993), 97–8. Huygens notes that *catellanos* is nonsensical, because Guibert is here closely following a letter of Jerome and is copying words (in this case, a corruption of *Atellanus*) without understanding them. This excerpt has long been discussed as a surprisingly Reformation-like critique; perhaps Guibert's close reliance on Jerome (to the point of copying nonsensical terms) should lead us to take this harsh vocabulary with a grain of salt.

[28] On Guibert's account of this trip, Simon Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 2006), 70–75.

[29] "*Interea secundum illum qualemcumque morem ad corrogandas pecunias coeperunt feretra et sanctorum reliquiae circumferri*." Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, ed. Edmond René Labande, Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age v.34 (Paris: Societe d'edition "Les belles lettres," 1981), 378. The phrasing here brings up the question of whether the two known journeys of the Laonnais canons (in 1112 and 1113) were truly isolated incidents, or part of a serious campaign after the tragedies of the preceding years in that town.

be consistent, but the Guibert who admires the "magnificent *philacterium*" containing the robe of Mary and the sponge lifted to Christ on the cross is hard to square with the Guibert who wanted to condemn the "forger" who claimed to have a piece of bread eaten by Christ.[30] The variations in his descriptions of the lay audiences for relic journeys mirror Guibert's own ambiguity (or evolving perspective?) on these issues.

Far from being the foolish dupes of the *rabulos*, in Guibert's account of the arrival of the canons of Laon at the castle of Buzançais the laity appear as skeptical questioners and potential plunderers who must be won over by confidence and miracles. At Buzançais, "our clergy" [*clerici nostri*] preach in good faith but realize (perhaps through open criticism from their audience?) that "the lord and his townspeople were bearing wicked feelings towards the word, and were determined to rob [them] leaving the castle".[31] The preacher somewhat unconfidently proposes a test of the relics' miracle-working power, and after a successful trial, the lord and the people overwhelm them with generosity. This result is unsurprising, but Guibert specifies that the unconvinced audience was initially eager to catch out the canons as "liars" [*mendacibus*], which would perhaps justify stealing from them. At any rate, the canons reacted to the proposition of a test of their relics with "dismay" [*angore*].

This suspicion of fraud is mirrored in a later story about the canons' second journey to England, where an Englishman steals coins from around the reliquary (by sucking them up while pretending to kiss the relics!) and claims that he is only stealing from "those clerics, who by

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[30] Guibert's variance of opinion has been explained in terms of his unwillingness to credit corporeal relics of Mary and Christ. Even in describing the contents of the Laonnois phylactery, he expresses doubt about whether or not it contained some of Mary's hair in addition to the non-corporeal relics. Kaiser (and others) have given Guibert considerable attention. Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec reliques," 223.

[31] "*....quod dominus et oppidiani ejus malos animos gererent ad verbum, et exeuntes de castello diripere destinarent*" Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, 380.

lying and illusions draw out so much money from the foolish."[32] Guibert relates his subsequent suicide, sanctimoniously noting that "he shamefully paid the penalties for the sacrilege of his mouth" [*foede moriens oris sacrilegi poenas pendit*]; yet the words he put in this man's mouth are almost identical to the sentiments he himself would later express in *De pigneribus*.[33] Hermann of Laon also reported this incident, but with some variations on the exact nature of the criticisms leveled against the canons. According to Hermann, the canons were not just accused of being cheats, but magicians (this may also be implied in Guibert's text by the use of "tricks") who were motivated by greed:

> "Three young men of the same territory... seeing how much money was carried to the *feretrum,* began to detract us, saying that we performed such great miracles by magic arts for the sake of profit [*quaestus causa*]."[34]

In Hermann's version, these accusations are also made publicly rather than privately, call into question the miracles themselves, and specifically identify profit as the canons' motivation. Reinhold Kaiser focused on this last aspect of the excerpt to argue that this demonstrates a perception among the laity that clerical greed was at the root of the practice of *quêtes itinérantes.*[35]

Without fundamentally disagreeing with this suggestion, I would like to draw attention once again to the close synchronicity between clerical anxieties about greed during relic movement, and this representation of a (condemned) lay criticism along the same lines. Concern

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[32] "*... hos clericos, qui mendacio ac praestigiis tot pecunias a fatuis eliciunt*." Ibid., 390.

[33] In this case, the "sacrilege of his mouth" can be read in the figurative and literal sense (because of his mechanism for stealing by kissing).

[34] "*Tres siquidem juvenes ejusdem territorii, carnis consanguinitate ad invicem propinqui, videntes tantam pecuniam ad feretrum deferri, detrahere nobis coeperunt, dicentes nos quaestus causa magicis artibus talia facere miracula*." Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," 985.

[35] Kaiser, "Quêtes itinérantes avec reliques," 222.

that relic movement might inspire accusations of greed appears not only in *quête itinérante* texts; the association between all forms of relic movement as a particular time for donations could trigger these fears. For example, in 1126 the abbot of St. Medard in Soissons, after having transported the relics of St. Gregory in response to a plague, placed the relics of the saint on the altar of Mary in the main church. The crowds came, reportedly eager to donate to the saint, but the abbot,

> "... since he was wise and generous, lest this seem to be out of greed, quickly ordered that the holy body be replaced in its own spot, and that the people return home, carrying back the ornaments of peace."[36]

The abbot seems to have been well aware of the criticisms that might be made (presumably, by other clergy) if he were to be too eager to collect the crowd's money. Donations might be accepted in moderation, but the public display of relics might walk a very fine line between offering the saint for adoration and the sin of *avaritia.*

The same process of self-examination seems to have been at work in the unique, and often commented on, report of a 'failed' relic journey by the monastery of Marchiennes. The story of this failure is offered by way of explanation for the rapid return of St. Rictrude's relics from attending a dedication. The reason, according to the hagiographer, was that the community of Marchiennes had learned that their saints did not like to go begging:

> "...because it became known to everyone that to carry around [the saints'] bodies for the sake of money greatly displeased their beatitude."[37]

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[36] "*Quo facto introfertur Sanctus, & super aram B. Mariæ in maiori ecclesia collocatur: confluit turba, munerare cupiens protectorem suū: sed veritus Abbas (vt erat prouidus & liberalis) ne id auaritiæ esse videretur; festinanter in locum suum corpus sanctum reponi iubet, & populum ad propria remeare, reportantem manipulos pacis*." "Miracula S. Gregorii et S. Sebastiani," 750.

[37] "*quia omnibus innotuerat corpora sua lucri gratia circumferri maxime displicere earum beatitudini*." Poncelet, "Miracula S. Rictrudis," 456.

They had come to this conclusion through the experience of bringing the relics of St. Eusebia (Rictrude's daughter) to England. The journey had been planned because the monks had heard that the inhabitants of England were not only rich [*ditissimos*] but also extremely generous to needy saints [*sanctos indigentes maximis honorarent muneribus*]. Their experience, however, was extremely disappointing; no one offered them anything, and they had to strip the silver off Eusebia's reliquary to buy their way home. This failure was interpreted not in terms of accusations of trickery on the part of the English, but as an intervention on the part of God and Eusebia against the greed of the monks:

> "God hardened the heart of the people, so that no hand extended to offer anything. The blessed Eusebia indeed did not arrange that her nurslings grow rich with foreign investments... Indeed on account of what happened to them, it was made clear that it was not pleasing to the virgin [Eusebia] to beg [*mendicare*] in order to satisfy their greed [*cupiditas*]. The wealth with which she had enriched them, they judged to be only meager, and therefore their poverty instead increased, according to what they had deserved from her judgment."[38]

Here, the laypeople were constructed as potential targets (what prompted the extensive journey in the first place was the rumor they they were rich and generous to poor saints) but were not explicitly blamed for their lack of sympathy and financial support, and there is no suggestion that they were critical of the *practice* of traveling relics as such. The idea that the failure of the journey was the consequence of the greed which had motivated it was the result of later reflection by the monks of Marchiennes. The perceived audience for Eusebia's relic journey was disconnected from the fundamental question of whether or not it was appropriate to send the saints out begging; lack of donations was an indicator of divine displeasure, not lay critique.

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[38] "*... Verum cur eis acciderit, liquido patet, quia supradictae virgini, ut eorum cupiditas impleretur, mendicare non placuit. Quae pluribus divitiis eos ditaverat, ipsam modo inopem praedicabant, et ideo secundum quod meruerant ex praedicatione sua magis eorum crevit inopia*." Ibid.

What is particularly intriguing here is that this failure was taken to apply to movements of *all* the saints of Marchiennes. If it was transporting the saints for the sake of money [*lucri gratia*] that was at issue, why would this have affected the transportation of Rictrude's relics to the dedication of a church? This framing of the story of Eusebia's failed relic journey suggests that, on the ground, it may not have been easy to distinguish *quêtes itinérantes*, done for the sake of raising funds, from all other clerical justifications for relic movement. Just as the abbot of Saint-Medard had to quickly replace the relics of Gregory after a journey for plague, the monks of Marchiennes emphasized that the relics of Rictrude had to return immediately from the dedication for fear of "greed". Relic movement, however it was rationalized, invited donations, and monks seem to have been extremely sensitive to this fact and its potential implications about them and their saints. As suggested by the Saint-Ghislain text where the worldly canons were accused of bringing their relics around for financial gain, monasteries might well be very cautious about exposing themselves to similarly reform-minded narratives.[39]

Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, written in the 1220's, reports just such a cautionary tale that may well have been on the minds of those contemplating moving their relics:

> "Novice: What do you think about those preachers, who on account of profit carry around relics of the saints, and deceive many?
> Monk: I will tell you what a certain monk of Bruwilre told me, concerning saints who were offended by such *trufas?*"[40]

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[39] Guibert also implied that relic journeys and preaching were less surprising (but no less scandalous) activities for secular clergy than for monks: "*Ne monachi quidem, nedum clerici ab hoc turpi emolumento se continent, ut res hereticas super fide nostra etiam me audiente pronuntient"*. Guibert of Nogent, "De sanctis et eorum pigneribus," 98.

[4040] "*NOVICIUS : Quid sentis de praedicatoribus illis, qui tantum propter quaestum reliquias sanctorum circumferunt, multosque decipiunt ? MONACHUS : Quod sancti ad talium trufas indignentur, dicam tibi quid monachus quidam de Bruwilre mihi recitavit.*" Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne, Bonn, Brussels, 1851), chap. 67. I have consulted the digitized version of this edition, *Césaire En Ligne*, produced by GAHOM and available at: http://betula.annexus.ehess.fr/sdx/cesaire/index.xsp

The monk then proceeds to tell the tale of a group of secular clergy (again, this story suggests a theme of monastic criticism of relic journeys as something done by secular clergy) who brought around a (genuine) tooth of St. Nicholas enclosed in crystal, which broke as a result of their dishonest behavior. Like many of Caesarius' anecdotes, this story leaves the reader to make of it what they will, but the suggestion is, as the monks of Marchiennes had also concluded, that the saints themselves were wary about the practice. Greed for the donations that relics could bring were also identified as the motives for attempted relic-theft by neighboring communities and by lay thieves, associating relic mobility even more strongly with sin.[41]

Preaching and the lay audience

But can we tell to what extent these ecclesiastical anxieties and accusations reflected the opinions and criticisms of the laity? Caesarius' tale returns us to the question of preaching and the potential 'deception' of the lay audience. Chaucer's satirical character of the Pardoner in the *Canterbury Tales* indicates that by the fourteenth century, the traveling preacher making a living by offering spurious relics for veneration was a good target for criticism and ridicule. It is tempting to project these biting critiques back in time, but adopting only the representation of the laity as victims misses an opportunity to explore more fully the implications of relic journeys for lay spiritual life. As the failed relic journey of Eusebia indicates, the financial success of these ventures depended on encouraging donations, and we have seen the accusations (from lay and

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[41] A rival monastic community supposedly attempted to steal the wood of the cross of St. William (monk) in order to be able to tour it to gain donations: "*Monachia cujusdam monasterii de Francia, zelo ducti et avaritia, propter dona et oblationes quae fiebant in monasterio Gellonensi, ob reverentiam et devotionem illius pretiosissimi Ligni, consilium inierunt, ut, si aliter non possent, furto raperent, et ad suum monasterium transferrent; sic quaestus multiplicis oblationis ad eos consequenter pervenirent*." "Miracula S. Willelmi Monachi Gellonensis," *AASS* May VI, 822. A layman was claimed to have stolen the staff of abbot Bertand and traveled to Spain with it, using it to raise money along the way: "*et exinde ille maleficus multas oblationes recepit*". "Vita S. Bertrandi Episcopi Convenarum," *AASS* Oct. VII, 1181.

ecclesiastical audiences) that the techniques used were lies, tricks, magic and (real or fake) miracles. But did these journeys rely only on the naive piety of the audience? A different image of these interactions is given by Raoul Tortarius in his continuation of the *Miracles* of St. Benedict. His description of a journey of multiple relics from Fleury (Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire) to finance a building project provides an important contrast to the criticisms of Guibert and balances the tendency to project Chaucer's Pardoner back into the twelfth century:

> "One of the brothers, named Gallebert, who was overseer to the masons pursuing the abovementioned work, at length overflowing with too little money, went around many places, and leading with him preachers [*seminiverbios*], by whose admonition the hearts of men and women, entangled in the business of the world, were stirred, that they might lighten his penury by some assistance, however small. While therefore he roamed all around, he came to Vitry-aux-Loges... Going into the church, the preacher [*exhortatorio*] admonished the people with a speech, to flee from the mutability of present life, to strive eagerly for the stability of the future [one] with the desire of a burning spirit. Among other things he begged with flattering persuasions, in which business the entire speech had its origin, that some assistance should be donated for the work entrusted to him, or that they should give a few coins."[42]

It is not hard to connect this description of Gallebert and the "flattering persuasions" of his *seminiverbios* with the type of men whose "rabid eloquence" flustered and enraged Guibert. This text, however, gives a better sense of the kind of appeals made to the crowd. There is the expected insistence that the things of the world are fleeting, and the rewards of heaven eternal (a useful message!) However, it is clear that Gallebert and his companions called for contributions for a specific building project, and were open to all levels of contribution. This is an effect familiar to modern fundraisers; it is much easier to arouse interest in a specific and inspiring goal

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[42] "*Unus ex fratribus, cognomento Gallebertus, qui caementariis fuerat praefectus praetaxato operi insistentibus, pecuniis minus aliquando abundans, ibat circumiens loca plurima, et ducens secum seminiverbios, quorum admonitione excitata virorum et mulierum corda, saeculi negotiis irretita, aliquo suffragio, etsi modico, penuriam ipsius sublevarent. Dum ergo circumquaque discurreret, Vitriacum advenit; qui locus regalis palatii honorificentia nostris temporibus decorabatur. Ingressus itaque ecclesiam, exhortatorio sermone populum commonefaciebat,vitae praesentis mutabilitatem fugere, vitae futurae stabilitatem flagrantis animi desiderio appetere. Inter caetera vero blandis persuasionibus exorabat, ex qua re tota illa exhortatio originem duxerat, quatenus injuncto sibi operi aliquid subsidii impendendo, vel pauca largirentur numismata."*de Certain, "Les miracles de Saint Benôit," 319–20.

than for mundane but necessary everyday expenses. Stephen Murray has interpreted one recorded vernacular sermon as the type of speech that might be made on these occasions by a preacher like Gallebert's companions, linking architecture, theology, and crowd.[43]

What role did relics play in this process? They were not necessarily an integral part of a *quête itinérante,* as Héliot and Chastang showed. Gallebert's activities at Vitry-aux-Loges present a more positive version of the on-the-ground interactions between monk, preacher, people, and relic than Guibert of Nogent. A man called Marcus with a disabled left hand was among those listening and was impressed by what he heard and saw:

> "...he heard the preacher, often extolling the virtues of the father Benedict between other sermons, and having seen present the relics of the saints enclosed in gold, which the aforementioned brother had carried with him in order to excite the devotion of the common people..."[44]

This description envisions the spectacle surrounding itinerant relics; the golden reliquaries were displayed with speeches about previous miracles (likely several taken from the same continuing text that this story joined). This element of spectacle is also distinctively highlighted in the rest of the story; Marcus requested that Gallebert move Benedict's relics in a circle around his hand with the sign of the cross (*vexillum crucis exterius in circuitu pingatis*; *signo crucis exterius circumcinxit*). Whether or not this unusual idea originated with Marcus himself, the listening crowd took an active role in encouraging that this be done (*audita qui aderant eius postulatione, et admirati fidem, exorant et ipsi quae postulabant fieri.*) This might be read as a more positive

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[43] Stephen Murray, *A Gothic sermon: making a contract with the Mother of God, Saint Mary of Amiens* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2004). Murray's text and commentary is an important intervention into the issues of late medieval preaching, because of his stress on an active and participatory audience. He recovers, using the text alone, some of the orality of the performance of this sermon. His emphasis on the church itself as the "object lesson" of the sermon, rather than any relics he might have displayed, suggests an important shift that we also see in the report of Gallebert's trip, from a focus on the relics and the saints (Benedict) to the work at hand.

[44] *"Igitur cum audiret praedicatorem, patris Benedicti virtutes inter alia praedicamenta saepius extollentem, videretque in praesentia sanctorum quorumdam pignora auro inclusa, quae ad excitandam plebis devotionem praedictus frater secum detulerat.."* de Certain, "Les miracles de Saint Benôit," 320.

presentation of the "tests" put to relics when the crowd remained unconvinced (as in the Laonnais canons' experience in Buzençais). That Marcus and the crowd are presented as the initiators of the "test" of Benedict's relics speaks to an interactive and public approach to relics during journeys. The lay crowd was there to be convinced, but not necessarily exploited.

In the end, the image of the laity as naively overawed (and therefore the victims of ecclesiastical greed) seems to be partially a product of ecclesiastical anxieties about wealth and connections to the secular world. *Quêtes itinérantes* were explicitly motivated by financial gain, but all instances of relic mobility inspired donations, enough to make some monasteries worry that even 'innocuous' journeys (for dedications, plague, elevations) might expose them to accusations of greed or the saint's displeasure. Guibert stands as just such an example of an internal accuser. Mobile relics linked the monastic and lay worlds in ways that could be difficult to control, and other ecclesiastical groups might have a sharp eye for a possible avenue for criticism. Guibert and Hermann of Laon also ascribe criticisms based on greed to some laypeople (though they are condemned for sacrilege as a result). More than these isolated hints of open criticism, however, even texts in which the laity are presented as admirably faithful indicate an active and potentially skeptical audience for relic journeys. Though the initially unconvinced becoming convinced through miracles is a hagiographic trope, the work done by Gallebert's preachers was still presented as an uphill battle.

It is in this light that the conciliar restrictions placed on relic journeys, documented by Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, should be revisited.[45] These restrictions (one from 1100, but mostly

[45] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 307. I will not reproduce here Herrmann-Mascard's tracing of the appearance and character of prohibitions on unauthorized itinerant preaching (with or without relics). We might characterize the development of relic mobility, not as a decline into "abuse" but as an evolution to a situation in which relics were exhibited as an addition to preaching (and not, as with earlier episodes of relic mobility, the focus of the event).

from the end of the twelfth century) were almost entirely focused on condemning itinerant preaching for the collection of alms, accomplished with or without relics; Herrmann-Mascard describes this as a result of descent of the practice into abuse. It is worth suggesting, however, that this is problematic "abuse" only from a late medieval clerical perspective. The council documents express concern, along with Guibert, that the relics are likely to be false and the preachers heretical without proper top-down and local control. Yet, their continued publication (Herrmann-Mascard notes that only the Council of Trent put an end to "these abuses so frequently and uselessly denounced") indicates that there continued to be a "market" for these activities. Is this continued audience only attributable to the piety of the gullible, or is the competition with local clergy (an aspect explored in Chapter Two) what was truly at issue? The following section attempts to move beyond narratives of 'deception' to explore the variance of lay opinion expressed about mobile relics, and the active role of monastic authors in attempting to encourage and enforce (rather than effortlessly profit from) lay devotion to them.

III. Lay joy and dissent during relic entries and exits

The ritual moments at which a saint's need for lay devotion might be the most acute were while the relics were actively in motion, particularly while entering or exiting a city. Meeting a visitor outside a city in order to bring them in with a procession had its origins in the triumphs given to Roman generals and emperors, and after the Christianization of the empire, these rituals gained an additional historical association with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.[46] The legacy of

[46] Cf. particularly Ernst Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent': And The Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26, no. 4 (December 1, 1944): 207–31. and Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual : Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001). Maureen Miller has questioned the narrative of antique origins for the Florentine bishop's entry, linking it to contemporary papal developments rather than an uninterrupted antique tradition, and exposed the invention and development of certain aspects of the entry in their political contexts. Maureen C. Miller, "The Florentine Bishop's Ritual Entry and the Origins of the Medieval Episcopal *Adventus*," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 98, no. 1 (June 1, 2003): 5–28.

Rome and these Christian overtones secured the status of the entry as an easily recognizable and ubiquitous type of ritual in the West, throughout the medieval period and into the early modern. The entries of secular rulers hinged on the participation of the crowd exiting from the city to meet the visitor as in, for example, the entries of counts into Flemish cities.[47]

We see a similar reliance on lay welcome, expressed through preparation and celebration, in the entries of traveling relics, for example in the unusually detailed description of the arrival of the relics of St. Taurin at Maçon in 1158. Also like the entries of secular rulers, the relics were not expected to remain permanently in the city, since St. Taurin's relics belonged to the priory of Gigny and would return there. The use of *jocundus adventus* to describe this relic entry explicitly connects it to the royal and comital entries (the "joyeuse entrée" of Flemish counts, as described by Galbert of Bruges).

> "There is a city in the province of Burgundy, which is called Masticus, at which the situation of the place provides an abundance of worldly goods. In that place when the joyous entry (*jocundus adventus*) of the most holy body of bishop Taurinus resounded, everyone proceeded in the way; and each sex, having been set on fire by sacred desire, abandoned their houses, whatever they had in hand they threw down, they went out from the city, and where they heard he was to come, they filled the fields far and wide. The bells were sounded by the city, the road was cleaned from lumps, the street was adorned with draperies and hangings on the left and right. He was taken up with great honor, and with great exultation he was placed in the church of St. Peter. The entire city was riled up by the story (*fama*) of his miracles, and they carried many there in cots, who were paralyzed and had lost the use of their limbs. And with as many healthy people coming

[47] For French and Flemish entry traditions, Lawrence M. Bryant and Jacqueline Falquevert, "La cérémonie de l'entrée a Paris au Moyen Age," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 41, no. 3 (May 1, 1986): 513–42. James M. Murray, "The Liturgy of the Count's Advent in Bruges, from Galbert to Van Eyck," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 137–52.

> as sick ones, the church was unable to take all of them, and so each was laid nearby in whatever manner they were able, inside and out."[48]

There are four key aspects to note about this entry. First, the text describes all the people of the city, of both sexes, abandoning their fields and houses to come out and welcome the saint. This gives the entry description an atmosphere of the carnivalesque, in which the normal rhythms of life are turned upside down. Second, the city sounded the bells. Bell-ringing was an essential element of an entry, as we know from liturgical texts, and at least one saint (St. Balderic of Montfaucon) was known for miraculously making the bells ring to announce his own arrival. Third, the roads of the city were smoothed and draperies were hung on the right and the left of the relics' path, though we are not told what colors or iconographic significance these might have had. Finally, the relics were received and placed in the church of St. Peter, where they were visited by the people of the city.

This is an apparently uncomplicated image of unity and universal joy on the arrival of the saint, much like the descriptions of late medieval and early modern royal entries in which a king, queen, prince or princess would enter a city with elaborate festivities. However, despite the focus on praise and adoration of the ruler, royal entries have recently been read by Teofilo Ruiz as *dialogues* of power and as keys to much larger ideological programs. The apparently stable and

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[48] "*Civitas est in provincia Burgundiæ, quæ Masticus dicitur, cui abundantiam temporalium bonorum situs loci administrat. In illa cum insonuisset jocundus adventus sanctissimi corporis Taurini episcopi, tota obviam procedit: uterque sexus sacro desiderio succensus, domos exponit; quidquid præ manibus habet, abjicit; urbe egreditur, & qua eum venturum audiebat, campos late replet. Pulsantur campanæ per civitatem; via ruderibus emundatur; aulæis, & tapetis a læva & a dextera vicus adornatur. Suscipitur cum magno honore, & cum majori exultatione in ecclesia sancti Petri deponitur. Ad famam miraculorum ejus patria tota commota, plures in grabatis, qui paralytici erant & membrorum olim habilitatem amiserant, defert. Cumque advenientes tam sanos, quam ægrotos, ecclesia recipere non posset, quisque quomodo potuit accubitum sibi fecit intus & extra*." "Circumvectio corporis sancti Taurini," 652.

straightforward form of the late medieval and early modern royal entry masked a symbolic complexity that made them 'sites of contestation'.[49]

We can also read relic entries as 'sites of contestation', not over the nature of secular lordship but over lay attitudes towards relics (the relationship between people and saint, rather than between town and count). In this final section I would like to call into question the idealized image of spontaneous and universal celebration on the part of the laypeople. As the anthropological works of Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner have shown, moments of boundary-crossing are especially generative.[50] As ritualized transitions, relic entries were perceived and promoted as a time of special access to the miraculous power of the saint. However, because relic entries (and exits) were such critical moments, a lack of lay interest and participation was particularly dangerous. Accordingly, ecclesiastical authors and authorities struggled to both model and mandate lay involvement in entries.

Opportunities and risks in welcoming relics

First, what patterns existed for lay interaction with relics during an entry? In the first place, participation in the entry of a relic (by traveling to join the crowds welcoming the relic to the city) was valorized as an act that could gain an individual favor with the saint. In the description of the entrance of St. Amand's relics into Tournai in 1086, the saint's entry became a critical healing moment for one deaf layman. This man had traveled to Tournai from a nearby village along with his neighbors to see the spectacle, and, because there was some delay in the

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[49] "But did these theaters of power work always to the benefit of rulers? The simple answer is that they did not. It is clear that they were, more often than not, sites of contestation and part of an elaborate, polite, but intricate dialogue between political forces." Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 159.

[50] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Symbol, Myth, and Ritual Series (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1977).

saint's arrival, had begun to eat lunch with them. Suddenly, the bells of the church rang to announce the entry, and he found that he could hear the sound as well as his companions:

> "Among the innumerable crowd which went out from the surrounding villages on all sides to the saint, a certain man from the country of Rungiacus, deprived of the hearing of both ears, came with his neighbors to Tournai. When however some delay occurred, turning away with his companions, he began to eat lunch, when suddenly the bells of the church sounded for the advent of the saint, he cried out that he heard first with the other hearers, truly and appropriately by the supporting merits of that father Amand, it was acknowledged that he had received hearing. Later he devotedly completed his vow, carrying a band of wax around his head to the monastery with us watching."[51]

In this narrative the bells functioned interestingly both as the means to determine that a miracle had taken place, and as the symbol of the time at which the miracle occurred (during the entry). This identified Amand's entry as a time of special power that in this case worked to the benefit of a man who had specially traveled to be present at the event.

A more dramatic account of healing during a saint's arrival was given in the account of the translation of St. Hiltrude's relics. A sick man was informed in a dream that the relics were about to pass through his village, and that he would receive healing by announcing them. Upon waking up, he demanded that his friends (who thought he was insane) lead him out to meet the relics. As they left the house, they heard the bells which were carried before the reliquary (this is the only text that mentions this detail), he ran across the fields, lay underneath the relics and was healed.[52] This incident also suggests that miracle narratives attempted to promote enthusiastic

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[51] *"Inter innumerabile vulgus quod de villis circumiacentibus occurrebat vndique Sancto, quidam de rure Rungiaco, priuatus vtriusque auris auditu, cum suis vicinis Tornacum aduenit, aduentum Sancti cum aliis præstolari cœpit. Cum autem aliqua mora fieret, diuertens cum sociis, prandere cœpit, cum subito signa Ecclesiæ, in aduentum Sancti personuere, audientibus aliis inprimis se clamauit audire, suffragantibus ipsius Patris vere digneque Amandi meritis, confessus est auditum se recepisse. Vota postmodum, ceræ scilicet ligaturam circa suum caput deferens, ad monasterium nobis videntibus deuote persoluit."* "Miracula s. Amandi in itinere bragbantino," *AASS* Feb. I, 900–901. BHL 346. O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Ex miraculis S. Amandi in itinere Bragbantino factis," *MGH SS* XV.2, 852–53.

[52] "Vita S. Hiltrudis," *AASS* Sept. VII, 499. The mention that bells were carried and rung as the reliquary traveled is interesting, though other texts highlight the noisiness of the relic's progress into a town.

welcome of a saint's relics as a means through which the laypeople could particularly express devotion and be rewarded for it (even when the village was too small to field a procession of clergy).

These assurances of the essential correctness of going out to meet the saint were important, because it might also be suspected as an excuse for less religious activities. In a story reminiscent of Cinderella told about the relics of St. Ursmar, an evil stepmother beat her stepdaughter severely for going out to meet the relics when they arrived in Lille. The stepmother's accusation was that the girl was pursuing a romantic encounter with a young nobleman under cover of devotion to the saint. According to the text, the girl called on St. Ursmar to witness that she had been truly interested in seeing his relics, and the stepmother's arm was paralyzed as she raised it to hit the girl.[53] Again, the entry of a relic was advertised as an occasion in which the saint was likely to work miracles for those devoted enough to participate. The story of St Ursmar also contains overtones which hint once again at the carnivalesque character of a relic entry: first, by suggesting that an entry might be tumultous and chaotic enough to disguise a surreptitious romance, and second, by treating the entry as a time conducive to the reversal and disruption of the normal structures of familial and social power.

Other accounts, however, show that this special time of power might be dangerous, rather than beneficial, to the individual laypeople of the city. When St. Amand's relics reached Douai, a woman who attempted to leave with the procession to welcome them was suddenly paralyzed as she left her house. The author of the text, Gislebert of Saint-Amand, expresses some uncertainty about this event. He claims that he does not know why "she was not found worthy"

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[53] Holder-Egger, "Miracula S. Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam facta." Also on this journey: Geoffrey Koziol, trans., "The Miracles of St. Ursmer on His Journey through Flanders," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, vol. 1942 (New York: Garland Pub, 2000); Koziol, "Monks, Feuds and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders."

to participate in the procession, but speculates that she may have blasphemed against St. Amand without performing appropriate penitence:

> "But we also do not consider it fitting to be silent regarding that which we saw conspicuously performed at Douai. For a certain woman processed to us among other healthy people, but, because of I do not know what guilty fault, she was not found worthy to run out to (*occurrere*) to the saint, perhaps having sinned in some blasphemy against him, which she had not yet punished with appropriate penitence. The justice of the Lord is a great abyss. From this it happened that at once, when she was leaving her house, her feet stuck to her buttocks and her hand to her chest as if fastened with a key, and thus she lay half-dead."[54]

A similarly negative account from the monastery of Conques related that a girl whose hands had previously been healed by St. Foy refused to stand up when Foy's reliquary exited the monastery on a journey. As a result, she was suddenly "un-healed" and once again needed to seek St. Foy's help.[55] St. Ouen declined (through the immobility of his reliquary) to enter a chapel dedicated to Michael the archangel, because of his unwillingness to share the space with those who had violated sanctuary, murdered, and plundered (this reasoning was explained to the monks by an old man, later interpreted to

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[54] "*Sed & illud reticere non ducimus commodum, quod Duaci perspeximus insigniter perpetratum. Quædam namque inter alias incolumis processit nobis fæmina, sed, nescio cui reatui obnoxia, non est inuenta Sancto occurrere digna, fortassis in eum alicuius blasphemiæ rea; quam necdum digna punierat pœnitentia. Iudicia enim Domini abyssus multa. Vnde factum est vt statim, vbi domum rediit, pedes eius natibus, manus quoque pectori quasi clauis infixæ hærerent, ac sic semimortua iaceret*." "Miracula S. Amandi corpore per Franciam deportato," *AASS Feb. I*, col. 898; O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Ex miraculis S. Amandi in itinere Gallico factis," 1888, 850.

[55] Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 80–81.

have been an apparition of Ouen himself).[56] Stories like these established a relic's mobility as a time of testing, an invitation (or requirement) that lay individuals both scrutinize their past relationship with this saint as well as publicly demonstrate their devotion. In this, a relic entry represented the active assertion of spiritual power over the individuals of the town being entered.

However, cautionary tales seem to not always have been enough to ensure the desired levels of lay devotion. The entry, as well as being a time of testing for the people, was also considered a time of testing for the *saint*. An expected entry might in fact fail to happen altogether. The account of the journey of St. Lewinna's relics relates that when her reliquary reached the town of Leffinghe, "it was neither taken up nor honored by the inhabitants, because as they said, no one had heard of the name of this [saint] before in that place." Interestingly, this embarrassing lack of an entry was blamed on the saint's deficient reputation rather than the people's unwillingness to honor her. After the relics had been placed in the church without the benefit of a welcome, one of the monks warned Lewinna that if she did not prove herself by performing miracles, she would be carried back to the monastery in dishonor. An entry, then, could function as a litmus test for the relationship of the town to the saint in question, and the

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[56] "Miracula S. Audoeni," 831–832. Another interesting account of a saint's refusal to enter a city is given in the *Miracles* of St. Evermar. This text presents a strong counterpoint to the fear expressed at Saint-Riquier of turning their saint into a "beggar". Evermar's hagiographer embraces the saint's itinerancy and mendicancy: "*In omnibus civitatibus vel villis, ut bonus & a Deo missus peregrinus, excipitur; & quasi Dominicus salutatur hospes & adoratur. Nullam villam excipit a suo ingressu, nullam sui immeritam facit, & pro benignitate & humilitate sua omnes sibi ęquiparat, seque omnibus contemperat; quia penuriam suam pensans, ad subsidium suum ante januas eorum, ut quilibet pauper, stipem mendicat*." This acceptance, however, is counterbalanced with the refusal of the saint (through the immobility of his reliquary) to enter the village of Herstal, despite his bearers' argument that the people there are rich and likely to give generously. The saint remains (literally) unmoved, and this is confusing to the hagiographer but ultimately attributed to some unknown resentment on the part of the saint towards that village in particular: "*Possemus de hac re multa opinari...Noverit sanctus, quod offensae sibi et isti villae intercesserit; et si disponit quandoque illi placari, precibus omnium Dei fidelium et praecipue suorum Rutensium, placationem suam dignetur accelerare, et inter ceteras villas etiam Herstellium vectigalem sibi assumere: disponentes deinde cum sancto corpore alias transire, mox relevati gravi onere agiles veredarii se sancto corpori supposuerunt, et circuitu feliciter exacto, tandem suae Ruti s. Evermarum reddiderunt*." "Miracula S. Evermari," *AASS* May I, 136–137. Brussels KBR 18644-18652.

laity, at least in this situation, could decide whether or not this was a dialogue that would take place.

Lay questioning of itinerant relics

The initial skepticism of the people of Leffinghe towards Lewinna's relics was not condemned (given, of course, that they were willing to recognize Lewinna's miracles once she deigned to perform them). Other texts also reflect, and even encourage, a certain level of lay skepticism and questioning of unfamiliar relics, though this did not necessarily take place during the entry procession. A process of lay inquiry about a traveling relic took a very specific form in the journey of the Virgin Mary's relics held by Laon to England in 1113. This incident, however, took place in Arras on the way to England. An old man who had been blind for twelve years heard that the relics of St. Mary of Laon had arrived that day in the city, and:

> "...asked about the form, and style, and size of the reliquary. When he had learned this, immediately drawing a deep breath from the depth of his chest, and pouring out tears copiously he said, "Oh! I, a sinner, made this reliquary with my hands in my youth, by the order of the lord bishop Elinand of Laon. In this same [reliquary] the bishop placed precious relics, among which were the head of St. Valery abbot, and also the head of St. Montanus who, as I heard from that same bishop, when he lost the sight of his eyes, he foretold the birth of St. Remigius to his mother Cilinia, and he put her milk on his eyes and received light."[57]

The goldsmith then asks Mary to grant him a similar miracle (though the relics he remembers being in the reliquary are not hers) and restore his sight so that he can once again view her reliquary. After having water washed over the relics put on his eyes, drinking some of the same, and spending the night next to the reliquary, his wish was, according to the text, granted.

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[57] "*...audiens feretrum sanctae Mariae Laudunensis advenisse, interrogabat formam, vel qualitatem, seu quantitatem eiusdem feretri. Quam cum didicisset, protinus ex imo pectoris trahens alta suspiria, lacrymasque ubertim profundens:Heu! inquit, hoc feretrium manibus meis composui ego peccator in juventute mea, jussu domni Helinandi Laudunensis episcopi. In hoc idem episcopus pretiosas reliquias posuit, inter quas fuit caput sancti Walarici abbatis, nec non et caput sancti Montani, qui, sicut ab eodem episcopo audivi, cum oculorum visum amisisset, ortum sancti Remigii beatae Cilniae matri eius praenuntiavit, sibique de lacte eius lumen reddendum subjunxit, quod et postea contigit."* Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," 975.

Although this incident did not occur during the relic's entry (the entry to Arras is noted simply as "we were received quite honorably") it reflects the extended process, seen at Lewinna's arrival in Leffinghe, of establishing the itinerant relics' merit to the town's population. The goldsmith is identified as a remarkably articulate witness to the contents of the reliquary because, as its creator, who better than he to recognize his handiwork (albeit through a second-hand description) and remember what was supposed to have been placed inside? As an aside, it is interesting that he makes no claims about the relics of Mary, who is the focus of the text. This incident speaks to questions about validation of traveling relics; in the goldsmith's assertions we see a reflection of a form of clerically-approved lay doubt about the relics that have temporarily appeared in their town. Clerical worries about the authenticity of relics are well-known and are a guiding force in translations and elevations, where a "doubter" character often appears as a trope in order to make the validation and authentication of the relics that much more convincing.

This type of "positive" lay questioning appears in accounts of other relics' travels as well. On a journey to raise money to replace church ornaments ca. 1074, the monks of St. Quentin traveling with St. Romana's relics stopped near Argenteuil and requested some fish from a group of fishermen, who responded with some pointed questions:

> "When the long journey and upcoming fast cautioned the wards of the holy virgin to indulge themselves with a more lavish dinner, going onto the bank of the neighboring river they asked the fishermen, whom they saw getting out of a small boat, to either give or sell them fish for the love of the holy body that they were carrying with them. The fishermen first questioned from where, and of what merit that holy body might be, and by which name it was called, then at length responded that that they had no fish..."[58]

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[58] "*Cum autem alumnos sanctæ Virginis & extensum iter, & prolixius jejunium indulgere sibi largiore refectione admonerent, egressi ad vicini fluminis ripam piscatores, quos de navicula egredientes conspiciunt, ut sibi pisces pro amore sancti Corporis, quod secum deferebant, tribuerent aut venderent, postulabant. Qui prius sciscitantes unde, & cujus meriti esset sanctum illud corpus, & quo nomine diceretur; tandem responderunt,se neque pisces habere..."* "Passio et translatio S. Romanae anno 1069," *AASS* Oct. II, 139–40.

Before even considering the monks' request for fish, the fishermen wanted to know all about the relics they are accompanying: what saint they are associated with, where the saint comes from, and what power they have. This scene is an idealized version of events, but it points again to a concern that traveling relics be properly identified and vouched for. The implication was that if the monks were not able to give a satisfactory account of their relics and saint, no help would be forthcoming (as it was, the point was moot because of the lack of fish; one wonders why the fisherman bothered asking). These sources suggest that the audience for traveling relics, while perhaps receptive and generous, was not expected to be naive, and that doubts about traveling relics' identities were present alongside (and perhaps necessary to) acceptance and welcome. The *Miracles* of St. Theodoric reveal that these forms of doubt were not at all unfounded: the hagiographer notes explicitly that when money was needed to complete a portal in 1102, the monks lied about the contents of the reliquary that was carried around to raise the necessary funds. Although it did contain "precious relics of the saints", and was carried under Theoderic's name, Theoderic's body was *not* inside but remained entire and safe back at the monastery.[59]

Doubt and affirmation, then, might be a critical part of a traveling relic's interaction with laypeople *en route*. However, suspicion and criticism of traveling relics were also portrayed as highly dangerous activities. While cautious and justified questioning of a relic's legitimacy might be presented as the work of a group (it was "the people" of Leffinga who did not initially welcome Lewinna, and who would eventually recognize her power), outright attacks were often depicted as the unilateral work of a single individual, who then became an appropriately specific

[59] "*Anno Dominicæ incarnationis M C II. induximus animo porticum nobis necessariam ante valvas ecclesiæ hujus construere: quæ cum plurima ex parte nostris impensis assurgeret, sed consummari negligeretur, privatim deliberavit sacrista noster, ut loculus aptaretur pretiosis Sanctorum reliquiis, qui circumcirca deferretur, quatenus devota fidelium oblatione cœptum opus perficeretur. Qui decenter compositus, Sanctorum nonnullorum memoriæ, quaquaversum sub nomine beatissimi Theoderici ferebatur, nec tamen corpus ejus continebat: quippe quod integerrimum, id est sine aliqua diminutione sui, loculo suo conditum apud nos servatur*." "Miracula S. Theodorici," 79.

target for a negative reaction from a saint. Take, for example, the reported reaction of St. Marius (whose relics were often on the move) to a pointed (and public) criticism of one such journey:

> "Another time that same body [of Marius] was carried by the same monks to a place of his possession called Glenat. It happened there that a certain rustic, ignorant of the reverence and fear of the saint that it is necessary to have, began to deride the transportation of the holy body, and to complain of the veneration that should be exhibited to it, with stupid and impudent words. But immediately he gouged out his own eye with his sickle, which he held in his hand, and too late he realized what reverence he ought to have for St. Marius, and that the veneration exhibited to that saint is not to be derided."[60]

Stories like this one, in which a "blasphemer" character is spectacularly punished, are a standard type of hagiographic trope and are not confined to descriptions of relic journeys. Episodes regarding antagonism towards saints, within hagiographies, are generally included as cautionary tales rather than explanations of how or when a relic might be criticized. However, the fact that the unfortunate *rusticus* criticized not only Marius' right to be venerated, but also the transportation of his relics [*deportationem... deridere coepisset*], suggests that a relic's movement might particularly expose it to overt criticism.[61]

The visibility and publicity of a relic during a formal spectacle (whether strictly an entry procession or not) made these patterns of interaction even more momentous. In a description of the annual procession of the relics of St. Basle from the monastery of Saint-Basle in Verzy to Reims, twenty kilometers away, we see first, an incident of lay testing and subsquent validation, and second, an incident of lay criticism and subsequent punishment. This procession is

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[60] "*Alia vice idem corpus ab eisdem monachis est delatum in locum suæ possessionis vocabulo Glenadum. Accidit illic ut quidam rusticus, reverentiæ sanctis habendæ ac timoris ignarus, deportationem illam sacri corporis, atque expostulationis exhibendæ illi venerationis, stultis deridere cœpisset ac procacibus verbis; sed hic continuo falce, quam gerebat manu, oculum sibimet evulsit; & quæ S. Mario reverentia esset habenda, quodque exhibita illi veneratio non deridenda, sero cognovit*." "Vita et miracula S. Marii (Liber II)," *AASS* Jun. II, 123–4.

[61] In the context of a translation, the narrative arc of initial doubt followed by reaffirmed sanctity is often even more pronounced. We see the same pattern, for example, in the translation of St. Sigibert, during which a "*secularium hominum*" questions the saint. "Translatio S. Sigeberti Anno 1063 et Miracula," *AASS* Feb. I, 238.

characterized as a time of extreme lay devotion; the text claims that thousands of laypeople came together from the surrounding area and that the citizens of the city came out to meet the relics in a procession.[62] Overall, it was supposed to be a time of "festive eagerness" for the relics.

This highly public devotion is highlighted in an anecdote told about one of these processsions led by abbot Albricus [abbot from 1124-1143]. During the commotion of the event, a poor laywoman apparently threw her disabled daughter into the path of the relics as they traveled. According to the text, the porters of the relics abruptly stopped, to the great surprise of the monks and their abbot, and were miraculously prevented from continuing. Then, as the monks watched, the girl was healed by the power of the saint, the relics were once again mobilized, and a crowd of people joined the girl in dancing in front of the reliquary as the procession continued. This was perhaps the most public "test" of a relic that could be devised; the shocking nature of the woman's action and the crowd's reaction is highlighted:

> "There [she] threw down her daughter with the constancy of faith, not without the great stupefaction of everyone, fearing neither those running around nor those treading on her... with a determined spirit."[63]

An extremely public lay "test", then, was followed by the expected public demonstrations of lay joy. However, this must be contrasted with a story from the same text about the same procession, but one that occurred earlier, in 1108 or 1109 [the first year of the archbishopric of Rodulph]. The monks were just exiting Reims after the archbishop's benediction when a young man named

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[62] "*Moris est ut hujus beati viri corpus per singulos annos ab abbate monasterii et fratribus, circumfluentibus populorum millibus, ad indictum Remese cum sollemni jucunditate transferatur et procedente obviam civitate in loco celebri deponatur, et habito sermone a pontifice ad populum, rursum cum ingenti devotione et festiva alacritate ad locum sibi destinatum reducitur...*" "Miracula S. Basoli," in *CCH Paris*, vol. III (Paris: Picard, 1893), 218.

[63] "*Ibi quadam constantia spei filiam projecit, et non sine magno stupore omnium, nec circumcursantes nec conculcantes reverita, puellam sub ipsum feretrum obstinato animo dimisit*" Ibid., 219–220. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 39.

Dominicus also initiated a very dramatic ritual moment that shocked the crowd, but with very different results.

> "Between the groups preceding and following [the reliquary], those in the middle were speaking together about the virtues of the holy man, but Satan was present among them. For when certain people (a not insignificant number) celebrated victory, because in that place they had remained from the beginning on the side of the great protector, a certain flag-bearer of insanity broke in among us, a Lotharingian, a lover of fickleness and pride, named Dominicus, but certainly diabolical in this case.When he had made himself higher than our men, he proclaimed that he did not want to ever serve or be subject to the saint."[64]

Dominicus' declaration that he would not serve St. Basle was not the kind of pronouncement that medieval saints or clerics looked kindly on, and the text claims that he was suddenly stricken by a demonic attack and unable to move his hands or feet. The crowd in turn responded to this clear sign of divine disfavor by throwing mud at him, until he was eventually taken into a small hut in a village on the way to Reims where he seems to have been forgiven and recovered (though the narrative trails off without finishing). What stands out in this description is the highly public nature of Dominicus' denunciation of Basolus. This was not an instance of a silent and private doubt of the saint; Dominicus had actively proclaimed his own desire "not to serve" Basolus as a counterpoint to those who had been publicly discussing his merits and celebrating their devotion to him. The reaction of the crowd in throwing dirt at Dominicus, after he had been miraculously immobilized, can be read as an equally public declaration of their belief (according to the hagiographer) that he had been punished by the saint.

Both the story of the laywoman's disabled daughter and Dominicus' rejection of service to St. Basle are idealized scenarios. The text is certainly not neutral, and these two moments are

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[64] ".. *inter praecedentium et subsequentium turmas medii de virtutibus sancti viri colloquerentur, affuit inter eos etiam satan. Nam cum quidam, quorum non parva erat multitudo, triumpharent, eo quod ab origine sub tanti protectoris parte consisterent, inrupit inter nos insaniae signifer quidam, genere Lotharingus, levitatis et arrogantiae gloriator, nomine quidem Dominicus, re autem vera diabolicus. Qui dum excelsiorem nostris hominibus se faceret, se autem nec velle umquam servire sanctis proclameret nec subici...*" "Miracula S. Basoli," 219.

only reported in order to hammer home the moralistic point that those devoted to the saint will be rewarded, while those who are not will be punished. Yet, these two moments drawn from the same relic's journey reflect a variance of lay opinion that medieval texts rarely report or dwell on. Dominicus' moment of rebellion, however antagonistically described, suggests strongly that there were those who resisted certain aspects of the cult of saints, or at least certain individual saints, and moments of relic mobility gave them an opportunity to air these ideas in a public space.

Further evidence of this kind of variance of lay opinion and tension between clergy and laity comes from the *Annales Cameracenses,* written by Lambert of Watterlos. In Dominicus' attack on St. Basle, the crowd reacted unfavorably to his denouncement of the saint and his mobile relics: what if they had not? The entry for the *Annales* in 1165 provides just such an example, in which the lay crowd was in fact swayed from the display of itinerant relics by an enticing alternative.[65] There, Lambert describes a journey of one of the reliquaries of the Virgin Mary away from Cambrai for the purpose of raising funds for the continued repair of the church (making this a clear example of a *quête itinérante*). The bishop and his clergy, however, had a very strange experience while publically exposing the relics to the inhabitants of Cambrai on their return. Certain elderly women of the city, identified as witches [*pithonissae* had had dreams and visions, and their actions caused "a very bitter controversy between clerics and laypeople" [*controversia inter clericos et laicos nimis acerba*]. When the reliquary was set up for veneration (and the donations steadily flowing), the *pithonissae* came close and informed the viewers that if they were to go wash first in a certain stream, they would receive full health. Lambert, by no means sympathetic, describes this stream as essentially a pit for household waste

[65] Lambert of Watterlos, "Annales Cameracenses," *MGH SS* XVI, 536–538.

and dead animals. A few people took them up on this promise, and returned to the relics and the crowd around them claiming that they had been restored to health in the stream. From there the situation seems to have evolved rapidly; the entire crowd abandoned Mary's relics for the stream, and the *pithonessae* now claimed that the stream contained precious lost relics that, if excavated, would work better signs and miracles than Mary could.

In these claims, we see Lambert's expectation (and horror) that the lay crowd might have an agency of its own in choosing between itinerant church-approved relics and rival local claims to sacrality, power, and authority. The coda to the story indicates just how far this agency might extend. The bishop and clergy were predictably unhappy with these developments, and forbade visitation of the stream. Not only was this mandate ignored by the people, things apparently went far enough that some number of the citizens [*quorumdam*] argued for the expulsion of the bishop and his clergy from the city as evildoers (!) and the prompt excavation of the stream. The former appears not to have happened, but on the second day of this religious frenzy the people decided to put the claims of the *pithonissae* to the test and excavate the stream. Lambert reports complacently that, having found nothing but the bones of dogs and mules, the people recognized their error, begged pardon, scorned the *pithonissae*, and returned to properly venerating Mary's relics. This strange and unique story provides another glimpse into just how vulnerable an itinerant relic might be. Rivals could be found not only among the clergy, as in Chapter Two, but among certain lay factions and individuals. Even more disconcertingly for the clergy, these rivals might gain traction among the broader lay population in ways that threatened, not only the reputation of the relics, but the very structure of ecclesiastical authority. Danger to relics might come not only from isolated individuals like Dominicus, and even a bishop's order might not be enough to stop a groundswell of lay opinions and expectations.

Two separate forms of lay interactions with traveling relics, then, emerge from the previous discussion. On the one hand, we have the expected motifs of lay joy and eagerness to access the relics' miracle-working powers, and the expectation that mobile relics offered special opportunities to do so (especially during the entry procession). On the other hand, there are two threads of interaction that center on critique of the relics: doubt as to their identity and power, and open refusals to venerate them. The former was not necessarily viewed negatively by the clergy, but could be part of an expected process of questioning, while the latter was treated with shock and claims of divine punishment. In both cases, however, these were not generalized critiques of the practice of transporting relics, but focused on the individual saint who was being transported (as in Dominicus' refusal to "serve or be subject to that saint").

These issues, and the gap between clerical and lay perspectives on these events, come further into focus in an account of St. Marculf's relics' journey from Corbeny in 1102 (also discussed in Chapter 2 in terms of the relationship between Corbeny and Saint-Fursey of Péronne). The essential correctness of the journey had been carefully justified before Marculf's departure from the priory by reference to other journeys being performed by well-respected monasteries. When the relics reached Peronne, the relics were installed in the church and a series of donations were being made, when several young men began to question the saint's validity:

> "Indeed several of the young men, sons of Belial, animated by a whirlwind of levity and the buffoonery of frenzy, insulting with chattering voices, they derided [him] with wrinkled noses one to another with ridicule, asking with mockery, who then was this Marculf? [saying] that they had not heard to this point that any such man of that name existed, regarding [him] with ridicule and insanity."[66]

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[66] "*Nonnulli vero juvenum, filii Belial, levitatis turbine & vecordiæ scurrilitate agitati, garrulis vocibus insultando ac rugosis naribus alterutrum irridendo subsannabant; quisnam fuerit iste Marculfus, ludibrio inquirentes; non audisse se hactenus quemlibet hominum hujus nominis extitisse, non sine ridiculo & insania perhibentes*." "Miracula S. Marculfi Peronae facta," 535.

These young men apparently suffered no ill effects from this, but the incident seems to have cast a shadow over the visit. The delegation from Corbeny took the relics to the church of St. John the Baptist in Peronne and made plans to go to Arras, to the point of the prior in charge of the journey visiting Arras to ensure the relics would be welcomed there. However, before they could leave the clergy of St. Fursey staged a procession to the church of St. John, asking them to return to St. Fursey, a request that they declined at the time but later fulfilled (as discussed in Chapter Two). These complicated politics of movement into and within the city were bookended by an elaborate exit procession that suggests an inversion of the entry ritual. Although the text claims that the entire city was saddened by the prospect of the relics' departure, the participation of the townspeople in the procession to send them off was explicitly *required* by ecclesiastical and secular authorities:

> *"*Therefore through the entire city, by the order of the nobles and of the canons [of Saint-Fursey] it was proclaimed by a crier in a loud voice that all the people should prepare to accompany the return of the generous patron the next day..." [67]

Although this command does not necessarily imply unwillingness on the part of the people to honor St. Marculf, it calls into question both the spontaneity and the universality of the joyful crowds present at relic entries and exits. Were other joyous crowds assembled in response to a formal order? Other texts do not mention a similar mandate, but the approach of relics was generally announced ahead of time and would have given time for social pressure, if not a top-down order, to have had an effect. Significantly, it was the canons of St-Fursey, and not the people, who during this procession requested that Marculf's relics be placed on the ground outside the city, creating a secondary sacred site which would continue to work miracles for them (as discussed in Chapter Three). Lay joy may have been genuine, but the clerical interest in

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[67] "*Per totum ergo oppidum, jussu principis & canonicorum, magna voce præconis edicitur, ut plebs universa ad deducendum patroni tam liberalis in crastino reditum accingatur...*" Ibid., 538.

ensuring the ritual "success" of relic mobility (gauged through lay donations and celebration) throws a shadow of suspicion over these claims.

Conclusion

This chapter proposed to uncover the roles and views of laypeople towards mobile relics. The conclusions may seem unsatisfactory; for a chapter on the laity, I have spent much of my time discussing the clergy. Yet, it has been essential to uncover the suspicious parallels between certain concerns attributed to the laity (particularly, clerical greed) and internal ecclesiastical rhetoric and accusations. Lay devotion and praise was a necessary aspect of relic mobility (even outside the context of translations), and it was important enough that ecclesiastics mandated lay involvement and told cautionary tales about individuals who withdrew or criticized the saints during key ritual moments of movement. Standard representations of the "joyous crowd" of laypeople should be read with these explicit top-down directives in mind.

At the same time, it is clear that there was some level of lay dissent and questioning of mobile relics; a variety of lay perspectives on relic journeys rather than a unified approach emerge. Lay individuals and groups were willing to openly critique and mock, or at best to ignore, relics they were unfamiliar (or perhaps too familiar) with. The texts' approach to this lay audience also ranged, from tacit approval and even encouragement of lay questioning of itinerant relics to full-blown denouncement. Overall, mobile relics could encounter openly hostile lay reactions even outside the competitive environments discussed in Chapter Two. Rather than naive victims of clerical greed, the laity emerge as active participants in relic journeys, whether that activity took the form of public demonstrations of devotion or critique. I read this active participation as an effect primarily of relic mobility; moving relics particularly exposed them to a

range of responses from laypeople, both positive and negative (which we rarely see otherwise), as a result of their heightened publicity and state of liminality.

Chapter Five: The Imagined World of Relic Journeys

> "Now indeed we beg you as fathers and lords, and our co-canons, by whose command we went over the sea, [and] underwent many struggles on the journey, that you commit our souls to the Lord and his pious mother, who sent donations to you through us, and that you allow us to be participants in all the good things which are done or which will be done in the church of Laon."
>
> -The *Miracles* of St. Mary of Laon[1]

The account of the relic journey of the canons of Laon to England in 1113 was written in the first person even though its author, Hermann of Tournai, was neither a canon nor a participant in the trip. Hermann, a former abbot who had spent time in Laon and befriended bishop Bartholomew after having been evicted from his own monastery, wrote the text in the mid-1140's while on an errand in Spain.[2] He presented the journey from Laon as a story-within-a-story, told by the canons who went to England to those who had stayed behind and ending with the final affective appeal for prayers quoted above. Hermann explained in his dedicatory letter to Bartholomew that he chose to use the first person despite his lack of personal involvement in order to lend his work *auctoritas*, but it also gave his narrative a vividness and immediacy that emphasized the canons' experiences as travelers. The difficulties and marvels encountered in England (which included pirates, a hostile deacon, Irish kidnappers, Arthur legends, and a dragon) served not only to demonstrate the power of the Virgin's relics they carried with them, but also the canons'

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1 Hermann of Tournai, "Miracula S. Mariae Laudunensis," col. 986.

2 On Hermann and his account, Gabriela Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt: Hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an eine hochmittelalterliche Wunderpredigt* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995). Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities*, 63–99., particularly 75-81.

own dedication to the community of Laon.[3] Hermann interpreted their journey as an act of heroic devotion, almost a type of pilgrimage, which had earned them a personal claim on the gratitude and prayers of their co-canons.

In this, Hermann's account speaks to the processes of memory and commemoration at work long after a relic journey was completed. The previous chapters have all been concerned with recovering some of the "realities" of relic journeys, or at least the near-contemporary interpretations of their goals, challenges, and results. Yet, the texts which preserve the memories of these journeys were always the product of reflection after the fact. These considerations should not be viewed simply as obstacles to the historical truth, but also as paths to questions about how religious communities came to interpret the significance of their saints' adventures outside the monastery regarding their own roles as the guardians of the physical object of the relics. Images, in addition to texts, provide valuable clues to what we might call the "imagined world" of relic journeys: the textual and visual themes from which they drew power and which different modes of representation, in turn, augmented and solidified. This chapter explores the processes through which hagiographers and artists explored and embellished the completion of a relic journey, particularly how they valorized those, like the canons of Laon, who had been charged with carrying and accompanying traveling relics.

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[3] The unique perspective of Hermann's account, and his emphasis on the canons' active roles in the success of the trip, presents a contrast to Guibert of Nogent's more prosaical account written much earlier, shortly after the trips themselves and likely the product of close contact with Laon. Guibert describes a village being destroyed by fire following a lightning strike; in Hermann's account, the lightning is replaced by an immense dragon which rises out of the sea and which the canons return (abandoning the relics) specifically to view. Hermann's account, however, had a visual and textual afterlife: it was adopted into Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* compilation, which in turn was extensively copied and illustrated. This suggests the ways in which a single journey could be interpreted and used in a variety of ways decades after its completion.

The special focus of this chapter is the Old Testament motif of the Ark of the Covenant and its relationship to relic journeys. I argue that the Ark of the Covenant was not only directly understood as an interpretive model for some portable relics, but that some images of the Ark can be interpreted as proxies for the visual experience of relic mobility.[4] This argument relies on clarifying, as much as possible, what elements of the depictions of the Ark derive from the Old Testament text itself and how we might interpret discrepancies or additions as evidence for the influence of the experience of moving relics. To do this, I begin by reviewing the Old Testament descriptions of the Ark, before moving on to the images of arks and their evolution over time. Although there are very few direct connections, specific forms of decoration (panelling on the sides, ridges on the top) appear that suggest that illustrators were drawing on their experiences of watching relics be carried, creating parallels between their world and the world of the Old Testament. This impression is confirmed, in the following section, through an examination of extant reliquaries and the relatively scarce images of 10th-12th c. relic movements. One important example, an image of St. Cuthbert's reliquary being transported, not only connects clearly to contemporary Ark images but suggests that the question of who could or should interact with the reliquary/ Ark was potentially a contentious question.

In the final section, I turn to the textual ramifications of these parallels between contemporary experience and Old Testament models. Certain hagiographers used the motif of the Ark of the Covenant and its episodes of mobility explicitly to explain and construct the experience of those traveling with relics. Although biblical analogies were common in medieval

[4] I am not the first to argue for a fundamental ark-reliquary connection. Cynthia Hahn has recently written that "Reliquaries look, act, and indeed are like the Ark throughout the Middle Ages...Ultimately, the idea of the space of the Ark is the single most important metaphor used to conceptualize reliquaries". Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 241. Here, I am not addressing the theological and cosmic approaches to reliquaries as Arks, but am interested in the implications of this close association for how we should understand relic mobility more broadly.

hagiography, helpful for establishing both the saint's legitimacy and the author's erudition, the use of the Ark in these accounts also functioned as a practical model through which itinerant relics could be conceptually represented. In the end, what emerges from both texts and images is a new sense of how hagiographers and illustrators imagined the experience of relic journeys, and particularly, how they imagined and idealized the roles of those accompanying relics. What did it mean to have accompanied the saint on their journeying, and in what ways could that experience be commemorated, praised, and aestheticized?

I. Arca Dei: Imagining the movement of the Ark of the Covenant

Mobility was, in a sense, built into the Ark itself. The description of its design in Exodus was both detailed and precise; the Ark was to be a rectangular box of settim wood, covered in gold, with two cherubim on the top and four rings attached to the corners. Wooden poles covered in gold were to be placed through these rings for the purpose of carrying the Ark, and they were never to be removed. Thus the Ark, from its inception, was an object meant to be carried: a portable sacred object for an itinerant people.[5] As a result, some of the most prominent appearances of the Ark in the Old Testament texts were linked to its mobility. It was carried before the Israelites as they journeyed, covered by three separate cloths, with the threat that any

[5] Exodus 25:10-15 describes the design for the Ark. The rings at the four corners can be an important indication of whether or not an image of the Ark was designed with an explicit reference to Exodus, or was influenced more by non-textual experiences (such as relic processions). For an extensive discussion of the textual description of the Ark's physical appearance, Elisabeth Revel-Neher, *Le signe de la rencontre: l'arche d'alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles* (Paris: Association des amis des études archéologiques byzantino-slaves et du christianisme oriental, 1984), 21–33. Revel-Neher makes the same point regarding the essential mobility of the Ark, "… C'est là [the poles for carrying the Ark] le symbole de la mobilité constante, permanente de l'Arche, indispensable aux enfants d'Israël dans toutes leurs pérégrinations, en tous endroits, en tous temps." p. 26.

who saw it uncovered would die.[6] It was brought with the Israelite army into battle in order to support them to victory, and when it was left behind in the camp they interpreted their defeat as due to its absence. In crossing the Jordan River, the movement of the Ark ahead of the people was the trigger for a miracle in which the waters parted to allow them to cross (recalling the previous miracle of the parting of the Red Sea). After the crossing, the Ark's dramatic transportation around the walls was presented as central to the taking of the city of Jericho. Although the Ark had not been constructed at the time of the crossing of the Red Sea, the similarity of the episode to the Jordan crossing meant that they were often equated. In Psalm 113, for example, both the Jordan and Red Sea were addressed as bodies of water that "ran away from" the advance of the Israelites. The fact that the Ark was not present at the Red Sea crossing also seems to have been ignored by at least one 15th c. illuminator, who showed the Ark present at (though not actively involved in) the Red Sea crossing (Figure 1).

On these occasions, the Old Testament text specified that the Ark was carried by four priests using poles, following the details of its initial construction. These bearers were central to the operation of the miracles (as, for example, when the water of the Jordan receded after touching their feet). However, the Ark was also described traveling on a cart pulled by two oxen as it returned from capture by the Philistines. Before its final arrival in Jerusalem, an unfortunate cart driver leaned back and touched the Ark to stabilize it over a rough patch of ground; he was struck dead on the spot for his trouble, reinforcing the idea of a prohibition on the touching or

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[6] This description of the breaking down of the Tabernacle in Numbers suggests why the Ark was occasionally shown covered by a cloth. Numbers 4:5-6 for the covering of the Ark with a veil, violet-dyed skins, and a violet cloth; the prescription to "put in the bars" suggests that they had been removed, contradicting the order against their removal in Exodus. Numbers 4:15 for the command against touching and 4:20 against viewing of the uncovered Ark.

viewing of the Ark.[7] King David, although understandably nervous after this incident, eventually brought the Ark to Jerusalem, personally dancing and celebrating in front of it as it traveled into the city. Later, Solomon would oversee its permanent installation in the Temple, after which its fate is unclear from the Old Testament texts.

These, then, were the textual references to the Ark that guided Western medieval perceptions of it, the Ark itself having long since disappeared. On the one hand, medieval theologians found in the Ark a rich subject for interpretation as an Old Testament prefiguration of New Testament concepts, especially of Christ (as the incarnated "covenant" between god and man).[8] This erudite Christian perspective on the Ark has been well-established, but should not detract from the reality that the Ark was understood as a physical object as well as a symbol. By the 13th and 14th c., depictions of the ark were clearly influenced by the forms of contemporary reliquaries, as Kelly Holbert has shown in her study of the Ark's appearances in the Morgan Picture Bible. In the Picture Bible, created for Louis IX between 1244 and 1254, the artists "drew on their experiences and the religious practices of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to depict the possible appearance and use of sacred objects in the time of the Old Testament".[9] Thus, the Ark was shown as a type of footed pyx being carried on a stretcher rather than by use

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7 2 Samuel 6:6-7

8 Revel-Neher reviews the treatment of the Ark by Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, and Walafrid Strabo. According to Revel-Neher, the Ark was also identified as a symbol of Mary in the Greek tradition, but never in the Latin West (where, following Bede, the Ark was likely to be seen as a symbolic representation of the Church, if not as Christ himself). Revel-Neher, *Le signe de la rencontre*, 62–7. This presents a challenge to arguments that both christological and Marian reliquaries were viewed as analogous to the Ark, as in Kelly Holbert, "Picturing the World in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, ed. William Noel and Daniel Weiss (London : [Baltimore]: Third Millennium Publishing ; Walters Art Museum : distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Antique Collectors Club Ltd, 2002), 62. The idea that "[It was] a natural step to see a reliquary containing a relic of the Cross (or of a saint) as symbolizing this New Law and the new world order that it brought about" seems doubtful for reliquaries containing saintly, rather than christological, relics.

9 Holbert, "Picturing the World in the Thirteenth Century," 65.

of poles through rings attached to the object itself (Figure 2). This visual confluence of 13th c. experience and Old Testament text suggests that the Ark might provide a means through which to indirectly access the practice of moving relics, as artists combined the textual descriptions of the Ark with their own experiences of portable holy objects. Can we see this kind of intersection in earlier examples of Ark imagery? What might the central medieval iconography of the Ark show about artistic conceptions of the movement of relics?

Carolingian images of arks

The Ark was rarely a subject of early medieval iconography, and only a handful of examples are extant. Within this limited corpus, as Élisabeth Revel-Neher has shown, Christian representations of the Ark before the 10th c. are characterized more by their variety than their consistency. She distinguishes between two modes of representation: "literal" depictions which were linked to a specific episode in the Ark's history, and "symbolic" depictions which, although also connected to the text, focused more on the Ark's Christian significance. Intriguingly, this distinction also roughly corresponds to whether the Ark was shown as mobile or not: Revel-Neher's "symbolic" depictions tend to show the Ark at rest in the Tabernacle or Temple (associated with Christian identifying elements such as altars or crosses), while "literal" or "illustrative" depictions more frequently show the Ark during one of its journeys.

Revel-Neher notes that literal/ mobile depictions of the Ark prior to the 10th c. are the exception rather than the rule; allegorical representations of the Ark were the more common mode of depiction.[10] The most famous and striking example of an early 'stationary' image is the

[10] "…il faut cependant remarquer que, si les figurations illustratives ont les plus anciennes dans l'art chrétien, elles ne sont guère nombreuses et—comme dans l'art juif—ne sont qu'un aspect très mineur de l'iconographie de l'Arche d'Alliance." Revel-Neher, *Le signe de la rencontre*, 213. The Ark is shown stationary in the Tabernacle in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (late 6th – early 7th c., Paris, BNF ms. NAL 2334 fol. 76)

apse mosiac showing the Ark installed by Theodulf of Orleans at Germigny-des-Prés, recently discussed by Cynthia Hahn (Figure 3).[11] Extending these observations to the 11th c., even episodes during which the Ark was being actively moved might show it as stationary, as in a leaf from the Rodes Bible (Figure 4). Although the miniature illustrates the episode in which the Ark is carried off by the Philistine army, the Ark itself is shown physically resting on the ground near the soldiers as they kill the sons of Eli. Similarly, a leaf from an 11th c. psalter held in the Vatican shows a version of the dance of David to welcome the Ark to Jerusalem, but David and his musicians are shown in the lower register looking up at an immobile, symbolic Ark, opened to show its contents.[12] As in the apse mosaic, cherubim are included in the image as essential components of the Ark's theological interpretation.

The Carolingian manuscripts which do show the Ark as mobile differ in their representations of the Ark and its method of travel. Some illustrators prior to the 10th c. showed it on a wheeled cart pulled by two oxen, corresponding to the description of its return to Israelite territory after being released by the Philistines.[13] The Ark shares a similar form in these illustrations: a rectangular chest with a peaked roof. Two of these depictions are from Psalters (the Golden Psalter and the Folchard Psalter); although the psalms did not directly retell the events of Joshua and Numbers, both the texts of Psalms 113 and 131 suggested the Ark's tranportation as a subject for illustration. Psalm 113 rhetorically addresses the Red Sea and the

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11 On the apse mosaic, Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 111–3.

12 Other 'stationary' depictions of the Ark dating to the 11th c.: Paris, BNF lat. 8878, fol. 157v; Paris, BNF lat. 12302 fol. 1v; the Lobbes Bible (Tournai, Bibl. du Séminaire, Ms. 1, fol. 77).

13 For Carolingian depictions of the Ark traveling by cart: Revel-Neher, *Le signe de la rencontre*, 153–4, 155–6. The parallel to a depiction of the transportation of Edmund's relics by two-wheeled cart is interesting: cf. Cynthia J. Hahn, "Peregrinatio et Natio: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr," *Gesta* 30, no. 2 (January 1, 1991): 125.Figures 9 and 10.

Jordan, asking them why they fled at the coming of the Israelites, thus suggesting the Ark's role in the crossing of the Jordan. Psalm 131 reflects on David's desire to build the tabernacle, and references the Ark more directly.[14]

Two other Carolingian manuscripts showed the Ark being carried; the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (created for Charles the Bald), and the Utrecht Psalter.[15] The San Paolo Bible shows the Ark both stationary (in the frontispieces to Leviticus and Numbers) and mobile (parting the waters of the Jordan and simultaneously *en route* to Jericho) (Figure 6). Revel-Neher notes that the Ark's physical appearance does not change much across these three images: the Ark is a rectangular chest with a pointed roof, horizontal rectangular designs on the sides, and small decorations placed along the top which appear slightly larger at each end. Rings are clearly shown at the four corners of the Ark, and the poles remain threaded through them even when the Ark is shown at rest, indicating a careful correspondence with the Exodus text. In the Joshua image, it is carried by four men who do not wear the armor of the soldiers in the other registers, suggesting their identification as priests.

The Utrecht Psalter illustrations of the Ark are unique for the 9th c., perhaps the result of being based off older models.[16] The Utrecht Psalter depicts the Ark twice, and in both images being carried by two or four men. In the Utrecht Psalter's illustration to Psalm 113 (f. 66r) the

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[14] Psalm 113: "*mare vidit et fugit Iordanis conversus est retrorsum… quid tibi est mare quia fugisti Iordanis quia conversus es retrorsum…?*" Psalm 131: "*...surge, domine, in requiem tuam/ tu et arca sanctificationis tuae...*"

[15] Two other examples given by Revel-Neher suggest carrying but do not show it directly: Fig. 68 from the 9th c. Sacra Parallela, where a crowd surrounds the Ark but poles/direct contact are not indicated, and Fig. 71 from a 9th c. Psalter which shows two men holding the poles having just placed the Ark on an altar while David looks on. These representations seem distinct from the four-person teams shown in the San Paolo Bible and the Utrecht Psalter. In addition, her earliest identified example of a Christian depiction of the Ark (the mosiacs of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome) also depicts it being carried on poles, but the form of the Ark is a flat box, quite different from these Carolingian representations.

[16] Revel-Neher, p. 154, referencing Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: sources et apport carolingien*, Association des publications près les universités de Strasbourg, fasc. 161 (Paris: Ophrys, 1978).

ark is represented as a rectangular box with a flat top, clasp, and four feet (Figure 7). Unusually, two rings are attached to the lid, with a single pole threaded through them by which it is carried by two men; this does not correspond well with the description of four rings and two poles given in Numbers. Each of the bearers have their left hand raised, as though showing the way to the large crowd that follows them or indicating the Christ-figure in the heavens who is blessing them. Although the hills from which the crowd is emerging seem to be the mountains that "skipped like rams" (as indicated by the little sheep drawn on top of them), they have also been read as the waters of the river which have been parted, since presumably the only reason the illustrator might have thought to include the Ark in this scene is the reference to the Jordan crossing.[17] In the illustration of Psalm 131 on folio 75r the Ark is drawn entirely differently, and more in line with the Exodus description (Figure 8). It is carried by four men on two poles, attached through barely visible rings on the bottom of each of its feet (mirroring closely the Exodus description). Its top is rounded rather than flat, with no indication of the rings used to carry it on f. 66r, and no clasp. Lightly drawn rectangles are the only decoration appearing on the sides. It is preceded and followed on its journey to the Tabernacle (at left) by two groups, all bearing candles.

Evolving and mobilizing arks of the 11th and 12th c.

Thus, within Carolingian depictions of theArk there is an array of modes of representation, and little to suggest that the experience of relic-carrying was directly related to these images (aside from the form of carrying a bier on two or four mens' shoulders). However, the Utrecht Psalter served as the direct model for multiple later English psalters, and in the ways

[17] Ernest T. Dewald, ed., *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932).

that the Ark images evolved suggest a new and closer relationship between the Ark and reliquaries. The earliest psalter derived from the Utrecht Psalter, the Harley Psalter, does not have a copy of either illustration of the Ark. However, the Eadwine Psalter (c. 1150) copies both of the Utrecht Psalter's versions of the Ark, and the way in which the 12th c. Canterbury illuminator "updated" both images suggests larger changes in the way the Ark was represented between the 9th and 12th c. For the drawing corresponding to Psalm 113, very little change was made (Figure 9). The unusual basic structure of the Ark from the Utrecht Psalter (a chest with two rings on the top, carried by a single pole, with a latch on the side) was maintained almost identically; the only addition was colorful decoration on the visible sides and top of the chest.

However, there are intriguing modifications in the Eadwine Psalter image of the Ark for Psalm 131 (Figure 10) that suggest influences besides the Old Testament text. The Utrecht Psalter image showed a simple chest with a rounded top and legs; the Eadwine Psalter shows a peaked chest and, although legs are still indicated, the gaps between them are filled, suggesting either a solid chest with panels or perhaps a platform on which the chest is carried. Any indication of rings through which the poles are threaded has disappeared. The decoration of the chest, indicated by a simple rectangle in the Utrecht Psalter, has also taken on a more definite form. Inside the original side panels, rectangular "windows" with rounded tops have been added. The top of the chest is drawn as a wavy line, suggesting some type of decoration on top, and small curled lines appear on the ends. Most noticeably, a draped blue cloth appears attached to the bottom of the Ark (or perhaps, attached to the poles), an aspect of the image with no precedent in the Utrecht Psalter.

These transformations from the Utrecht Psalter to the Eadwine Psalter correspond to what seems to be a shift in representations of the Ark's transportation around the 11th and 12th c., away

from a strict adherence to the text in Exodus. The centrality of the Ark to key Old Testament events combined with the revival of illustrated bibles after the 11th c. meant that it was also more regularly depicted during this period. Increasingly, the Ark was shown being actively carried on poles by two or four men (depictions of it traveling on a cart seem to become less common), but without indicating the rings through which the poles were placed. A cloth was often shown hanging from the bottom of the Ark, draped over the bier on which it seems to be carried, or draped over the Ark. The Ark itself continued to be imagined and depicted in a variety of different ways, but especially in England it seems to be shown more consistently as a type of peaked chest, similar to that first seen in the Bible of San Paolo, with patterning particularly suggesting architectural details shown on the sides as in the Eadwine Psalter. Despite variations between regions and production centers, in what follows I would like to suggest that certain elements of Ark iconography were related to the forms of contemporary reliquaries, and that these visual associations may have been related to the textual connections between mobile reliquaries and the mobile Ark.

Images of the (mobile) Ark, 11th-12th c.[18]

Common Name	*Manuscript Ref.*	*Folio*	*Production & Date*	*Image*
Old English Hexateuch	London, BL, Cotton MS. Claud. B. IV.	ff. 142v, 143r	First half of 11th c.	BL Digitized Mss.
Fressac Bible	Paris, BNF, Latin 58(1)	fol. 88r	Le Puy, late 12th c.	Mandragore
Michaelbeuern Bible	Michaelbeuern, Stiftsbib., MS perg. 1	fol. 74r	Salzburg school, c. 1120-1130	Cahn, *Romanesque Bible*, pl. 156
Pantheon Bible	Rome, Vat. Bib. Apost. MS Vat. lat. 12958	fol. 60v	c. 1125	Cahn, *Romanesque Bible,* pl. 105
Lambeth Bible	London, Lambeth Palace, MS 3 & Maidstone, Maidstone Museum, MS P.5	fol. 66v	c. 1150-70	Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible*, pl. 2
Giffard Bible	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud misc. 752	fol. 279v	c. 1150-1210	Sheppard, *Giffard Bible*, pl. 81
Admont Giant Bible	Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Ser. n. 2701		Salzburg school, c. 1130-40	*Imagining the Past in France*
St. Alban's Psalter (Psalm 113)	Germany, Hildescheim, St Godehard's Church	p. 304?	c. 1120-40	St. Alban's Psalter Project
Eadwine Psalter (Psalm 131)	Trinity College R.17.1	ff. 203v, 237r	c. 1150	Digitised, Trinity College
Hortus deliciarum	(destroyed; known from drawings)	f. 51v	Finished 1185?	Green *et al.*, *Hortus deliciarum*, pl. 31
Souvigny Bible	Moulins BM ms. 1	fol. 73r	End of the 12th c.	Digitised, Enluminures database
Saint Sulpice Bible	Bourges BM ms. 3	fol. 61v	Late 12th c.	Sheppard, *Giffard Bible*, pl. 189

[18] This is not a complete list. I have confirmed that the following 11th-12th c. bibles do not have images of the Ark: Floreffe Bible, Stephen Harding Bible, St. Vaast Bible (folia from beginning of Numbers that might have contained Ark images are missing, and Ark is not mentioned in most recent study of St. Vaast Bible). Cahn, *Romanesque Bible* has a handlist of 150 Romanesque Bibles; for the purposes of this argument it seemed unnecessary to check them all.

To begin with the English group, the earliest example (which anticipates some of the changes apparent in the Eadwine Psalter) appears in the Old English Hexateuch, created in the first half of the 11th c.[19] On folio 142v the Ark is shown as a peaked chest, and a draped cloth is attached to the pole by which two figures carry it (Figure 11). The decoration of the Ark is relatively understated, consisting of vertical curved lines, curls at the corners (as in the Eadwine Psalter) and perhaps a kind of crown drawn lightly at the top. Although only one pole is shown, the straight frontal perspective of the image does not preclude the idea that two poles were meant to be understood. The figures are unaccompanied in this image; the manuscript's illustrations were left unfinished, but on other folia color washes indicate where figures were meant to be drawn so it is likely that these were the only two figures intended to be shown in this image.

Dorothy Shepard has suggested that the Old English Hexateuch provided the model for the Ark shown in the Lambeth Bible (c. 1150), although the Lambeth image is done in much richer detail (Figure 11).[20] In the Lambeth Bible, as in the Eadwine Psalter, the decorations on the side of the Ark seem to indicate a type of colonnade with rounded arches. Once again the corners have small "horns", now extending out laterally from the top of the chest, and a draped cloth (patterned, and with a rich-looking border) hangs down below the Ark. Rather than attached like a curtain, the cloth appears to be draped over the poles themselves. Two of the individuals carrying the Ark wear hats, two do not, but all four seem potentially to be depicted as women. Shepard believes this to be due to a conflation of women and priests as "non-

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[19] Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C Withers, *The Old English Hexateuch: aspects and approaches* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000).

[20] Dorothy M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible: A Study of Texts and Imagery* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 131–2.

combatants", but this representation is nevertheless suggestive.[21] They are followed by Moses and a crowd of Israelites, some of whom also carry the paraphernalia of the Tabernacle (representing the enumeration of these responsibilities in Numbers).

The St. Alban's Psalter demonstrates that roughly similar visual conventions were being used to depict the Ark in both psalters and illustrated bibles.[22] The St. Alban's Psalter illustrates Psalm 113 (and not Psalm 131, as in the Utrecht/Eadwine Psalters) with an image of the Ark crossing the Jordan (Figure 13). Here, the Ark is again shaped like a rectangular paneled chest with a peaked lid and possibly a base (like the Eadwine Psalter, golden "legs" extend down to the level of the poles but the gap between them is filled in). As in the Eadwine Psalter and the Lambeth Bible, the decorations on the side suggest an arched colonnade, and small bumps on both corners perhaps indicate some type of "horns" as well. It is carried by two men, but in a perspective that gives no sense of depth, as in the Old English Hexateuch, and as with all the English examples, rings attaching it to the poles are not indicated. A small figure crouches underneath the Ark, holding a stone, and the first figure in the crowd also holds a stone, indicating the pile of twelve stones (signifying the twelve tribes) placed after the crossing of the Jordan. The Ark is followed by a large crowd, whose eyes are raised to a large figure standing above the ark and holding a staff; this is likely Moses, suggesting a conflation of the crossing of the Jordan with the crossing of the Red Sea.

Within 11th-12th c. English depictions of the Ark, then, certain basic elements are maintained. The Ark is almost always depicted as a rectangular gabled chest, being carried by

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[21] Could women carry reliquaries? I have found no textual examples. Herrmann-Mascard takes up the question of whether or not laypeople could touch or carry relics, but does not distinguish by gender.. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, 203–306.

[22] Bartlett used this image from the St. Alban's Psalter as "an impression of a relic procession", corroborating the approach of this chapter. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 296.

two or four individuals. Over time, however, certain decorative elements are added that suggest strongly that the Exodus description was not the only influence on how the Ark was portraryed. In particular, decorative colonnades drawn on the side of the Ark, a crowd shown following the Ark, or a cloth hanging down from the Ark or its bier all appear as significant elements which might or might not be included.

In continental depictions of the Ark during this period, there is a much greater variety in representations, both of the Ark itself and its context. On one hand, some illustrations seem to maintain a close connection to the textual description of the Ark. The depiction of the rings through which the poles were to be threaded (and which symbolized the four Evangelists or the four Gospels, according to theological interpretations of the Ark),and the appearance of a cloth covering the Ark,might indicate whether the text was being actively consulted for clues about the appearance of the Ark during transportation. While in the English examples, rings are never shown attached to the Ark, they appear in several images from the continent. Comparing the image from the Pantheon Bible (c. 1125, part of the "Umbro-Roman" group of Romanesque bibles) to that in the *Hortus deliciarum* (finished 1185, now destroyed) shows the variety of forms the Ark could take; however, both of these images show a desire to remain close to the Exodus/Numbers texts (Figures 14-15). Both emphasize the rings attached to the four corners, show the cloth covering (partially, in the case of the *Hortus deliciarum*) the Ark rather than hanging below it, and add little detail to the shape of the Ark or its decoration (though the drawn outline copy of the *Hortus deliciarum* may have omitted these details).

Nevertheless, certain continental images reflect the developments of the English group and suggest a similar move away from a strict adherence to the biblical descriptions. The Michaelbeuern Bible (c. 1120-30) illustrates the Jordan crossing in an unusual perspective. The

river extends from the upper left to the lower right and is interrupted in the center where it encounters the Ark and its bearers (Figure 16). The artist's choice to divide the crowd (half have crossed the Jordan, half have not) is accentuated by the gestures of the leading figures on both sides of the river across it, setting up a visual tension with the Ark and its bearers at the center. The Ark itself is depicted as a three-tiered structure with a dome on top that bears little resemblance to the Old Testament description; there are no indications of rings attaching it to the poles. As in the Lambeth Bible, an ornate cloth draped over the bier hangs below the Ark. There is nothing to identify the bearers of the Ark as different from the crowds who precede and follow them, though the style of depicting their dress (short tunics and mantles) is reminiscent of the St. Alban's Psalter. The crowd clearly includes women, along with other indicators (hats, beards) of a "mixture" of people, and the sheep entangled in the porters' feet suggest an emphasis on the idea that the entire Israelite community is traveling with the Ark.[23]

The French Fressac Bible and Souvigny Bible (both late 12th c.) also show the Ark as a three-tiered structure. The Fressac initial seems, like the Michaelbeuern image, to have a dome at the top; a colonnade again may be represented by the arches drawn on the side (Figure 17). Here, two Levites carry the Ark without indications of their narrative context; strangely, the forward figure grasps the two poles, while the figure behind interrupts the drawing of the poles and touches the Ark directly. In the Souvigny Bible (created with Byzantine influences) the Ark is portrayed more naturally resting on the shoulders of its two bearers (Figure 18).[24] Rather than

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[23] The Admont Bible, created only a decade or so after the Michaelbeuern Bible but which illustrates the Ark entirely differently, again suggests the instability of Ark representations even within the same school (in this case the Salzburg school).

[24] For an extensive study of the Souvigny Bible: Walter Cahn, *The Souvigny Bible: A Study in Romanesque Manuscript Illumination*, 1967. The Saint Sulpice image is similar to the Souvigny; the two illustration programs are related, though the texts are not. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1982), 268.

a dome, all three levels are rectangular and decorated with cloverleaf or dot motifs. "Horns" and a central decoration are indicated on the top, and a purple cloth hangs below.

As an aside, it is interesting to note that in contrast to these images of the Ark being carried by Levites, later (post- 13th c.) images of the ark being *stolen* by the Philistines participated in a different iconography. The Morgan Picture Bible's version, depicting a team of soldiers in mail carrying off the Ark on their shoulders using the customary poles (Figure 19), is the exception. Instead, the 'stolen' Ark was usually depicted as a small box being clutched in the arms of a single Philistine soldier, while the two sons of Eli are killed by other soldiers (Figure 20). This suggests that medieval illustrators differentiated between processional, communal episodes of the Ark's transportation, when it was carried on poles by priests, and its transportation by enemies, soldiers, and 'thieves'.[25]

II. Arca sancti: Imagining the movement of reliquaries

How to explain these variations, especially the images which seem unrelated to the description of the Ark in Exodus and Numbers? I would suggest, following other scholars, that the answers are to be found through comparison to contemporary reliquaries. Hrabanus Maurus constructed a reliquary explicitly in the form of the Ark (conforming to the Exodus decription, with cherubim) and the theology of the Ark closely informed the religious interpretation of

[25] Images showing the ark being "stolen" in the arms of a single Philistine soldier: Autun BM 146A f. 123v, Besancon BM 4 f. 156, Besancon 24 f. 211, Paris Bibl. Mazarine 15 f. 97v, Paris Bibl. Mazarine 38, f. 183v, Paris Bibl. Sainte-Genevieve 1180 f. 78v, 2585 f. 127, Reims BM 43 f. 184v, Toulouse BM 9 f. 153v, Tours BM 30 f. 36. BnF lat. 17198, fol. 92v. Compare BnF Nouvelle acquisition française 24541, fol. 105, "Vol des reliques de sainte Léocadie". See also Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 149. note 39 for the frescoes of the crypt at Anagni, which associate relic theft with this biblical Ark-theft.

reliquaries, but here the inverse process seems also to be at work.[26] The depictions of the Ark seem to draw directly from the forms and presentation of 10th- 12th c. reliquaries, and perhaps also indicate an increasing visual familiarity with their transportation.

The images which show the Ark as a chest with a peaked roof, with detailing on the sides suggesting an arched colonnade and decorative elements attached to the top or corners all point to the forms of contemporary reliquaries. The two reliquaries appearing on the 11th c. Bayeux Tapestry have a very similar form, and further suggest a reason for the cloth often shown hanging below the Ark (as opposed to covering it, as described in Numbers) (Figure 21). In the tapestry, both reliquaries have arched colonnades indicating their sides, peaked roofs, and decorations extending from their top corners (crosses for the reliquary on the left and circular shapes for the one on the right, which also has a small decoration in the center of the roof). They are shown resting on two separate altars which are completely covered with cloths; these draped altar-coverings are strongly reminiscent of the type of draping shown for the cloth hanging below the Ark in the Old English Hexateuch and the Eadwine Psalter. This suggests that the cloths shown in the Ark images may not have been related at all to the command in Numbers that the Ark be covered so that it would not be viewed by non-priests, but rather a desire to represent the Ark, even when being actively carried, as if it was resting on a cloth-draped altar.[27] The reliquary on the left, furthermore, seems to have poles attached to its base for carrying, bringing it even closer to the English depictions of the Ark and suggesting that it had been, or would be, carried.

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[26] For Hrabanus Maurus' Ark-reliquary, and a discussion of the Ark's importance to understanding reliquaries: Ibid., 110–3, 240–2. Theodulf's mosaic also includes cherubim, a design element of the Ark specifically specified in Exodus which, appears only rarely in manuscript depictions of the Ark (as in the Vatican Psalter) and only when it is shown in the Tabernacle.

[27] I am grateful to John Howe for this suggestion.

These connections are also reflected in extant contemporary reliquaries. The "architectural" detailing suggesting a colonnade of arches, present on so many images of the Ark, particularly indicates the large chest-reliquaries which would increase both in size and number in the 13th c. The Amand reliquary, though constructed later than the images in question (early 13th c.), makes unmistakeable use of the same features that the Ark images seem to indicate, especially the bas-relief arched colonnade on the side (Figure 22). Smaller chasse-reliquaries from Limoges might also show arches along their sides (Figure 23); both of these reliquaries also have decorations attached to the corners or center of the roof. Another example of the appearance of an arched colonnade on the side of a mobile holy object is the portable altar of Countess Gertrude, though as an altar it does not have the peaked roof of the reliquary-Arks (after 1038, Figure 24). Even the strange 'domed' form of the Ark in the Michaelbeuern Bible and the Fressac Bible might draw inspiration from similarly-shaped reliquaries, such as the late 10th c. reliquary of St. Anastasios the Persian (in Aachen before 1204) or the 12th c. head reliquary from the Guelph Treasure at the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum (Figures 25-26).

Moving St. Cuthbert across the Red Sea

Recognizing these connections to Ark imagery is even more essential given the relative dearth of images showing actual reliquaries being transported. 10th-12th c. depictions of relic translations are rare, and images showing temporary relic journeys even more so. A key example is the illustration of the transportation of the reliquary of St. Cuthbert appearing in University College Oxford 165.[28] The manuscript itself was likely produced in the 1080's or

[28] Another example of a temporary reliquary movement depicted in hagiography appears in two images of the 12th c. *Life of St. Edmund*, New York Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 736) In these images, Edmund's relics travel on a two-wheeled cart accompanied by a single monk. These images and the text have been discussed by Cynthia Hahn as part of aprogram to represent Edmund as a pilgrim, despite the fact that he was "itinerant" only after his death. See Hahn, "Peregrinatio et Natio."

1090's, though this argument is based on the texts included (UC 165 does not include the translation account of 1104) and an alternative date in the early 12th c. has been suggested on the basis of the style of the illustrations.[29]

The visual associations with contemporary English Ark images are immediately apparent; Cuthbert's reliquary is again shown as an ornate peaked chest; the spaces of the panels of the chest are filled in with rounded arches, the roof is cross-hatched with S-shapes drawn on the diagonal (similar to the rightmost reliquary in the Bayeux Tapestry), and small decorations are attached along the length of the top. It is carried by two men using poles and a draped cloth hangs below it, as in the images of the Ark in the Old English Hexateuch, the Eadwine Psalter, the Lambeth Bible, the Michaelbeuern Bible, and others. The confluence of the two image traditions confirms, on the one hand, that 11th-12th experiences of reliquary transportation changed how the mobile Ark was represented (as the forms of physical reliquaries suggested). On the other hand, it also suggests that knowledge of the Ark and its episodes of mobility influenced those responding to relic journeys, as the following section will confirm. In analyzing images of relic transportation, then, we should be alert to resonances with the Ark's narrative context, especially the representation of different groups. The severe Old Testament limitations on who could carry, touch, view, or even approach the Ark (during the Jordan crossing, the people were expected to remain only just within range of sight) was indicated only inconsistently, but images of the mobile Ark were often images of *people*. As Ark images might,

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[29] For the late 11th c. dating, Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K. ; Rochester, N.Y: D.S. Brewer, 2003). For the early 12th c. dating, Malcolm Baker, "Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (January 1, 1978): 20–1.

or might not, differentiate between Levites and Israelites, how did images of moving reliquaries represent those who interacted with them?

The UC 165 image of Cuthbert's tranportation suggests interesting tensions surrounding this question. The miracle accompanying the illustration is one of the later additions to Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert;* known as "Miracle 6", it describes the transportation of Cuthbert's relics to Lindisfarne to escape an attack by William the Conquerer in 1069.[30] The bishop and congregation of Durham, along with others, thought it best to flee before the arrival of the army but found the tide was too high to cross to Lindisfarne as they intended. The location is significant; Cuthbert's own life had been spent at Lindisfarne, and he had been entombed there before his various translations. Miraculously, the relics allowed everyone to be able to cross without wetting their feet. The anonymous author of Miracle 6 saw the opportunity to compare to the Red Sea crossing and cited Exodus explicitly:

> "I ask that the love of those reading this reflect carefully, how great the happiness of all those people was, who now saw those things done for them which the ancient deeds of Moses spread out for us with letters of song. For it says, 'The flowing wave stood still, those congregated walked in the middle of the sea'? And then, 'The sons of Israel walked on dry land in the middle of the sea'…"[31]

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[30] Miracle 6 is one of the first group of seven "post-Bedan" miracles identified by Bertram Colgrave; by the 13th c. twenty-one miracles had been added. Univ. Coll. Oxford 165 is the earliest manuscript it appears in. Bertram Colgrave, "The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St. Cuthbert," in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies)*, ed. Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1950), 312. The Univ. Coll. 165 image is unique; the other illustrated 12th c. Cuthbert cycle (British Library, Yates Thompson Ms. 26) does not include illustrations of the later miracles. Baker suggests that both thses cycles may have been based on an earlier model, produced c. 1083-1090; this would make the Univ. Coll. 165 illustrations of the later miracles a new contribution. Baker, "Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert," 29.

[31] Miracle 6 was not written by Simeon of Durham, though it was edited along with his text. *"Perpendat, quaeso, legentium caritas, quanta potuerit esse omnium illorum laetitia qui nunc per ipsa legerunt opera, quod nobis antiquitus gestum Mosaici pandit cantici littera. Dicit enim, Stetit unda fluens, congregatae sunt abissi in medio mari ? Et in subsequentibus, Filii autem Israel ambulaverunt per siccum in medio mari*?"Simeon of Durham, *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et collectanea* (Durham: Andrews and Co., 1868), 171.

Although it is the Red Sea crossing and not the Jordan crossing that is referenced, the strong similarity to the Ark images suggests that the illustrator, if not the hagiographer, saw a parallel to the Jordan crossing as well. The sea is rendered as wavy lines in blue on the far right of the image, with a large space in the center to indicate the waters parting before the reliquary, breaking the perspective in which the figures and reliquary are placed. The lines of the water extend until they just touch the outline of the forward figure carrying the reliquary, perhaps suggesting the description in Joshua that the Jordan parted when it touched the feet of the priests carrying the Ark.

Yet, the porters are not visually identified as priests or even monks: the figures carrying the reliquary are depicted in the same manner as the crowd which follows them. None are tonsured, although tonsures are used to identify monks in other illustrations of UC 65 (but not all). This implies that the illustrator (who was likely, along with the author of the later miracles, a monk of Durham) consciously chose to represent both those carrying and following Cuthbert's relics as laymen. This representation is founded on the text of the miracle; as Malcolm Baker has noted, the illustrator of UC 65 paid careful attention to the details of the text itself. Miracle 6 specifies, in fact, that the reliquary was carried by soldiers as it crossed to Lindisfarne. It goes on to claim, however, that the experience of carrying the reliquary was so powerful that afterwards they became monks at Durham, changing the "military dress" in which they carried the relics to the monastic habit.[32] The depiction of these men as laymen, then, might be better read as "monks-to-be", or even "brothers-to-be" since the author's affective language (*nobiscum…nobis*)

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[32] "*Sed et dilectio fratrum, qui et ad saeculum nobiles et morum gravitate nobiliores in militari habitu tunc feretrum portabant, nunc autem nobiscum in eiusdem patris monasterio, hoc est in Dunelmo professi, veri sunt actu et habitu monachi: dulcissima nobis relatione magnaque cordis compunctione saepius solet attestari, quomodo se praecedentes fluctus marini post vestigia continuo sequerentur, ita ut nec paulatim euntibus praecurrerent, nec concitae pergentibus diutius remanerent"* Ibid., 171–2.

makes it clear that these men were integrated into the community of Cuthbert at the time of writing.[33]

This confluence of text and representation in UC 65 in identifying the porters of the reliquary as laymen would later be implicitly challenged. Bertram Colgrave and Anne Lawrence-Mathers point out that two versions of the miracle exist: Miracle 6 itself, and the account given by Symeon of Durham in his work, the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (written early 12th c.).[34] Symeon had access to the text of Miracle 6, and borrowed much of its content for the description of the miracle itself, but had an alternative source as well.[35] One of the major differences of Symeon's text is that he omits the story about the subsequent conversion of the porters of the reliquary to the monastic life, though he must have seen this claim made by the author of Miracle 6. Lawrence-Mathers describes this as a pointed omission, suggesting that there may have been some ambiguity about the identity of these porters and the validity of their conversion (or perhaps, disinterest in their fate as tangential to the miracle). Nonetheless, Symeon's decision to excise this portion of Miracle 6 from his own text serves to highlight the importance of this identification for the original author and the illustrator working from his text.

The Cuthbert image and texts, then, speak to issues surrounding the representation and identity of those shown carrying the reliquary, and how their experience was meant to be

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[33] The depiction of the crowd is less clearly a result of reliance on the text. Lawrence-Mathers notes that the author of Miracle 6 also includes women and children in the group crossing to Lindisfarne, which the illustrator seems to have ignored: the four following figures all appear to be adult males. In fact, the text does more than include women and children; it introduces the crowd accompanying the relics using the standard hagiographical trope of a 'universal and representative multitude' and expresses concern for the women and children (they were suffering from the cold) as part of the difficulty that the miracle must overcome. Despite this centrality in the text, the illustrator has not given the same variety to his image of the crowd.

[34] Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*.

[35] Colgrave, "The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St. Cuthbert," 325.

understood. Contemporary images of relic *translations* (rather than journeys) suggest similar concerns and reveal different ways of addressing them. As suggested in the introduction, differentiating between translations, elevations, ostensions, and journeys in texts can be difficult, and this ambiguity extends to images of relic transportation as well.

Burying and carrying St. Amand

An image of the funeral of St. Amand, appearing in Valenciennes BM 502, serves to highlight this point. Valenciennes BM 502 is a compilation of texts dealing with the life and cult of Amand. It includes the original *Vita* composed by Baudemond (Amand's 6th c. contemporary), a series of texts written by Milo (a later monk of St. Amand, d. 872/3), including his verse version of the *Vita,* accounts of Amand's translation and elevation, and Amand's final testament. [36] These are followed by a *Miracula* account of the 1066 journey of Amand's relics through Flanders (chapters 1-14), written in the same hand as these earlier texts. Other miracles and the account of a second relic journey through Brabant in 1107 were added later in a different hand, establishing that the first part of the manuscript was written sometime between 1066 and 1107.[37] Aside from these texts, however, the manuscript is remarkable for the series of miniatures which make it one of the earliest illustrated hagiographies, and it has been the subject of an extensive study by Barbara Abou el-Haj.

There are a total of 43 miniatures in the manuscript illustrating Baudemond's *Vita,* St. Aldegond's vision of Amand's soul ascending to heaven, authorial portraits, and the witnesses to

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[36] These texts have been collectively edited by Bruno Krusch, MGH SS. rer. Mer., pp. 395-485. For Baudemond's *Vita*, pp. 428-449.

[37] Barbara F. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 101. Appendix 5, "Contents and Analytic Comparisons of the Illustrated Lives of Saint Amand: Manuscripts 502, 501, 500" juxtaposes abbreviated guides to the illustrations of each manuscript with the text of Baudemond's *Vita*.

Amand's testament. Although no miniatures appear in the section describing the first relic journey (ff. 126r-135r), according to Abou el-Haj the recent experience of that journey influenced the pictorial cycle of the *Vita*. In the miniature showing Amand's burial, the upper half of the image depicts a procession of monks bringing his body to the crypt. However, Amand's body itself is not shown (as in, for example, the burial image in the English *Life of St Edmund*, Figure 29).[38] Rather, a small rectangular box is carried on poles by two monks; a draped red cloth hangs beneath, and four additional monks follow the reliquary.

Two additional figures, who are not tonsured, appear in contorted postures underneath the coffin. These represent laypeople being healed by the body of the saint, but as Abou-el-Haj points out, no such miracles are described as happening during Amand's funeral. Rather, the twisted figures in the image evoke several of the miracles done during the relic journey of 1066; for example, the woman at Douai whose limbs were suddenly contorted by a seizure.[39] In illustrating Amand's burial, then, the miniaturist seems to have relied not only on the text of the *Vita*, but also on the experience of hearing or reading about (or perhaps personally observing) Amand's or other saints' relics performing healing miracles while being transported.[40]

Comparing this image to those previously discussed, the cloth hanging below Amand's coffin is reminiscent of the Ark images and the Cuthbert image though the simplicity of the rectangular box does not mirror the elaborate forms of the Ark and Cuthbert's reliquary. More suggestive is the clear distinction the image makes between lay and monastic groups during

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[38] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 736, f. 17v, from the early 12th c. (1130s). Hahn, "Peregrinatio et Natio."

[39] The healing of contorted bodies was a relatively common miracle for an 11th c. saint's relics to perform.

[40] "...In the miniature, past funeral and present cult are combined. No posthumous miracles are related in Baudemond's life of Amand, but the cripples healed at his funeral procession... suggest relic healings" Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints*, 91.

Amand's funeral, a subject that certain Ark images (particularly the Lambeth Bible) expressed as a visual difference between Levites and the people and which was also a source of tension between the image and texts of Cuthbert's journey. The image of Amand's funeral establishes clear boundaries: monks (identified by their tonsures) carry and follow the coffin, and their body postures position them facing the destination of the funeral cortege, the open door of the crypt. Their orientation towards this goal is continued in the lower register of the image, which shows the actual burial in the crypt: two monks deposit the coffin while the abbot and a group of monks look on, but no laymen are present. This continuous narrative presents a contrast with the representation of the laymen in the funeral image. The two figures are oriented towards the coffin itself, pictured below it and possibly interacting with it. The raised hands of the taller figure may indicate his affliction (perhaps paralysis?) but also suggest that he is reaching out to touch the cloth hanging from the reliquary or the reliquary itself. Overall, the concern of the monks for an appropriate liturgical burial is visually presented as a separate process from the miracles being sought by the laymen. For comparison, the image of the burial of King Edmund shows an entirely lay crowd, lay porters, and the full body of the king lying on the bier (Figure 29).

Separating the Israelites: clergy and laity

This distinction between monastic and lay groups is repeated even more dramatically in the Ottonian full-page miniature of the translation of St. Stephen that appears in the Echternach Pericopes (Figure 30).[41] Stephen's relics are shown as a large rectangular box covered in patterned cloth, resting on poles carried by two (or perhaps four) monks. Multiple figures (all

[41] KBR 9428, ca. 1040.

tonsured) are shown preceding and following the relics, carrying two processional crosses before them. Two central figures in the foreground, a monk (carrying a censer) and an abbot (holding a staff and wearing a mantle) walk alongside the relics with booklets in their hands.[42] The formal procession is thus imagined as exclusively monastic; monks both carry and surround the relics with appropriate liturgical trappings, and their gaze and postures orient them to the right, the destination of the procession.

Written into the illumination above the heads of the monks is the caption "*Multi curantur dum corpora [sancta] levantur*" ("Many are healed when the holy bodies are raised up"). This draws the viewer's attention to the bottom of the image, where below the monks' feet a sea of contorted and intertwined bodies fills a ditch-like space that is clearly divided from the formal procession. Two individuals raise their hands in gestures of supplication, while most of the others look up to the relics passing above them. These figures (all apparently male) are the "many" who were healed in the course of the translation, benefitting from the action of the mobile relics but physically disconnected from the translation itself. The illumination clearly distinguishes between two groups playing very different roles in the event: the monks actively performing the procession and the laymen, drawn smaller than the monks, passively lying underneath the reliquary to be healed.

Other images of translation portrayed these events as exclusively monastic. For example, laypeople appear neither actively or passively in the Ottonian image of the translation of St. Liudger (Figure 31). Two monks carry the relics, which are covered by a cloth, and an abbot and

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[42] It is tempting to suggest that the booklets are processionals, even though the earliest examples of extant processionals date from the 13th c. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*. The booklets are held raised and open, as if the monk and abbot are actively reading from them; if these books were meant to indicate evangeliaries, which were carried in liturgical processions, they would more likely have been shown closed.

eight monks welcome them to Werden. The abbot is censing the relics, mirroring the descriptions of the procession to welcome relics in the Cluniac customaries discussed in Chapter One.[43] The way in which Liudger's reliquary is depicted is similar to the translation image of the Carolingian ivory book-cover of the Drogo Sacramentary (c. 844-855, Figure 32).[44] The relic translation appears on the far right of the third register; the scene has been interpreted as a spatially and temporally 'collapsed' version of the church dedication ceremony, appropriate to a sacramentary text. The figure to the left then becomes the bishop asperging the lintel, before the relics are carried into the church, and finally placed in the altar by the bishop. Carolingian legislation had indicated that all altars had to contain relics, and the dedication ceremonies described by Ordo 41 and Ordo 43 of the *Ordines Romani* reflected a concern for deposition of relics into the altar. The figures depicted are ecclesiastical, despite the indication in the *Ordines Romani* that a crowd of laypeople would have been present at the dedication (excluded, and included, at various times in the proceedings). The only figures who appear are the bishop, the two bearers of the relics (who are tonsured), and a third cleric/monk who carries a *situla* for holy water. The relics, small enough to be difficult to see, are carried on a bier supported between the

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[43] Hubert Schrade, *Die Vita des heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder*, Westfalen, 14. Sonderheft (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960).The text suggests that the abbot welcoming the relics is holding a vessel containing the blood which miraculously flowed from the reliquary; I think a censer is a more likely interpretation for this object, since the abbot seems to be swinging it (compare to the St. Honore portal) and this would be in line with the Cluniac liturgical program for relic movement.

[44] The other famous carved ivory depiction of a relic translation is the Trier Ivory, a product of 5th- 6th c. Byzantium that participates in an entirely different tradition of depicting relic movement. It shows the relics on a cart being drawn through the city. Two men (identified by the Index of Christian Art as bishops) ride the cart, holding the reliquary, in the form of a small chest. Two men carrying candles precede the cart, and an emperor at the head of the procession, also holding a candle, encounters an empress (holding a cross) at the doors of the church. Perhaps the most visually arresting aspect of the ivory is the crowd watching the procession: faces fill every arch, indicating spectators (but not active, mobile participants) who watch as the elaborate cart (embellished with a relief carving of three figures on the side) moves through the city. There is a vast bibliography on the Trier Ivory. Cf. the Index, and most recently Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven*. The identifications of the emperor, empress, relics, and buildings are all disputed.

two bearers by poles and covered with a cloth which is shown rounded, as in the Liudger image.[45] The lack of lay participants in the case of the Drogo Sacramentary may be due to limited space, but this is certainly not the case for the Liudger image.

In contrast, the two images of funeral processions that appear in the late 10th -early 11th c. sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea (Figures 33-34) differ significantly in their vision of the roles of the laity.[46] In both images, the coffin is represented as a substantial, rectangular wooden box with legs at each of the four corners. In the folio 203v image, the coffin appears to be covered with a cloth (represented, as in the Echternach evangeliary, by a pattern covering the entire box). It is carried by lay (untonsured) men, and is accompanied by a group of both laymen and tonsured monks, carrying processional crosses and candles. Though the bearers at the four corners seem to be carrying most of the weight, additional support is given in the folio 203v image by a man who lifts the side of the coffin, and the lay figures behind the coffin may be doing the same on the other side. A processional "order" is not clearly indicated, but both scenes are dominated by a female figure in the center of the image, engaging in physical signs of grief; on folio 200v she raises her hands to heaven, on 203v she appears to beat her breast.[47]

In both folio 200v and 203v, the leading figure carrying the processional cross is a monk, but otherwise there seems to be little differentiation between the roles of lay and monastic participants in the funeral procession. The "captions" to the images suggest this mixing; in the

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[45] The *Ordines Romani* specifically discuss the hiding of relics with a cloth at certain points, but at no point do they mention the transportation of relics on a bier; rather, they suggest that a priest is carrying them on a paten.

[46] Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images: politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil*, Publications universitaires Europeennes. Serie 28, Histoire de l'art 388 (Bern: Lang, 2002).

[47] These images are discussed by Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996), 53–59. in terms of what they show about the centrality of female mourning to burial practice. There, too, he notes the marginalized role of the clergy (along with the lay males) in these images.

folio 203v image, the top and bottom captions combine to describe the action of the scene ("A CUNCTIS FLETUR / [CORPUS] AD TUMULUM VEHITUR) but the left and right captions ("CLERUS / POPULUS") emphasize that both lay and religious groups are included in the "*a cunctis*". Unlike the Echternach translation image, the overall impression of this funeral scene is of a unified group closely surrounding the coffin, with equal lay and religious participation. This suggests a fundamental difference in how burials/translations of saints were imagined and depicted; the unity and collaboration of lay and ecclesiastical groups during a funeral was replaced with a clear statement of ecclesiastical (particularly monastic) control.

Translation scenes also appear on certain later (13th c.) sculpted portals, as discussed by Cecilia Gaposchkin.[48] The north portal from Fleury (St-Benoit-sur-Loire) shows the translation of Benedict and Scholastica (Figure 35). The portal is divided into three scenes: on the far left, Benedict's body is being lifted from a sarcophagus by a group of monks. In the central scene the two small and ornate reliquaries are being transported, but the monks have lowered the poles off their shoulders to let the objects hover over two small figures. A boy is shown under Benedict's reliquary and a girl under Scholastica's.[49] The figures of the monks are turned towards the reliquaries to view the healing miracles. In the final scene on the right, Benedict's relics arrive at Fleury, where they are welcomed by a procession (all figures are tonsured). As in the Amand image, the only 'lay' figures that appear are the boy and girl being healed, but their centrality to the register may suggest that lay roles were given more emphasis in the more visible context of a

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[48] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety: Saints Firmin and Honoré at Amiens," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Rita Tekippe Sarah Blick, - (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 217–42.

[49] Tekippe, "Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice, and Effects," 705.

portal.[50] Similarly, in the procession depicted on the 13th c. St. Honore portal at the cathedral of Amiens, a group of men, women and children are shown following the reliquary, in addition to the figures seeking healing underneath (Figure 36).

Overall, though, the visual contrast between lay and monastic groups suggests that the hierarchy and division present in the translation images reflect a conscious portrayal of these events as ecclesiastically organized, performed, and controlled. Discussions of medieval processions tend to claim that their purpose was to unify; especially for later medieval and early modern urban processions, in which the tacit goal was to establish and perform a collective, often civic, identity.[51] The experience of moving in one direction together, Sabine Felbecker has argued, was meant to encourage perception of the processional group as a complete whole.[52] As shown in previous chapters, however, it is not clear that a sense of unity between lay and religious communities was a goal of central medieval relic procession. Rather, ensuring proper respect for the particular saint and circumscribing acceptable roles for the laity seem to have been the ultimate concerns of a relic's keepers. Physical control of the reliquary was

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[50] Although Benedict's translation to Fleury from Monte Cassino was a foundational event for the identity of Fleury (and was celebrated in multiple monasteries as a separate feast), other temporary movements of his relics were carefully documented. One particularly important event was the "illatio" of his relics, when they were moved to Cluny (the "monastery of St. Peter") in 883 for fear of a Viking raid. Benedict's relics stayed at Cluny for a year before moving back, and the 11th c. author of the account (Theodoric of Fleury) wrote that this day continued to be commemorated as a feast ("*Et haec festivitas, illatio vocatur reditusve*").Jean Mabillon, ed., "Liber de illatione redituque corporis s. Benedicti Aurelianis Floriacum," *AASSOSB* 4.2, 350–55. A capital in the crypt of Cluny showing the translation of Benedict has been linked to this temporary relic journey; cf. Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period*, 15.

[51] These books have convincingly argued for the unifying goals of urban procession, but have just as convincingly showed the tensions and internal competitions that these events provoked. The increasingly formal dress codes, processional routes, and financial accounting point to the more urgent need to internally differentiate between groups, even as the procession as a whole became more cohesive and formal. Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520*.

[52] Felbecker, *Die Prozession : historische und systematische Untersuchungen zu einer liturgischen Ausdruckhandlung*.

relinquished to laypeople only under special circumstances, and although lay enthusiasm to greet and accompany relics was encouraged or mandated, the essentials of the ritual (chanting, blessing, censing) was entirely the responsibility of ecclesiastics.[53] In this sense, the emphasis on monastic control in the images of relic translation reflects the exclusivity and valorization of the experience of accompanying mobile relics.

III. Interpreting relic movement using the Ark

In the last section of this chapter, I turn to explicit textual connections between reliquaries and arks. For hagiographers looking for ways to connect itinerant relics with larger biblical narratives, the Ark suggested a range of possibilities that were more practical than allegorical.[54] In what contexts were comparisons between arks and reliquaries drawn, and do they reveal the same types of actively drawn distinctions between clergy and laity and valorization of clerical processional activity that the visual evidence suggests?

As we saw in the example of St. Cuthbert, river-crossing miracles especially suggested Old Testament associations since they could be equated to the crossing of the Red Sea and/or the crossing of the Jordan. The Montier-en-Der compilation *De diversis casibus Dervensis* recounts a river crossing miracle when describing the journey of the relics of St. Berchar to a peace

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[53] See Chapter 1 for monastic liturgical approach to relic movement, Chapter 4 for lay/ecclesiastical relations and roles during relic journeys. High-ranking laymen seem to have been allowed to carry reliquaries on certain occasions by special request, or at times required to. They would be unable to move the reliquary if the saint found them unworthy: "Miracula S. Agili," 588., also Chapter 3 note 63.

[54] Reliquary processions had suggested the transportation of the Ark in the early Middle Ages, as demonstrated by the Third Council of Braga (*PL* 84, 589-90). Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 99 ft. 132. The canon denounces bishops who hung reliquaries around their necks and whom "Levites dressed in white carry in seats as if they were an ark of relics" ("*quasi ipsi sint reliquiarum arca levitae albis induti in sellulis eos deportant*"). The text goes on to specify that if bishops want to help carry the relics, they should do so on foot like everyone else.

council at Hery in 1020.[55] Upon reaching the riverbank, the monks discovered that the water was deep, and the bridge only built to hold one person at a time. The horsemen could not ford the stream with the reliquary, because they were afraid that it might slip off their shoulders mid-stream. Those on foot who normally carried the reliquary could not make it over the bridge, because at least four men were required to lift the bier. As they wondered what to do, they became nervous that enemies might catch them on the riverbank while they were unable to cross. Although the text does not specify who these "enemies" were, they might have been related to the fact that the monks had pressed charges against a local landlord, Landeric, while at the council. Regardless of the identity of these potential pursuers, the hagiographer (possibly Adso of Montier-en-Der) compared the party to the Israelites, trapped against the Red Sea by the Egyptians, who were saved by divine intervention:

> "Then through our admirable father and protector, the ancient commands and divine miracles were repeated. For just as I said, the bearers [*portitores*] and followers [*secutores*] of the relics of the saint were much disturbed for a long time, [when] one of them, as if another Moses, encouraged them saying: 'Hey, dear and blessed comrades, servants of our most devoted lord, we will cross through the water by foot, safely carrying over the weight of such a precious commodity on our shoulders.' Abandoning the bridge at his encouragement and the command of our God, four walkers [*pedites*] from the group placed the feretory on their necks and crossed over through the aforementioned river. Although however they were in the river up to their kidneys, they went out without hindrance, and discovered [that they were] drier than they were when they went in."[56]

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[55] The river in question was the *Urmuntio*, identified by the Bollandists as the *Armuntio* or l'Armance, flowing through St-Florentin, named as the *castrum Florentini* in the text.

[56] "*Tunc per ammirabilem patrem et protectorem nostrum, antiqua et divinitus jussa replicantur miracula. Nam sicut dictum est, portitores et secutores Reliquiarum Sancti multum et diu turbarentur, unus ex eis velut quondam Moyses eos adhortatus est dicens: Eia charissimi commilitones et Beatissimi hujus Domini nostri devotissimi servientes, pedibus transeamus per aquam, securius transferentes tam preciosissimæ mercis pondus nostris humeris. Ad illius exhortationem et Dei nostri jussionem relinquentes pontem, et ex his quatuor pedites collo feretrum apponentes, transierunt per prædictum amnem. Cum autem usque ad renes in fluvio fuissent, et absque impedimento egressi sunt, et amplius exsiccati quam fuissent ingressi, reperti sunt*." "De diversis casibus Dervensis cœnobii et miraculis S. Bercharii," 1029.

The reference to Moses points more towards the Red Sea crossing than the crossing of the Jordan (which happened after Moses' death) but the hagiographer's evocation of "ancient commands and divine miracles" in the plural suggests that this comparison was meant to be taken broadly. The waters did not part dramatically as in the Old Testament events, but the idea of the four bearers of the reliquary making it safely across, "drier than when they went in" was enough to suggest these associations to the hagiographer.[57] Thus, their pursuers were Egyptians, one of their company was "a new Moses", and the party themselves the Israelites. An even more explicit example of association with the Jordan Crossing appears in the *Miracles* of St. Genevieve, which describe Genevieve's reliquary opening the waters of the Seine in 1209: "With the ark of the covenant going ahead, the people of Israel crossed over through the middle of the Jordan with dry feet."[58]

The episode of the Ark's capture by the Philistines and entrance to Jerusalem, preceded by David, was another opportunity for hagiographers to associate mobile reliquaries with the Ark. Processions, though a common feature of medieval life, did not find many textual parallels in the Old Testament, and so the Dance of David was a notable exception. One early example, though referring to a relic translation rather than a temporary journey, appears in the 7th c. *Life* of St. Eloi written by Dado of Rouen, which reports that when Eloi translated the relics of St. Martial to the basilica he had newly renovated in Paris, he "exulted and danced before the reliquary [*archam*] just as David formerly [had]". This claim would be repeated in a 12th c.

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[57] Not all miraculous river-crossings were carried out in this way. In the *Miracles* of Waldebert (discussed in Chapter 3), a divinely-guided boat floated over to ferry the monks and their relics across the river *Materna*. Holder-Egger, "Miracula SS. Waldeberti et Eustasii," 1174–1175.The hagiographer, Adso of Montier-en-Der (who also wrote the account of Berchar's miracles) makes no Old Testament associations in this case.

[58] "*Praecedente quondam arca testamenti populus Israel per medium Jordanis sicco pede pertransiit.*" Odo de Soliaco, "Miracula S. Genovefae," *PL 212*, 94–95. Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 149.

compilation of the *Miracles* of St. Martial, which used Eloi's own sainthood and respectful treatment of Martial's relics to reemphasize Martial's importance: "The outstanding confessor Eloi, as if another David before the Ark, exulted at the side of the relics of blessed Martial with heart and body".[59] The repetition of this claim, in hagiography dedicated to both Eloi and Martial, highlights the ability of the Ark motif to extend glory beyond the object itself; a hagiographer could praise the saint's relics by association with the Ark, but also the participants in the procession, in this case, St. Eloi, by association with David and the chosen people of Israel.

These comparisons are also made explicit in an episode from the *Miracles of St. Adelard,* a saint of Corbie who was taken on a journey through Flanders in the late 11th c. During a stop at Lille, the countess Adele of Flanders had supposedly attempted to assert her own claim to the relics. When the monks had entered the church, the countess closed all the doors and told them that although they could leave, the relics had to stay. In the story that follows, the monks claim to have removed Adelard's relics from his reliquary and smuggled them successfully out of the city back to Corbie in spite of the danger. Nevertheless, the countess held on to the supposedly empty reliquary until she finally relented and allowed it to be carried back. The following passage describes the scene in which the group returning with the empty reliquary was met by a procession from the monastery carrying the saint's actual relics:

> "In this manner they, as if leaving Egypt, where now they had been detained as if captives, with the cloud of heavenly defense protecting them lest they be burned by the sun of tribulation, they came with our new Moses as leader into the land of peace and

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[59] In the *Life* of Eloi: "*Cum ergo Eligius, veluti quondam David ante archam exultans atque trepudians…"* Bruno Krusch, ed., "Vita S. Eligii," *MGH SS Rer. Mer.* IV, 684. In the *Miracles* of St. Martial: "*egregius confessor Eligius, velut alter David ante arcam, coram reliquiis b. Martialis corde et corpore exultabat.*" "Miracula S. Martialis," *AASS* Jun. V, 560. The Martial text is also edited in the *CCH Paris* vol. 2, p. 385. The editors of the *CCH Paris* claim that these chapters are missing from the *AASS*, but they do seem to appear there.

> security. And when now they had come near to Corbie, sending messengers ahead they ordered their brothers to run out quickly to the reliquary of saint Adelard with the arm of that same confessor. Immediately new joy was added on top of their recent joy; all the bells [*classica*] were rung, the church was adorned with tapestries and coverings, and it was illuminated with many lit candles. Finally, with an assembly of the people having been convened, a festive procession began, and it advanced in the way with the arm of saint Adelard preceded by candles and crosses. Then the children of Israel taking it up as if it was the ark of the Lord returned from the Philistines, carried it back into the tabernacle of God, and they went before with David in a voice of exultation and confession singing psalms, with various types of musical instruments sounding all around to increase the joy."[60]

Here, two episodes from the Old Testament have been conflated to help illustrate the spectacle of the reliquary's return. The countess' actions in retaining the reliquary in Lille were painted as a version of the Israelite captivity in Egypt, making the return to Corbie into the Exodus. Adelard, in this analogy, is identified as "our new Moses" [*novo Moyse nostro*], and Corbie is the Promised Land of "peace and security" [*terram pacis et securitatis*]. The procession into the monastery itself, however, was interpreted as the entrance of the Ark into Jerusalem returning from its capture by the Philistines, a much later event in the biblical chronology. This placed the countess, unflatteringly, in the role of the Philistines as well as the Pharoah. Adelard is not explicitly identified as David, but the strange situation in which he was present in both the procession returning from Lille (in the form of his reliquary) and the welcoming procession (in the form of his arm relic) suggests that he could also be viewed as David, celebrating the return of his own personal "ark". Most importantly, the monks and laypeople are identified as the

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[60] "*Taliter illi, quasi de Ægypto egressi, vbi iam quasi captiui fuerant detenti, protegente eos cælestis defensionis nube, ne vrerentur a sole tribulationis, peruenerunt, duce nouo Moyse nostro, in terram pacis & securitatis. Cumque iam facti fuissent proximi Corbeiæ, præmittentes nuntios mandauerunt fratribus suis, vt scrinio S. Adalardi mature occurrerent cum brachio eiusdem Confessoris. Illico gaudium nouum adhuc recenti gaudio superadditur: classica pulsantur: ecclesia tapetibus & palliis adornatur; accensis etiam luminaribus plurimis illuminatur: denique facto populi conuentu festiua processio orditur: & cum brachio S. Adalardi præcedentibus cereis & crucibus obuiam proceditur. Tunc filij Israël quasi arcam Domini de Philistæis reductam suscipientes, in tabernaculo Dei referebant: & cum Dauid in voce exultationis & confessionis psallentes præcedebant, variis musicorum instrumentorum generibus ad augendam lætitiam circumquaque sonantibus."* "Miracula s. Adelardi," 123.

children of Israel welcoming the reliquary back to its true home, Corbie/Jerusalem. Similarly, St. Ouen's relics were described as being carried back to his "tabernaculum" (i.e. the monastery) when returning from a peace council.[61]

The hagiographer describing the second ostension of St. Bavo in 1058 used the Ark comparison even more explicitly to valorize those transporting the reliquary. This text was created in the thick of the bitter rivalry between St. Bavo's and St. Peter's of Ghent; St. Bavo was twice carried on short journeys outside the monastery to Mont-St-Pancras as part of the public relations campaign. The importance of these journeys to the literary effort against St. Peter's is clear, since during the 1058 journey the skies purportedly opened and the sign of the cross appeared above the reliquary. Reporting this exciting event triggers what Maurice Coens has kindly called "une longue amplification littéraire" on the part of the hagiographer; and this is where the comparison of the reliquary to the Ark appears. The hagiographer addresses the bearers of the reliquary, saying:

> "Listen, you who are carrying the ark of God, going on to Bethsames, that is to the 'house of the sun', participate in the joy over this and a thousand other proofs in the vestibule of [your] mind, certain that if you carry the ark, turning neither to the right or left, when you see the God of gods with pious Bavo, you will be gods. Whence that psalm: 'I said, you are gods and all sons of the Most High'…"[62]

The depth of this reference to the Ark makes it a bit obscure. Bethsames was the first city the Ark encountered once it had been released by the Philistines on a cart pulled by two oxen, who turned "neither to the right or left" but headed directly for Israelite territory. The purpose of this

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[61] "Miracula S. Audoeni," 835.

[62] "*Eia, vos qui Bethsamis, id est ad domum solis, pergentes, archam Dei portatis* [1 Samuel 6:12], *in mentis vestibulo super hoc aliisque millenis argumentis participate gaudio, certi [quod] si, dum archam defertis, nec ad dexteram nec ad sinistram declinetis, cum pio Bavone Deum deorum videbitis, immo dii eritis. Unde illud decacordi: "Ego dixi, dii estics et filli Excelsi omnes*" [Ps. 81, 6] M. Coens, ed., "Translatio secunda S. Bavoni," *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968): 58–9.

text is naturally to emphasize Bavo's status as a saint who deserves this unique apparition, but the comparison to the Ark also highlights the importance of this glory for those who are 'carrying' Bavo. Accompanying the reliquary on its travels is a distinct type of privilege that will translate into heavenly rewards (the extent of the hagiographer's claim is somewhat shocking taken at face vaue). The Ark is used in this passage to connect the wonder and power of Bavo's reliquary with the positive implications of that power for those physically responsible for it. Overall, then, hagiographical references to the Ark especially provided an opportunity to extend some of the positive aura from the reliquary to the people associated with it, and to reflect negatively on their 'enemies', whether countesses or rival monasteries.

Conclusion

It is well-known that medieval theologians understood the Ark as an Old Testament prefiguration for Christ or Mary, and that Christological and Marian reliquaries might be interpreted in that context. What is less well understood is the use of Old Testament episodes and objects to describe and interpret contemporary ritual situations. Traveling with relics was a new type of experience for central medieval monks, and one that not all their contemporaries were comfortable with. One effect of comparing itinerant reliquaries to the Ark was to afford those carrying the relics a prominent place in a narrative of itinerant sanctity and redemption. Becoming the rhetorical people of Israel marked the group off as "special" travelers in a potentially hostile world. Ensuring that respect and honor shown to relics would be inextricably linked with showing respect and honor to those caring for them them was a very real concern, made more real by the practical difficulties of securing hospitality on the road. Reliquaries understood as Arks, and Arks understood as reliquaries, made it that much easier to associate a sacred object with a sacred people, journeying together on a divinely-ordained itinerary. When

depicting mobile reliquaries, then, it was the *distinction* between ecclesiastical and lay groups that illustrators highlighted, rather than their shared devotion to the saint.

Conclusion

> "And thus with the body of the saint [Berchar] having been carried back [to the monastery], the thought came to a village of peasants that where the holy body had stayed they would construct the sign of the cross of the Lord to the memory of such a great blessing. For by bringing the ashes of the saint, the mortality of men had fled. The wood was prepared, and ten oxen were loaded with the weight of it. The farmers came, the cross was erected, but having been lifted up it appeared crooked. Seeing this the rustic team groaned, and one of them said with a great voice: 'If indeed the body of the great father was carried to this place, let me straighten the wood of this cross'. And thus it was straightened, and he fixed himself what all had struggled with."
>
> -The *Miracles* of St. Berchar[1]

Cross-straightening miracles may not have been the most glamorous of saintly activities, but there is a great deal of depth behind this simple story of the construction of a cross for St. Berchar. Multiple layers of memory were already attached to this landmark immediately after its creation. In the first place, the cross was built to commemorate a specific miracle: the protection of the village from an eleventh-century plague (the *Miracles* were composed at Montier-en-Der between 1085 and 1090). This was the action that prompted the original idea for the cross, and thus it served as a type of *ex voto* gift to the saint on the part of the entire village. This layer of memory was historical; it looked back to the service performed by the saint for the village in the recent past.

However, the cross was also meant to commemorate the saint's physical presence on the site. This made the site itself a kind of contact relic, with residual holiness that remained available after the saint's departure. A more well-known example from the travels of St. Junian's

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[1] "*Relatis itaque artubus Sancti, venit intentio villæ rusticis, ut, ubi Sanctum manserat corpus, ad memoriam tantæ benedictionis, quam per ipsius merita senserant, signum Dominicæ Crucis configerent: nam Sancti cinere advecto, fugit ipsa hominum mortalitas. Parata est materia cujus onere boves decem onerati fuere. Coloni advenere, crucem erexere, sed elevata apparuit in transverso. Quod cernentes rustica manus ingemuit et eorum unus magna voce intonuit: Si vere tanti patris huc fuit corpus delatum, istius crucis dirigam lignum; sicque directum est, et quod omnes nitebantur, ille solus constituit."* "De diversis casibus Dervensis cœnobii et miraculis S. Bercharii," 1029.

relics to the council held at Charroux described the implications of this process. Two newly-created holy sites are mentioned in the description written by Letaldus of Micy; first, the relics stopped and rested at a point not far from the monastery. The people then erected a cross to "memorialize and record the fact that the relics of the holy father had rested there".[2] Later visitors to this cross ("from that time to this") were then cured of their fevers, transforming this monument to the past into an active future locus of power, and creating an alternate point of pilgrimage.[3] A second holy site was created when they reached the village of Ruffiacus, which belonged to the monastery, and passed a night in the manse house. After they left the next morning, the villagers fenced in the spot where the relics had rested to protect it from men and animals. This place's continued holiness was evidenced by two miracles: first, a bull crashing against the fence was struck dead, and second, a woman was cured of her elephantiasis when she washed in the pool that had formed there. Just as new relics could be created by contact with a saint's body, so too could physical *places* become sanctified by their contact with a relic en route. We might imagine a relic's journey leaving pinpoints of light behind it; a string of spots that, however far from their destination or origin, had the potential to be permanently associated with that saint's name and power.

Returning to the construction of Berchar's cross, we see the process of imprinting the memory of relic movement onto the landscape in ways that looked both back to the past, and forward to the future. The wording of the worker's prayer is significant; if Berchar had actually

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[2] Thomas Head, "Letaldus of Micy and the Hagiographic Traditions of the Abbey of Nouaille: The Context of the Delatio Corporis S. Juniani," *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997): 253–67. Head has translated this text in the *Peace of God* volume. Landes and Head, "Delatio corporis S. Juniani."

[3] Alternative sites of pilgrimage could also compete with the monastery itself. In the miracles of St. Theoderic (at Mont-d'Or), a holy well dedicated to Theoderic began to draw significant numbers of pilgrims. The hagiographer takes some care to indicate that the monastery should remain an important site to visit, and that visiting the well alone should not be considered sufficient. "Miracula S. Theodorici."

been there, he should help erect the cross in his honor. It was the bodily presence of the saint, not the plague miracle, that this prayer referenced and that the miraculous straightening of the cross confirmed. As a result, the past (the presence of Berchar's body) now had concrete implications for the future of the site. The new miracle was a miracle of confirmation: it established the cross, not only as a marker of a place where miracles had occurred, but where they were expected to occur again. The significance of Berchar's journey was finally detached from its original motivation, and the ephemeral passage of the relics had become a fixture on the landscape and a continuing aspect of local experience.[4]

Wooden crosses were not the only ways in which the memories of relic movement were materialized, nor the most long-lasting. Visitors to the abbatial church of Saint-Ouen in Rouen walking along the southern side come to the entrance known as the "Portail des Marmousets". The portal dates to the second quarter of the 14th century and the charming name comes from a series of carved "contortionists" in the room above the porch. On the pillars around the doors are carved multiple scenes of St. Ouen's history, in life and after his death. Images of Ouen's reliquary being transported on the shoulders of two monks appear a striking number of times. Franck Thénard-Duvivier, in his study of the portal, has both noted the prominence of these scenes and linked them with known movements of St. Ouen's relics, particularly a journey in

[4] Other examples of the construction of crosses are found in: "Miracula S. Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam facta," 574. O. Holder-Egger, ed., "Miracula S. Wandregisili," *MGH SS* XV.1, 408. "Miracula S. Marculfi Peronae facta," 538.Relics might also travel again to sites they had visited once before, creating further associations. For example, the annual procession of St. Winnoc's relics to Wormhout on Pentecost: "*Mos habetur mortalibus Bergensis pagi, ut octavis Pentecostes... deportari ossa venerabilis patris Winnoci, utriusque sexus sequente multitudine,, deferrique donorum vota quae promiserint oppressi quacumque valitudine. Deportabantur more solito cum maximo tripudio hujus sancti pignera; praecedebat ac sequebatur laudantium Dominum multitudo maxima*." "Miracula S. Winnoci," *AASS* Nov. III, 276. Also St. Madegisil, Hariulf, "Vita S. Madelgisili," *AASS* May VII, 269. Places which had hosted a saint's relics might also commemorate their feast day, as in the celebration of St. Aigulf at Pruvinum, where his relics were carried for fear of Vikings. "Miracula S. Aigulfi," *AASS* Sept. I , 761.

1047 to recover the tithe of Rôts from William the Conqueror.[5] The procession to Rôts (during which a drawbridge miraculously lowered to give the monks and relics access to the unwilling count) is depicted in three separate scenes.[6] The placement of these and the other relic movement scenes, around the door and easily viewable, gives the sense that Ouen was still traveling "among" the people and pilgrims entering the church. However stationary the relics within the church might be, their 11th century movement was inscribed as a fundamental aspect of their history on the 14th century door that led visitors in to them. Long after the property dispute, and long after William was dead, the memory of relic mobility continued to play out in stone.

As Berchar's cross and the portal of Saint-Ouen suggest, the memory and impact of medieval relic movement went far beyond the fact of the journey itself. In this dissertation I have explored broadly and thematically some of the effects and consequences of temporary relic movement during the tenth to twelfth centuries. Medieval relic mobility has been primarily understood and studied in terms of relic translations, permanent dislocations from one place to another. Without denying the importance of these foundational events, relic mobility might be better described as a spectrum, encompassing many episodes of calendrical and noncalendrical out-and-back movement. It is clear that moving relics was a more regular and expected occurrence than a focus on translations would suggest.

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[5] Franck Thénard-Duvivier, "Construction et fonctions d'un récit hagiographique sculpté: le portail méridional de Saint-Ouen de Rouen (XIVe siècle)," in *L'image médiévale: fonctions dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace culturel*, ed. C. Voyer and E. Sparhubert, Culture et société médiévales 22 (Brepols, 2012). The datation of the portal I have given is from Thénard-Duvivier (p. 242-5), and also the explanation of the portal's name (note 7, pp. 242-3) The portal has also been studied in the dissertation thesis of Alexandra Blaise, "Les représentations hagiographiques à Rouen à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1280 – vers 1530)", Paris-Sorbonne 2009. Blaise dated the portal to the early 15th c., an argument addressed by Thénard-Duvivier.

[6] According to Thénard-Duvivier, the Rôts procession is described in the *Livre noir* of the monastery (f. 209v-211), published by Pommeraye.

My focus on the consequences, rather than the justifications, of this level of "everyday" mobility has allowed me to bring a variety of different texts and genres into conversation with one another and to reveal a number of recurring themes surrounding relic mobility in this period. The first has been the inconsistent development of ritual languages, practices, and customs surrounding mobile relics. From the inclusion or exclusion of relics in calendrical liturgical processions such as Palm Sunday to the development of specific practices for temporary relic movement within the Cluniac customaries, we can locate the beginnings of a desire to encompass the *temporary* mobility of relics in liturgical forms in the early eleventh century (Chapter 1). Depictions of relic movement in artistic sources (Chapter 5) highlight this desire for clerical legitimation and control of itinerant relics through a visual and textual emphasis on clerical processional activity. Within the late twelfth century and beyond, this would lead to a sharp divergence in relic movement patterns. While the exhibition of "minor" relics would become professionalized and individualized (we can think, again, of Chaucer's Pardoner), movement of the great monastic patrons' relics (Ouen, Amand, Benedict, etc.) would become more highly circumscribed. Movements of relics remain part of Catholic practice in many countries throughout the world, but almost exclusively occur on calendrical occasions (usually, the saint's feast day, Ascension Day, or Pentecost) and follow a prescribed and annually repeated route.[7]

Yet the relative rarity of prescriptive texts for relic movement in the 10th-12th centuries indicates a second theme: the flexibility and experimentation surrounding temporary relic mobility in this period. Although certain practices borrowed from translation ceremonies recur

[7] In an interesting juxtaposition, the modern website of the abbey of Jouarre associates the annual procession of their house's relics on Pentecost with the 11th century meeting of the relics of Jouarre and Rebais performed in response to a cross appearing in the sky.

to the point where they may seem standard (particularly the practice of the *occursus* procession), we can also detect significant deviations and appropriations of these forms: refusals to perform processions, lay disruptions of procession (whether through devotion or dissent), and contested assertions of rank and status (Chapters 2 and 4). All these instances speak to the challenges of introducing relic mobility alongside the ideals of relic permanence, harmony and equality (or at least uncontested hierarchy) between saints, and uniform lay devotion. On the other hand, the multiplication over time of different rationales for relic movement indicates the growing symbolic power of this kind of performance, and monastic creativity in using it as an answer to new types of problems. Even given a single type of problem, such as control of monastic property, mobile relics could see a variety of uses and interpretations beyond simple intimidation (Chapter 3). Relic mobility was an extraordinarily adaptable tool, though again later it would lose this creative character.

This fluidity of use and meaning surrounding itinerant relics, especially the openness to involvement and interpretation by different social groups, is the third theme running through this work. I would characterize a relic journey as a liminal state for these objects, reading against the grain of the sources themselves. The hagiographical texts describing these journeys report episodes of contention and conflict only to turn them to the saint's praise and benefit. Similarly, they almost entirely efface the movement of the reliquary itself, instead reporting a journey as a series of successive stops. Tim Ingold has reflected on the effects of representing any journey in this way (as "transport" between destinations with no intervening experience) as opposed to the more realistic and chaotic experience of moving through a landscape ("wayfaring").[8] The general medieval idealization of a relic journey as a "transport" experience is significant, and I

[8] Tim Ingold, "Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge," in *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*, ed. Peter Wynn Kirby (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 29–44.

read these narrative decisions as a response to a discomfort with having relics, objects of power and authority, exist in a spatially liminal state. This reading is corroborated by the clear anxiety expressed in many texts to enter and control a more normal setting for the relics (a church) as quickly as possible.

The rationale for applying the concept of liminality to itinerant relics deserves some brief expansion. When Arnold Van Gennep wrote about the 'rites of passage', he was referring to passage between life stages (birth, puberty, death).[9] However, in the case of itinerant relics we are discussing literal passages, as relics departed from and were integrated back into the (theoretically) spatially closed world of the monastery. When Victor Turner expanded on Van Gennep's ideas, he saw their applications to spatially-based entrances into the liminal state, for example describing pilgrimage as a "liminoid phenomenon".[10] Turner suggested that a person took on a powerful persona as a result of dissociating themselves from normality through travel, but at the same time that this state of liminality invited conflict and the potential for social rupture. In highlighting the ambiguity and critiques surrounding relic mobility during this period, my work underlines Turner's suggestions about the potential for conflict and transformation of social relationships when someone (or *something*) is in the liminal state. More broadly, I suggest that episodes of an object's movement, however ephemeral, can particularly reveal the chaotic social and cultural processes underlying idealized narratives of unity.

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9 Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*.

10 Victor W. Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, "Introduction: Pilgrimage as a Liminoid Phenomenon," in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, Lectures on the History of Religions, new ser., no. 11 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). These observations are mirrored by the conclusions of Sheingorn and Ashely regarding the transportation of St. Foy, as indicated in the introduction.

The "mobilities turn" and medieval history

My emphasis on movement itself as a defining feature of the interaction between medieval society and relics places this work within the context of a growing trend in the broader social sciences, known to its proponents as the "mobilities paradigm". Loosely, this approach argues that attention must be given to movement, not as a functional means of getting between places of significance, but as a constitutive action that should be a focus of study independent from its putative purpose (the now-classic metaphor is "routes rather than roots"). John Urry, a sociologist whose interest in movement began with his studies on modern tourism, has become one of the leading theoretical figures defining this field, and it has so far found the strongest support within sociology and geography.[11] The 2014 *Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, along with the continuing publication of the new journal *Mobilities*, serve as the most recent attempts to corral the growing literature on mobilities research and define its sense of theoretical purpose. The *Routledge Handbook*'s scope also indicates an unfortunate characteristic of mobilities studies as currently practiced, in that its focus is overwhelmingly modern and linked to studies of globalization processes.[12] This is the result of its birth at the intersections of transportation, tourist, and migration studies, all of which are more familiar to scholars of the post-19th century world (and usually, of the late 20th and 21st centuries). As a result, mobilities research is often

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[11] John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007). Another foundational work is Peter Adey, *Mobility* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).

[12] For example, the titles of the essays under the "Materialities" section of the *Handbook* are: "Water", "Foods", "Waste", "Viruses", "Postcards", "Bicycles", "Carbon", and "Passports." An interesting challenge to many of the assumptions about mobility in "modern" as opposed to "traditional" societites has been launched by Stephen Greenblatt and the authors in the volume he edited, Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Greenblatt indicates that it is colonialist to assume that premodern societies were fixed, rigid, and immobile, as a counterpoint to the modern (and often Western) focus on the 21st century as unique in its level and forms of mobility.

envisioned by its practitioners as having little to no application outside of a narrative of contemporary globalization.[13]

Mobility, however, has recently attracted the attention of (generally prehistoric) archaeologists looking for new approaches to their material. The volume *Past Mobilities,* edited by Jim Leary, has attempted to apply the insights of mobilities studies to archaeological problems and also to alert mobilities scholars to the necessity and value of including studies of the movements of the past. Leary notes in his introduction that studying movement as more than a mechanism poses particular challenges for archaeologists (and, I would add, premodern historians). Mobility "lacks a presence" while place is "reassuringly tangible".[14] Archaeologists (and, again, historians) are comfortable discussing sites, cities, trenches, and monasteries, while paths, routes, detours, encounters, and wanderings tend to be disconcertingly ephemeral and difficult to recover. For Leary, "archaeology needs to discuss mobility, but to go beyond the fact of the journey... in order to discuss the rhythms, meanings, complexities, performance and social relations of mobility, as well as how different mobilities effect [sic] people and groups." This casts a very wide net, and accordingly the articles included in the volume discuss topics ranging from gender-based differerences in Neolithic mobility explored through ancient DNA studies to

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[13] Very noticeably in Anthony D'Andrea, Luigina Ciolfi, and Breda Gray, "Methodological Challenges and Innovations in Mobilities Research," *Mobilities* 6, no. 2 (May 1, 2011): 149–60.

[14] Jim Leary, ed., *Past Mobilities: Archaeological Approaches to Movement and Mobility* (Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 4. Another archaeologically-minded volume to explicitly identify with the mobilities paradigm is Mary C. Beaudry and Travis G. Parno, eds., *Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement*, Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology, v. 35 (New York: Springer, 2013).

the biomechanical effects of different types and levels of mobility on skeletons.[15] With the exception of one (a broad study of "Mobility in the Roman Empire") all focus on prehistory.

The almost exclusive focus of mobility-themed studies on the near past (really, the present) and prehistory begs the question of what mobilities-based approaches have to offer history beyond a new nomenclature. There has certainly been a great deal of movement between the centuries of gathering and hunting and the appearance of bullet trains. Historians may feel, in fact, that mobility has long been a part of historical studies and that sociology is somewhat late to the party. Medieval historians have long been interested in a very specific type of mobility, religious pilgrimage. Some insights offered by a mobilities perspective (for example, that movement is transformative, that movement can be an end in itself, or that movement can create new forms of social spaces) will likely seem well-worn observations to scholars of medieval pilgrimage.

The challenge posed to medieval history by mobility studies is perhaps to look for mobility (and immobility) in unexpected places, to look for the overlap of different kinds of mobilities (economic, political, cultural), and to look particularly for the mobility of *things* alongside the movement of people and ideas.[16] These avenues of thought have already borne some interesting fruit within medieval studies. Roberta Gilchrist, publishing alongside mobilities scholars from sociology and archaeology, evoked the materiality of the object (in her

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[15] The array of archaeological works which claim an affinity with mobility studies include studies of road networks (as in Snead, James E., Erickson, Clark L., and Darling, J. Andrew, eds., *Landscapes of Movement: Paths, Trails, and Roads in Anthropological Perspective* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Press, 2009).

[16] As suggested some time ago in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

case, medieval heirlooms) as a guide to its history and transformation over time.[17] The article by Ashley and Sheingorn on the mobility of St. Foy's relics at Conques, cited many times in this dissertation, observed that these events "moved the statue from a cultically constructed, protected, and monastically-controlled environment into a liminal zone where many alternative possibilities for action were opened up by the statue's passage." Thus, they redefined Turner's concept of the liminal to be more explicitly "a zone of multiple possibilities and likely contestation," a conclusion that this dissertation fully supports.[18]

In addition, mobilities research complements but also runs counter to the recent strong theoretical focus on "space and place" within medieval historical and archaeological studies (also known as the "spatial turn"). Space and place studies have emphasized the importance of spatial experience as more than a convenient proxy for the ideas that influenced its construction (in the case of built space). Space has come to be read as more than a product or a passive reflection of the goals of its creators, but a malleable and active entity that might form and reform ideas and experience in its own right, and whose significance is not limited temporally. Within medieval history, this has led to extremely creative investigations into both secular and "sacred" space, often including sensitive analyses of how a space might constrain and direct movement in significant ways (for example, Katie Clark's examination of the spatial withdrawal of the papacy

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[17] Gilchrist, Roberta, "The Materiality of Medieval Heirlooms: From Biographical to Sacred Objects," in *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*, ed. Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss (Oxford, UK : Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, 2013), 170–82.Medieval archaeology has also seen increased interest in the archaeology of travel, as in Andrew Reynolds, "The Archaeology of Travel and Communication: Introduction," *World Archaeology* 43, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 343–44. Andrew Reynolds and Alexander Langlands, "Travel as Communication: A Consideration of Overland Journeys in Anglo-Saxon England," *World Archaeology* 43, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 410–27.

[18] Ashley and Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose," 53, 63.

within Avignon).[19] Studies of space, however, are often based on an investigation of a particular place (such as a building or city) and thus tend to emphasize local groundedness.

Moving forward, a mobilities perspective might propose several broad questions for medieval historical research: What moved in the medieval world? How did different rhythms of motion and patterns of circulation intersect with one another? How should medieval mobility be visualized and represented, and what new impressions of the medieval world might we form by focusing on movement rather than stasis? This dissertation represents a small step in these directions, by concentrating on the ability of relic movement to reveal certain tensions in medieval society (between lay and ecclesiastical groups, between religious houses, and between monks and secular clergy) as well as the forces and compromises working against these ruptures. While I have explored these questions using texts and images, the evolution of different mapping techniques and methods drawn from broader mobilities research could lead to further new understandings of journeys and journeying within the medieval world.

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These questions also point us, finally, to recent developments in the larger global cultural history of sacred objects and their use. In her introduction to the *Past & Present* supplement on *Relics and Remains,* Alexandra Walsham makes an inspiring case for a cross-field dialogue about the meaning and analysis of relics. Tellingly, she includes mobility as one common thread linking these objects from disparate cultural contexts together: "A further key element [of a relic] is transportability and mobility: relics are objects that carry meaning over space as well as

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[19] Katie Clark, "Redefining Space in Early Fourteenth-Century Avignon: The St-Etienne Episode," in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih, King's College London Medieval Studies 23 (London: King's College London, Centre for Late Antique & Medieval Studies, 2012).

allowing it to endure in time."[20] Looking for relic mobility in non-Western contexts leads to a staggering and stimulating array of comparative examples. In the *Past & Present* volume alone, we learn not only about the itinerancy of Santa Anna's leg, but the veneration, duplication, and travels of mango-relics within revolutionary China, and a proposed (but not performed) *quête itinérante* with the Buddha's tooth relic (possibly) captured by the Portuguese in Goa in 1561.[21] Thousands attend the annual procession of a statue of the goddess Mazu in Taiwan, during which she visits temples and other Mazu statues throughout the island; the contributions to the volume *South Asian Religions on Display* provide a wealth of other processional examples.[22]

My conclusions here challenge somewhat Walsham's definition of the relationship between relics and their mobility. Do relics "carry meaning", as a letter might carry a message? My work, along with several contributions to the volume, suggests that relics' meanings are made (and fought over) through mobility, and that the meaning of a relic "at home" might be very different from the meaning of a relic en route. Whether statues of goddesses or pieces of the Berlin Wall, the circulation of culturally powerful objects and the activities that surround their movement continue to change and define human society. The processes of conflict and negotiation surrounding itinerant relics in medieval Europe offers us new paths towards

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[20] Alexandra Walsham, ed., *Relics and Remains*, Past and Present Supplements, suppl. 5, 2010 (Oxford: Oxford Journals, 2010), 11.

[21] Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna"; Adam Yuet Chau, "Mao's Travelling Mangoes: Food as Relic in Revolutionary China," *Past & Present* 206, no. suppl 5 (January 1, 2010): 256–75; Strong, "'The Devil Was in That Little Bone.'"

[22] Paul R. Katz, "Religion and the State in Post-War Taiwan," *The China Quarterly*, no. 174 (June 1, 2003): 395–412. There is a fascinating contrast between the mainstream media reports of this event, which emphasize the unanimity and joyous celebration of this event, and Katz' tracking of the fraught political and social origins of the procession. Knut A. Jacobsen, ed., *South Asian Religions on Display : Religious Processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008).

understanding the ways in which the places and people of the past were connected, but also separated, by the discordant rhythms of ritual and travel.

Figures

Figure 1: Brussels KBR 9069, fol. 25v, 15th c. Image courtesy of Brussels KBR. Photo of reproduction by author.

Figure 2: Morgan Picture Bible (Morgan MS M.638), fol. 39v. 1240's or 1250's. David dances before the Ark of the Covenant. Image courtesy the Morgan Library and Museum. Available online at http://www.themorgan.org/collection/crusader-bible/78

Figure 3: Apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés, 9th c. Image courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 4: Rodes Bible (Spain), mid-11th c., Paris BNF lat. 6(2) fol. 5r. Image courtesy Mandragore database.

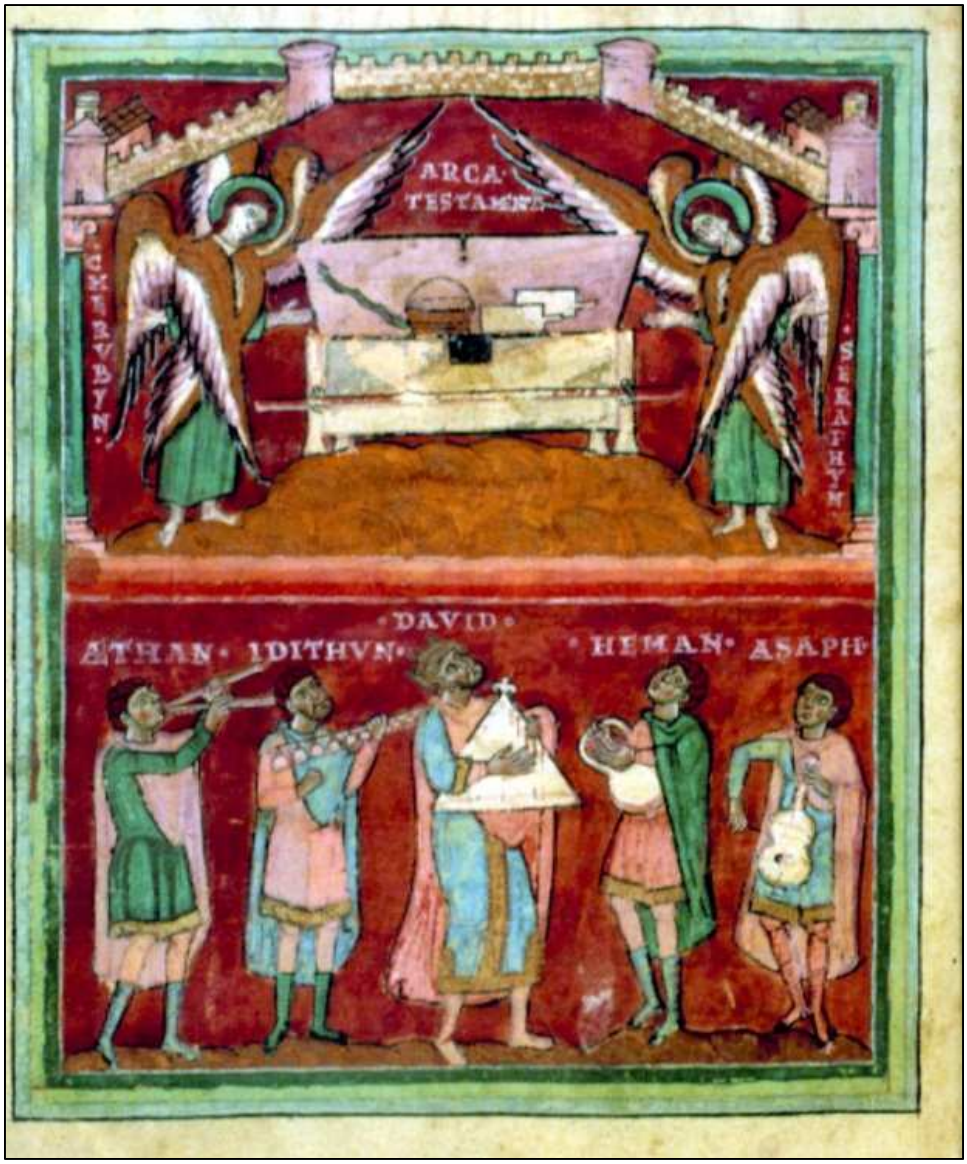

Figure 5: Vatican Pal. 39, fol. 44v, 11th c. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 6: Bible of St-Paul-Outside-the-Walls, fol. 59v. Image reproduced from facsimile edition, *La Bibbia carolingia dell'Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le Mura*, ed. Marco Cardinali (Vatican City, Vatican City: 2009).

Figure 7: The Utrecht Psalter, fol. 66r, illustrating Psalm 113. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 8: The Utrecht Psalter, fol. 75r, illustrating Psalm 131. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 9: The Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge , Trinity College, R.17.1), fol. 203v, illustrating Psalm 113. Mid-12th c. Image courtesy Trinity College, available online at http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1229.

Figure 10: The Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), fol. 237r, illustrating Psalm 131. Mid-12th c. Image courtesy Trinity College, available online at http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1229.

Figure 11: Old English Hexateuch (Cotton MS Claudius B IV), fol. 142v. First half of the 11th c. Image courtesy British Library, available online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_iv_f142v

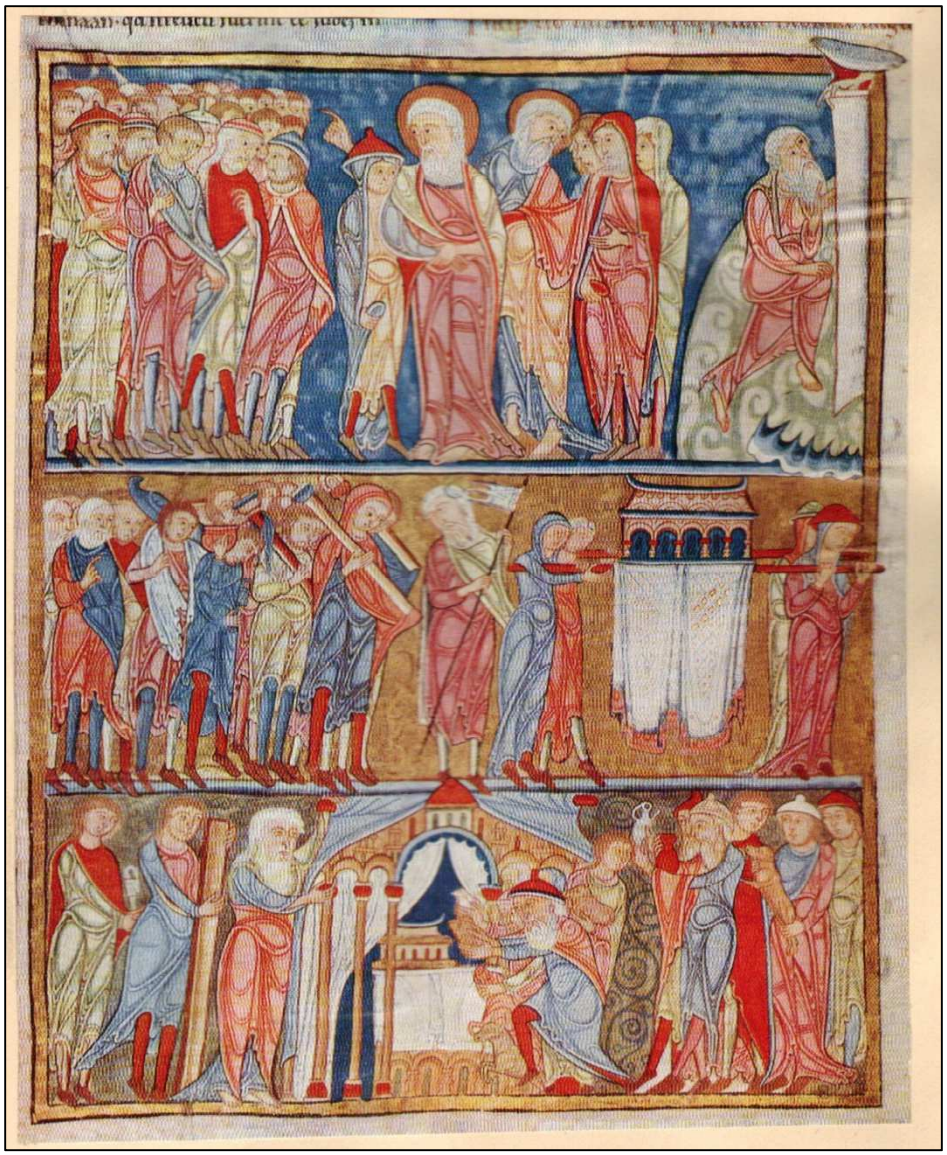

Figure 12: Lambeth Bible (Lambeth Palace Library MS 3), fol. 66v. Mid-12th c. Image after *The Great Lambeth Bible,* ed. C.R. Dodwell (London, Faber and Faber: 1959), plate 22, p. 22.

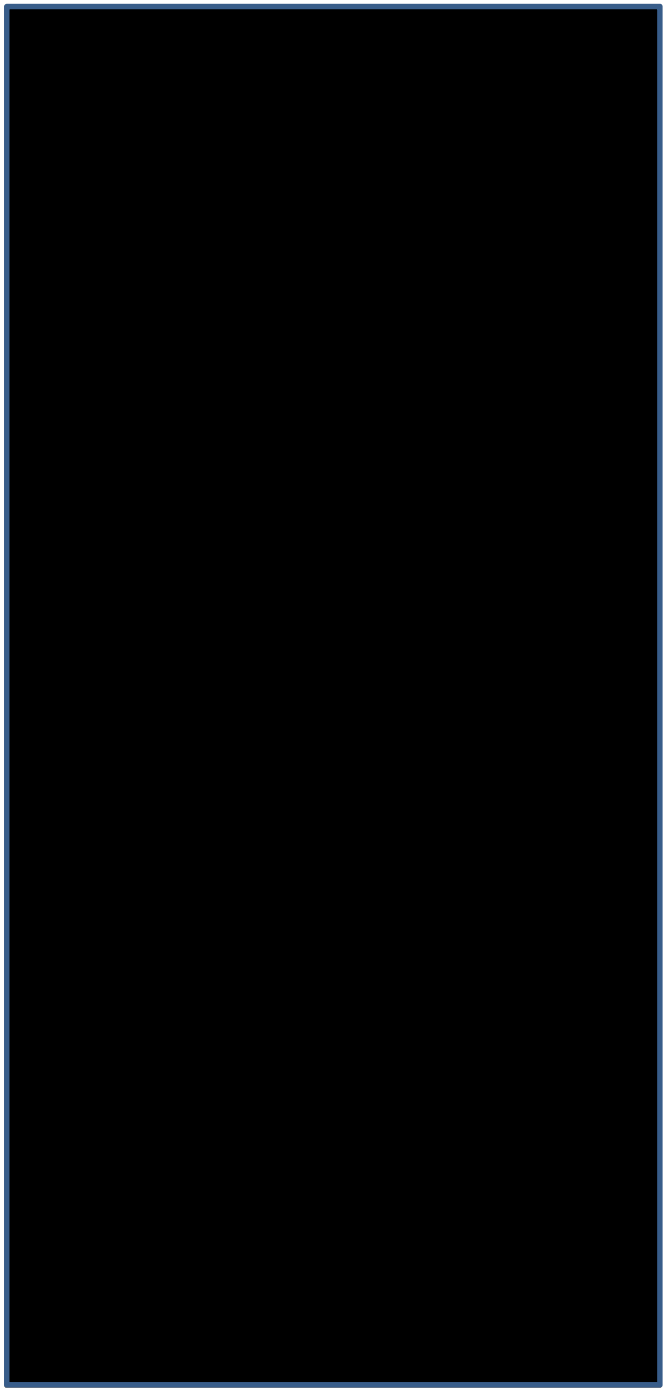

Figure 13: St. Alban's Psalter (HS St. God 1), Psalm 113. c. 1130. Image courtesy St. Alban's Psalter Project, Dombibliothek Hildescheim.

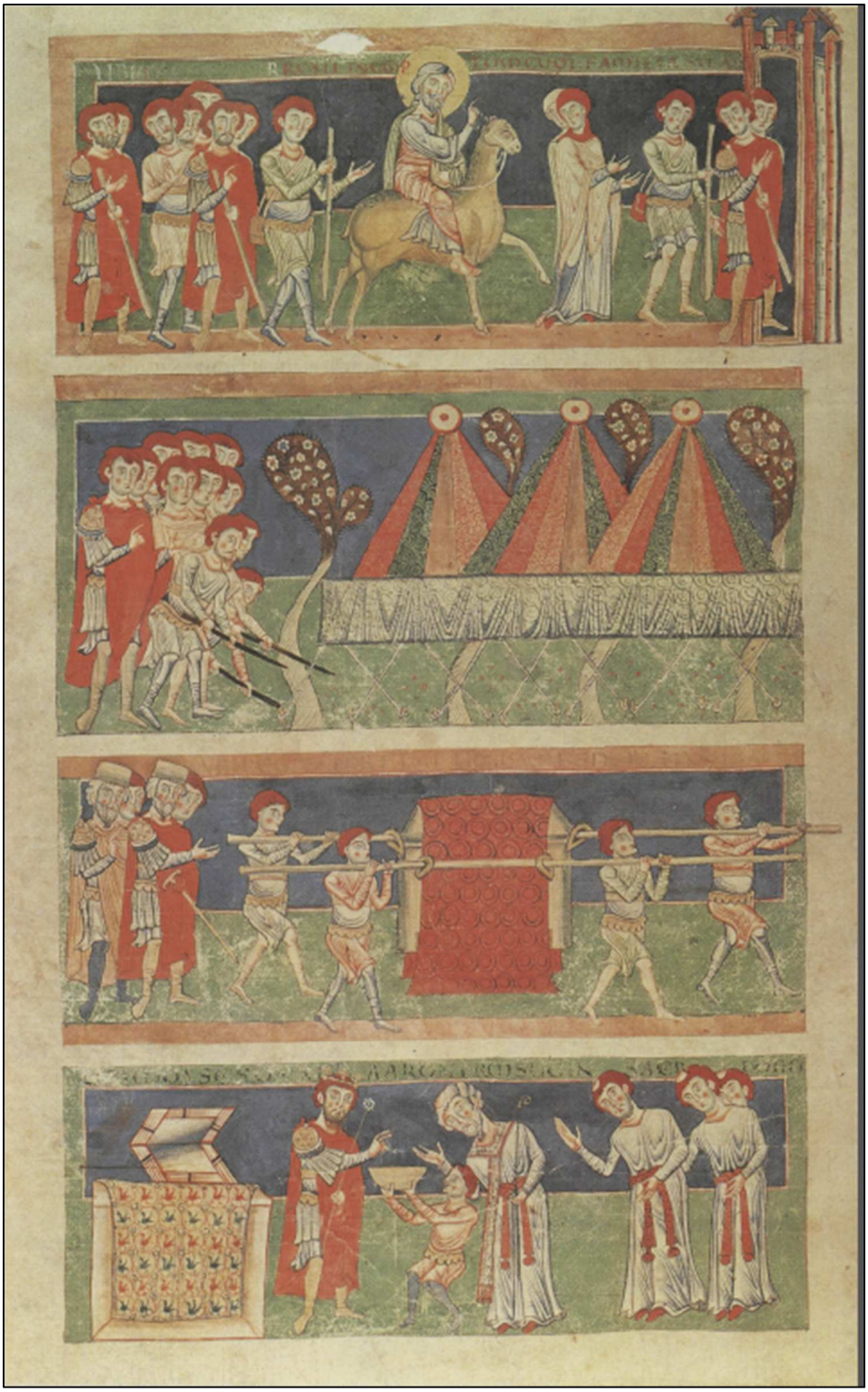

Figure 14: Pantheon Bible (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 12958), fol. 60v. First half 12th c. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 15: Reproduction of the *Hortus deliciarum* (original lost, BM Strasbourg), fol. 51v. Second half 12th c. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 16: Michaelbeuern Bible (Michaelbeuern Stiftsbib. Cod. Perg. 1), fol. 74. Image after Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), plate 115, p. 157.

Figure 17: Fressac Bible (Paris BN lat. 58(1)), fol. 88r. Late 12th c. Image courtesy Mandragore database.

Figure 18: Souvigny Bible (Moulins BM MS 1) fol. 73r. 1180s. Image courtesy Enluminures database. Available online at www.enluminures.culture.fr

Figure 19: Morgan Picture Bible (Morgan MS M.638), fol. 21r. 1240's or 1250's. The Ark being taken by the Philistines (top right). Image courtesy the Morgan Library and Museum. Available online at http://www.themorgan.org/collection/crusader-bible/78

Figure 20: Paris BN lat. 17198, fol 92v. The Ark being taken by the Philistines. Image courtesy Mandragore database.

Figure 21: The Bayeux Tapestry. Harald swears an oath on two reliquaries. Image courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 22: Shrine of Saint Amandus. Early 13th c. Image courtesy Walters Art Museum.

Figure 23: Chasse-type reliquary from Limoges, ca. 1180-1190 Image courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 24: Portable Altar of Countess Gertrude. Shortly after 1038. Image courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.

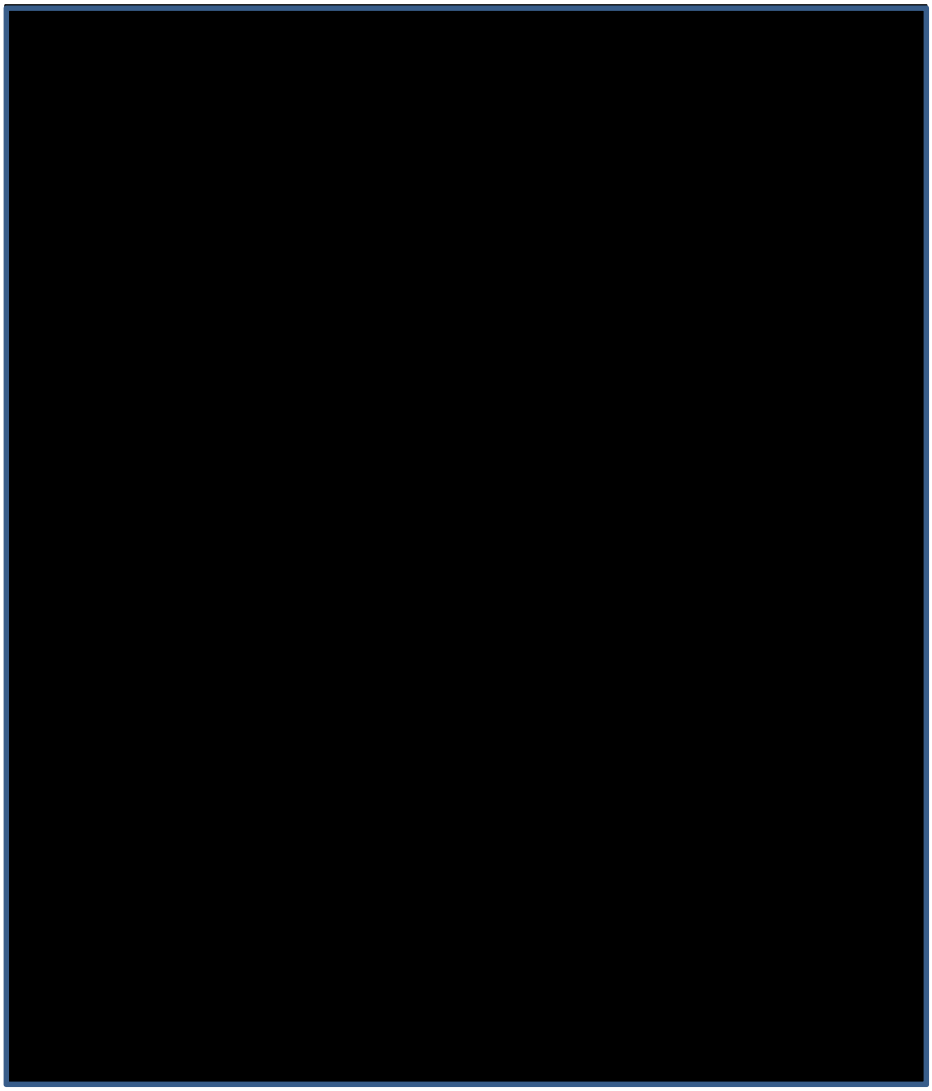

Figure 25: Artophorion (Reliquary of St. Anastasios the Persian). Ca. 969/70. Aachen Cathedral. Image courtesy Treasures of Heaven website.

Figure 26: Domed reliquary from the Guelph Treasure. 12th c. Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum.

Figure 27: Oxford University College 165, fol. 159r. St Cuthbert's reliquary crosses the sea to Lindisfarne. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 28: Valenciennes BM 502, fol. 30v. The burial of St. Amand. Image courtesy the Bibliothèque Virtuelle des Manuscrits Médiévaux (IRHT).

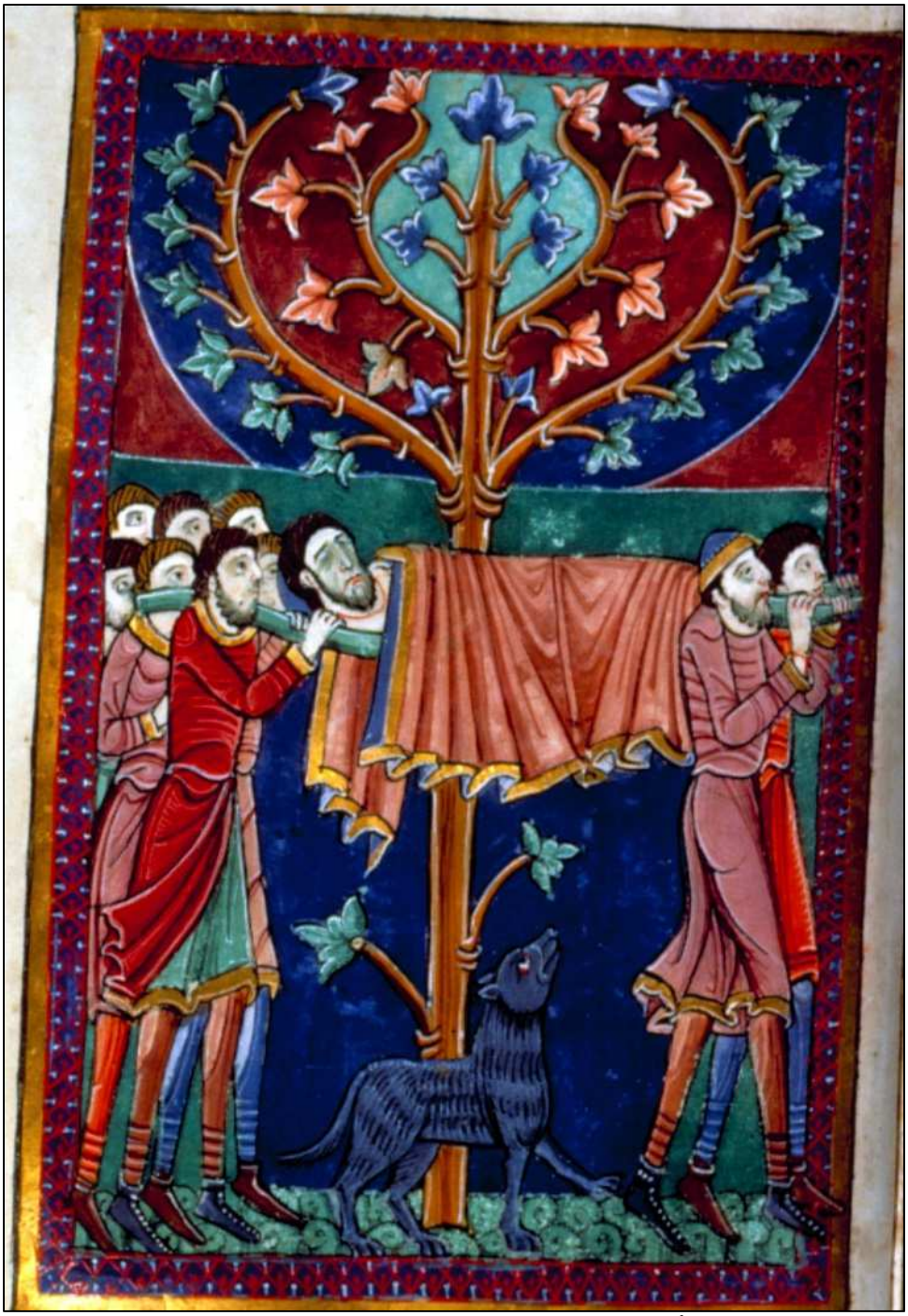

Figure 29: Pierpont Morgan Library (New York) 736, fol. 17. Early 12th c. The burial of St. Edmund. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

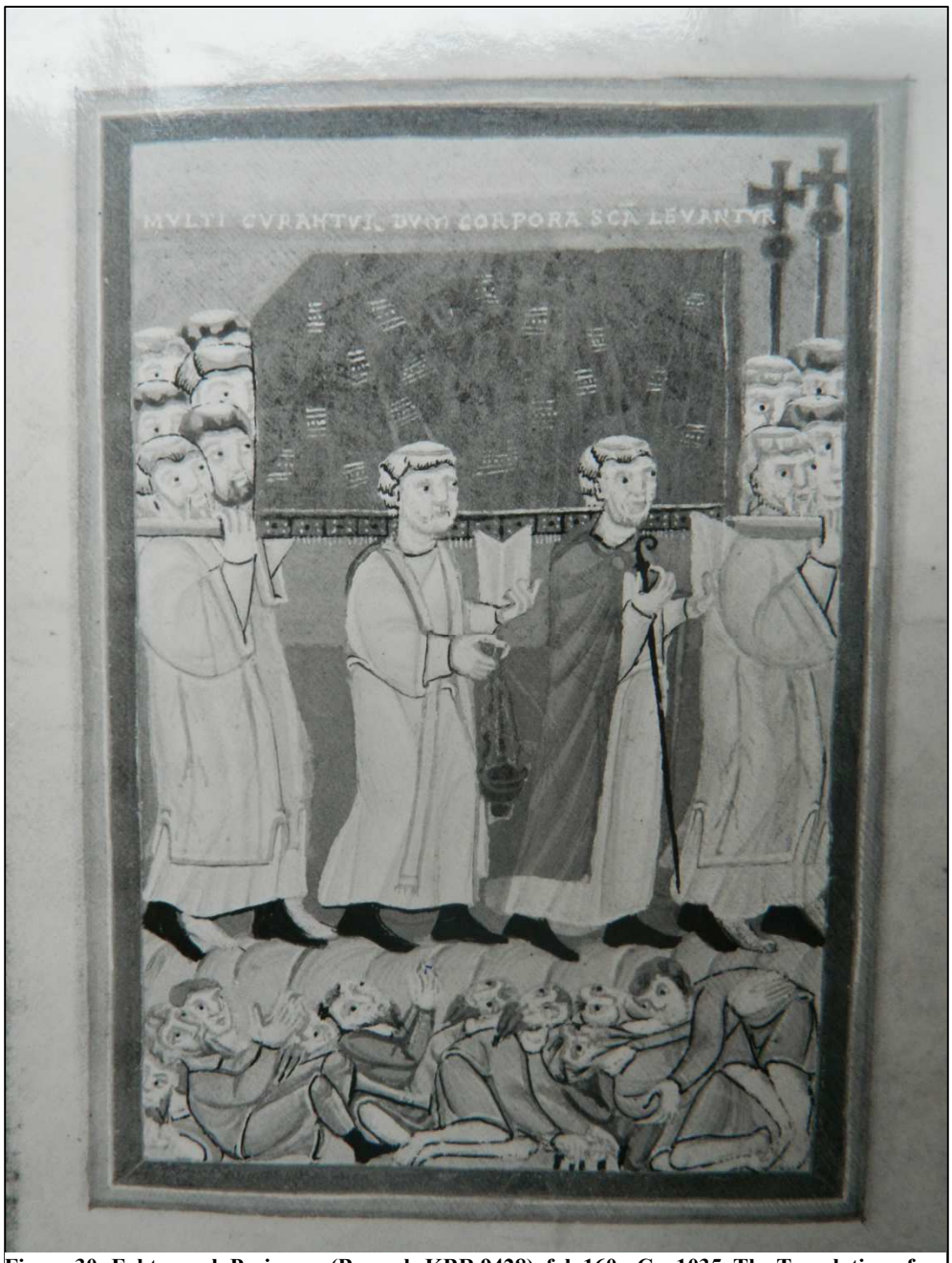

Figure 30: Echternach Pericopes (Brussels KBR 9428), fol. 160r. Ca. 1035. The Translation of St. Stephen. Image courtesy of KBR. Photo of reproduction by author.

Figure 31: Berliner Nationalbibliothek Ms. theol. lat fol. 323, fol. 21. The translation of St. Liudger to Werden. Image after Hubert Schrade, *Die* Vita *des heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), plate 17, p. 33.

Figure 32: A relic translation shown on the book-cover of the 9th c. Drogo Sacramentary. Image courtesy the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

Figure 33: Warmund Sacramentary (Ivrea, Bibl. capit. cod. 86), fol. 200v. A funeral scene. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

Figure 34: Warmund Sacramentary (Ivrea, Bibl. capit. cod. 86), fol. 203v. A funeral scene. Image courtesy GAHOM database.

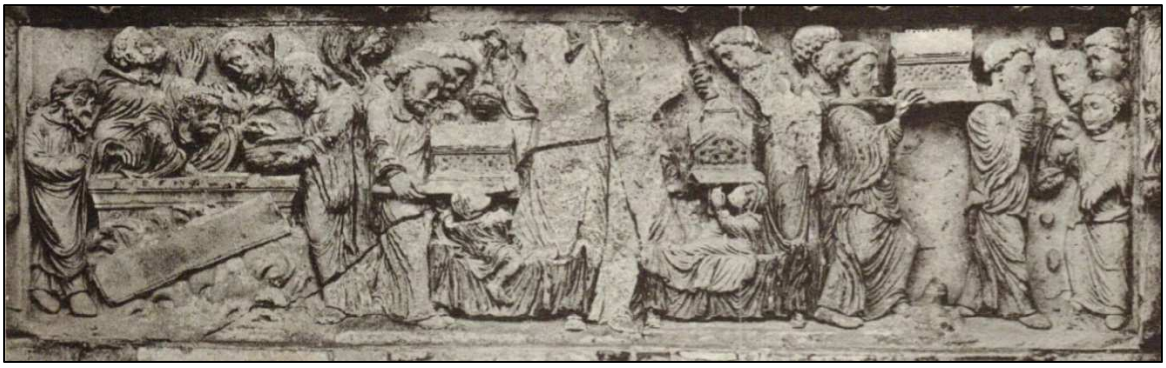

Figure 35: North portal, St-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury). Image after Georges Chenesseau, *L'abbaye de Fleury* (Paris : G. Van Oest, 1931), plate 35.

Figure 36: St. Honoré portal, Cathedral of Amiens. Image taken by author.

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