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## FORGERIES AND HISTORIES AT SAINT PETER'S, GHENT

### THE *LIBER TRADITIONUM*

Early in the abbacy of Wichard (1034–1058), charters of the monastery of Saint Peter's, Ghent were copied or summarized in a codex, conventionally called the *Liber Traditionum* by historians.<sup>1</sup> This title could be translated as “Book of Donations” or perhaps more evocatively as “Book of Traditions” since it had been “handed over” (*trado*) to the monks. This name does not appear in the manuscript, though the titles of many parts usually contain the word “*traditiones*” or the verb *trado*, so it is apt. The compilation of the *Liber Traditionum* was done with a tendentious purpose and many of its charter copies had substantial and intentional alterations, from brief interpolations to outright inventions. These charters were complemented by short narrative sections and titles, which linked the work together. These linking texts were deliberate interventions by the composers designed to structure the book as a whole, including a long foundation narrative which headed the work. Collectively, they put forward a particular history of the monastery. This “story” as written, and probably told within and outside the monastery, offered a partisan view of the monastery's past.

The *Liber Traditionum* was clearly composed as a unified work, but its “story” is related below in five parts based on its structure. Three parts use titles provided by the manuscript itself. The other two parts were demarcated in the manuscript by a concluding phrase, which was partially capitalized

<sup>1</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 52v–101v; Arnold Fayen, ed., *Liber traditionum Sancti Petri Blandiniensis* (also titled: *Cartulaire de la ville de Gand* or *Oorkondenboek der Stad Gent*), *Chartes et documents* 1 (Ghent: Meyer-Van Loo, 1906). R. D. F. Van de Putte, ed. *Annales Abbatiae Sancti Petri Blandiniensis* (Ghent: Annoot-Braeckmann, 1842) is another, flawed edition.

like a title. Throughout I have added dates or other clarifying information in parentheses. Not only do these five parts reflect the intentions of the organizers, they will be a useful means of reference when the story is revisited later. But first the “story” itself must be related.

## THE STORY OF SAINT PETER’S, GHENT

Here begins a story told in five parts.

Part 1: “An account of the foundation and building of the cloister of *Blandinium*, which is sited in the territory of Ghent in the place called *Blandinium*.”<sup>2</sup> (610–815)

In the time of King Dagobert of the Franks, Saint Amand came to missionize the territory around Ghent, which was a wild and dangerous region, and wished to establish a cloister (*coenobii*) there. He determined the site as follows:

And there was a hill situated between the rivers Scheldt and Lys, where there was a very old temple in which ignorant rustic peoples worshipped Mercury following ancient ways. Therefore, Saint Amand destroyed the idol, overturned the altar, cut down the trees and dedicated that place in honor of the prince of the apostles, Peter, to which he gave the name *Blandinium*, because he overcame the spirits of the ferocious people with blandishments (*blanditiis*) and consecrated them with the water of holy baptism there. Also, he gathered a crowd of monks there, whom he taught to be servants of Christ following the most holy rule of Benedict.<sup>3</sup>

Soon thereafter, kings and queens and other worthies donated villas and farms, and Amand put relics sent by Pope Martin there and appointed a wise man named Florbert as abbot. And this work began in the year of the

<sup>2</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 52v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 1. “Ratio foundationis seu aedificationis Blandiniensis coenobii quod est situm in territorio Gandensi in loco Blandinium dicto.” This part based on ff. 52v–54v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 1–6.

<sup>3</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 53r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 1: “Est autem mons situs inter flumina Scaldis et Legie, ubi vetustissimum fanum fuit in quo ex antiquorum more gentilium ab stulto rusticorum populo Mercuris colebatur. Contrivit ergo idolum, subvertit aram, succidit lucos atque ipsum locum dedicavit in honore principis apostolorum Petri, cui Blandinium indidit vocabulum, quia blanditiis animos ferocis populi inibi delinivit sacrique baptismatis unda consecravit. Aggregavit etiam inibi monachorum catervam quam docuit ancillari Christo juxta sanctissimi Benedicti regulam.”

Lord's incarnation 610.<sup>4</sup> And many monks flocked to Saint Peter's in his time and he arranged to provide for them during his brief abbacy. And his successor was Abbot John, a wise man of monastic and regular learning, who ruled for many years, and who had received the tunic, crozier, and phylactery from Pope Martin himself. During his time, through the grace of God, many who came to the monastery were healed of their ailments and they gave gifts to the monastery in thanks for this healing.

Four abbots ruled after John: Rathadus, Baudemund, Ferecus, and Hatta.<sup>5</sup> Then, Celestinus ruled the monastery, which was a time of dissension between Prince Charles (Martel) and Ragenfrid. During this period, Ragenfrid, spurred on by diabolic envy, spread rumors against Celestinus which came to Prince Charles, including many false accusations.<sup>6</sup> The royal ire having been inflamed, Celestinus was deprived of position and expelled from the province. And villas which had been subject to the dominion of the monastery of *Blandinium*, were divided among vassals (*per vasallos*) who lacked any reverence for God.<sup>7</sup> And the monks, destitute and deprived of almost all subsistence, were dispersed. From that time until that of Louis, son of Charlemagne, of happy memory scarcely anything was written about the place.<sup>8</sup>

And in the time of Emperor Louis, there arose an abbot named Einhard, who undertook to restore the monastery. And so, inspired by divine piety, he returned to this place holdings sufficient to support 23 clerks (*clericis*) in the house, and freely restored alms to them, which had previously been in the use of the abbots (*in usus abbatum*).<sup>9</sup> "Therefore, the aforementioned Einhard, using wise counsel to the fullest, regulated everything which seemed to pertain justly to the monastery."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 53r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 2: "Coeptum est autem hoc opus ab anno Dominice incarnationis DCX."

<sup>5</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 54r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 4 n1-3.

<sup>6</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 54v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 5: "qui eum [Celestinum] in multis falso accusantes"

<sup>7</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 54v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 5: "Villas quoque que subiacebant dominio monasterii Blandiniensis, suos divisit per vasallos absque reverentia Dei."

<sup>8</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 54v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 5: "Ab illo tempore usque ad illud quo dive memorie Ludowicus, filius Karoli imperatoris magni...locus ille pene ad nichilum est redactus." Ff. 54v-65r based on the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, see below.

<sup>9</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 55r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 55r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 7: "Iam dictus igitur Ainardus, sapienti admodum usus consilio, de omnibus que ad

Part 2: The reforms of Einhard during Louis' reign (815–840)<sup>11</sup>

The reforms of Einhard during Louis' reign were apparent in many acts then and afterwards, which may be found under the following four headings:

“An exemplar of the precept” (of Louis).<sup>12</sup>

Wherein, the emperor reaffirmed a judicial immunity given to the monastery at *Blandinium* by Charlemagne and affirmed the authority of Einhard as abbot.<sup>13</sup> He also ordered, freely granting the requests of the abbot, that the possessions of the monastery, built in honor of Saints Peter and Paul, be free from any exaction and remain in quiet, as if they were part of the royal fisc, in perpetuity, for the purpose of supporting alms for the poor and the servants of God in that place. (Here follows a confirmation of 815, copied with validation indicating sealing.)

“A charter of the most pious Abbot Einhard.”<sup>14</sup>

Wherein, the Abbot addressed the priests, deacons and others in the congregation serving God at the monastery of *Blandinium*, and announced the immunity of their possessions, which he augmented to assure the proper alms and worship of the Lord. Furthermore, the abbot converted possessions formerly held in common to the use of the religious in perpetuity.<sup>15</sup> He also enumerated the lands and revenues so assigned at length. (Charter copied in full, affirmed by his own hand.)

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monasterium quod regebat iure pertinere videbantur.”

<sup>11</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 55r–61r.

<sup>12</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 55r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 7: “Exemplar Precepti.” The final line of the prose in part 1 directly before this heading makes clear this is Louis' act (and that he sealed it): “ex precepto suprafati Hludowici imperatoris per scripture seriem firmavit eiusque anulo signavit.”

<sup>13</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2 bis, f. 55r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 9: “AINARDUS abba ex monasterio Blandinio quod est constructam in honore sanctorum PETRI et PAULI, quod est situm in page Gandensi super fluvium Scaldam, optulit obtutibus nostris immunitatem domni et genitoris nostri KAROLI.” Note: Capitalization in the manuscript retained throughout.

<sup>14</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 56r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 10: “Carta Einhardi piissimi abbatis.”

<sup>15</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 56v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 12: “ut de rebus hujus monasterii quibus hactenus communiter utebamur, peculiarem vobis portionem largiremur eamque ita vestre potestati adscribemus, ut in usos vestros secundum dispositionem proprie ordinationis vestre convertatur et in hoc statuo perpetuo permaneret.”

"A memorandum of how the venerable lord Abbot Einhard instituted the stipends of the brothers, which I have deemed convenient to include in this work."<sup>16</sup>

Wherein were listed many revenues under several headings. The first was "about manses the brothers have near the monastery."<sup>17</sup> These included renders of grain drawn from the lord's land and woods where pigs forage. There was also "an account (*ratio*) from the *villa* of *Hadengim*" and other lands received by Saint Amand from the largesse of King Dagobert; and "an account of *Dulciaco* in the *pagus* of Hainaut."<sup>18</sup> In addition, there was "An account of the things given to Saint Peter by Frankish men," listing donations given in Louis' reign (814–840), which were assigned by Einhard to the brothers' use.<sup>19</sup>

"Notices of the things which had been given to the almonery of the monastery of Saint-Peter at Blandinium."<sup>20</sup>

Wherein one may find these gifts listed at length. (Eighteen notices including Merovingian gifts as far back as Abbot Florbert's time through Carolingian donations.) And an attentive reader will notice that "These donations written above were handed over (*traditae sunt*) during the time of Emperor Louis."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 57r; Fayen, ed. *Liber Traditionum*, 14: "Memoratorium qualiter domnus ac venerabilis Ainardus abba instituti stipendia fratrum, commodum arbitratus sum hic operi inserte." A unique use of first person.

<sup>17</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 57r; Fayen, ed. *Liber Traditionum*, 14: "DE MANSIS QUOS IUXTA MONASTERIUM HABENT FRATRES."

<sup>18</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 57r–v; Fayen, ed. *Liber Traditionum*, 16–18: "Ratio de villa Hadengim" and "Ratio de Dulciaco in pago Hainau." Hadengim is probably Aaigem or Sint-Pieters Aaigem in Ghent, and Duliaco is Douchy near Valenciennes, Georges Declercq and Adriaan Verhulst, "Villa et Mansus dans le *Liber Traditionum* du Xe siècle de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-aumont-Blandin de Gand," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 81, no. 4 (2003): 1015–22, at 1016 n9 and 1018 n18.

<sup>19</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 58r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, xx: "Ratio de rebus quas franci hominis dederat sancto Petro."

<sup>20</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 58r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 21: "Notitia de rebus quas dederunt elemosinarii sancti Petri ad monasterium Blandinensis."

<sup>21</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 61r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 34: "SUPRA SCRIPTAE DONATIONES TRADITAE SUNT temporibus LUDOWICI IMPERATORIS," a phrase modified by eleventh-century composer from *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*.

Part 3: “These donations were handed over (*traditae sunt*) during the time of Emperor Charles the Bald” (840–877) and afterwards (to 941).<sup>22</sup>

Further donations were made in the reign of Charles the Bald when many people gave generously to Saint Peter’s. These persons included a priest, local worthies – both men and women – and people who held lands in nearby *pagi*. Herein, one may find brief notices of the various lands and revenues given and the names of those donors, who are worthy of remembrance. Important exchanges or sales are also noted. (This section contains twenty-five brief notices.) And finally, “If you wish to know about the remaining things handed over (*reliquas traditiones*) in exchange either for *precaria* or *mancipia*, search in the charters.”<sup>23</sup>

And subsequently, there were three donations to Saint Peter’s.<sup>24</sup> The first donation concerned the translation of the relics of the most sacred virgin Saint Amalberga in the year of the Lord’s incarnation 870 from the villa of Tamise in *Gandavo* to the monastery of blessed Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, which is called *Blandinium*, by venerable father Rodbert, then ruling that memorable place.<sup>25</sup> This translation was carried out at the behest of Count Baldwin with the blessing of Rainelm, Bishop of Noyon. And Count Baldwin gave the aforesaid villa of Tamise and its church dedicated to Mary and Saint Peter, and an associated chapel and other lands and all their appurtenances, to the monastery. And this gift was confirmed by King Charles in the thirtieth year of his reign (870).<sup>26</sup> The second donation concerned a gift in 918 by Countess Elfrude, for the sake of her soul

<sup>22</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f.61r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 34: “HAE donationes traditae sunt temporibus KAROLI calvi imperatoris.” This was an eleventh-century title. In contrast, the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* title (Fayen, 35) was “Noticia de rebus quas tradiderunt elemosinarii sancti Petri ad mensa fratrum Blandinio monasterio temporibus KAROLI imperatoris” referring to Charlemagne. This part based on RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 61r–65r.

<sup>23</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 63v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 50: “RELIQUAS TRADITIONES COMMUTATIONES VEL PRESTARIA VEL DE MANCIPIIS, SI VIS NOSCE, REQUIRE IN CARTIS.” This phrase appears at the very bottom of the folio and is directed at the reader.

<sup>24</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 64r–65r.

<sup>25</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 64r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 51: “Anno dominice incarnationis dcccclxx delatus est corpus sacratissime virginis Christ AMALBERGAE de villa tempseca in gandavo ad monasterium beati PETRI apostolorum principis cui Blandinium est vocabulum, a venerabili patre Rodberto, memoratum locum tunc regente, Rainelmo sancte Noviomensis aecclesiae antistite, comite autem Baldwino, cognomento Ferreo, memoratum translationem ordinantibus vel agentibus.” For translation legend: AASS July 3:103–4 (BHL 324).

<sup>26</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 64v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 53: “Quam donationem precepto firmari fecit regem Karolum anno xxx regni sui

and those of her husband, Count Baldwin II, and her two sons Arnulf and Adelolf, of her inheritance at Lewisham across the sea in Kent, England.<sup>27</sup> The third donation concerned a gift by Bertaida in 941 to the monastery of Saint Peter at *Blandinium*, which had been constructed by the most blessed Amand, of the things she possessed in the pagus of Brabant at the place called Wendeka, including a manse, and a church dedicated to Saint Peter, and all their appurtenances.<sup>28</sup> This was given in such a manner: "so that if her kinsmen Isaac, for the sake of his soul and that of his elder (*senioris*) Ingelram, gave 30 pounds of silver to make an altar for Saint Peter and a sepulcher for the blessed virgin Amalberga, and 20 pounds for the work of the brothers there serving God, as long as he shall live, he would have the usufruct of those lands, but after his departure from this life, the aforesaid village and its appurtenances would be recovered by the congregation of the monastery for their table (*mensa*)."<sup>29</sup> Thus, these three donors gave support to the brothers.

Part 4: "An account of how canons were ejected and monks were restored to the cloister of Saint Peter's in *Blandinium* as the monastery had been formerly (*in pristinum*)."<sup>30</sup> (941–980)

In 947, Bishop Transmar of Noyon wrote a letter to King Louis IV of France, explaining the reforms of Saint Peter's initiated by Count Arnulf I

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apud Compendium palatium." No copy in the *Liber Traditionum*, but a pseudo-original confirmation concerning only Tamise survives, see below.

<sup>27</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 64v; Faven, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 52–3.

<sup>28</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 65r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 53: "Bertaida nomine, dedit sancto Petro ad monasterium Blandinium, quod beatis-simus Amandus construxisse dinoscitur, res suas sitas in pago Brabatensi in loco nuncupante Wneteka super fluvium Thenra mansum in dominicatu, cum ecclesia in honore sancti Petri dedicata."

<sup>29</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 65r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 54: "in tale tenori ut si consanguineus suus Isaac daret ad supradictam monasterium pro salute sue anime et sui senioris Ingelramni de argento libras xxx ad fabricandum altare sancti Petri et speulchrum beate virginis Amalberget, et xx ad opus fratrum ibi Deo servientium, quamdiu advixerit, de ipsis rebus fructum usuarium haberet; post suum vero obitum de hac luce, supradictam villam cum appendiciis suis congregatio supradicti monasterii ad suorum mensam reciperet." Note: "senioris" could also refer to a father or older male relation.

<sup>30</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 65v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 54: "RATIO QUOMODO EJECTIS CANONICIS MONACHII RESTITUTI SUNT IN PRISTINUM IN MONASTERIO SANCTI PETRI BLANDINIENSIS COENO-BIII." This part based on RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 65v–82v.



on June 24, 941. In particular, he reported what his archdeacon Bernacer had said to the religious there in the presence of the Count:

Listen, brothers, this monastery was constructed by Saint Amand and dedicated in honor of holy apostles Peter and Paul, where a flock of monks came together, and thereafter lived through many years as servants of the rule of Saint Benedict. So, for the love of God, and wishing to restore the place to its pristine (*in pristinum*) and God-like state, we exhort you, not with earthly lordship but with sincere charity, to put off your vestments as canons, and to put on monkish ones and serve the one (true) God.<sup>31</sup>

Some left but others became monks, and a reformer, Gérard of Brogne, was named abbot. Later that year (941), at the request of Count Arnulf, Bishop Transmar came and confirmed all lands and tithes restored to the monks. The next year (942), Transmar again returned to confirm to the monks the holding of a *basilica* located *in portu Gandensi*, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, Saint Vaast, and Saint Bavo. (At this point, Bishop Transmar's letter quoted the foundation narrative extensively. The letter then concluded with a very extensive witness list, including Count Arnulf and his son Baldwin, and validation.)

Next, in 950, King Louis IV (936–954) of France issued a precept affirming the restoration of the monastery, done by the hand of the great count Arnulf himself and Abbot Gérard.<sup>32</sup> And the king lauded his kinsmen for rebuilding that monastery – which had been constructed by the most blessed Bishop Amand nobly under the regular rule of monks, formerly beside the *castrum* of Ghent upon the river Scheldt, which was in antiquity called *Blandinium* – and which had been completely destroyed.<sup>33</sup> In

<sup>31</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 66r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 55–6: “Audivimus fratres, hoc monasterium esse constructum a sancto AMANDO et in honore sanctorum apostolorum PETRI and PAULI dedicatum ubi coadunavit monachorum gregem, et per multa exinde tempora sancti Benedicti normam servantes ibi vixerunt. Dei autem amore, locum volentes in pristinum restituere ac deificum statum, hortamur vos, non terrena dominatione, sed sincera caritate, ut deposita veste canonicali, induamini monachili et serviatis Domino soli.”

<sup>32</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 67v; the act is titled “Preceptum Ludowici filii Karoli calvi datum per manum Arnulfi magni marchysi et Gérard abbatis.” Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 59.

<sup>33</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 67v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 59: “Igitur notum esse volumus...quam nostre dignitatis adiens presentiam Arnulfus comes et marchio nobilissimus nosterque consanguineus clarissimus nobis retulit dolendo quoddam monasterium a beatissimo Amando presule sub regulari monachorum norma nobiliter secus castrum Gandavum supra Scaldi fluentia olim constructum fuisse, quod antiquitus vocabatur Blandinium, penitus modo haberi

particular, the king praised the count's replacement of the canons leading less honest lives with monks who obeyed the rule and their abbot.<sup>34</sup> The various donations of Arnulf were then enumerated in detail, including the villa of Tamise and its dependencies and many others. Louis also affirmed the possessions given to Abbot Gérard and the monks, and what would be donated later, in order that they would remain undisturbed in perpetuity, so that the abbot and monks would have the chance to live regular lives there to pray for the salvation of the king and the whole kingdom.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, a charter of King Lothar (954–986) from May 5, 966, confirmed what was done by the hand of Count Arnulf and Abbot Womar (975–980), namely the monastery built in honor of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, sited above the river Scheldt, which in antiquity was called *Blandinium*.<sup>36</sup> And he enumerated all the possessions again, but with special attention to naming those near the *portus Gandensi* along the rivers Scheldt and Lys, including some dwellings (*mansioniles*) and other holdings by *pagus*.<sup>37</sup> He also confirmed that the abbot and monks should be entirely free from either secular or clerical fines of justice throughout their possessions. And if anyone went against his precept in the future,

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destructum.” The intended relationship of the two sites was confused; a later hand “corrects” “monasterium” to “cenobium” and adds below the line “nunc vero vocatur Johannis monasterium.”

<sup>34</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 67v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 59–60: “remotis inde canonicis inibi non satis honeste viventibus quo melius ibidem velut quondam tempore sancti Petri Amandi moanchi substituerunter qui regule et abbati vacando oboedirent.”

<sup>35</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 68v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 61: “Unde hoc nostre autoritatis decretum fieri ac venerabili Gérardo abbati monachisque prelibati coenobii dare precipimus, per quod prescriptas res cum omni integritate et alias que postmodum a Dei cultoribus sunt largiende firmiter teneant atque perpetuo nemine inquietante possideant, ea scilicet ratione ut abbas cum monachis secundum loci possibilitatem regulariter ibidem vivere studeant ac pro nobis totiusque regni statu militare Deo jugiter satagant.”

<sup>36</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 69r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 62: “quoddam monasterium in honore beatorum apostolorum PETRI et PAULI constructum, situm super fluvium Scaldaum, quod antiquitus vocatum est Blandinium.”

<sup>37</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 69v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 63: elaborate description of locations at the river confluence beginning as follows: “Illarum vero rerum nomina hec sunt: id est imprimis a portu Gandensi secus Scaldam fluvium usque Sewaringham et exinde in directum usque Legiam iterumque secus eundum fluvium Legium usque predictum portum, in ipso quoque portu omnes mansioniles cum aeclessia in eo sita...”

they would incur the wrath of God and would have to make amends with one hundred pounds of gold to the monastery.<sup>38</sup>

(Count Arnulf's reforms were also known through his own charters, which continue the story.)<sup>39</sup> On July 8<sup>th</sup>, 941 Count Arnulf issued a charter restoring the monastery of Saint Peter's. He first explained his pious motives for restoring the monastery. The Count specifically mentioned that Saint Amand founded a monastery next to (*juxta*) the river Scheldt in the *castrum* of Ghent which was called *Blandinium*, and which received relics of Saint Peter sent from Rome by Pope Martin V, in the time of King Dagobert and Saint Eloi, Bishop of Noyon.<sup>40</sup> Then, the count restored to the monastery all the lands given to Saint Amand by King Dagobert, as well as some rents taken away by his predecessors, which he thought necessary to sustain the monks. These rents came from dwellings, sited by the side of the river Scheldt in the *portus* of Ghent up to the mouth of the river Lys.<sup>41</sup> He also gave back other holdings and revenues, which were enumerated at length. These included all the things which had been written in the charter of Einhard, which he confirmed.<sup>42</sup> He also mentioned the *villa* of Tamise, from which the body of the most blessed virgin Amalberga had come.<sup>43</sup> Finally, Arnulf concluded by calling the wrath of God, as well as Saints Peter, Paul, Amand, and the virgin Amalberga, down on anyone who sought to undo his grant. This charter was

<sup>38</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 71v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 67: "Quisquis igitur contra hujus nostre preceptionis munimen, quod minime futurum credimus, aliquid sinistrum molitus fuerit, primo omnipotentis Dei iram incurrat et iudicio fidelium convictus, reatus sui poenam exsolvens, centum auri libras coactus predito monasterio reddat et quod inlicito temptaverit frustretur et inane fiat."

<sup>39</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 72r: The entry begins at the top of a new page, but the first six lines are blank, where space had been left for a title.

<sup>40</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 72r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 68: "juxta fluentia Skaldi in castro Gandavo, quod Blandinium vocavit."

<sup>41</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 72v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 69: "etsi non omnia saltem reddidi que predecessorum meorum tempore inde sunt abstracta queque estimavi sufficere monachis ob amorem Christi ididem morantibus, id est census qui accipitur de mansionibus que site sunt in portu Gandavo a flumine Scaldi usque ad decursum Legie fluminis..."

<sup>42</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 73r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 70: "ceteraque omnia que in carta Ainardi abbatis scripta habentur reddidi et propria manu roboravi."

<sup>43</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 73r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 70: "villam nuncupante Temseca in qua diu corpus beatissime virginis requievit AMALBERGAE."

given at Ghent, signed by Arnulf, Bishop Transmar, and very many others. Subsequently in 941, there was an exchange whereby the Count gave the monastery the church of Saint Mary at Afsnee (in Ghent), and 8 manses lying next to their lands, in return for half of the fisc of Snellengem (near Bruges) and related holdings.<sup>44</sup>

Count Arnulf's generosity grew in later years. A second charter explained Arnulf's bequests towards the end of his life in 964.<sup>45</sup> Seeking to assure his salvation, Arnulf asked for the many things God had given him to be written down, so that in the event of his death, half might be given to his wife and the other half to the churches of his lands. In particular, he handed over to Saint Peter's, where his father and mother were buried, a fisc and all its produce. More strikingly, he ordered his *fideles* to ensure that two-thirds of his money in his treasury be handed over (via Gérard of Brogne) to Saint Peter's, where Saint Amalberga, virgin of Christ, lay buried, and the other third distributed among the thirty monasteries nominated by Gérard, and that none of it go to his kinsman or his wife. Further, he ordered that all donations he had made previously remain inviolate in perpetuity.

And so, the glorious days of Arnulf ended. Previously, in 962, King Lothar had issued a confirmation, in the nineteenth year since the arrival of the relics of Saint Wandrille, Ansbert, and Wulfram from Boulogne to Saint Peter's, and in the third year since Count Arnulf had handed them over, with a great grace, for the renovation or foundation of that same cloister.<sup>46</sup> Inspired by Count Arnulf's generosity, his kin and many others also gave lands and revenues during his time and afterwards, and their donations are written herein. (Nineteen notices of donations and a lease by Abbot Womar of a vineyard in France follow. This part then concluded):

Indeed, all the *traditiones* remembered above, which were conceded to God and Saint Peter through the largesse of both the venerable Count Arnulf and other faithful, lord Abbot Womar petitioned lord King Lothar

<sup>44</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 74v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 73. Note that this exchange was also written on the dorse of the original Arnulf charter in a late tenth-century script, RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 18; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:143–6, no. 53. For Snellengem, Declercq and Verhulst, *Villa et Mansus*, 1021, n32.

<sup>45</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, 74v–76r. Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 73–5.

<sup>46</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, 76r. Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 74–5: “porro ab adventu sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti, et Vulframni ad memoratum coenobium anno xviii, qui erat ipsius coenobii renovationis sive foundationis in maiori elegantia annus iii.”

to affirm at palace of Compiègne in the year of the incarnate Word 979, indiction seven. Similarly, also, he asked for confirmation by the glorious emperor lord Otto II (973–983) of the above-written things of monastery sited within the bounds of his kingdom at the palace of Noyon in the year of the incarnate Word 980, indiction eight.<sup>47</sup>

Part 5: Abbots of Recent Years (981–1034)<sup>48</sup>

“Then, in year 981 of the incarnate Word, indiction nine, Lord Womar, beloved by God, migrated to the Lord, as we believe, and was succeeded in rule by wise Wido.”<sup>49</sup> During the first three years of Wido’s rule, there were five donations or exchanges of land, all of which were carefully dated using the years of the incarnation, the king’s reign, and the abbot’s rule.<sup>50</sup> “All of these *traditiones* King Lothar of France affirmed by his authority and fortified with a precept, at the request of Abbot Wido, at Laon in the year of the incarnate Word 985, indiction thirteen, on May 27<sup>th</sup>.”<sup>51</sup> Then in 985 on September 30, Abbot Wido died, and was succeeded by Abbot Adalwin, a man of the greatest piety and honesty.<sup>52</sup> The monastery received

<sup>47</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 82v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 88: “SUPRAMEMORATAS VERO OMNES TRADITIONES quas tam venerabilis ARNULFI marchysi quam ceterorum fidelium largitio Deo sanctoque PETRO concessit, domnus abbas Womarus precepto firmari domnum LOTHARIUM regem expetiit apud Compendium palatium anno incarnati Verbi dcccclxxviii, indictione vii. Similiter autem a domno Ottone glorioso imperatore res monasterii superscripti infra terminos regni sui sitas precepto firmari impetravit apud Noviomagum palacium anno incarnati Verbi dcccclxxx, indictione viii.” Neither act in the *Liber Traditionum*; two confirmations of Otto II from 977 survive, *Diplomata Belgica* 1:165–8, nos. 65 and 66, though these may not be what is being referred to; no acts of Saint Bavo’s correspond to these years.

<sup>48</sup> This part based on RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 82v–91v.

<sup>49</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 82v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 88: “Anno igitur verbi dcccclxxxi indictione viii, domno Deo dilecto Womaro ad Dominum, ut credimus, successit sapiens Wido in regiminis.” This was Abbot Wido (981–5), not to be confused with Wido of Saint-Bavo’s (953–966). The new section begins after a space of two lines.

<sup>50</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 82v–84v. This triple dating method used in most later entries.

<sup>51</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 84v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 92: “HAS OMNES traditiones gloriosus rex Francorum Hlotharius, impetrante domno Widone abbate, precepto munivit et auctoritate firmavit apud Laudunum clavatam, anno incarnati Verbi dcccclxxxv, indictione xiii, v kal. Junii.”

<sup>52</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 84v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 92: “Anno igitur Dominice incarnationis dcccclxxxv, indictione xiii, domno abbate Widone ii kal. Octobris diem obeunte, successit in regimine domnus abbas Adalwinus, vir summe religionis et honestatis.” Note: indiction

many small donations during his rule, including one by Oydale.<sup>53</sup> In 995, Abbot Adalwin went to heaven, and was succeeded by Abbot Rodbold, a man of the greatest sanctity and wholly pious.<sup>54</sup> Saint Peter's received many donations, both great and small, in and outside of Ghent, during his abbacy. "Of these things handed over (*traditarum*) search for the authorities and witnesses in the charters, and you will find them openly."<sup>55</sup> "Then, with lord Abbot Rodbold burdened by age and weakness, in the year of the incarnate Word 1034, indiction two, Abbot Wichard was substituted in the place of rule on May 31<sup>st</sup>."<sup>56</sup>

"O, Rejoice! As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be..." (O EIA! SICUT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NUNC ET SEMPER IN...) <sup>57</sup>

### CONTEXTS FOR THE *LIBER TRADITIONUM* AND ITS STORY

The story of Saint Peter's, as written in the *Liber Traditionum* and narrated above, bears little relation to any events which medieval scholars today can prove actually happened. Indeed, it is far easier to show that many aspects of the story never happened – or happened in a different way. Nonetheless, this story was a way to insist on a particular view of the monastery's past, which had enormous utility in the time of Abbot Wichard (1034–1058). In revisiting the story, I will emphasize its composition and content rather than what actually happened. Before revisiting the story, we should consider three important contexts. One context was the terrain of medieval Ghent and the location of Saint Peter's. Another context was reforms in

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14 is the year 986, the year the death of Wido is recorded in the Annals; perhaps an untypical error?

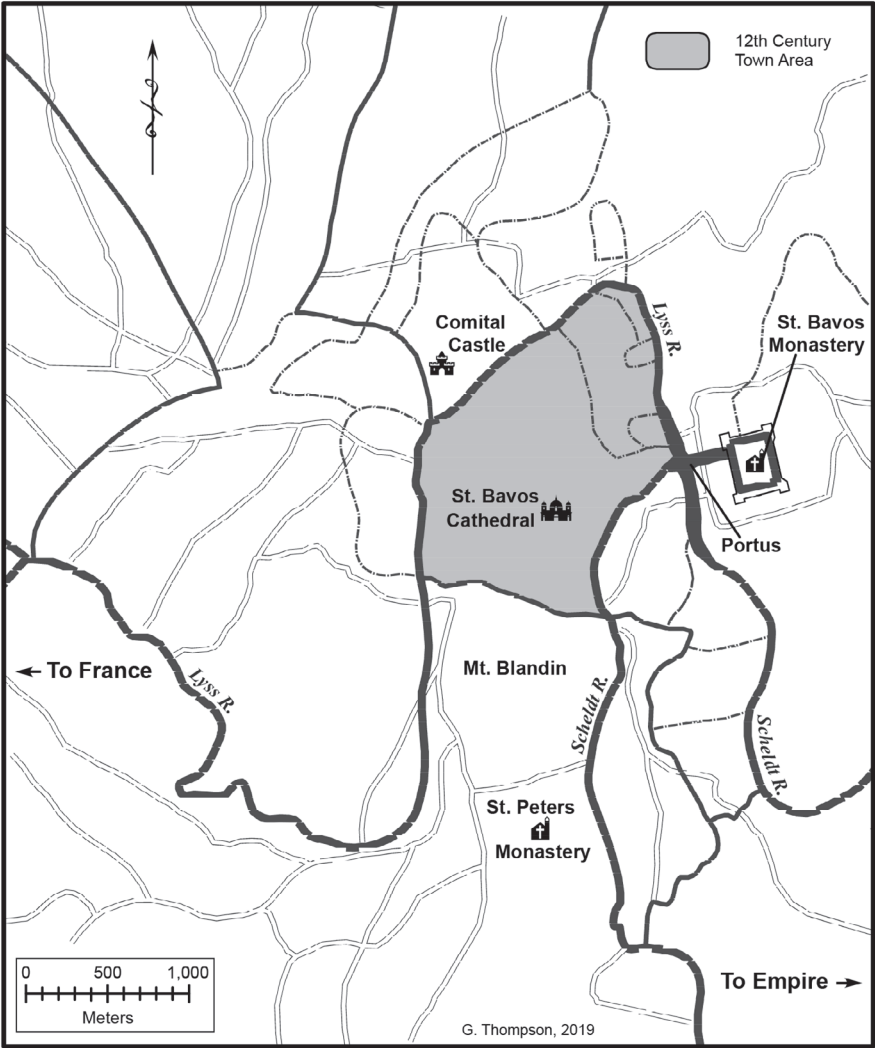
<sup>53</sup> From RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 86r, with Oydale's gift the initials begin a new pattern, as explained below.

<sup>54</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 88v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 98: "Igitur anno Domini dccccxv, indictione viii, domno abbate Adalwino ad celos, ut credimus, migrante, domnus abbas Rodboldus, vir summe sanctitatis et totius religionis, succedit." This entry begins at the top of the page.

<sup>55</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 91r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 105: "Rerum harum traditarum auctoritates vel testes require in cartis et aperte invenies."

<sup>56</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 91v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 105: "Igitur domno abbate Rodboldo senectute et languore ingravescente, anno Verbi incarnati MXXXIII indictione II, subrogatur in loco regiminis Wichardus abba, II kal junii."

<sup>57</sup> The initials across RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 86r–91v spell out this phrase.



Map 1. Ghent © Gordon Thompson.



Ghent during the late-tenth to early-eleventh centuries. The third context is textual: how narratives and documents were compiled within the *Liber Traditionum* from the archives. The local situation and events, combined with textual analysis, will help explain how and why specific points in the “story” of Saint Peter’s were emphasized.

Perhaps the single most relevant feature of the local environment in the eleventh century was the existence of another monastery at Ghent, dedicated to Saint Bavo. Saint Peter’s and Saint-Bavo’s were both near a critical physical location: the confluence of the two most important rivers in Flanders, the Scheldt and Lys. It was this location that allowed Ghent to become a prosperous wool trading town, already mindful of its independence by the eleventh century.

In the mid-1030s, when the *Liber Traditionum* was being composed, Saint Peter’s was housed in an Ottonian-era church complex on top of Mont Blandin, a sloping hill between the rivers, which gradually rose southwards from the town over a mile to the monastery. Mont Blandin was bounded on the east by the river Scheldt and the swampy plain beyond. This eastern boundary was also political because the Scheldt demarcated the kingdom of France from the empire in Germany. In contrast, Saint-Bavo’s was on an elongated island just east of the town center, near the confluence of the rivers and the site of the Gallo-Roman settlement of *Ganda*.<sup>58</sup> This island was adjacent to a body of water, usually called the “*portus gandensis*” in the medieval sources. There were at least two bridges to this island: one connecting to the town of Ghent and the comital castle to the west (collectively called the *castrum* in the *Liber Traditionum*), and another connecting to the sandy banks east of the Scheldt, towards the Empire. Thus, Saint Peter’s was on the hill above and south of town and Saint-Bavo’s on the banks of the *portus*, east of town. The two monasteries were near neighbors, though still separated by important political and physical features.

Previous reforms at Ghent also provide context for understanding the “story.” The church of Saint-Bavo had existed from the missionary period, been devastated by Viking attacks (the monks fled to Laon in 850) and was subsequently refounded as a monastery by Count Arnulf and Gérard of Brogne in 946. By the late tenth century, Saint-Bavo’s was in competition with the monks of Saint Peter’s for spiritual prestige and local resources,

<sup>58</sup> Confirmed by archeology, Marie Christine Laleman and Hugo Thoen, “The Birth of the City,” in *Ghent: In Defence of a Rebellious City*, ed. Johan Decavele (Antwerp: Mercator, 1989), 23–35.



a fierce struggle which lasted through the eleventh century.<sup>59</sup> The process of reform initiated by Arnulf was orchestrated by Gérard, using monastic associates from Gorze and Toul. These reforms had a direct impact in Ghent, since Gérard himself was abbot at both Saint Peter's and Saint-Bavo's, and he seems to have ruled the two monasteries (and managed their property) together.<sup>60</sup> But the situation changed after 953, when Gérard stepped down and the abbacies were separated. Thereafter, Saint-Bavo's struggled (with limited success at first) to achieve independence. In 966, the personal union of the two abbeys was briefly restored, but both flourished separately after 980, gaining prominence, control over land, and freedom from tolls, allowing them to exploit the commercial advantages of their location.<sup>61</sup>

In the early eleventh century, the two houses were still competing, a contest which helps explain many features of the "story" written in the *Liber Traditionum*. The most obvious issue was which house was older – which had been founded first by Saint Amand and, therefore, could claim priority in matters spiritual. This dispute colored most texts written from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh century.<sup>62</sup> For instance, the story throughout the *Liber Traditionum* insisted that Saint Amand founded a house at *Blandinium* (Mont Blandin), that is, on the hill where Saint Peter's monastery was later located, rather than near the confluence of the rivers where Saint-Bavo's was located. In consequence, the story provided an invented etymology for *Blandinium* from *blanditiis* (the blandishments of the saint), as a way of stressing the location, and constantly injected the word as clarification. Indeed, the title preceding part one insisted on using the word twice: "An account of the foundation and building of the cloister of *Blandinium*, which is sited in the territory of Ghent in the place

<sup>59</sup> Adriaan Verhulst and Georges Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent between Two Abbeys and the Count's Castle," in *Ghent*, ed. Decavele, 37–59 and Georges Declercq, "Heiligen, Lekenabten en Hervormers: De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Peters en Sint-Baafs tijdens de Eerste Middeleeuwen (7de-12de eeuw)," in *Ganda & Blandinium: De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs*, ed. Georges Declercq (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1997), 13–40.

<sup>60</sup> Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 396, described Saint Bavo's as "the junior-partner in this double-abbacy."

<sup>61</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 59–60.

<sup>62</sup> Ulysse Berlière et al., eds., *Monasticon Belge, 7: Province de Flandre orientale*, part 1 (Liège: Centre national de recherches d'histoire religieuse, 1988), 72: "Beaucoup de sources de Saint-Pierre sont marquées d'une subjectivité tendancieuse qui résulte de la polémique, de la fin de Xe et du XIe siècle, entre les deux abbayes gantoises, en ce que concerne leur ancienneté."

called *Blandinium*.” It also used the vaguer term *coenobium* (cloister) to imply the two houses were one, rather than the more specific *monasterium* (monastery), used elsewhere to insist on a regular, monastic foundation as opposed to canons. I have consistently translated *coenobium* as “cloister” and *monasterium* as “monastery” in the story above to reflect the composers’ careful usage. Moreover, the date suggested for the foundation of Saint Peter’s by the Amand (610) is impossibly early, because insofar as can be determined, Saint Amand only evangelized the *pagus* around Ghent after 630–639. If he founded either church, it was probably Saint Bavo’s around 650.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, already by the eighth century, a life of Saint Amand had made current the notion that he had founded monasteries throughout the region, and so his role as founder (though not the specific details provided about Saint Peter’s) would have been non-controversial.<sup>64</sup> Although the theory of apostolic succession which applied to bishops did not apply to monasteries, often priority of foundation by a missionizing saint (in this case, Amand) was deemed equivalent to asserting spiritual superiority.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, a goal of part one of the story was to erase (or absorb) the early history of Saint Bavo’s, at least until the tenth-century reforms of Arnulf in part four. Indeed, this was the purpose of inserting Bishop Transmar’s letter in part four about the *basilica* located *in portu Gandensi* dedicated to Saints John, Vaast, and Bavo – one which was wholly subordinated to Saint Peter’s. Thus, the story in the *Liber Traditionum* reversed the order of foundation, since the first church at Ghent, and referred to in the earliest records as *Ganda*, was in fact the origin of Saint Bavo’s.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, much of the foundation story of Saint Peter’s was confected using texts about the early years of Saint-Bavo’s, which were carefully interpolated and repurposed, as discussed below.

In addition to the competition between the two houses at Ghent, another influence was ongoing efforts of reform by Abbot Wichard and the legacy of previous reforms. Wichard became a monk at Saint Peter’s in 995. He later served under Abbot Rodbold, who became ill and resigned his functions in 1028, whereupon Count Baldwin IV (988–1037) brought

<sup>63</sup> Édouard Moreau, “La vita Amandi prima et les foundations monastiques de S. Amand,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949): 447–64 to be corrected by Declercq, “Heiligen, Lekenabten en Hervormers.”

<sup>64</sup> *Vita Amandi Episcopi Prima*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov 5:428–49 (BHL 332).

<sup>65</sup> Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past*, 116–22.

<sup>66</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, *De Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent en haar grondbezit (VIIe-XIV eeuw)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1958), esp. 3–14; Verhulst updated his views in later works.

in the prominent Benedictine Richard of Saint-Vanne to reform the house. At this point, Wichard became prior of the monastery.<sup>67</sup> Wichard later became abbot on May 31, 1034, according to the final lines written in the main hand of the *Liber Traditionum*. Wichard then proceeded to deal with a troubling territorial situation, which had arisen after Count Arnulf's death, when the monks had lost and regained control of lands east of the Scheldt in the Empire.<sup>68</sup> Political turmoil was only part of the problem. The reforms of Gérard of Brogne of the mid-tenth century left an ambiguous legacy, and so a reinvigoration of Saint Peter's was again thought desirable.<sup>69</sup> In particular, Wichard wanted to "restore" lands to the monastery and seek new confirmations of the domains, in order to insure adequate support for the house. This motive was one impetus for Wichard to compose the initial draft of the *Liber Traditionum*, starting perhaps while he was prior and finishing about 1034–1035. This work was preparatory, since he presented the work (and/or relevant charters) to Emperor Conrad II in 1036 and King Henry I of France in 1038 to obtain confirmations.<sup>70</sup> Most likely, the first recension of the five-part story was completed before 1036 under Wichard's direction, even though it was subsequently modified during his abbacy (1034–58).

The manuscript of the *Liber Traditionum* also provides significant insight into the composition of its story. The initial story was fabricated using a variety of sources and then was literally wrapped with supporting materials. A codicological analysis reveals the principal stages of composition, and an outline of the book's structure and content is provided below.

<sup>67</sup> For Wichard's career, Berlière et al., eds., *Monasticon Belge* 7(1):104–5, and the flawed DHGE 22 (1982): 774, "Guichard."

<sup>68</sup> David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), 39–55; Jean Dunbabin, "The Reign of Arnulf II, Count of Flanders and its Aftermath," *Francia* 16 (1989): 53–65 and A. C. F. Koch, "Het Graafschap Vlaanderen van de 9de eeuw tot 1070," in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. D. P. Blok et al. (Haarlam: Fibula van Dishoeck, 1982), 354–83.

<sup>69</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 32–6.

<sup>70</sup> Conrad II (1036) MGH DD Ko II, 313–5, no. 238 (known from late medieval copies); Henry I (1038) RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 119; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:196–9, no. 92 (shelfmark changed since edition). See Koch's commentary about Wichard's interventions *Diplomata Belgica* 1:92, 98–9, 105–106, 112.

Table 1. Structure and Content of RAG, fonds Sint-Pieterabdij, 2de reeks 2bis  
(Script in hand A, except where noted).

Quire	Fols.	Content
I	1r–8v	Notices of charters, twelfth century (various hands)
II	9r–10v, 13r–18v	11–12 inserted early modern paper sheets, which belong with six others following 112v (thirteenth-century acts, various hands)
III	19r–26v	<i>Annales Blandiniensis</i> , composed by 1044
IV	27r–34v	
V	35r–42v	
VI +1 leaf	43r–51v	Papal bulls (650–993, in hand A?) and (1053, later hand) and letter of Transmar of Noyon on added leaf (51)
VII	52r–59v	<i>Liber Traditionum</i> (composed prior to 1036), containing “the story”:
VIII	60r–67v	Part 1: <i>Ratio Foundationis</i> , 610–815 (52r–54v)
IX	68r–75v	Part 2: Reforms of Einhard/Louis, 815–840 (55r–61r)
X	76r–83v	Part 3: Donations, Charles the Bald, 840–877 (61r–63v) to 941 (64r–65v) Part 4: Canons ejected, monks restored, 941–980 (65–82v) Part 5: Recent abbots, 981–1034 (82v–91r)
XI	84r–91v	
XII	92r–95v	Acts of 1037–47 on inserted bifolium (in hand B?)
XIII	96r–103v	Continuations (in various hands) Acts of 1037–1042 (96r–99r), composed prior to 1044? Acts of 1052–1073 (99r–100v) Translation of Florbert (101r–101v) Exchanges with castellan of Ghent 1073–1074 (102r–103r) <i>Tytula Sancti Bavonis nobilissimi confirmatio</i> begins 103v plus later additions between entries
XIV +1 leaf	104r–112v	<i>Tytula Sancti Bavonis</i> continues to 105r; originally blank leaves plus 1 leaf (112) now notices of late eleventh- and twelfth-century charters (various hands)

The surviving codex now rests in a seventeenth-century binding. The codex was assembled in a series of layers, from the core outwards, as often happens with medieval cartularies. The physical and conceptual center of the manuscript is the *Liber Traditionum* proper with its five-part “story”

(quires VII–XI, ff. 52r–91v), already drafted by 1036. Soon after its initial composition, the *Liber Traditionum* was wrapped on the front by the *Annales Blandinensis* (quires III–V, ff. 19r–42v) composed by 1044 and on the back by a quire (XIII) of continuations, consisting of copies of acts from 1037 until 1042. Eventually, there were some additions during Wichard's time and soon after, discussed below. By the twelfth century, a further layer was wrapped around the outside of the book (quires I, II, and XIV), which contained notices of twelfth-century acts in a variety of hands and scripts. Much later, eight paper sheets were added with copies of thirteenth-century acts (two are folios 11 and 12, the rest at the end), before the entire manuscript was rebound in the seventeenth century.

Fortunately, there are clues in the manuscript which allow a more precise dating for the composition and rewriting of the *Liber Traditionum*. First of all, it is clear that at least one quire is missing from the initial draft completed before 1036. Clear evidence for this missing quire is found in what would have been the penultimate quire (quire XI, ff. 84r–91v). Starting on the top of the third folio (f. 86r) of this quire, the patterns of the initials shifted, beginning with a donation of Oydale in 996. Instead of using an initial to denote each act as a new entry, as previously, the scribe began to use initials to highlight specific letters within acts. The purpose of so doing becomes immediately clear if one reads the initials across the pages, because they form words. This pattern is not very obvious on the first page (fol. 86r): O EIA (“O, Rejoice!”). However, it is apparent on the ensuing folios (fol. 86v–91v): SICUT | ERAT | IN P | RINC | IPI | O ET | NUNC | ET | SEMP | ER | IN. These words were from the fundamental Christian hymn, the *Gloria Patri* (“As it was in the beginning, is now and always, and...”). But the phrase was incomplete after the IN on fol. 91v, lacking the obvious ending SAECULO SAECULORUM (“forever and ever”). At this point in the surviving manuscript, the pattern of initials is broken by the insertion of a new bifolium (now quire XII, ff. 92r–95v). One can deduce what is missing. At three or four letters per page (the average number of initials on the preceding leaves), the two final words *saeculo saeculorum* would have occupied at least another five pages (or 3 folios). This strongly implies that at least a bifolium once existed to complete the *Liber Traditionum* as written before 1036. This word game suits the intellectual profile of the composer, Abbot Wichard, and would have provided a fitting devotional ending to the *Liber Traditionum*. Interestingly, these words also appear on the folios covering the years during which Wichard was in the monastery, from his arrival in 995 up until he became abbot (the “I” of the final IN, f. 91v, is the notice of Abbot Rodbold's illness and Wichard taking up the abbatial duties in 1034).

Furthermore, it is possible that the missing final quire had been a quaternion, not just a bifolium. If so, it would have contained the initials and entries completing the hymn on its first folios, leaving space for continuation. There are at least two sets of evidence suggesting a missing quaternion. One set is provided by the current quire XIII, whose first folios (ff. 96r–99r) contain acts in chronological order from 1037 to 1042 in a similar hand to the core text – some scholars think the same hand.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, on the top of the first folio of quire XIII (f. 96r), two lines of a preceding act have been erased to remove what must have been an abrupt discontinuity after the new bifolium was inserted. Another set is provided by the final folio (91r–v) of quire XI, which has two obvious modifications. First, at the bottom of folio 91r and transgressing the bottom margin, there is an inserted title, beginning with initial “C,” creating an intrusive disjunction between the preceding “SEMPER” and the following “IN.” This inserted title was written in alternating lines of black and green ink (never used in the initial composition), another script, and described the contents of the forthcoming inserted bifolium, namely the donation supposedly made by the young Count Baldwin V (1035–1067), his mother Ogive, and his spouse Adela in 1037 for sake of his father’s (Count Baldwin IV, d. May 30, 1035) and his family’s souls.<sup>72</sup> This title elided a fraught family dispute. Ogive had died in 1029. Young Baldwin and his wife Adela had rebelled against Baldwin IV, who had to flee to Normandy, where he remarried to Eleanor, sister of the duke of Normandy. The elder Baldwin then returned and reasserted his control but allowed young Baldwin and Adela a share in ruling.<sup>73</sup> Eventually, Eleanor (the likely donor) departed Flanders, though her infant daughter Judith remained to be raised with Baldwin and Adela’s children. However, by ascribing the gift to Ogive, the monks were able to omit any awkward mention of either the rebellion or Eleanor. A second modification exists on fol. 91v, where there is a large erasure and some remains of a witness list (probably of a comital act) between the “I” entry (the notice of Wichard becoming abbot) and the “N” entry (the notice of the couple’s gift continued on the first inserted page). These two modifications were obviously made to accommodate the

<sup>71</sup> The acts concern exchanges undertaken by Wichard; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 114 n1 dated these to 1036, though the list is undated and probably covers this whole period.

<sup>72</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 91r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 105: “Commemoratio benefactorum et elemosinarum quae Baldwinus junior marchysus filius Baldwinus marchysus et Odgevae comitissae cum con conjuge sua Adela sancto Petro largiti sunt.”

<sup>73</sup> Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 48–9, 440.

new bifolium (XII), but also to preserve this important donation which tied the comital dynasty firmly to Saint Peter's. Commemorating key patrons (especially after a political realignment) was likely more important than preserving the devotional pattern of initials and neat ending of the *Liber Traditionum*. Thus, the evidence of quires XI, XII, and XII of the *Liber Traditionum* suggests that rewriting was going on from about 1036 to 1043. These continuations are the back "wrapping" layer of the *Liber Traditionum*, most likely completed before 1044.

The front side of the "wrapping" consisted of the *Annales Blandiniensis* (ff. 19r–42v). Like many annals, these had been adapted from Easter tables, and so employed 28 cycles of 19 years each (popularized by Bede), resulting in "grand cycles" of 532 years.<sup>74</sup> These annals occupy three full quaternions and, thus, form a separate booklet within the codex.<sup>75</sup> This booklet was placed in the front of the *Liber Traditionum*; but the two were conceived together, and its tables were laid out in the same hand (hand A) as the main text. Although the tables in the *Annales Blandiniensis* continue well into the fourteenth century, the entries in the main hand cease in 1044, suggesting a terminal date for their composition. They were almost certainly written by Abbot Wichard (or under his direct supervision), as he had developed a very distinctive script in the *scriptorium*.<sup>76</sup> In addition, the very precise dating *anno incarnationis* throughout the *Liber Traditionum* demonstrates that the two works were designed to complement each other. The annals were not an addition; rather they were part of the project's conception and were composed in parallel. The annals had the effect of situating the local history of Saint Peter's within the larger framework of Christian history – as their tables foreshadowed the end of the third (or Dionysian) "grand cycle" in 1064, and space had been allocated for the subsequent cycle (truncated

<sup>74</sup> Philip Grierson, ed., *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels: Hayez, 1937), i–xxx (commentary), 1–73 (text).

<sup>75</sup> The endsheets of the *Annales*, RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 19r and 42v were initially left blank as were the first sheet of the *Liber Traditionum*, ff. 52r and presumably the end of its missing quire.

<sup>76</sup> Berlière et al., eds. *Monasticon Belge*, 7:70: "La première partie du manuscrit, jusqu'à 1044, aurait été composée par l'abbé Wichard." He relies on Koch's analysis *Diplomata Belgica* 1:84–122 and his overly precise "De Datering in het 'Liber traditionum sancti Petri Blandiniensis' van omstreeks 1035," BCRH 123 (1958): 137–90. Compare Adriaan Verhulst, "L'activité et la calligraphie du *Scriptorium* de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin de Gand à l'époque de l'abbé Wichard († 1058)," *Scriptorium* 11 (1957): 37–49 and plates 5–12, who was more circumspect in identifying hand A (of the *Annales* and the *Liber*) with Wichard, though he attributed the distinct calligraphic style of Saint Peter's at this time to him.



in 1405). Moreover, some annal entries about early abbots were written to support the story of the *Liber Traditionum*.

There remains only one part of the “wrapping” left to describe. In the manuscript today there is an intervening gathering (quire VI, a quaternion, plus one leaf added later) between the annals and the start of the *Liber Traditionum* proper. This quire contains heavily interpolated papal bulls (ff. 43r–49r, dated 650 to 993), a bull of Leo IX from 1053 (ff. 49r–50v), and a spurious letter of Transmar, Bishop of Noyon, to Count Arnulf I about the reform of 941 inserted on the added leaf (f. 51r). Some of this quaternion (though not the leaf) was probably added under Wichard’s supervision later in his abbacy, which I will address as a “sequel” later.

The *Liber Traditionum* proper (ff. 52r–91v) was written on regular quaternions, almost entirely by a single scribe, who scholars have conventionally referred to as hand A, which has been identified with Wichard himself.<sup>77</sup> It was a unified work, compiled for many reasons – including commemorative, historical, and pious motives – but also to support requests for new royal confirmations in the early years of Wichard’s abbacy. After an endsheet (f. 52r, initially blank), the account of the monastery’s foundation began the first quaternion (quire VII). Although written in the eleventh century, this narrative was a modified copy of an older tenth-century work (a fragment of which survives separately), which scholars now call the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*.<sup>78</sup> Although the fragment of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* begins *in medias res*, it probably was used for part one of the story (the *Ratio foundationis*). It was certainly the source for the accounts of the Carolingian reforms (part 2 and the start of part 3). The *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* has been carefully analyzed by Georges Declercq.<sup>79</sup> His comparison of the tenth-century fragment and the eleventh-century text revealed that the copying was selective, especially towards the end, where some Carolingian fiscal documents of little contemporary relevance were omitted. At the top of folio 63v, the recopying ends with a grant by Abbess Ingelwara from 707, and then reforms attributed to Charles the Bald’s time conclude at the bottom of the page, with a revised eleventh-century injunction to the reader to seek the *reliquas traditiones* among the charters. After the

<sup>77</sup> *Diplomata Belgica* 1:84–122.

<sup>78</sup> The *Liber traditionum antiquus*, of which six leaves of a quaternion survive as RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij 2de reeks 2ter, edited imperfectly in *Diplomata Belgica* 1:123–38, no. 49.

<sup>79</sup> Georges Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie in Vlaanderen in de tiende eeuw: Het Liber Traditionum Antiquus van de Gentse Sint-Pietersabdij* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1998).



Carolingian reforms come copies of the three donations from 870 to 941 (ff. 64r–65v). These three entries, one per page and lacking rubrics, seem to bridge a perceived chronological “gap.” Perhaps it is no surprise that all three entries (Charles the Bald confirming Tamise, Elfrude granting lands in Kent, and Bertaida’s grant of a whole manse and church) provide suspiciously convenient claims to lands thought important in the 1030s.<sup>80</sup>

Next were the reforms of Arnulf and Gérard of Brogne (ff. 65v–82v), part four of the “story,” a long section of charter copies and notices covering the period 941 to 980. These were followed by another section of charter copies (ff. 82v–91v), part five of the “story,” listing donations under each abbot until Wichard in 1034. The entries in parts four and five were based on late tenth- and early eleventh-century charters found in the monastery’s archive, though many were summarized or interpolated – easily detected from their anachronistic dating using the year of the incarnation.<sup>81</sup> Overall, I think this first recension of the story was composed by Wichard prior to 1036 to facilitate his requests for royal confirmations in 1036 and 1038.<sup>82</sup> However, as explained above, some rewriting occurred during the early years of Wichard’s abbacy. The inserted bifolium (quire XII, ff. 92r–95v), contained acts from 1037–1042, suggesting an endpoint for these revisions.<sup>83</sup>

## REVISITING THE STORY OF SAINT PETER’S, GHENT

Although the geographic, political/religious, and manuscript contexts explain major features of the *Liber Traditionum*, its content is also worth scrutinizing closely. The *Liber Traditionum* was fabricated using many sources and a considerable amount of ingenuity. The main sources are analyzed below, but it is important to understand not just the composite nature of the work, but also that modification and invention/forgery of new text was significant. Such creative rewriting served at least three purposes. First, it positioned Saint Peter’s as strongly as possible against its

<sup>80</sup> For Elfrude (i.e., Ælfthryth, daughter of King Alfred and wife of Count Baldwin II), see Jan Dhondt, “La donation d’Elfrude à Saint-Pierre de Gand,” BCRH 105 (1940): 117–64 and bibliography for S 1205b; for Bertaida, Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 53 n4 and 5; for Tamise, see below.

<sup>81</sup> Georges Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 187–8.

<sup>82</sup> Koch, *Diplomata Belgica* 1:120: “C’est Wichard lui-même se mit à composer un *Liber traditionum*.”

<sup>83</sup> Declercq, *Anno Domini*, 188 argued the enlarged *Liber Traditionum* was finished “in or soon after 1042.”

rival, Saint-Bavo's. Second, it supported goals of eleventh-century reform, especially the consolidation of estates and revenues. Third, it helped situate the local history of the monastery within larger historical frameworks, in particular the early history of Flanders, but also the grand narratives of church history. Revisiting the five parts of the story, with an eye towards how each was fabricated using prior sources, highlights these motives.

The first part of the story, the foundation narrative, like most foundation legends, contained assertions about the near-mythic deeds of the saint-founder Amand and the royal patron Dagobert. Incorporated fictions, such as the story of driving out the pagan shrine of Mercury, were conventional for the "genre" and do not distinguish this story from other similar foundation legends.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, the whole first part of the *Ratio foundationis* was a patchwork derived from a common pool of hagiographic materials for early Flanders. Of course, various versions of the life of Amand current at Ghent were employed.<sup>85</sup> It also drew on texts from other monasteries, notably Saint-Wandrille.<sup>86</sup> However, there were key claims in the *Ratio foundationis* designed to challenge Saint-Bavo's. The insistence on Mont Blandin as the initial (and sole) site of foundation has already been discussed. Equally important was the wholesale appropriation of the history of the early abbots of Saint Bavo's. This appropriation began immediately after Amand's deeds with Abbot Florbert, who was not the first abbot of Saint Peter's as the story claimed but rather the first abbot of Saint-Bavo's. After the mention of John, who was an actual early leader of Saint Peter's, the next four abbots (Rathadus, Baudemund, Ferecus, and Hatta) were all abbots of Saint-Bavo's, which may explain why their deeds were passed over with little elaboration.<sup>87</sup> These details

<sup>84</sup> Nancy Partner, "Historicity in an Age of Reality-Fictions," in Hans Keller and Frank Ankersmit, eds., *A New Philosophy of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 21–39; Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 42–86.

<sup>85</sup> *Vita Amandi Episcopi Prima* (first third of eighth century) and *Suppletio Milonis* (855–72), ed. Krusch, MGH SS Rer. Merov. 5:428–49 (BHL 332) and 450–83 (BHL 339); *Annales Sancti Amandi breves* (742–825), ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS 2:184. These are all preserved in one manuscript, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, ms. 224, ff. 1r–69r. Adriaan Verhulst, "Over de stichting en de vroegste geschiedenis van de Sain-Pieters en Sint-Baafsabdijen te Gent," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, Nouvelle série 7 (1953): 1–53.

<sup>86</sup> *Vita Wandregisili altera* (ninth century), ed. P. Boschius, AASS July 5:272–81 (BHL 8804); Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 52–3.

<sup>87</sup> Philip Grierson, "The Early Abbots of Saint Peter's of Ghent," *Revue Benedictine* 48 (1936): 129–46; Adriaan Verhulst, "Over de stichting," 49–52; Berlière et al., eds, *Monasticon Belge* 7(1):96–7.

were taken directly from a *Vita Bavonis* (composed before 845–55), especially information about Abbot Florbert.<sup>88</sup>

But when did these appropriations occur? Declercq, in his extensive analysis of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, an underlying source for the *Ratio foundationis*, concluded that Saint Peter's may have already claimed priority of foundation in 944–6. He argued that monks of the recently reformed Saint Peter's (941) attempted to resist the re-establishment of Saint-Bavo's as a monastery by Count Arnulf I and Gérard of Brogne in 946.<sup>89</sup> This makes sense, since the restoration of Saint-Bavo's had come on the heels of a major effort to increase the spiritual standing of Saint Peter's. On August 23, 944, Arnulf and Gérard travelled to Boulogne to transfer the relics of the Norman saints Wandrille, Ansbert, and Wulfram (left by monks of Saint-Wandrille) to Saint Peter's, which was completed September 3.<sup>90</sup> Combined with the relics of the virgin Amalberga (transferred from Tamise between 863 and 879) and many other lesser saints, these relics endowed Saint Peter's with a substantial spiritual prestige.<sup>91</sup> The reestablishment of Saint-Bavo's was a potential threat to Saint Peter's as primary spiritual inheritor of Saint Amand.

But one must be careful not to over-read. The reform of Saint Peter's and the rebuilding of Saint-Bavo's were both achieved with Arnulf's patronage and supervised by Gérard, who was abbot of both houses. The two monasteries were jointly ruled in 946–7, though how is difficult to discover. Both houses played important political and religious roles linked to the construction of comital dynastic identity. Consequently, the two monasteries in Ghent received disproportionate numbers of charters from Count Arnulf and his rival/ally King Lothar of France. Although the two houses were supposed to cooperate, Geoffrey Koziol argues they soon became competitive, as shown in their charters.<sup>92</sup> This competition did not begin until

<sup>88</sup> *Vita Bavonis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS Rer. Merov 4:527–45 (BHL 1049).

<sup>89</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 222–4, more specifically between September 3, 944 (after the translation of the relics from Boulogne to Saint Peter's) and before the restoration of Saint-Bavo in 946/7.

<sup>90</sup> Nicholas Huyghebaert, *Une translation de reliques à Gand en 944: Le Sermo de Adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Blandinium* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1978).

<sup>91</sup> Nicholas Huyghebaert, "La translation de saint Amalberge à Gand," *Analecta Bollandiana* 100 (1982): 443–58.

<sup>92</sup> Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 391–8 at 392: "Arnulf linked the two monasteries in ways that were supposed to be cooperative but became almost immediately competitive. Diplomas became a battleground in their competition, fought not only by obtaining them but also by rewriting and destroying those obtained."

after 953, once Gérard had stepped down as abbot and the two monasteries became – for a while – separate.<sup>93</sup> So, for the *Ratio foundationis*, it may be safer to suppose that rewriting of the foundation legend began in earnest after 953, even if the initial composition of *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* occurred in 944 to 946.

Regardless of what happened in the mid-tenth century, there was significant rewriting of the monasteries' shared past in the eleventh century. For instance, tampering with the list of early abbots probably occurred in the eleventh century, though this cannot be known absolutely because the outer bifolium of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* is lacking (including the earliest parts of the tenth-century *Ratio foundationis*) and so the two texts cannot be directly compared.<sup>94</sup> Strong corroboration is provided by the erasures and insertions of the relevant abbots' names made in the *Annales Blandiniensis* (added to the codex around 1044), so that the annals would support the story as written in the eleventh-century *Ratio foundationis*.<sup>95</sup> Eventually, this appropriation of the early abbots was not just textual but also physical: by the mid-eleventh century the monks of Saint Peter's asserted that they possessed the body of Florbert himself. In the end, many sources were mined to revise the foundation legend of Saint Peter's and subsume the early history of Saint Bavo's.

In general, part one of the story was highly selective, particularly for the events in early Carolingian times.<sup>96</sup> For example, the story related the troubles during the rule of Abbot Celestine, a partisan of Ragenfrid's faction against Charles Martel, who was deposed in 719 when estates may have been confiscated and used by royal vassals. But then the story skips to the reign of Louis the Pious, asserting that before this time "scarcely anything was written about this place" (*locus ille pene ad nichilum est redactus*).<sup>97</sup> Producing a backstory useful for eleventh-century purposes trumped accurate or complete copying of available sources, such as the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* or early charters or hagiographies.

Appropriating the early abbots of Saint-Bavo's was not the only polemical move of the *Ratio foundationis*; there were at least two others which foreshadowed the later story. It asserted that Saint Peter's had been – from

<sup>93</sup> Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 396.

<sup>94</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 38–44 and see also Grierson, "The Early Abbots," 135, 140–2.

<sup>95</sup> Compare RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, 21v–24v, Grierson, ed., *Les Annales*, 4–6, with RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 53r–54r, Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 2–4.

<sup>96</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 39–47.

<sup>97</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 54v, Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 5.

its foundation – a monastic community (although it may have been a mixed community of religious or clerks, or even a “double monastery” of men and women both).<sup>98</sup> This assertion allowed the composer (in part four) to portray the reforms of Count Arnulf and Gérard of Brogne as a restoration of the monastery to its “pristine” state (*in pristinum*). The *Ratio foundationis* also asserted that royal largesse from Dagobert had been ample, modeling donations which followed later. Thus, the foundation narrative set the stage for parts two and three, by providing ancient authority for fiscal texts of Carolingian origin, but which bore a close relation to the situation on the ground in the mid-eleventh century.

Part two of the story was about reforms under Louis the Pious and Einhard. An account already existed in the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* from the mid-tenth century, but it was modified not just copied. The fortuitous survival of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* provides an opportunity to explore the textual manipulations performed by Abbot Wichard while composing his own story in the mid-eleventh century. The *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* was initially composed 944–946, just before the restoration of Saint-Bavo’s and possibly with the idea of forestalling it. The *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* had its own agenda, which Abbot Wichard used selectively in his rewriting of the past. The easiest way to understand parts two and three of the story is to examine what existed in the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, and then consider what Wichard chose to include or leave out of the *Liber Traditionum* (and why). The comparative analysis has already been undertaken by Georges Declercq, and table 2 below is based on his findings.<sup>99</sup> It presents the contents of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, divided into numbered sections (following Declercq) with comments on how accurately they were copied into the *Liber Traditionum*.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Evidence for the “double monastery” comes from the donation of Abbess Ingelwara in 707, preserved in the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2ter, f. 3r. and in a modified version in the *Liber Traditionum*, RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 59r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 25–6 and 50. See Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 97–103.

<sup>99</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 25–6 and 65–202.

<sup>100</sup> RAG 2de reeks 2ter, ff. 1r–6v, edited in Gysseling and Koch, *Diplomata Belgica* 1:123–38.

Table 2. Comparison of *Liber traditionum antiquus* and *Liber traditionum* RAG, fonds Sint-Pieterabdij, 2de reeks 2ter and 2bis.

Fols.	<i>Liber traditionum antiquus</i>	Fols.	Copy in <i>Liber traditionum</i>
1r	I. Fragment of the " <i>Ratio fundationis</i> " missing the beginning	52v–55r	minor spelling changes (only last few paragraphs can be compared)
1r–v	II. Louis the Pious Charter of June 2, 815 granting immunity, confirming lands	55r–56r	minor inaccuracies
1v–2r	III. Einhard charter establishing <i>mensa conventualis</i>	56r–56v	minor inaccuracies
2r–v	IV. " <i>Memoratorium</i> " of revenues given by Einhard to the monks	57r–58r	minor inaccuracies; derived from a polyptych of the <i>mensa fratrum</i> of Saint-Wandrille
2v–4r	V. Notices of donations given in the time of Louis and Einhard " <i>ad monasterium Blandiniensis</i> "	58r–61r	Minor inaccuracies; addition of church where Saint Bavo prayed for "forty days and nights" (based on section VI)
4r–5v	VI. Notices of donations handed over " <i>ad mensa fratrum</i> " in time of Charles the Bald a) Donations from time of Charles the Bald b) " <i>Commemoratio</i> " of donations and purchases from time of Saint Amand and Abbot Florbert c) Various donations ( <i>precaria</i> , lands at rent)	61r–63v	a) omits names; amalgamates time of Charles the Bald to Charles the Simple (to 892) b) large omissions and some rearrangements c) large omissions
6r–v	VII. Notices of tributaries and <i>mancipia</i> who owed rents " <i>ad mensa fratrum</i> "	63v	Omitted entirely except for revised injunction to seek <i>reliquas traditiones</i> in the charters

Of course, the tenth-century work provided a polemical view of Carolingian reform. So far as historians can determine, Einhard became lay abbot of Saint Peter's in 815, and presided over the subsequent implementation

of reforms emanating from the Council of Aachen of 816/7 – including the division of property between abbot (*mensa abbatialis*) and convent (*mensa conventualis*), probably to facilitate the creation of *beneficia* for royal vassals. No later than 819, he became lay abbot of Saint-Bavo's and may have held the abbatial lands in common. However, Einhard's goals were not the emphasis of the work.<sup>101</sup> The *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* eschewed an abbatial viewpoint in favor of a conventual one; that is, it stressed events which highlighted the independence of the monks and their holdings.<sup>102</sup> So, it began with a version of the *Ratio foundationis* (I), now fragmentary because of the loss of the initial two leaves. It also stressed the "immunity" granted by Louis the Pious (II), recalled the establishment of the *mensa conventualis* by Einhard (III), and then provided a detailed listing (*memoratorium*) for some crucial lands he allocated to the brothers (IV), as well as notices (*noticia*) of lands subsequently granted to the monks (V).

Although sections II and III were based on single-sheet charters issued to Saint Peter's, section IV, the "*Memoratorium*," was a tenth-century confederation. It was a series of accounts (*rationes*) borrowed from a polyptych of the *mensa fratrum* of Saint-Wandrille in the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, and so did not pertain to Saint Peter's at all. Section V, the notices from the time of Louis the Pious and Einhard, came next, firmly bounded chronologically by the "*Memoratorium*" in front and notices from Charles the Bald's reign (840–77) (VI) in back. However, these notices derived not just from Charles the Bald's time but also that of Charles the Simple (898–922). Of course, these kings' names (*Karolus*) were the same, and so texts from their reigns could be amalgamated easily. In addition, many notices in sections V and VI were taken from older acts of Saint-Bavo's and not Saint Peter's, especially those supposedly from the time of Saint Amand and Abbot Florbert. Section VI concluded with diverse donations of *precaria* and rents (supposedly found in charters), and then section VII summarized various notices of dues owed by various people attached to the house – tributaries and *mancipia*. Moreover, of the 72 notices written in the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, 53 of them contain the awkward Latin phrase "*ad mensa fratrum*" (even the Merovingian ones do so anachronistically), to indicate that the lands, rents, or people listed were allegedly part of the *mensa conventualis*.

Thus, the purpose of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* was at least two-fold. First, it was designed to assert the existence of a purported ninth-century *mensa conventualis* – both in general and for specific properties – so as to

<sup>101</sup> Georges Declercq and Adriaan Verhulst, "Einhard und da karolingische Gent," in *Einhard: Studies zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Hermann Schefers (Darmstadt: HKD, 1997), 223–46.

<sup>102</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 65–202.



justify their 'restitution' during the reforms of Count Arnulf I and Gérard of Brogne in 941. Second, it sought to prevent the imminent restoration of Saint-Bavo's, a potential local rival. One suspects that the tenth-century *Ratio foundationis* also made tendentious claims about the priority of Saint Peter's foundation, similar to those written down a century later in the *Liber Traditionum*. Certainly, however, the reuse of Saint-Bavo's charters was designed to erase any competing claims to territory. The tenth-century monks of Saint Peter's were claiming contested lands at the confluence of the rivers, with the goal of controlling key locations near the town itself, where Saint-Bavo's had originally been. Although Einhard might have managed the abbatial lands of the two houses together (as Count Arnulf may have done later as lay abbot), the monks of Saint Peter's wanted to insist on a separation favorable to them. Accordingly, Declercq argued that the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* did not reflect the actual state of the Carolingians domains; rather it was an "*instrument de combat*," enumerating the possessions to which the monks of Saint Peter's hoped they could lay claim in the mid-tenth century.<sup>103</sup>

However, the polemics of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* were old by the time Wichard became abbot in 1034, and the goals of writing and reform had shifted. Although Wichard had the earlier work at his disposal, he did not use all of it. He also had single-sheet original charters from the archives as well as oral tradition to draw on. He could pick and choose in constructing his own interpretation of Carolingian reform. Overall, parts two and three of Wichard's story presented an edited version of Einhard's reforms by selectively reusing earlier sources. Certain key features were retained: the grant of judicial immunity, the creation of the *mensa conventualis*, the restoration of lands given directly to the monks' use, and so on. However, many fiscal details (the tributaries and *mancipia*) were omitted to save space or perhaps because the passage of time had eliminated their relevance. A couple of notices were also rearranged.<sup>104</sup> The reason for such editing was to set up the fourth part of the story, in which the dominant plotlines would be the restoration of lands despoiled by secular lords, monks replacing clerks, and heavy doses of patronage by the counts of Flanders.

<sup>103</sup> Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 263: "Il s'ensuit que le LTA ne doit pas être considéré comme un simple cartulaire qui donnerait une image fidèle du domain abbatial au moment de la rédaction, mais plutôt comme un instrument de combat énumérant les biens (et les droits) auxquels l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre croyait pouvoir prétendre au milieu du X<sup>e</sup> siècle."

<sup>104</sup> Both texts printed in parallel in Fyten, ed. *Liber Traditionum*, 14–49, so variations and omissions are easily seen.



Part four of the story began by narrating the reforms of Count Arnulf I and Gérard of Brogne in the mid-tenth century. While the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* had dealt with contemporary events, the composer of the *Liber Traditionum* was able to employ hindsight to revise the past for his present purposes. Of course, some previous notions could be recycled and enhanced, such as the emphasis on the regular observance of monastic life or the priority of Saint Peter's over Saint-Bavo's as the locus of that tradition. But part four also added new themes, such as the sanction of the diocesan bishop, the presence of certain relics at Saint Peter's, closer links with the comital dynasty, and confirmations of particular lands and rights. Much of the attention was focused on the deeds of Count Arnulf, who as refounder and patron of the house occupied a central position in its history. Moreover, Saint Peter's archives had an original single-sheet charter of Arnulf from July 8, 941, which became the cornerstone around which an elaborate story was built. Such genuine grants were rare and valuable and so Abbot Wichard would have wanted to make maximum use of it. So, it was carefully copied in the *Liber Traditionum* and also framed by supporting fraudulent or interpolated texts, in order to fabricate the most favorable possible story.

Even though Count Arnulf was probably a prime mover in the reform of 941, part four of the story did not begin with the Count's charter. Rather it began with the desired moral of the story, evident from its title: "An account of how canons were ejected and monks were restored to the cloister of Saint Peter's in *Blandinium* as the monastery had been formerly (*in pristinum*)."<sup>105</sup> The story of monastic reform was then carried forward through five document copies. The placement of a supposed letter of Bishop Transmar from 947 at the outset drove home the title's message. Transmar's supposed relation of his archdeacon's speech to the monks of Saint Peter's (in the presence of Count Arnulf) reinforced key details of the foundation legend. It was corroboration that the "pristine" foundation had consisted of monks, not clerks, who had observed the rule of Saint Benedict (as opposed to any other). Such details justified the "restoration" of monks by Gérard of Brogne and gave Saint Peter's a thoroughly regular monastic pedigree. Remembering Bishop Transmar also had additional utility. Transmar had also, supposedly in 942, confirmed a *basilica* located *in portu Gandensi* (dedicated to Saint Bavo) as a possession of Saint Peter's, indicating the allegedly older foundation's dominance over its purportedly younger rival. Furthermore, Transmar's blessing imparted the sanction of the ordinary bishop to reform arrangements begun by Count Arnulf and

<sup>105</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 65v; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 54: "Ratio quomodo ejectis canonicis monachii restituti sunt in pristinum in monasterio sancti Petri Blandiniensis coenobii."

Gérard of Brogne. The insistence at every turn of the regularity of Saint Peter's (and episcopal sanction) was anticipatory insurance in case the religious at Saint-Bavo's protested this version of events. But the polemics of Transmar's letter were not those of the mid-tenth century; rather they were informed by the bitter rivalry between Saint Peter's and Saint-Bavo's in the eleventh century. Indeed, Transmar's letter was a forgery confected in Wichard's time (c. 1035), perhaps based on a lost confirmation charter of Saint-Bavo's and also the charter of Arnulf I of July 8, 941, the witness list and subscription of which it creatively adopted.<sup>106</sup>

The royal charters following Transmar's letter – of Louis IV (950) and Lothar (966) – were portrayed as confirmations of Arnulf's arrangements, which they enumerated in detail. These charters have been subjected to extensive scrutiny by diplomatists and were based on fraudulent claims, as they provided overly specific information about lands and reinforced the foundation myth. The Louis IV charter made the dubious equation of the monastery in the *castrum* of Ghent (near the ancient site of Saint-Bavo's) with *Blandinium*, and also stressed the regularity of the new monks and their need for support.<sup>107</sup> The *Liber Traditionum* copy is the oldest surviving version, fabricated from early models. Many of its enumerated domains appear in subsequent entries in the *Liber Traditionum*. The Lothar charter of 966 seems to have been fabricated in the tenth century, during the time of Abbot Womar (953–980). Womar had been the prior of Saint Peter's under Gérard of Brogne from 945 and succeeded him as regular abbot in 953, although Count Arnulf remained lay abbot throughout his life.<sup>108</sup> Womar played host to Dunstan, future archbishop of Canterbury in 956–957 during his exile, and close relations between Canterbury and Ghent were maintained after Dunstan returned to England.<sup>109</sup> Womar also became regular abbot of Saint-Bavo's in 957, after the brief disastrous rule

<sup>106</sup> Koch, "De Dateringen," 164 and A. C. F. Koch and J. G. Kruisheer, *Oorkonboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970–92) 1:56–7, no. 33; see also Adriaan Verhulst, "Note sur deux chartes de Lothaire, roi de France, pour l'abbaye de Saint-Bavon à Gand," BCRH 155 (1989): 13, n4. For Transmar's acts, Nicholas Huyghebaert, "Quelques chartes épiscopales fausses pour Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin à Gand forgées aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," BCRH 148 (1982): 1–90.

<sup>107</sup> Maurice Prou and Philippe Lauer, eds., *Recueil des actes de Louis IV roi de France (936–954)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1914), 82–8, no. 36. A better edition, discussing interpolations and the daunting diplomatic tradition, is Adriaan Verhulst, "Kritische studie over de oorkonde van Lodewijk IV van Overzee, koning van Frankrijk, voor de Sint-Pietersabdij te Gent (20 augustus 950)," BCRH 150 (1984): 272–327.

<sup>108</sup> For Womar's career, see *Monasticon Belge* 7(1):101–2, which must be used with caution.

<sup>109</sup> Steven Vanderputten, "Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006): 219–44.

of Abbot Wido I (953–957), Gérard of Brogne's nephew. Thus, Womar was regular abbot of both houses at Ghent when Count Arnulf died in 965 until his own death in 980.

Although the events of Womar's abbacy are difficult to sort out, scribes at both houses had access to charters in each other's archives to use as models. Indeed, there are multiple charters of Lothar (ranging from genuine originals to complete fabrications) for both Saint Peter's and Saint-Bavo's.<sup>110</sup> Geoffrey Koziol analyzed a particular charter of Saint-Bavo's in detail: a diploma of Lothar's claiming to be issued on December 11, 954 (or 958).<sup>111</sup> This act, surviving as a single sheet, has frustrated diplomatists using traditional methods and assumptions about authenticity and forgery.<sup>112</sup> According to Koziol's reconstruction, what seems to have happened was that Lothar had issued a standard diploma for Saint-Bavo's in 954 confirming its lands and its limited immunity, just after the house was separated from Saint Peter's (and placed under Abbot Wido) in the wake of Gérard's retirement as dual abbot. Subsequently, Wido modified the act to assert Saint-Bavo's independence, in particular recasting a clause to guarantee free election of the abbot (namely Wido) and to make it look as though it were issued by the new count in 958. His purpose was to defend himself and his house from their rivals. This theory explains two of the act's five erasures and substitutions. Koziol argued that this "occurred immediately after Arnulf's death on 27 March 965. For Arnulf's death left Wido without a protector, allowing Sint-Pieters to step up its assault."<sup>113</sup>

However, Wido's rule was disastrous, and eventually led to Abbot Womar of Saint Peter's taking over, reuniting the two abbeys by 966. In so doing, Womar took steps to not only subsume Saint-Bavo's but also to try to end its pretensions to independence. Koziol pointed to further obvious evidence of tampering in the charter itself. First, there was an intrusive erasure and substitution in phrase about the freedom of abbatial election to name "lord Womar" as abbot, effacing Wido's name (which is still listed on the tenth-century identification on the dorse of the act, which Koziol suggested

<sup>110</sup> Louis Halphen and Ferdinand Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954–987)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1908), 58–62, no. 25 (Saint Peter's) and 62–6, no. 26 (Saint-Bavo's).

<sup>111</sup> Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 315–99, ch. 7 "Forged Acts," esp. "Humiliating Sint-Baafs," 391–8.

<sup>112</sup> RAG, Archief van de Sint-Baafskathedraal, fonds Sint-Baafsabdij, II.1; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:225–8, no 134\*. The digital supplement to Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity* provided an image of the charter, <http://medievalliteracy.wp.hum.uu.nl/>; Halphen and Lot, eds., *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, 1–4, no. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 397.

was added when it was placed in the monastery's treasury in 954). Overall, there were three blatant substitutions of Womar's name. What was the reason for doing this? Koziol argued that this was not a deception by the abbot of Saint Peter's, but rather that Womar was overt in his substitutions:

They were meant to be obvious. What Womar did was humiliate Sint-Baafs. He was effectively emasculating the now subordinate monastery by taking charge of its diplomas and defacing them with utter impunity. The document, brazenly forged by his enemy to prove independence against him, is now even more brazenly defaced by him to prove the monks' impotence. The point was not to hide the erasures. It was to flaunt them, so that whoever looked at the diploma would know Saint-Baafs' powerlessness.<sup>114</sup>

Such a humiliation was intended to put Saint-Bavo's back in its place, as a subordinate partner to Saint Peter's. For Koziol, this was the cost of losing the late Carolingian power game of 'truth' or consequences. Presumably, hard feelings remained for the rest of Womar's rule until his death in 980.

Such issues must be kept in mind when analyzing what Wichard chose to use eighty years later. Legacies of Womar and Lothar were incorporated in part four of the story. The *Liber Traditionum*'s story features an act of Lothar, dated May 5, 966, issued to Womar as abbot of Saint Peter's. Unsurprisingly perhaps, an act bearing this same date survives, but issued to Womar as abbot of Saint-Bavo, which effectively confirmed his control of that house.<sup>115</sup> The *Liber Traditionum* entry was confected using two sources for inspiration: the Saint-Bavo's charter of May 5, 966 and a less specific charter of Lothar from 964 for Saint Peter's.<sup>116</sup> The creative rewriting in this entry had various purposes. One goal was to "improve" on a settlement reached between Lothar and the dying Arnulf in 964, which had reaffirmed the immunity of Saint Peter's and restored some abbatial lands.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 398, furthermore, "the erasures would never have fooled anyone."

<sup>115</sup> The Sint-Baafs diploma is RAG, Archief van de Sint-Baafskathedraal, fonds Sint-Baafsabdij, II, 1; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:228–30, no. 135\* and Halphen and Lot, eds., *Actes de Lothaire*, 62–6, no. 6. See Koziol, *Politics and Memory*, 397, who argued that "To seal his success, on May 5, 966 he [Womar] received a diploma of Lothar as abbot of Sint-Baafs."

<sup>116</sup> Brussels, State Archives, Museum, no. 3; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:160–3, no. 62. Verhulst, "Note sur deux chartes de Lothaire," 17: "L'argument central de notre raisonnement est la probabilité que la charte de Lothaire de 966 pour Saint-Pierre-de-Gand (HL 25 – *Diplomata Belgica* 63) soit un faux, fabriqué encore au Xe siècle et avant l'indépendance de Saint-Bavon (981)."

<sup>117</sup> Verhulst, "Note sur deux chartes de Lothaire," 17: "Le but de ce faux aurait été de créer un titre royal pour certains biens de Saint-Pierre ne figurant pas encore dans

The idea was to enlarge the property, judicial, and ecclesiastical rights of Saint Peter's, following the territorial divisions effectively formed by the Lys and the Scheldt rivers. In other words, it insisted that Saint Peter's had been given the lion's share in 941 by Count Arnulf *before* Saint-Bavo's was reestablished in 946/7.<sup>118</sup> Consequently, the authentic 964 settlement was omitted from the *Liber Traditionum* (which survived in the archives until the eighteenth century, when it was copied) and the "improved" 966 charter was substituted, as it fit the story Wichard wished to tell better. In so doing, he maximized the utility of his predecessors' textual manipulations. Suspiciously, the corresponding passage defining Saint-Bavo's rights in its charter of 966 has been scratched out.<sup>119</sup>

Such rewriting was extremely important in the eleventh century because Arnulf's and Gérard's reforms had shaped Saint Peter's profoundly. The reforms of Saint Peter's in 941 focused on the restoration of material support for the monks, especially the old Carolingian *mensa conventualis*. One might rightly be suspicious of comital charter copies in the *Liber Traditionum*; however, a single-sheet version of the Count Arnulf's charter of July 8, 941 survives.<sup>120</sup> This charter, from Saint Peter's archives, has been viewed as suspicious in various ways because of its crucial position in both the tenth-century (*Liber Traditionum Antiquus*) and eleventh-century (*Liber Traditionum*) stories of reform at Saint Peter's. It has been subject to numerous examinations by diplomatists, because it is also the oldest surviving act of the Counts of Flanders.<sup>121</sup> The act itself appears to be genuine in script, form, and in many (but not all) external features. The content, which at first blush seems overly favorable to the monastery, may be partially explained by beneficiary redaction or the influence of Gérard of Brogne – especially the pious justifications of Arnulf's restitutions and the early history of the monastery. Its content was (fairly) accurately copied in

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le charte de 964 et acquis ou revendiqués par elle postérieurement à cette date." For further refinements, Declercq, *Traditievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 233–51.

<sup>118</sup> Verhulst and Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent," 57–8: "In these charters the property and judiciary, as well as the ecclesiastical rights of St. Peter's in Ghent are for the first time defined very precisely along territorial lines formed by the course of the Lys and the Scheldt, and limited to the area between the two rivers."

<sup>119</sup> Verhulst and Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent," 58.

<sup>120</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 18; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:143–6, no. 53. Facsimile in Henri Pirenne, ed., *Album Belge de la Diplomatique* (Brussels: Vandamme and Rossignol, 1909), plates 2 and 3.

<sup>121</sup> Étienne Sabbé, "Étude critique sur le diplôme d'Arnulf Ier comte de Flandre, pour l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre à Gand (941, juillet 8)," in *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, 299–330 (Brussels: Nouvelle société, 1937). See *Diplomata Belgica* 1:144 for further bibliography.

the *Liber Traditionum* and provided the basis of later land claims between the two rivers, as well as early proof of the possession of certain relics. The codex's copy also included a notice from the dorse of the charter, namely an exchange of some lands restored in it for others. Although little modification occurred in the copying, there are signs of small but significant tweaks on the charter itself. The long tenth-century dorsal notice was supplemented by an eleventh-century hand.<sup>122</sup> A false seal was attached to the act, probably in the eleventh century, after the dorsal notice was completed.<sup>123</sup> Thus, the genuine tenth-century charter was updated in Wichard's time, when perhaps a seal became desirable to assert greater authenticity while asking authorities for confirmation – probably the young Count Baldwin V, who inherited in 1035.

This act in 941 had been issued by the most important patron of the house, Count Arnulf, and so had to be framed and presented in the *Liber Traditionum* in special ways. So, it was introduced by fraudulent texts (Transmar's letter and the royal confirmations) to insist that it was a *fait accompli*.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, subsequent acts were interpolated in order to seem to proceed from it – at least for particular landholdings. In addition, several lines were allocated on the page above it for a grand title, though it was never added.<sup>125</sup> The following entry about Arnulf, essentially a summary of his testament of 964, listed important material restorations to the brothers, including some lands of the *mensa abbatialis*. Moreover, it also highlighted the continuing connection of the dynasty to Saint Peter's as the burial place for the comital family. Arnulf's father, Count Baldwin II, had been the first count entombed at Saint Peter's (928), followed about a decade later by his wife, Elfrude. Arnulf chose Saint Peter's for his own burial. This practice was continued in subsequent generations to the early eleventh century. Thus, Arnulf's came to be venerated by the brothers as the *restaurator* or *reparator* of the monastery.<sup>126</sup> His patronage suggested that Saint Peter's should continue to be favored by his successors, and reinforcing such ties was an important goal of the *Liber Traditionum*.

Part four was the longest and most detailed part of the *Liber Traditionum*'s "story." It was the part on which the entire tale hinged. Consequently,

<sup>122</sup> Printed in *Diplomata Belgica* 1:143, no. 53 with dates for various parts of the notice.

<sup>123</sup> Robert Henri Bautier, "Le cheminement du sceau," 147: "Or son sceau offre un type de majesté...à mes yeux, il est absolument évident qu'il s'agit d'un faux patent, sans doute du milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle."

<sup>124</sup> See also Declercq, *Traditiievorming en Tekstmanipulatie*, 207–21.

<sup>125</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, 71r. This space corresponds to amounts used for other titles.

<sup>126</sup> Verhulst and Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent," 53.



its entries were forward-looking even as they reshaped the past. Arranged around the genuine refoundation charter of 941, they also provided the reader of the *Liber Traditionum* with the first links in what would become chains of confirmations. Bishop Transmar's letters could be linked to later episcopal (and papal) confirmations. The diploma of Lothar foreshadowed later royal (and imperial) confirmations. Arnulf's charters announced and justified close ties to the comital dynasty. Although placed within a story of the house's past, they were written out with their desired endpoints (new confirmations in Wichard's time) firmly in mind. Demonstrating these chains of donation and confirmation was one of the principal goals of part five of the story.

Part five carried the story of Saint Peter's forward from 981 to Wichard's present, the mid-1030s. It built on previous themes but was especially concerned with the rivalry with Saint-Bavo's and providing substantiation for future confirmations. The attempts to appropriate and efface the early history of Saint-Bavo's, described above, were motivated by very serious disputes between the two houses that had arisen after the death of Abbot Womar in 980. This struggle was as much about spiritual authority as territory. We have indications of this struggle from a letter written by Abbot Odwin (981–998) of Saint Bavo's to Abbot Adalwin (986–995) of Saint Peter's. In this letter, preserved in a Saint-Bavo's collection of miracles in a late eleventh-century hand, Odwin warns his colleague that accounts of early times found in books clearly indicate that the foundation in Saint Amand's time was in the *castrum Gandavum*, and furthermore, that the *castrum Gandavum* was where the Scheldt joined the Lys (that is, where Saint-Bavo's was), not between the two rivers (where Saint Peter's was).<sup>127</sup> This letter was perhaps the second or third shot in an ongoing battle, as Saint-Bavo's tried to get out from under Saint Peter's.

Dividing lands abbots had ruled jointly was a major problem, although Saint Peter's may have had the upper hand initially thanks to Abbot Womar. Yet Womar did not entirely neglect Saint-Bavo's, which had a powerful patron in Emperor Otto II, who restored various lands and rights in the Empire (east of the Scheldt) to Saint-Bavo's in 974–977.<sup>128</sup> Of course, only a confirmation of Otto for Saint Peter's, supposedly granted in 980, was mentioned by the *Liber Traditionum*.<sup>129</sup> In any event the personal union of the two houses ended

<sup>127</sup> RAG mss. no. 150 (308), ff. 21v–22v. Oswald Holder Egger, ed., "Ein brief der Abt Otwins von St. Bavo," *Neues Archiv* 10 (1885): 372–4.

<sup>128</sup> Three separate charters survive, see MGH DD O II, 82–3 (874), *Diplomata Belgica* 1:231–2, no. 136 (876) and 232–4, no. 137 (877). Verhulst, *De Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent*, 82–3.

<sup>129</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 82v, quoted above, which may refer either to charters surviving from Saint Peter's or Saint-Bavo's, or another now lost; none date to 980. Wichard may have elided these.

with Womar's death, which allowed Saint-Bavo's to escape subordination and the newly elected Abbot Odwin to assert his house's independence on the feast of Saint-Bavo, October 1, 981. Subsequently, the monks of Saint-Bavo also arranged for an ostentatious elevation of the relics of Saint Bavo himself in 1010.<sup>130</sup> For several generations, the monks of Saint-Bavo's attempted to redress their perceived "relic gap" with Saint Peter's by acquiring relics of half a dozen lesser saints (Landoald and friends, translated June 980) and even fake ones (Livinius, translated 1007).<sup>131</sup> Naturally, Saint Peter's contested the authenticity of these suddenly appearing relics.<sup>132</sup> Wichard, who had come to Saint Peter's as a brother in 995, would have been well aware of these disputes and a witness to some of them.

Part of Wichard's solution to the competition with Saint-Bavo's, once he became abbot, was to petition higher authorities. Thus, part five of the *Liber Traditionum* provides extensive summaries of donations, carefully arranged as preparation for seeking confirmations. Many were copied relatively accurately from genuine records in the archives, perhaps supplemented by oral tradition, with just a small amount of interpolation necessary. Others were more serious inventions.<sup>133</sup> Some of this process is evident from eleventh-century dorsal notes on charters or, more significantly, from a series of pseudo-original single sheets surviving from the archives, dating from the mid-1030s.<sup>134</sup> All these sources (originals, interpolated

<sup>130</sup> *Translatio Sancti Bavonis prima*, ed. M. Coens, "Translationes et miracles de Saint-Bavon au XIe siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 84 (1968): 52–60 (BHL 1055).

<sup>131</sup> *Vita, Translatio et Miracula sancti Landoaldi et sociorum* (given to the abbey by the bishop of Liège, Jun 19, 980), *Diplomata Belgica* 1:234–44 (BHL 4700); *Translatio Livini et Brictii pueri Gandavum*, ed. Oswald Holder Egger, MGH SS 15:612–4 (BHL 4962). These accounts were written in the late-eleventh century (around 1067 when Saint Bavo was again translated) or later and appear in the same manuscript as the *translatio* of Saint Bavo, RAG ms. no. 150 [308], with many other texts celebrating Saint Bavo.

<sup>132</sup> Verhulst and Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent," 55 for the relic controversy. Oswald Holder-Egger, *Zu den Heiligengeschichte des Genter St. Bavoskloster*, in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* (Hannover: Hahn, 1886, rep. Goldbach: Keip, 1996), 622–55.

<sup>133</sup> Compare Koch, *Diplomata Belgica* 1:120–1: "C'est Wichard lui-même qui en 1035–1036 se mit à composer un *Liber Traditionum* où il fit mention de presque toutes les acquisitions de biens faites par l'abbaye durant les siècles précédents. En interpolant les chartes et *notitiae* dans ce *Liber*, il sut ménager, autant que possible, les documents eux-mêmes. C'est pour cela que toutes ou presque toutes les chartes importantes de l'abbaye sont restées intactes. Un certain nombre de chartes moins importantes furent falsifiées out interpolées, et ceci manière assez grossière."

<sup>134</sup> Georges Declercq, "Le classement des chartriers ecclésiastiques en Flandre au Moyen Âge," *Scriptorium* 50 (1996): 331–4.



acts, wholesale inventions) were woven together in the *Liber Traditionum* to fabricate a unified story that would lead to new confirmations. So, for example, one consistent modification was the redating of virtually every act using the year of the incarnation. These redatings had two effects. First, they suggested an (overly) consistent chronology for local events. Second, they placed local history within the master narrative of Christian history. These redatings were especially powerful because they were supported by the addition of *Annales Blandiniensis* at the front of the codex, which had been composed to corroborate them. Thus, the two works (initially separate booklets, and thus easy to compare side by side) were designed to work in concert and provide a chronological framework for the *Liber Traditionum*. Fortunately, they also provide a means of detecting interpolation of many acts purporting to come from the late tenth century but modified in the second quarter of the eleventh century, when the incarnational dating style flourished and while Wichard was prior and then abbot.<sup>135</sup>

The chains of confirmations highlighted by the *Liber Traditionum* are perhaps best understood from their endpoints, which lie outside of the codex itself. One group of charters was aimed at obtaining new royal confirmations from the kings of France (for holdings west of the Scheldt) and Germany (for holdings east of the Scheldt). These were achieved very early in Wichard's abbacy. In July 1036, Abbot Wichard went to Nijmegen and obtained a confirmation from Emperor Conrad II, an act now known only through late medieval copies.<sup>136</sup> Although the provenance of this document makes it difficult to establish its text, it bears many signs of beneficiary redaction. It reaffirmed not just the immunity of Saint Peter's, but it also confirmed the possessions east of the Scheldt – enumerated in detail, in a list probably drawn from the entries in the *Liber Traditionum*. Furthermore, the act stressed the many relics of saints possessed by the house and opined about the usurpations of lands by tyrannical lords. Subsequently, in 1038, Wichard travelled to Corbie, where he obtained a confirmation from King Henry I of France. This act survives as a single sheet charter.<sup>137</sup> Its tone is very similar to the imperial charter, invoking the saints buried at Saint Peter's, decrying the predations and invasions of its lands, and reaffirming the monks' immunity. It also confirmed an enumerated list of landholdings and revenues, starting with the lands between the Scheldt and the Lys (up to the *portus* of Ghent, including explicitly the rents on dwellings (*mansionilibus*) in the *portus* itself and the tithe of the church of St. John

<sup>135</sup> Declercq, *Anno Domini*, 187–8.

<sup>136</sup> MGH DD Ko II, 313–5, no. 230.

<sup>137</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 119; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:196–9, no. 92 (facs. no. 45). Note: archival shelfmark changed since edition.

the Baptist inside the town), and moving to the estates to the west of the Scheldt – all listed by the *Liber Traditionum*. This confirmation was critical for Saint Peter's. Assuring the integrity of the domains was a frequent goal in Richard of Saint-Vanne's reforms and these lists reflect considerable territorial consolidation.<sup>138</sup> Thus, the relevant authorities confirmed the estates to the east (imperial) and west (royal) of the Scheldt. The enumerations of holdings in these charters depended on the *Liber Traditionum* and were the final links in the chains of authentic, interpolated, and fraudulent acts copied throughout its story.

A single example suffices to make clear how carefully these textual strands had been woven together. Let us consider the royal charter of 1038, since its provenance is considerably clearer.<sup>139</sup> Of course, it began with the most crucial lands: those at the confluence of the rivers, including valuable rights near the *portus*. Immediately after these lands, the list included "the *villa* of Tamise with its church, woods, and everything as a whole."<sup>140</sup> This claim has been studied in detail by Nicholas Huyghebaert.<sup>141</sup> Tamise had both economic and religious significance. It was a rich holding in an area, the county of Waas, contested after Count Arnulf I's death in 965 but regained by 1007. Tamise also was the location from which the relics of the virgin Saint Amalberga had been translated to Saint Peter's. Interestingly, the *Liber Traditionum* claimed that the first count of Flanders, Baldwin "Iron Arm," had given the *villa Tamesca* (Tamise) to Saint Peter's around the time of the relics' translation, a grant allegedly confirmed by Charles the Bald in 870. A notice of this donation and its confirmation was included in part three of the story, as the first of the three notices which bridged the "gap" between the time of Charles the Bald and Arnulf's reforms (877–941).<sup>142</sup> This notice was based on a pseudo-original of Charles the Bald, a wholly forged single-sheet charter, composed after 1007 and probably closer to 1035, while the *Liber Traditionum* was being compiled.<sup>143</sup> This invention was

<sup>138</sup> Similar consolidation occurred at Saint Bavo's, Verhulst, *De Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent*, 80–116.

<sup>139</sup> Fernand Vercauteren, "Étude critique sur un diplôme original d'Henri I, roi de France, pour l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin à Gand, après le 20 juillet." BCRH 101 (1936): 187–213.

<sup>140</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters. No. 119; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:197, no. 92: "In pago vero Waise villam Tempsecam cum acclesia et silva et omni integritate."

<sup>141</sup> Nicholas Huyghebaert, "L'usurpation du domaine de Tamise: Note sur le faux diplôme de Charles le Chauve pour Saint-Pierre de Gand (870)," *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982): 82–104 and Huyghebaert, "La translation de Sainte Amalberga."

<sup>142</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 64r; ed. Fayen, *Liber Traditionum*, 50–1.

<sup>143</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 13; Georges Tessier et al., eds. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale,

based on a more limited, legitimate claim: the church of Tamise, the initial resting place of Saint Amalberga's relics, had been one of the restitutions of Count Arnulf in 941.<sup>144</sup> The pseudo-original inflated Arnulf's donation by borrowing language from various acts from the 950s and 960s. Its language also echoed that of King Louis IV's fraudulent diploma of 950 featured in part four of the story. By composing the story in this manner, Abbot Wichard effectively asserted an ancient claim to the entire estate of Tamise, so that King Henry could "restore" it to the control of the monks in 1038.<sup>145</sup> Such a "restoration" was one of the eagerly anticipated conclusions of part five of the *Liber Traditionum*'s story.

#### CHANGING THE ENDING IN WICHARD'S TIME, 1034–58

Of course, the king and the emperor were only two of the authorities whom Abbot Wichard hoped to petition using the *Liber Traditionum*. The most important authority in Ghent was the count of Flanders, whose predecessors had been patrons of the monastery and who were buried at Saint Peter's. In addition, the comital castle at Ghent was strategically placed to dominate the town, though symbolically on a different axis than Saint Peter's and Saint-Bavo's.<sup>146</sup> However, the relationship between the counts and the monastery was still evolving after Wichard assumed office in 1034. A new count, Baldwin V (1035–1067), already associated with rule, succeeded after his father's death. Indeed, part five of the story, at least as initially composed before 1036, was achieved just as this transition in power was taking place, as narrated by the final lines of the manuscript written in the main hand. As explained above, the ending of the first recension had included initials to spell out the end of the *Gloria Patri*, the words SAECULO SAECULORUM. Soon after this ending flourish was completed, however, it was changed. Just after the reader was exhorted to consult the charters, on f. 91r, near the end of part five, there was some erasing and rewriting. Five lines were inserted at the bottom of the page transgressing the margin. Written in

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1943–55) 2:248–9, no. 337 and *Diplomata Belgica* 1:141–3, no. 52\* – both to be used only in light of Huyghebaert's "Usurpation du domaine de Tamise," which also provides an edition, 103–4. Note that archival shelfmark has changed since these editions.

<sup>144</sup> *Diplomata Belgica* 1:144, no. 52\*: "In pago Quasa super fluvio Scalda villa nuncupante Temsica, in qua diu corpus beatissime virginis Alamberge, quam iure hereditario quo aduixit possidere visa est, et ob id illis reddidi eam, qui die noctuque excubantes sacro corpori eius assistunt." Huyghebaert, "Usurpation du domaine de Tamise," 98 hypothesized that this passage was based on a previous grant of the church, not the whole villa.

<sup>145</sup> For the Carolingian estates, Declercq and Verhulst, "Villa et mansus," 1015–22.

<sup>146</sup> Verhulst and Declercq, "Early Medieval Ghent," 55–6.

capitals in alternating black and green ink, they boldly announced an addition to the story: the largesse of the comital family as benefactors, including Count Baldwin IV, his son Baldwin, "junior count," and their respective wives, Ogive and Adela (though Eleanor, Baldwin IV's second wife, was conveniently forgotten).<sup>147</sup> This inserted title was intended to begin a new section presenting contemporary grants of the comital family. However, immediately at the top of the next page (f. 91v) comes the final entry in the main hand, the notice of Abbot Rodbold's death and Wichard's election on May 31, 1034, which also provided the "N" in the "IN." Then there follows a space, created by the erasure of seven lines, which probably had contained a notice of a comital grant, of which only some witnesses remain. One suspects this grant, made towards the end of the Count's lifetime, concerned his burial and that of his wife (or wives) and the appropriate prayers. If so, it would evoke the similar grant of Count Arnulf's from seventy years before – or at least occupy the same position in relation to part five of the story as Arnulf's grant had in relation to part four. This ending would have made narrative and chronological sense, always important to Wichard.

The old count's generosity remains unknown since the first ending was replaced by a new bifolium (quire XII), containing acts from 1037 to 1042 in various hands. Whatever Wichard had planned, the transition in power necessitated changes. The idea was to record comital patronage and consolidate estates, though no comital confirmation parallel to the royal and imperial confirmations survives from the 1030s. Perhaps the royal and imperial confirmations were deemed sufficient, especially the detailed charter of King Henry I of 1038, which indicated explicitly that it was granted at the request not just of Abbot Wichard but also of Count Baldwin V and his wife Adela, who was the king's sister.<sup>148</sup> So, this confirmation may have been viewed as replacing a comital charter. It served a similar function, including gaining the upper hand against the monks of Saint-Bavo's. Nevertheless, the story – as far as the counts were concerned – was an ongoing one, and so the *Liber traditionum*'s ending was revised, likely just after 1042, to reflect shifts in patronage.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 91r; ed. Fayen, *Liber Traditionum*, 105: "Commemoratio benefactorum et elemosinarum quae Baldwinus junior marchysus filius Baldwin marchysi et Odgevae comitissae cum conjugue sua Adala sancto Petro largiti sunt." Ogive was the first wife of Baldwin IV.

<sup>148</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, charters, no. 119; *Diplomata Belgica* 1:196–9, no. 92: "Baldwinus clarissimus Flandrensis marchysus una cum coniuge sua dilectissima videlicet sorore nostra Adela necnon et Wichardo abbate."

<sup>149</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 127 dated the revised *Liber traditionum* to "shortly after 1042."

The counts were powerful patrons of Saint Peter's as well as potential arbiters of the continuing local struggles with the monks of Saint-Bavo's, but after 1037 made no further grants for more than a century.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, Count Baldwin IV was the last count to be buried at Saint Peter's and both abbeys in Ghent suffered from a decline of comital patronage for the rest of the eleventh century, despite Wichard's efforts.<sup>151</sup> But they would not be the only arbiters, since these disputes were not simply about property or wealth but also about sanctity and religious authority. As Wichard's abbacy proceeded, he turned his attention to obtaining papal confirmations as well. In the quaternion (quire VI) lying between the *Annales Blandiniensis* and the *Ratio foundationis*, there is a small dossier of papal documents designed for this purpose. The initial leaves of this quaternion were probably written at the time the enlarged codex was being compiled. They consist of four early and implausible papal acts.<sup>152</sup> Most scholars who have studied the script believe the first part of this quire (the interpolated early bulls) was begun by the main hand of the *Liber Traditionum* (hand A to f. 47v line 7) but corrected and continued by a subsequent one (hand B). But even if one is skeptical of such claims, these bulls were certainly added with Wichard's supervision and at his behest.

Henri Pirenne was the first to analyze these papal forgeries in detail, which offer overly specific confirmations of the lands of the abbey, perhaps based on early models.<sup>153</sup> They were allegedly granted by Popes Martin I (649–53), Nicholas I (863), Benedict VI or VII (974 or 983), and John XV (993).<sup>154</sup> The final act, a bull of John XV supposedly from 993 which referred to the others,

<sup>150</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 162 argued that comital patronage was diverted from monasteries to houses of secular canons.

<sup>151</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 124–30 argued that the later eleventh century witnessed a gradual accumulation of incremental reforms, without much comital interest.

<sup>152</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 43r–51v (the original quaternion, with a leaf added in the twelfth century, these acts occupy 43r–48v).

<sup>153</sup> Henri Pirenne, "Note sur un manuscrit de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Gand," BCRH 5 (1895): 114–26 and in greater detail "La bulle fausse de Nicholas Ier pour le monastère de Saint-Pierre à Gand," BCRH 12 (1902): 156–72.

<sup>154</sup> Martin I (JL 2074), ed. Auguste Van Lokeren, *Chartes et Documents de l'abbaye de Saint Pierre au Mont Blandin à Gand* (Ghent: H. Hoste, 1868), 6–7, no. 2 (corrected by Pirenne, "Note sur un manuscrit," 115); Nicholas I (JL 2714), ed. Pirenne, "La bulle fausse," 161–4; Benedict VII (JL 3776), ed. Harald Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, 3 vols. (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984) 1:456–7, no. 229 and Pirenne, "Note sur un manuscrit," 116–8; John XV (JL 3847), ed. Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, 1:606–10, no. 313 and ed. Pirenne, "Note sur un manuscrit," 118–23.

was left incomplete. These bulls were fabricated after Womar's abbacy, post-981, when Saint-Bavo's achieved independence and the struggle between Saint-Bavo's and Saint Peter's heated up.<sup>155</sup> But it is not entirely clear when. The texts were available when Wichard was composing the *Liber Traditionum* (the first three and part of the fourth were written by the hand most scholars identify as his), but they appear in quire VI – placed between the *Annales Blandiniensis* and the main text of the *Liber Traditionum*. This quaternion may have been inserted between the two booklets before 1044 (when the enlarged codex was assembled), and I think it was probably added prior to 1053. Although the final leaves of quire VI remained blank in Wichard's time, a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century continuator supplied an end to this subplot: a genuine act of Leo IX (1053), granting a petition of Abbot Wichard and King Henry I to reaffirm the (false) Nicholas I confirmation of the possessions and privileges of the monastery, which was copied nearly word for word in its dispositive.<sup>156</sup> This confirmation was copied in full, including a drawing of the rota and benevalette, and ended two-thirds of the way down its final page (f. 50v), the rest of which was left blank.<sup>157</sup> This confirmation was another endpoint – the final link in a purported chain of papal confirmations. This confirmation was granted late in Wichard's abbacy (he died in 1058), just as reforming popes were becoming more sympathetic to monastic privileges of liberty. Thus, Abbot Wichard successfully pursued an agenda of attaining confirmations from authorities at all levels.

Such examples of modifications could be multiplied, since the *Liber Traditionum* proper, composed initially in 1034 to early 1036, was reworked during the course of Wichard's abbacy (1034–1058) and beyond. Once it was joined by *Annales Blandiniensis*, circa 1042–1044, it became situated in relation to larger chronologies. The “story” had been placed in time and, thus, had become a “history,” one credible enough to secure royal and imperial confirmations. It proved a reusable history, which could be deployed to help Abbot Wichard obtain a papal confirmation in 1053. Indeed, the codex remained important, and there were sequels after Wichard's death. It remained a living, relevant text for the monks of Saint Peter's. Furthermore, the archives of the monastery – rich in charters from before 1000 – were another continuing and reusable resource. Thus, the “*traditiones*” in the book were handed down through generations of monks.

<sup>155</sup> Huyghebaert, “Quelques chartes épiscopales fausses,” 11–12.

<sup>156</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, ff. 49r–50v; Leo IX (JL 4296), ed. Pirenne, “La bulle fausse,” 169–72, only known through this copy but not suspected. See Huyghebaert, “Quelques chartes épiscopales fausses,” 19 affirming Pirenne's analysis of the hand.

<sup>157</sup> A later hand inserted a list of relics in this space.



SEQUELS AT SAINT-PETER'S: "YSTORIA NON FABULA"

The *Liber traditionum* was a thoroughly planned, well-organized, highly structured cartulary, and its "story" was persuasive to authorities, who confirmed lands and privileges of the house. It reflected the personality of Abbot Wichard as well as the communal identity of the house. All of these factors meant that it had an enduring relevance to later generations of monks. Proof comes from the manuscript itself, as the *Liber Traditionum* was later wrapped by other texts from the later twelfth (and even thirteenth) centuries, which added outer layers to its core. These layers offer "sequels" to the story of Saint Peter's, which further articulate the relationship of the community to its past. In his own time, Abbot Wichard himself changed the conclusion of the story but later monks also supplied their own endings. So, for instance, one of the papal bulls, of John XV allegedly from 993, was left incomplete by the main hand (presumably Wichard), but it was finished by a later hand, probably around the turn of the twelfth century, easily detected now (but not then) by a difference in ink colors.<sup>158</sup> The same hand (and ink) also supplied the Leo IX confirmation bull of 1053 obtained by Wichard, only known because later monks wrote it into the codex after his death. Such efforts have often been dismissed as mere "continuation," but writing new endings could substantially shift any story's message.

Ongoing struggles with the monks of Saint Bavo's also helped generate "sequels" to the story of Saint Peter's. Despite the relative success of Wichard in acquiring confirmations from authorities, the "story" remained contested. Evidence of continuing competition between the two houses exists in a polemical work composed by Lambert, a monk of Saint Peter's, around 1079. Significantly, Lambert's work was copied into one of the outer wrapping layers of the *Liber Traditionum*, appearing on the last folio of quire XIII and continuing onto quire XIV (and perhaps necessitating its inclusion), where it is oddly entitled "*Tytulus Sancti Bavonis nobilissimi confessoris in Gandavo castro*," although it concerned the contested founding Abbot (and later Saint) Florbert.<sup>159</sup> It began with a poem, which immediately betrayed its partisan nature, as it discussed the rightful resting place of Abbot Florbert. This was a sore point in the dispute between the two monasteries. In 1049, a supposed discovery of Florbert's relics had led Abbot Wichard to insist on their translation to an elaborate tomb at Saint Peter's under the supervision of the Bishop of Noyon, which was subsequently justified in

<sup>158</sup> Huyghebaert, "Quelques chartes épiscopales fausses," 19–21, discusses the retouching/rewriting of key portions of the text using an ink which would have been blacker in the twelfth century but which is a strikingly different color now.

<sup>159</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f, 103v–105r.



a short *libellus*.<sup>160</sup> This invention triggered extensive campaigns of hagiography at both Saint Peter's and Saint Bavo's – a tit-for-tat dialogue about the founders and Florbert in particular.<sup>161</sup>

The dispute heated up again after 1073, when Abbot Folcard (1069–88) of Saint-Peter's ordered Florbert translated again and additional supporting hagiographies written, including another description of the foundation of Saint-Peter's by Saint Amand.<sup>162</sup> By 1079, further justifications were piled on. Lambert addressed his brothers, arguing that “We have, most dear ones, in our archives, in privileges confirmed by great authorities, [that] blessed Amand once founded the cloister of *Blandinium* in *Gandavo*” (that is Saint-Peter's) under the leadership of Florbert.<sup>163</sup> Lambert went on to explain that the brothers of Saint-Bavo's deny this out of envy and say instead the foundation house was *Gandavo*, which he calls a “lie.”<sup>164</sup> Lambert then proceeded to offer various arguments supporting his position, including referring to a sealed act of the Bishop of Noyon approving of the translation of Florbert to *Blandinium*, which he claimed was corroborated by an inscription in Latin and Greek on the tomb of Florbert itself at Saint Peter's.<sup>165</sup> It is unclear when this bilingual inscription was produced, but it may well have been during the translation in the time of Abbot Wichard, who was a lover of the classics. Such overt Hellenizing smacks of pretensions of grandeur, a strategy we will also encounter at Saint-Denis. In any event, monks of Saint-Peter's were physically marking their territory and their claims to the relics and cult of Florbert, the new saint. Lambert

<sup>160</sup> *Libellus de loco sepultrae sancti Florberti abbatis Blandiniensis contra monachos S. Bavonis Gandavo*, ed. Holder-Egger MGH SS 15 (parts 1 and 2):642, 1318 (BHL 3029).

<sup>161</sup> Jeroen Deploige, “Twisten via heiligen: Hagiografische dialogen tussen de Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs, 941–1079,” *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 31 (2007): 31–82, see 40–1, Table 1 for a list of competing works.

<sup>162</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 177–8.

<sup>163</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 103v–104r; Holder-Egger, ed., MGH SS 15(2): 642: “Habemus, karissimi, in archivis, in privilegiis auctoritate maiorum roboratis, beatum Amandum Blandinium coenobium in Gandavo olim fundasse, monachorum catervam congregasse eisque abbatem sagacis ingenii Florbetum prefecisse.”

<sup>164</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 104r; Holder-Egger, ed., MGH SS 15(2): 642: “Quod nobis fratres de coenobio Sancti Bavonis invidentes, suo id arrogant loco, asserentes, nil vocitari Gandavum nisi locum suum. Quod quam sit mendosum...”

<sup>165</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 104r–v; Holder-Egger, ed., MGH SS 15(2): 642: “Translatione proinde sancti Florberti primi Blandinensis coenobii abbatis apud nos factam corroborerat auctoritas una cum sigillis antistitium Noviomagensium, confirmaverat etiam lapis tam Grecis quam Latinis litteris inscriptus est, quod maius est, cuiusdam mulieris contractae ad lipsana eiusdam patris curatio.”

then concluded with a ringing (and revealing) assertion: “We say this not because we accuse the aforesaid brothers of speaking falsely – oh would that they were brothers in Christ! – rather we excuse ourselves for speaking truly.”<sup>166</sup> Writing more than twenty years after Wichard’s death, Lambert and his brothers had clearly not forgotten the *Liber traditionum*’s foundation story, which remained controversial. Indeed, they were engaged in actively promoting it against fierce resistance from their rival brothers.

Was Lambert sincere? We cannot know, but Lambert may well have believed that the *Liber Traditionum*’s story and the supporting pseudo-originals in the archives were genuine. Certainly, a later monk of Saint Peter’s insisted on the truthfulness of the story, as revealed by an interlinear comment inserted above the title of Lambert’s work, which reads: “History not fable” (*ystoria non fabula*).<sup>167</sup> This commentator was perhaps protesting too much but seems to have recognized potential for dissent. Such excessive truth-claiming may reflect doubts, but also could be viewed as faithfulness. Either way, the monks of Saint Peter’s surely wanted the “story” of *Liber Traditionum* to be regarded as history, even if many of its *traditiones* had been invented. Ironically, a tomb of Florbert is one of the few remnants of the medieval abbey today.

The *Liber Traditionum* is a remarkable work. Unusually, one can reconstruct a great deal of its composition at a particular moment in time (initial recension 1034–6, revisions to 1042, etc.). Its relatively uniform format and distinctive script reveal how the story of Saint Peter’s was written, and perhaps even told, during this era. Furthermore, it is a rare example of a medieval text whose author we can identify: Abbot Wichard. While it is always dangerous to underestimate the corporate nature of monastic book production, the *Liber Traditionum* reveals something of the mind of its composer. Throughout there are signs of personality, including one use of the first person in part two.<sup>168</sup> There were also injunctions to a presumed reader in part three and at the end of part five, either using the imperative or second person, to seek further information among the charters in the archive. These suggest that the work was designed to be used interactively with the archives. In addition to commemorating benefactors, providing

<sup>166</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 104v; Holder-Egger, ed., MGH SS 15(2):642: “Hae loquimur, non ut falsa loquendo prefatos fratres—et utinam in Christo fratres!—incusemus, sed ut nosmet ipsos vera diceno excusemus.”

<sup>167</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 103v.

<sup>168</sup> RAG, fonds Sint-Pietersabdij, 2de reeks 2bis, f. 57r; Fayen, ed., *Liber Traditionum*, 14: “commodum arbitratus sum hic operi inserere.” This reflects the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus* language, which also used first person, but it is still remarkable that Wichard retained it.

a history of the house, and linking events at Ghent to Christian history, there was also a devotional element: the acrostic hymn which designed to complete the work. It seems to me no accident that this hymn spanned the entries for the years when Wichard was prior at Saint Peter's, for it reflected his personal piety. Wichard liked schema and he enjoyed both ordering by chronology and letter patterns. Saint Peter's had been a widely known school already in the late tenth century and Wichard encouraged copying (and even wrote himself) a number of classical works for the library.<sup>169</sup> He was accustomed to literary flourishes and the hymn initials reflect his intellectual direction of the *Liber Traditionum*. In many ways, the "traditiones" which the book recorded were about a personal as well as a collective past.

The *Liber Traditionum* is also an evidentiary gold mine for scholars interested in forgery and historical writing. The survival of the *Liber Traditionum Antiquus*, as well as various original and pseudo-original charters, provides an opportunity to understand how (and at least partially why) its story was fabricated. Moreover, because the story of Saint Peter's was so successful during Wichard's time (and accepted as history by higher authorities), its continuing relevance was assured. Nevertheless, the story of Saint Peter's remained contested so long as the monks of Saint-Bavo's could offer their competing version of the shared past of the two houses, which they did well into the twelfth century. This ongoing competition assured that the *Liber Traditionum* would be revisited, reused, and rewritten for many years.

<sup>169</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 58–9 and 127–8; Adriaan Verhulst, "L'activité et la calligraphie," 37–49; Georges Declercq, "Blandinium rond het jaar 1000: Twee eeuwen monastieke bloei en vitstraling in de Gentse Sint-Pietersabdij," *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 58 (2004): 59–82.