

ВСЕОБЩАЯ ИСТОРИЯ

The Monks of Saint-Thierry in a Property Dispute with the Archbishop of Reims

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On the wave of religious enthusiasm and monastic reform under Cluny's influence, monasteries focused their particular attention on the memory of the institution. Collective memory recorded and structured interactions of the brethren with the society, preserving the names of benefactors, patrons, and other emblematic figures. It helped communities shape their identities, demarcating their monastic networks and protecting and reclaiming their property from any exterior intervention or usurpation. This article considers three documents that have almost entirely escaped scholarly attention. This small *dossier* is a significant example of how the brethren of Saint-Thierry in Reims disputed their property rights to the small demesne

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of Villers-Franqueux against powerful, local noblement and the Archbishops of Reims in the third quarter of the 11th century. Engaged in this property dispute, the community deployed different legal measures and appealed to exterior royal authority. The monks did not hesitate to forge the material and mention an influential person of the moment, Queen Anna, who ruled as regent around that time, in order to solidify their position. This manifold and detailed 'protective narrative' constructed by the monks of Saint-Thierry was also supplemented by hagiographical texts intended to provide the community's claims to Villers-Franqueux with a sacred, transcendent legitimacy, which had to present the deeds of the monastery's adversaries as not only illegal but also as going against God's will. All of this, as the subsequent history of Saint-Thierry suggests, allowed the community to overcome in the struggle and retain Villers-Franqueux, which became one of the core elements of its demesne.

Keywords: Saint-Thierry, community's identity, cartularized hagiography, archbishop of Reims, manuscripts, Henry I of France, Anna Yaroslavna.

Монахи Сен-Тьерри в имущественной тяжбе с архиепископом Реймским

Г. Шмидт

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На волне религиозного энтузиазма времен Ключийской церковной реформы XI в. монашеские общины уделяли особое внимание коллективной памяти. С одной стороны, эта память структурировала взаимодействие братии с обществом, сохраняя имена благодетелей, меценатов и других знаковых фигур. С другой стороны, она помогала общинам формировать свою особенную идентичность, четко очерчивая границы сети зависимых учреждений, а также защищая монастырскую собственность от любого внешнего вмешательства или узурпации. В статье рассматриваются три документа, до сих пор практически полностью ускользавшие от внимания исследователей. Это небольшое досье — важный пример того, как братия французского монастыря Святого Теодерика в Реймсе (Сен-Тьерри) выстраивала стратегию защиты своих имущественных прав на небольшое владение Вилле-Франке, права на которое община вынуждена была отстаивать в длительном противостоянии с местными влиятельными сеньорами и архиепископами Реймса в третьей четверти XI в. В рамках этого имущественного спора община прибегала к различным правовым и неправовым мерам. Монахи обращались также к авторитету королевской власти. Когда это было необходимо, чтобы укрепить свои позиции, они не останавливались и перед подделкой документов, в которых упоминались влиятельные персоны того времени, например королева Анна Ярославна, правившая в качестве регента. Этот многогранный и подробный защитный нарратив, сконструированный монахами Сен-Тьерри, дополняли агиографические тексты, призванные придать притязаниям общины на Вилле-Франке священную легитимность, которая должна была представить действия соперников монастыря не только противоправными, но и святотатственными. Как показывает дальнейшая история Сен-Тьерри, все это позволило общине одержать верх в тяжбе и сохранить за собой деревню Вилле-Франке, ставшую одним из основных элементов монастырской вотчины.

Ключевые слова: Сен-Тьерри, идентичность, агиография, архиепископ Реймса, рукописи, Генрих I, Анна Ярославна.

Introduction

Since the end of the 10th century, on the wave of religious enthusiasm and monastic reform under Cluny's influence¹, monasteries focused their particular attention on the memory of the institution. Firstly, it helped them shape the community's identity, demarcate their monastic networks, and protect (or reclaim) their property from any exterior intervention or usurpation. This was particularly important as the material stability of a monastery was closely associated with its spiritual well-being². Secondly, collective memory recorded and structured interactions of the brethren with the society, preserving the names of benefactors, patrons, and other emblematic figures.

In shaping their past, monastic institutions relied on multiple methods, but writing, in the broadest sense of this word, was by far the most effective and compelling. Creation, manipulation, and dissemination of all kinds of texts — from charters to hagiography and historiography, and from calendars to necrologies — provided the community with the evidence needed to preserve their desired version of the past. The most fascinating trait of this literary production is its extreme malleability and capacity to be easily rearranged in order to create a new narrative³.

For this reason, the practice of assembling re-assembled, individual written works or archival documents into broad collections and codifying and summarising founders' *vitae*, the monasteries' histories, associations, rights, and properties became increasingly important through the High Middle Ages. These sometimes very small and idiosyncratic collections, which related the foundation of monasteries, testified to donations, endowments, tithes and other proprietary rights, became a standard instrument used by medieval monastic communities to preserve collective memory and shape its identity. In some circumstances, these collections took distinct forms. They might vary from short and unstructured series of charter summaries to voluminous *pancartes*. They could have a form of historical texts or hagiographical narrations evidencing miraculous stories that explained the acquisition of one or another right or property.

This documentation can be notoriously difficult to interpret, especially when other sources are scarce. A thorough case study of these works, however, has the potential to make a considerable contribution to understanding how medieval monastic communities created their identity and preserved their material well-being while protecting themselves in their struggles against secular lords and bishops.

This article will analyse three documents which the monastery of Saint-Thierry in Reims used to defend their rights to Villers-Franquex — a small demesne located on the outskirts of the aforementioned city and the closest village to the abbey — from the claims of powerful, local noblemen and the archbishops of Reims. This case demonstrates how the community engaged in this property dispute utilized different legal measures, appealed to exterior (royal) authority, but also composed hagiographical texts to weave a dense and detailed 'protective narrative' intended to solidify their argument.

¹ Melville G. The world of medieval monasticism. Its history and forms of life. Collegeville, 2016.

² Mancía L. Sources for Monasticism in the Long Twelfth Century // The Cambridge history of medieval monasticism in the Latin West. Cambridge, 2020. P. 668.

³ Mazeure N. Le Codex Stabulensis et la récréation du passé à Stavelot-Malmedy à la fin du X^e siècle. Une étude de la valorisation de sources diplomatiques dans l'hagiographie abbatiale // Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. 2012. Vol. 107, issue 3–4. P. 863–896.

This research seeks to reconstruct the circumstances under which this group of documents was created and all stages of the lengthy property dispute.

The record

The central document discussed here is a record of Henri I's alleged intervention into the dispute between the brethren of Saint-Thierry of Reims and the archbishops of Reims over the mentioned demesne.

The only copy of this record known to Frédéric Soehnée, the collector of Henri I's *acta*⁴ is its isolated transcription in a tenth-century manuscript containing Saint Augustine's commentary on Psalms 119–133⁵, now kept in Reims⁶. There is, however, another witness of the charter, which escaped Soehnée's attention. In the second copy, the record is accompanied by two other documents crucial for the present analysis: a hagiographical piece describing the donation of Villers-Franqueux (BHL 8067) and Philip I's letter confirming the rights of Saint-Thierry over the same estate⁷. The Vatican copy of the document was discovered and briefly mentioned by André Wilmart in his description of a Saint-Thierry manuscript⁸, kept, since the 17th century, at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana⁹. Oddly enough, although this Vatican codex served Maurice Prou as a source for his edition of the aforementioned Philip I's letter¹⁰, the copy of Henri I's alleged charter and the whole combination of charter material within this manuscript escaped the attention of the scholar. Yet, it is this exact combination of material that allows us to reconstruct the dispute and the circumstances in which each of the three documents was created.

The record in the Reims manuscript is written by a late eleventh-century (or early twelfth-century) hand on a parchment leaf added to the ninth-century codex (Fig. 1). It is a simple summary of an act (*mention d'acte*) roughly contemporary (or slightly later) to the events it and the lost original, if it existed, describe¹¹. It is obvious, however, that the record is not an exact copy of the alleged original, or originals. Nonetheless, the event described in the charter seems, at first glance, to be above all suspicion. The detailed account of the dispute contains many facts that cannot be contested (see: Annexe 1).

⁴ Catalogue des actes d'Henri I^{er}, roi de France (1031–1060) / ed. by F. Soehnée. Paris, 1907. P.93, note 89.

⁵ Marie-Pierre Laffitte dates it even from the 9th century: *Laffitte M.-P.* Esquisse d'une bibliothèque médiévale: le fonds de manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Thierry (avec en annexe la liste des manuscrits) // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle (Actes du Colloque international d'histoire monastique, Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 18 octobre 1976) / ed. by M. Bur. Saint-Thierry, 1979. P.92.

⁶ Reims. Bibliothèque municipale Carnegie (Henceforth BM). 85. Fol. 3r. Description: Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Vol. 38. Paris, 1904; *Ibid.* 85. B. Augustini Explanatio in psalmos CXIX–CXXXIII. URL: <https://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/ark:/06871/004D38A10710> (accessed: 08.09.2022).

⁷ Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059–1108). Vol. 1 / ed. by M. Prou. Paris, 1908. P.416–417.

⁸ The copy is preserved in the manuscript: Città del Vaticano // Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Henceforth BAV). Reg. lat. 466. Fol. 64v.

⁹ *Wilmart A.* Codices Reginenses Latini. Vol. 2. Roma, 1945. P.621–625.

¹⁰ Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}. P.416–417.

¹¹ Marie-Pierre Lafitte notes that this record dates from 1059, however she does not provide any justification for this assumption; I shall suggest another date based on the context of the local history.

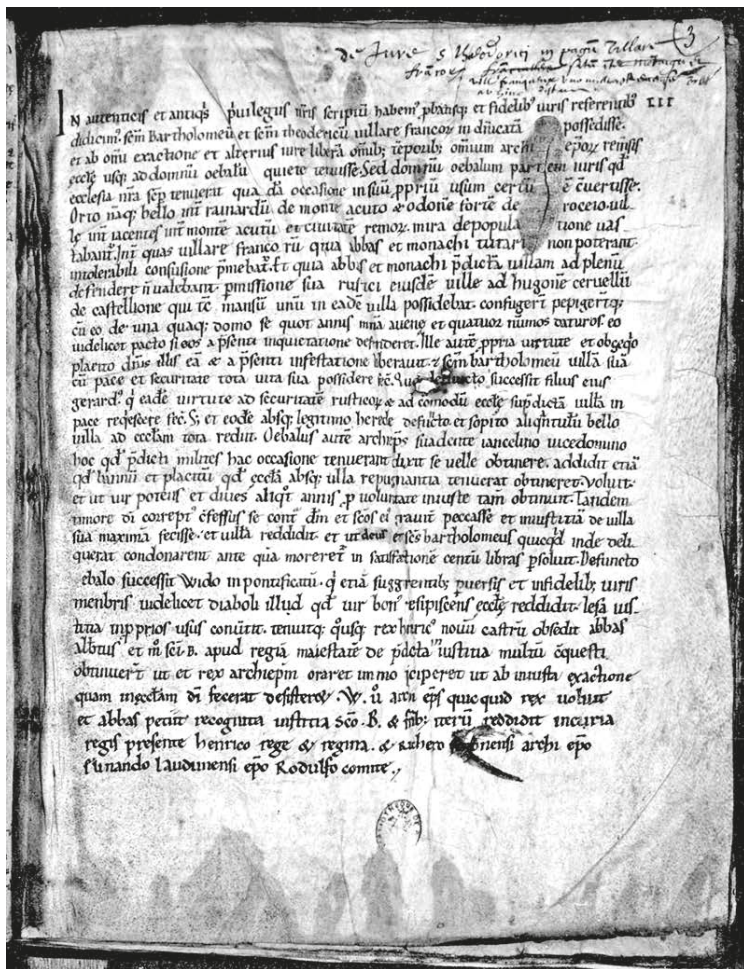


Fig. 1. Reims. Bibliothèque municipale (Carnegie). MS 85. Fol. 3r.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Available at: <https://www.bnf.fr/fr> (accessed: 08.09.2022)

The record relates that the estate was initially held by the abbey but during the war between two local seigniors, Eudes of Roucy ('the Strong', † ca. 1021) and Renard of Montaigu¹², passed to Hugo of Châtillon-les-Sons (second quarter of the 11th century), who later granted it to the monastery for the term of his life. The grant was confirmed by Hugo's only son, Gerard, but when he died heirless, the estate was declared escheat and seized (illegitimately, according to the record) by the Archbishop of Reims, Ebles of Roucy (1021–1033)¹³. Ebles controlled the estate for several years, but shortly before his death he changed his mind and restored the abbey as having possession of the estate. He even paid hefty compensation for the unlawful seizure of the property. Ebles's successor, Guy

¹² Eudes was a brother of Archbishop of Reims, Ebles (1021–1033). For an identification, see: *Demouy P. Actes des archevêques de Reims d'Arnoul à Renaud II (997–1139)*. Nancy, 1982. P. 62–63, note 14.

¹³ For a concise summary of all the fact known about him, see: *Demouy P. Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*. Langres, 2005. P. 605–606.

of Soissons (1033–1055), was less sentimental and confiscated the property once again¹⁴, handing it over to his lay administrator. Abbot Albert of Saint-Thierry (1049–1063) then had to seek justice from the king, and while Henri I was besieging Neufchâtel (Neufchâtel-sur-Aisne) in 1049, Abbot Albert begged for the king's intervention. Having mediated between contestants and judged in favour of Saint-Thierry, Henri settled the long-lasting dispute over the estate. In the king's presence, Guy was ordered to concede the property to the monastery.

This account certainly echoes many events of the turbulent 11th century in Champagne. Devastating wars *omnium contra omnes* initiated by local seigniors made poor and weak possessors seek protection from more mighty figures. As for the archbishops of Reims, they also acted regularly as secular lords (Ebles was actually a secular lord who allegedly 'bought' the archbishop's office)¹⁵ and sought to enlarge their own domains to propagate their political influence and to strengthen their economic bases. The deeds of Archbishops Ebles and Guy correspond precisely to what was typical, not just of the archbishops of Reims, but of every single powerful actor of that era. Guy's actions as described in the record also align perfectly with the realities of the middle 11th century.

The king's intervention during the siege of Neufchâtel is plausible given that his presence there is so well-documented¹⁶. In other words, there is not a single event mentioned in the record that was not possible or that looks suspicious. There is, however, a serious chronological discrepancy within the record that brings into question the authenticity of the whole account. In the witness list, one finds the name of Richer, archbishop of Sens (*Richerus, achiepiscopus Senonensis*, 1062–1096), who was elected archbishop seven or eight years after the death of Guy, the protagonist of the affair. This record seems to confuse several timelines: Richer could not be the archbishop yet.

There also are slight linguistic inconsistencies, probably revealing manipulation of the text. The record starts in the first-person plural, thus from the monks' perspective, but when the narration evolves to what is described as the present, Henri's actions are described in a more historical than juridical manner. The text of the record is thus split into two parts: the first (until the words *Defuncto Eballo...*), relating the events of the past, and the second — describing the present in the way the compiler of the record wanted to depict it.

These discrepancies call into question the reliability of text's account. Should we rely on its content? How can we assess the authenticity of the document? To answer these questions, I will first survey all the facts we have about the rights Saint-Thierry had over the estate of Villers-Franqueux; then, I will analyse the manuscript tradition of this record, which is more complicated than previously assumed.

¹⁴ *Demouy P.* Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Langres, 2005. P. 607–608.

¹⁵ The events are described in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* in the following expressions: 'Defuncto A. Remensium archiepiscopo, Azelinus Laudunensis quendam laicum Ebulonem nomine, antea suum secretarium et suae calliditatis conscius, acclamavit, et ut rex concederent, suis adulationibus impetravit; virum sane nullius disciplinae, nichil etiam litterarum preter pauca silogismorum argumenta scientem, quibus idiotas ac simplices ausque ludificari solebat. Sub specie vero litterarum ad tanti honoris fastigium multo ante tendebat, spemque suam multa pecunia cumulabat, quam usuris turpiter acervabat'. See: *Gesta episcoporum cameracensium*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum (in Folio). Vol. 7. Hannover, 1846. P. 473.

¹⁶ *Bur M.* La formation du Comté de Champagne (v. 950 — v. 1150). Thèse de doctorat. Nancy, 1977. P. 256–257.

Saint-Thierry in the 11th century

When Remigius, archbishop of Reims, founded a small monastic community several miles away from his residence, it was nearly impossible to imagine that this establishment would become such an important and vibrant centre in Champagne. Owing to William of Saint-Thierry (1080–1148), the cloister would also spread its cultural influence to the whole Medieval West¹⁷. The early history of the community is obscure, and almost everything we know about the abbey at that time comes from hagiographical texts: two versions of *Vita Sancti Theoderici*¹⁸ and the *Vita sancti Theodulfi*¹⁹. These documents allow us to understand that throughout the first five centuries of its history monastic life continued without interruption, and the foundation developed a strong identity based on a well-established cult of Saint-Thierry²⁰. Moreover, the community preserved old monastic traditions going back to the idea of monasticism of the 4th and 5th century; this idiosyncrasy played an important role in the self-representation of members of the community and shaped the unity and continuity of the abbey's history through its many troubles and tribulations. The ordeals of the 10th century constitute, however, a clear rupture in the history of the cloister. In 937, the abbey was victim to a disastrous Hungarian raid when the monastery was pillaged and burned down. Later in the century it was rebuilt but, unfortunately, never fully recovered²¹. It was only after reorganizing and adopting a more structured monastic tradition based on the Benedictine rule that a new period of the abbey's history began.

The disastrous Hungarian raid on the monastery created a rich soil in which to sow reform, an enterprise carried out by two archbishops of Reims: first, by Hugo (925–948) and later continued by his two successors, Artaud (931–960) and Adalberon (969–989). The latter was perhaps the most ardent driver of reform. During the years of his episcopate, he reorganized numerous communities in the diocese of Reims and imposed the Rule of St Benedict. Adalberon was a most methodical reformer. Rather than reorganize the entire diocese, this Lotharingian chose quite a different approach, which can be described as 'imperial': his reform consisted of consolidating established and relatively powerful monasteries. In other words, smaller communities were systematically placed under the control of bigger ones.

The fact that Saint-Thierry was among the communities that Adalberon decided to reform rather than incorporate into a large community was almost accidental. Religious life in Saint-Thierry had been in a deep decline for several decades after the catastrophe of 937.

¹⁷ For a detailed account of the early history of Saint-Thierry see: *Hourlier J. Le monastère de Saint-Thierry aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e. P. 18–38.*

¹⁸ There are two versions of the *vita*. The first (BHL 8059) was published by Jean Mabillon. See: *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti, occidentalium monachorum patriarchae, in quibus non modo res monasticae sed etiam ecclesiasticae historiae non minima pars continetur. Vol. 1. Paris, 1703. P. 681 sqq.* — The second version (BHL 8060) was published later by Bollandists. See: *Acta sanctorum julii, ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium monumentis, servata primigenia veterum scriptorum phrasi. Vol. 1. Antwerp, 1719. P. 59–85.*

¹⁹ As well as the *Vita Sancti Theoderici*, this text exists in two versions: BHL 8097 (*Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti. Vol. 1. Paris, 1668. P. 346*) and BHL 8098-8099 (*Acta sanctorum maii collecta. Vol. 1. Antwerp, 1680. P. 94–99*).

²⁰ *Hourlier J. Le monastère de Saint-Thierry aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne. P. 38.*

²¹ *Floardoard: 1) Historia Ecclesiae Remensis // Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in Folio). Vol. 13. Hannover, 1881. Cap. I, 25; IV, 21, 29; 2) Annales // Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in Folio). Vol. 3. Hannover, 1839. S. a. 937.*

The possessions of the monastery were usurped by local powerful elites, and spiritual life faded under secular abbots more interested in their personal affairs. It was by pure chance that Adalberon gained control over Saint-Thierry in 972²² and worked quickly to embark on a fully-fledged reform of the community. Over the following four years, he completely reorganised the monastic life in the community and crowned this achievement with the translation of Saint-Thierry's relics in 976. This solemn ceremony was attended by the king, who presented the reformed abbey with a generous gift. In order to secure economic and administrative independence to the reorganised abbey, Adalberon renounced the abbacy of Saint-Thierry and endowed the community with part of an archiepiscopal domain: Athies in Vermandois²³.

The reform and reestablishment of the cult of Saint-Thierry radically changed the life of the community, both spiritually and materially. Active construction works²⁴ and organisation of a flourishing *scriptorium*²⁵ suggest that the economic situation of the abbey was stable, though we cannot reconstruct it in full detail because of the scarcity in sources. There are only four documents (including the above discussed *mention d'acte*) which report the history of monastery possessions at that time: a charter of Lothar from 974²⁶, a bull of John XVIII (1008/9)²⁷, two of Henri I's charters, the first allegedly dating from 1049²⁸, and the second, discussed above. The pontifical bull confirms the independent status of the monastery; however, though it confirms the monastery's privileges, immunities, and its liberty from archbishops of Reims, it does not specify the abbey's rights or possessions²⁹.

It is obvious, however, that in this period of relative economic prosperity, the abbey consolidated its property, first the surrounding territory, then expanding elsewhere. Even before the reform, the abbey held Marzelle³⁰, and Adalberon granted the abbey with Athies in Vermandois³¹. Villers-Franqueux, the property that is the object of the dispute discussed in this article, is considered to be another 'early' possession of Saint-Thierry, even though the circumstances and date of its acquisition are unknown. The abbey's later

²² *Bur M. Saint-Thierry et le renouveau monastique dans le diocèse de Reims au Xe siècle // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e. P. 43.*

²³ *Historia monasterii mosomensis // Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in Folio). Vol. 14. Hannover, 1833. P. 616. — Monks, however, presented this donation as the gift of Lothar (954–986). See: Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954–987) / eds L. Halphen, F. Lot. Paris, 1908. P. 149, numéro 63.*

²⁴ The church of the abbey was reconstructed under abbot Dominic († 1022) in the first decades of the 11th century. See: *Prache A. Architecture et sculpture romaines a Saint-Thierry: leur rapport avec le milieu remois // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle. P. 66.*

²⁵ *Laffitte M.-P. Esquisse d'une bibliothèque médiévale. P. 76.*

²⁶ See note 23.

²⁷ Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. 1602. Fol. 386v — 387v.

²⁸ *Catalogue des actes d'Henri I^{er}. P. 87, n. 83.*

²⁹ 'Omnia ergo villae scilicet agri, molendini, furni, familiae, omnia in qua praedicto coenobio a fidelibus data et in futuras retro generationes danda libera et inviolate permanente, ita ut neque archiepiscopus neque comes neque vicecomes neque aliqua ecclesiastica vel saecularis persona ipsi eidemque caenobio aliaquam violentiam vel injustitiam inferre praesumat [...]' (Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. 1602. Fol. 387r).

³⁰ 'Fratres coenobii sancti Theodorici [...] de villa quadam que dicitur Marzella [...] reclamantes victui eorum injuste eam esse substractam [...] ut nullus deinceps episcopus vel abbas ad usum suum vel beneficium eam praesumat accipere' (Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France / ed. by P. Lauer. Paris, 1949. P. 272–273, note CXV).

³¹ See note 24.

thirteenth-century cartulary does not record this information³², but it does help to understand that control over this estate was very important to the abbey. First of all, Villers-Franqueux was situated in immediate proximity to the monastery, a little bit further from Reims than the abbey itself. Second, in this village, Saint-Thierry not only just held agricultural lands but also enjoyed seigniorial rights, controlled immovables (mills, etc.), and had additional revenue from the village church. There was only one other property where the abbey enjoyed the same diversity of rights and privileges: Athies in Vermandois granted by Archbishop Adalberon, the reformer of the abbey. Thus, it is clear why Saint-Thierry was so interested in maintaining its control over Villers-Franqueux. Obviously, Villers-Franqueux was an essential part of the domain of the abbey and constituted one of its cores. Yet, unlike Marzelle or Athies, there is no clear indication of when the abbey acquired this property.

Michel Bur asserted that this “old” property was acquired by the abbey around 1000, without providing the exact source of this knowledge³³. Seemingly, Bur’s vision was based on the account of the corresponding volume of *Gallia Christiana*. Its authors also did not provide a clear reference, but they did leave an unambiguous indication of the source from which they drew this knowledge. From what they wrote — that the property was granted to the abbey by a Flemish knight named Thierry³⁴ — it can be deduced that they described this episode of the abbey’s history based on a hagiographical fragment (number 8067 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*), one of Saint-Thierry’s miracles (BHL 8067) published by the Bollandists in 1719³⁵.

The donation of Villers-Franqueux

This short hagiographic piece was first published by the Bollandists. Their publication was based on a Saint-Thierry manuscript which they discovered among the so-called *codices Reginenses latini* (BAV, Reg. lat.), a collection whose core was of French origin. It was assembled by Jean Bourdelot († 1638), an ardent bibliophile and lawyer in the Parliament of Paris. After his death, the immense number of books he collected throughout his life were passed to his nephew, Pierre Michon-Bourdelot, who practiced medicine as his primary occupation but shared his uncle’s passion for written culture and continued his enterprise. Pierre’s career led him to the court of Christina, Queen of Sweden, one of the most learned women of the time. She was fond of the arts and books and eventually bought the entire Bourdelots’ collection. After her scandalous abdication, conversion to Catholicism, and exile to Rome, most of her books ended up in the pontifical library³⁶ where they constituted one of its biggest collections, *codices Reginenses*³⁷.

³² Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. 1602. About this document see: *Neouze D.* Le temporel de l’abbaye de Saint-Thierry du X^e au XIII^e siècle // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle. P. 51–71.

³³ *Bur M.* Saint-Thierry et le renouveau monastique. P. 45.

³⁴ *Gallia christiana*. Vol. 9. Paris, 1751. Col. 185.

³⁵ BHL 8067: *Acta sanctorum julii*. Vol. 1. Col. 81.

³⁶ Christina bequeathed her library to Cardinal Diecio Azzolini, but he died shortly after the queen. His nephew, Pompeio Azzolini sold the collection to the then Cardinal Ottoboni, future Pope Alexander VIII († 1691). It was him who donated most part of Christina’s books to the *Biblioteca Apostolica* where they formed *Reginenses* collection. The remaining volumes entered the library in 1740 (mostly *Ottoboniani*).

³⁷ For more details about the history of the collection, see: *Bignami Odier J.* Le Fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque vaticane // *Studi e testi*. 1962. Vol. 219. P. 159–189.

It was within this corpus of manuscripts that the Bollandists found a witness BHL 8067 ('Ex Ms. Reg. Sueciae, in 4, num. 1456'³⁸, as Bollandists referenced it, nowadays — Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 466). Preparing their new edition³⁹ of the *Miracles of Saint Thierry* (BHL 8066), initially published by Jean Mabillon in 1668 in the first volume of the *Acta sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*⁴⁰, the Bollandists added the newly-found piece BHL 8067 to the series of miracles printed by Mabillon.

BHL 8067 (reproduced in Annexe 2) tells a story of a Flemish knight who once set off on a pilgrimage to Rome⁴¹. On his way to Italy, he passed through Saint-Thierry, where he fully enjoyed the hospitality of the brethren. On his return home, he decided to visit the abbey again. While his companions were praying in the church of Saint-Thierry, he suddenly went insane and began to run around in a senseless fury. Wandering unconsciously in the vicinity of Reims, he entered Saint-Remi but could not calm down. He was then removed from the church by his companions and led to Saint-Thierry, where he was locked for five weeks. One night, Saint Thierry appeared to Thierry the knight in a dream. In the morning, the knight came to consciousness newly inspired. As a token of gratitude for his recovery, he bought Villers-Franqueux from its local owners and granted it to the monastery.

This legend is the sole document relating to the acquisition of Villers-Franqueux by Saint-Thierry. The date of this piece is, however, rather difficult to establish because the corpus of texts to which it logically belongs, the *Miracula sancti Theoderici* (BHL 8066), has a notoriously difficult history; moreover, the legend about Thierry the knight (BHL 8067), while being logically related to the *Miracula*, somehow remains 'exterior' to this corpus of texts, as its manuscript tradition shows.

BHL 8067 and the *Miracula sancti Theoderici*

The *Miracula sancti Theoderici* (BHL 8066) is a series of 37 short stories about Saint-Thierry's miraculous interventions that largely focussed on his miracles of healing⁴².

In the first edition presented in 1668 in the first volume of the *Acta sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* by Jean Mabillon, the editor provides his readers with only 17 miracles, claiming that 'less important [miracles] are omitted'⁴³. In 1719, a new Bollandist re-edition of the *Miracula* within the *Acta sanctorum* describes the same 17 miracles divided into 35 paragraphs and supplemented with an eighteenth miracle⁴⁴. One of these, recited above (BHL 8067), describes the miraculous healing of Thierry the knight from his sudden mental illness.

Both editions present, however, a mere selection from the entire corpus of the miracles, as in the three manuscripts of the *Miracula* mentioned by Nicolas Hyghebaert⁴⁵;

³⁸ The manuscript is mentioned in Montfaucon's inventory of the *Reginenses: Montfaucon B. de. Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum* nova. Paris, 1739. P.43, n. 1308.

³⁹ *Acta sanctorum julii*. Vol. 1. Col. 82.

⁴⁰ *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1668. P.622–632.

⁴¹ See the annexe 2.

⁴² The history of this hagiographic collection is summarized in: *Huyghebaert N. Les Miracula sancti Theoderici et leurs auteurs // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle*. P.245–257.

⁴³ *Vide supra* note 42. "In quibus miraculis nonnulla minus utilia praetermissa sunt" (*Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1668. P.622).

⁴⁴ *Acta sanctorum julii*. Vol. 1. Col. 72–82.

⁴⁵ Paris. BNF. Lat. 5612 (first half of the 12th century); Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. 1410 (fol. CCLXII, 13th century); Douai. Bibliothèque municipale. 295 (fol. 49, 12th century).

the *Miracula* contain as many as 37 stories which together constitute what we know as BHL 8066.

The text of the Miracles represents a rather heterogeneous corpus. Nonetheless, Mabillon, and later the Bollandists, believed that it was the work of a single twelfth-century author called Adalgisus⁴⁶. It was only in the 20th century that scholars finally discerned on the basis of the style, lexicon, and content of different parts of the *Miracles*, multiple textual layers in the *Miracula*⁴⁷, suggesting that they go back to the early Carolingian or even Late Merovingian era⁴⁸.

In its present form — comprised of 37 miracles, only 17 of which were presented in Mabillon's edition, who actually made an arbitrary selection of the miracles — this corpus is the result of several generations of authors working between the Carolingian era and the 12th century. As for Adalgisus, to whom Mabillon attributed the entire work, he was not a twelfth-century author of the collection, but rather, as his name suggests⁴⁹, a late Carolingian editor who revised and supplemented a corpus of existing texts⁵⁰. His work embraced the first 27 miracles. Later, around 1100, seven more miracles were added. This corpus underwent further revision in the first quarter of the 12th century, when it was reworked by a certain Alard who added the last 3 miracles⁵¹.

Two additional miracles make the entire history of the *Miracula* even more complicated. These additional miracles cannot be connected with either of the aforementioned stages in the formation of the text. The first of them is the already-discussed history of the acquisition of Villers-Franqueux (BHL 8067), the second is BHL 8067a⁵². It has nothing to do with Villers-Franqueux but contains an explicit date, 1167. These two pieces are 'independent' from the main corpus of the *Miracula sancti Theoderici*. Therefore, the only way to establish the date of the BHL 8067, which is of crucial interest to us, is to look at the manuscript tradition, which may give some indication of when this miracle could have been written.

The date of BHL 8067

As previously mentioned, the Bollandists published the miracle resulting in the donation of Villers-Franqueux (BHL 8067) based on the Saint-Thierry manuscript now kept in the Vatican: Vatican, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 466 (fol. 64v). There is, however, at least one more witness, though mutilated at the end, which preserves the same text: Reims, Biblio-

⁴⁶ This opinion was based on the paragraphs 27–31 of the *Miracula*. This fragment of the text tells a story of a miraculous healing of a Flemish cleric Egardus after he has venerated Saint Thierry's relics which were translated to Flanders in the aftermath of the visit to Saint-Thierry of the count of Flanders, Robert (1093–1111), and his sister Adele somewhere at the end of 1080s. As a token of his gratitude, he decided to become a monk at Saint-Thierry; this latter event took place, according to the 17th miracle, in 1123, which gave Mabillon and Bollandists a chronological reference: "anno verbi pro nobis humanati M C XXXIII habitu monachi indutus" (Acta sanctorum julii. Vol. 1. Col. 79d).

⁴⁷ Huyghebaert N. Les Miracula sancti Theoderici et leurs auteurs // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e. P. 248–249.

⁴⁸ Ibid. P. 248.

⁴⁹ As Huyghebaert has shown, this name was not used in the 12th century, although it had been quite popular in the around 1000 (Ibid. P. 247–248).

⁵⁰ The traces of the collection that was at Adalgisus disposal are known as BHL 8061–8064.

⁵¹ Huyghebaert N. Les Miracula sancti Theoderici et leurs auteurs. P. 249.

⁵² Appendix // Analecta Bollandiana. 1901. Vol. 20. P. 426.

thèque municipale, MS 1407 (fol. 123r-v), also from Saint-Thierry⁵³. The history and nature of these two codices is of great importance as they demonstrate how the community of Saint-Thierry sought to strengthen its connection with the estate of Villers-Franqueux. The two manuscripts, both unquestionably created in Saint-Thierry, as their writing suggests, held a special place in the community library; both were hagiographical collections containing texts about the patron saints of the abbey, Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thierry.

The Saint-Thierry collections participated in a widespread medieval practice of producing hagiographical collections of saints' lives and the miracles of local patrons⁵⁴. Such collections played an important role in forging the identity of a monastic community and in shaping and maintaining saints' cults; these cults were often one of the most important elements of a monastery's collective self-representation and a solid basis for their influence. A well-organized cult would allow a monastery to establish stable connections with powerful dynasties and clans, attract donations, and thus contribute to a monastery's economic and even political power. In other words, there is nothing uncommon in the creation of the Saint-Thierry collections. However, the interest the brethren of Saint-Thierry had in their saint patrons is remarkable. As many as four similar collections seem to have been produced in Saint-Thierry during a relatively short period of time, whereas most houses produced only one exemplar.

In addition to the two codices from the Vatican, Reims and Douai, another surviving manuscript from Saint-Thierry contains a collection of texts dedicated to the monastery's patron saints: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 5612. The existence of a fifth manuscript is suggested by a flyleaf found in the binding of Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 80; this isolated fragment of a now lost codex once belonged to a similar collection of hagiographical materials related to the patron saints of Saint-Thierry⁵⁵. Another manuscript, a slightly later one, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1410 is slightly later, and it is not a thematic collection *stricto sensu* as it contains not only the *vitae* of Saint-Thierry's patron saints but many more hagiographic texts arranged in liturgical order.

Among these five (or even six) codices, Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 466⁵⁶, and Reims, BM, 1407⁵⁷ are the earliest⁵⁸ and the only to contain the donation of Villers-Franqueux⁵⁹. In both codices, BHL 8067 is posterior to the principal text.

⁵³ 1407. Liber legendarum et homiliarum, ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Theoderici. URL: <https://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/ark:/06871/004D38C12863> (accessed: 08.09.2022); Poulin J.-C. Les libelli dans l'édition hagiographique avant le XII^e siècle // Livrets, collections et textes. Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine / ed. by M. Heinzelmänn. Ostfildern, 2006. P. 71; Città del Vaticano. BAV. Reg. Lat. 466.

⁵⁴ The Cambridge history of medieval monasticism in the Latin West / eds A. I. Beach, I. Cochelin. Cambridge, 2020. P. 672–675. For a detailed and classic case-study see: Philippart G. Hagiographies locale, régionale, diocésaine, universelle. Les hagiographies du saint patron dans l'air belge du X^e s. // Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch. 1989. Vol. 24/25. P. 355–367.

⁵⁵ Dolbeau F. Typologie et formation des collections hagiographiques d'après les recueils de l'abbaye de Saint-Thierry // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e. P. 163–164.

⁵⁶ The copy of BHL 8067 is on fol. 64v.

⁵⁷ The copy of BHL 8067 is on fol. 123r-v.

⁵⁸ The Vatican copy goes back to 10th–11th centuries.

⁵⁹ Città del Vaticano. BAV. Reg. Lat. 466. Fol. 64v; Reims. BM. 1407. Fol. 123r-v.

The manuscript from Reims⁶⁰ is a composite codex⁶¹, bound in the Late Middle Ages, whose core codicological unit containing Saint-Thierry's and Saint Bartholomew's *vitae* (fol. 3–107) seems to date from the middle of the 11th century⁶². The story of Thierry the knight and the sermon were transcribed alongside the translation of Saint-Thierry's relics⁶³ and belong to another codicological unit (fol. 108r-123v) which was added to the codex⁶⁴. As the second translation of relics took place on 19 April 1071⁶⁵, it provides us with a clear *terminus post quem*. The palaeography of this codicological unit corroborates this assumption: the addition seems to have been made either well into the second half of the 11th or even the 12th century (Fig. 2)⁶⁶.

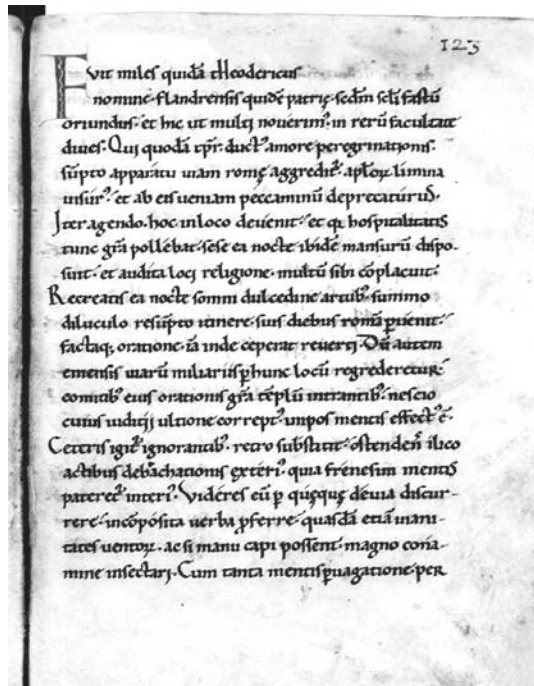


Fig. 2. Reims. BM. 1407. Fol. 123r.

Source: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes // Bibliothèque Virtuelle des Manuscrits Médiévaux. Available at: bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr (accessed: 08.09.2022)

⁶⁰ A scanned microfilm of the manuscript is accessible at the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux (accessed: 24.06.2021).

⁶¹ Parchment, 268 × 195 mm, 183 fol. Collation: I (12th century): fol. 1r-2v; II (11th century): fol. 3r-107v; III (12th century): fol. 103r-123v; IV (12th century): fol. 124r-131v; V (13th century): fol. 132r-183v.

⁶² The history of the scriptorium in Saint-Thierry was thoroughly studied by Marie-Pierre Laffitte, who also established an absolute and relative chronology of the preserved manuscripts created in this centre: *Laffitte M.-P. Esquisse d'une bibliothèque médiévale*. P. 89–100. For a more extensive presentation see the *thèse* of the same author: *Laffitte M.-P. La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Saint-Thierry de Reims (970–1225)*. Paris, 1969.

⁶³ Fol. 108r-122v.

⁶⁴ The second codicological unit comprises fol. 108r-123v; BHL 8067 is on 123r-v.

⁶⁵ *Porrier-Coutansais F. Les abbayes bénédictines du diocèse de Reims: Gallia monastica*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1974. P. 148.

⁶⁶ *Laffitte M.-P. La bibliothèque et le scriptorium*. P. 97.

The copy of BHL 8067 in the manuscript now kept in the Vatican is even later than the Reims manuscript⁶⁷. The structure of the Vatican codex is also quite complicated. Its core (folios 1r-16v, 26r-63v, 66r-78v)⁶⁸ was probably created in the 10th, possibly the turn of the 11th century but was substantially supplemented in the 11th–12th centuries. Although its current binding, made during the pontificate of Alexander VIII Borgia (1689–1691), does not allow us to make any conclusions about the exact structure of the codex in the 11th–12th centuries, scholars who studied the library of Saint-Thierry in depth do not question the fact that the composite is no later than 12th century⁶⁹. The addition in which BHL 8067 was copied is written on two parchment leaves added between folios 63v and 66r, i. e., between two parts of the core manuscript. The addition was made in the 12th century and can be dated between 1137 and 1180; the hand responsible for the writing added, ‘Henricus rex (i. e. Henri I of France, 1027–1060) pater hujus Philippi (i. e. Philip I of France, 1060–1108); Philippus pater Ludovici (i. e. Louis VI, 1108–1137), Ludovicus autem pater Ludovici regis praesentis (i. e. Louis VII, 1137–1180)’ (Fig. 3)⁷⁰.

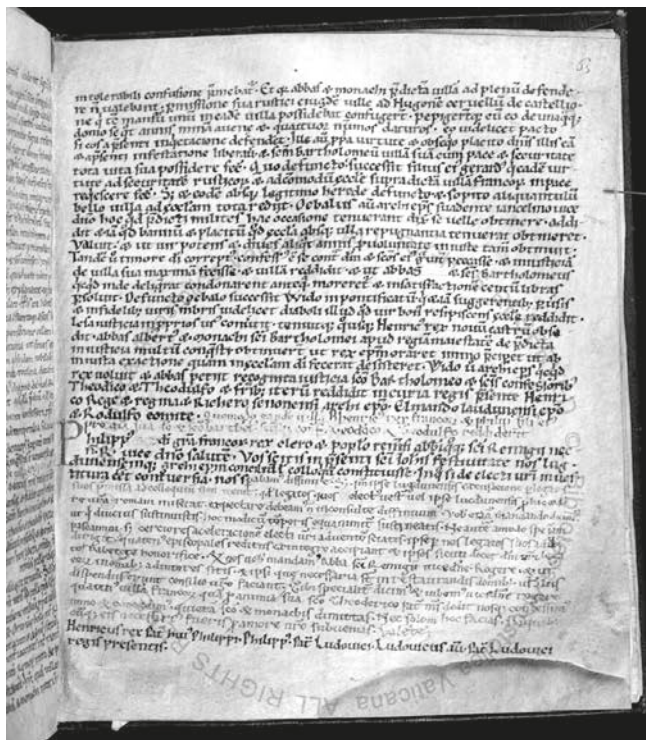


Fig. 3. Città del Vaticano. BAV. Reg. MS Lat. 466. Fol. 65r.
Source: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Available at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.466/0133 (accessed: 08.09.2022)

⁶⁷ For an extensive description of the manuscripts see *Wilmart A. Codices Regenses Latini. Vol. 2. P. 621–625.*

⁶⁸ Fol. 1r-16v, 26r-63v, 66r-78v.

⁶⁹ *Laffitte M.-P. La bibliothèque et le scriptorium. P. 100; Dolbeau F. Typologie et formation des collections hagiographiques. P. 163, note 26.*

⁷⁰ Città del Vaticano. BAV. Reg. Lat. 466. Fol. 65r.

Therefore, both known copies of the BHL 8067 are late, and there is no evidence that this piece existed before the late 11th century; one should thus be extremely cautious in trying to date the acquisition of Villers-Franqueux based on this piece. The suggested date of the acquisition of Villers-Franqueux “around 1000” does not seem to be supported by any convincing evidence. Therefore, it is necessary to look for other evidence to reconstruct the circumstances in which BHL 8067 could be created. Seemingly, the much needed hint is provided by the physical and intellectual structure of the Vatican manuscript.

BHL 8067: an example of “cartularized hagiography”

Indeed, the content of the codex from the Vatican and the way it is presented are particularly insightful for our investigation. As mentioned above, the manuscript is a complex, composite collection of hagiographic and liturgical texts comprising several codicological units⁷¹. For this reason, the initial structure of the codex is somewhat concealed by later additions. The intention of the codex in its initial form (folios 1r-16v, 26r-63v, 66r-78v) is obvious: it was conceived as a series of lives, miracles, and hymns very similar to Reims, BM, MS 1407 as all the texts are dedicated to the patron saints of the monastery: Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thierry⁷². In the course of time, however, the initial collection was rebound and supplemented with many other writings on separate leaves and quires, but it always preserved its focus on Saint Thierry and Saint Bartholomew.

In the Vatican codex, BHL 8067 is copied on a bifolium inserted into the oldest part of the manuscript; the addition is made between fol. 63v and 66r. The scribe (and binder) of the codex tried to present the added texts as an integral part of the collection copying it in a way that they continue the narration. The additional folios are placed right after a series of three miracles starting on the fol. 60v⁷³; thus, the miracle described in the BHL 8067 continues the series that begin in the original part of the manuscript⁷⁴. Obviously, this particular intervention was made for a specific purpose which becomes clear when other texts transcribed on the same bifolium are analysed.

Along with the story of donation of Villers-Franqueux, there is a second the second (unknown to Soehnée but mentioned by Wilmart) copy of the record of Henri's intervention into the dispute around Villers-Franqueux⁷⁵ and the only known copy of the charter of Philip I concerning the estate⁷⁶. In other words, the bifolium added (fol. 64–65) to the oldest part of the Vatican manuscript recapitulated all documents concerning Vil-

⁷¹ Parchment, 121 fol. Collation: I: 10th/11th century, fol. 1–16, 26–63, 66–82 (but fol. 78v — 82v, originally empty, were later written by a 12th — century hand); II: 12th century, fol. 17–25; IV: 1137–1180, fol. 64–65; VI: 11th century, fol. 83–100; VII: 11th century, fol. 101–121. — For more details see Wilmart's catalogue (note 9).

⁷² Fol. 1r — 16r: *Vita* of Saint Bartholomew; fol. 26v — 60r: *Vita beatissimis Theoderici abbatis*; fol. 60v-63r: two Saint Thierry's miracles; fol. 66r — 78v: *Vita Theodulfi abbati*.

⁷³ Anno ab incarnationis dominicae DCCCLXXXVIII hoc factum est miraculum... Inc.: ... Desidia igitur plurimorum (= BHL 8064, for edition see: *Acta sanctorum julii*. Vol. 1. Col. 70d sq.). End abruptly due to the loss of a leaf: *expl.*: ...sospitate posita (sic!) recessit. Caecus [...]

⁷⁴ On fol. 64r-v one also finds the so-called *Visio Raduini*, a very short text inserted before the BHL 8067 (inc.: *Cum Ebo archiepiscopus Remensis...*; *expl.*: ... *evigilavit repente*; published by Holder-Egger *O. Bericht über eine Reise nach Italien 1885 // Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*. 1886. Vol. 11. P.262–263).

⁷⁵ Fol. 64v-65r.

⁷⁶ *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}*. Vol. 1. P.416–417.

lers-Franqueux: BHL 8067, followed by Henri's charter, and, finally, Philipp I's letter. This interesting addition, as mentioned above, was made somewhere between 1137 and 1180.

Two pieces of documentary evidence — the records of Henri's and Philip's interventions — were logically related to the miracle story which happened to Thierry the knight. The reason why all these documents could have been added to a manuscript containing the lives and miracles of the monastery's patron saints also seems to be quite clear. As well as Reims, BM, MS 1407, Reg. Lat. 466 was a particularly important codex in the monastery's library as it contained the hagiographical texts that played a significant role in shaping the identity of Saint-Thierry's brethren. By placing some official documents (at least, pretendedly) in such a codex, the brethren of Saint-Thierry sought to strengthen the facts reported in both charters. In this way, they emphasised that the monastery paid to acquire Villers-Franqueux⁷⁷. From the Saint-Thierry scribes' point of view, the charter material transmitted within such "sacred" manuscripts must be particularly valuable.

The miraculous story describing the donation of Villers-Franqueux (BHL 8067) and immediately preceding two charters in the Vatican manuscript can hence be considered as an example of "cartularized hagiography": a reproduction, as a hagiographical fragment, of the information normally transmitted in charters (no matter authentic or forged). Such a use of hagiography — in order to articulate the needs and the interests of a community — was not Saint-Thierry's novelty and was quite common in monastic institutions in the High Middle Ages⁷⁸. This peculiar production, placed against juridical materials and especially later cartularies, is often judged unfavourably, especially when later cartularies preserve what was presented as exact copies of a charter. It was, however, a completely different genre which was much closer to history than to a charter collection in the proper sense of the word. We do not know whether the miraculous story describing the donation of Villers-Franqueux was based on a charter that was lost. It is possible, since the text alludes to the names the alleged owners of Villers-Franqueux. These names contain some real toponyms suggesting that they could be genuine: 'Tebaldo scilicet patre Fulcridi, Tecelina de Cantamerla⁷⁹, Rodulfo et Joanna de Ham⁸⁰, Rainero de Geldum'. As for

⁷⁷ On how monastic communities enhanced the value of diplomatic sources by integrating them into hagiographical texts see: *Mazeure N.* Le Codex Stabulensis et la récréation du passé à Stavelot-Malmédy à la fin du X^e siècle. P. 863–896.

⁷⁸ The bibliography of presentation of 'charter material' in the form of historical or hagiographic narrative is extensive. For a concise state-of-the-art synthesis, see: *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval. Transformations formelles et idéologiques* / eds M. Goulet, M. Heinzemann. Sigmaringen, 2003; *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques* / ed. by M. Goulet. Turnhout, 2005. About the role of charters in community memory see: *Declercq G.* Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (9th–11th Centuries) // *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*. Brepols, 2000. P. 147–170, especially p. 160; *Morelle L.* La mise en « œuvre » des actes diplomatiques. L'auctoritas des chartes chez quelques historiographes monastiques (IXe–Xe siècle) // *Auctor et auctoritas: invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*. Paris, 2001. P. 73–96. One of the most prominent example of "cartularized hagiography" in the middle of the 11th century is probably a Breton abbey of Landévennec: *Smith J. M. H.* Oral and Written // *Speculum*. 1990. Vol. 65, issue 2. P. 309–343, especially p. 317–322. The "circularization" of another genre, letters, see, for example: *Sirantoine H.* Letters in Iberian cartularies (12th–13th centuries) // *La lettre diplomatique: Écriture anassépistolaire et actes de la pratique dans l'Occident latin médiéval*. Madrid, 2018. P. 151–170.

⁷⁹ Probably, Chantemerle, a commune in the Marne department in North-Eastern France. For medieval references, see: *Stein H.* Dictionnaire topographique du département de Seine-et-Marne. Paris, 1954. P. 99.

⁸⁰ Most probably, Ham, nowadays a commune in the Somme department in northern France. This toponym is mentioned several times in medieval documents. For references see: *Garnier J.* Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Somme. Vol. 1. [S.l.], 1867. P. 453.

the existence of this charter and the miracle story, there is no evidence that they existed before the second half of the 11th century. Both documents with the surviving text of BHL 8067 date, at the earliest, from the third quarter of the 11th century. Although two toponyms associated with the listed persons can be located, the individuals themselves are not identifiable.

Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the legend and circumstances of the donation described in the miracle are actually a forgery. Moreover, it might have even been posterior to the record of Henri's intervention. If this miraculous story had existed when the record of Henri's judgement was created, it probably would have been mentioned in the *mention d'acte* dealing with the dispute over the estate. The story of the donation in gratitude for the patron saint of the monastery for his miraculous intervention would have been powerful evidence in the dispute. The charter, however, instead of referring to the miraculous story and the donation, appeals vaguely to some 'authentic and ancient privileges' (pontifical bull?) of the monastery. It is highly likely that the miraculous story, which appeared, as I hope to have demonstrated, no earlier than the end of the 11th century, did not exist when the monks of Saint-Thierry were recording Henri's intervention.

There is another argument, although a situational one, that supports the hypothesis that the miracle is a quite late production: the circumstances described in BHL 8067 have slight parallels with events that actually took place in the last decade of the 11th century and were even described in the *Miracula*⁸¹. This is the story of the grant to Saint-Thierry made by Adèle, widow of Canute IV the Holy of Denmark, and sister of the count of Flanders, Robert (1093–1111)⁸².

In 1092, Robert accompanied his sister to Italy, to Apulia, where Adèle was proposed marriage by Roger I Borsa (1085–1111), the Duke of Apulia and Calabria. On their way to Italy, they passed through Saint-Thierry and enjoyed the hospitality of the brethren. In order to thank the monks, and in commemoration of her late husband, Adèle decided to grant the community the Harlebeke forest; this became the first Flemish possession of Saint-Thierry. The donation is confirmed by a charter preserved in the cartulary of the abbey⁸³. The two narrations have obvious parallels: Flemish nobles, a trip to Italy, hospitality of the brethren, and, finally, a donation made as a token of gratitude. It is true that the story of Thierry the knight also has an important dimension of rivalry between two saints, Saint Remigius, patron saint of Reims Cathedral, and Saint Thierry, patron of Saint-Thierry. However, this motif is neatly tied to a story which is suspiciously similar to the narration about Adèle's trip.

Is it possible the events of the 1090s inspired the story of Thierry's recovery and of the donation of Villers-Franqueux? The visit of a widow-queen and the count of Flanders had certainly impressed the community as this event was thoroughly described a generation later, in the so-called *Dicta domini Alardi*, the last substantial addition to the *Miracles of*

⁸¹ According to Bollandists edition, *Miraculum de Egardo sacerdote sanato* (number 15), paragraphs 27–31 (*Acta sanctorum julii*).

⁸² The only detailed account of this event is provided in the third and last addition to the *Miracles of Saint Thierry*. This addition was made between 1120 and 1126 by Alard, a monk of Saint-Thier who carried out a new revision of the *Miracles*. The visit is described in paragraphs 27–31 (*Acta sanctorum julii*. Cols. 78–79).

⁸³ Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. 1602. Fol. 214r–215v. See also: *Marlot G. Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule Belgique*. Vol. 2. Reims, 1843. P. 182.

Saint Thierry made after 1123⁸⁴. Before this major revision, the same events could have inspired the creation of a smaller text, the BHL 8067.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the plot of the miracle story describing the acquisition of Villers-Franqueux might allude to an event that took place at the end of the 11th century. It echoes the visit of Adèle and the donation of the forest at Harlebeke, both well-established facts. The story of the donation of Villers-Franqueux could have been tailored on the same pattern in order to justify the possession of the estate by the monastic community of Saint-Thierry.

Three documents, three stages of the property dispute

The previous analysis enables to suggest the following reconstruction of the long-lasting property dispute over Villers-Franqueux. The three documents placed on the additional leaf of Reg. Lat. 466 (fol. 64–65) — the miracle story and two charters — appear to have noted three consecutive attempts by the community to justify the ownership of the estate that lay along the walls of the monastery but whose legal status was not regularized.

From the monastic community's point of view, the village adjacent to the monastery's territory was inseparable from the abbey's domain. In the second half of the turbulent 11th century, these claims required confirmation when the interests of the community collided with those of the archbishop of Reims. This "proof" was forged by the community in several phases.

The first is the record of Henri's intervention. This document was aimed at placing the rights of Saint-Thierry over Villers-Franqueux within the local context; it refers to the conflict between Saint-Thierry, on the one hand, and the archbishops of Reims, on the other. The forgery is pronouncedly "realistic" and tries to relate Saint-Thierry's claims to well-known events (the siege of Neufchâtel in 1049). The immediate reason for this document to be written might be the clash with the Archbishop of Reims Guy who acted in the best interest of his family and at expense of Saint-Thierry⁸⁵. As we know from an original charter of 1053⁸⁶, Guy was actively involved in the relationship between his nephew, Count Manassès the Bald (*Manasses Calvus*), and the most important religious community in Reims, Saint-Remi. In 1053, the Abbot Herimarus of Saint-Remi asked Count Manassès, a vidame (*vicedominus*, secular official to administrate archiepiscopal domain) of his uncle, Archbishop Guy, to cede the abbey a small lot of his land entirely surrounded by monastery's estates⁸⁷. Manassès did not want to lose the property, but pressure from his uncle persuaded him to concede to the abbot's demands. The affair of Villers-Franqueux, its seizure "at the instigation of some perverted men"⁸⁸, could have been directly related to the events of 1053. The beneficiary of the seizure could have been Manassès, someone whom Guy wanted to compensate for the loss and concession of the land granted to Saint-

⁸⁴ The account, however, contains some errors: for example, it affirms that Adèle was betrothed to "dux Siculorum" and not with the Duke of Apulia.

⁸⁵ On Guy's relationship to Manassès see: *Demouy P.* Genèse d'une cathédrale. N° 26. P. 607.

⁸⁶ Acte 33. Manassès le Chauve, vidame de Reims, pour l'Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (Reims, AD Marne, 56 H 833. URL: <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/> (accessed: 08.09.2022).

⁸⁷ "...immixta erat ipsa terra reliquis terris sancti Remigii" (Acte 33).

⁸⁸ "Defuncto Oebalo, successit Wido in pontificatum, qui etiam *suggerentibus perversis et infidelibus viris membris videlicet diaboli* illud quod vir bonus respiscens ecclesiae reddidit lesa iustitia in proprios usus convertit..." (see: Annexe 1).

Remi in exchange of a weighty annual rent. Obviously, the brethren of Saint-Thierry were unhappy with the fact that Guy was trying to recompensate his nephew at their expense; thus, they tried to reclaim their right over Villers-Franqueux. They might have made up a document appealing to the royal authority. For this reason, I suggest that it would be legitimate to consider 1053 as a *terminus post quem* for the document.

However, the first document was not enough to resolve the dispute, and, several decades later in the 1090s, and probably on the occasion of Adèle's visit, the story of the miraculous recovery of Thierry the knight was created. This short text echoed not just Adèle's donation of Harlebeke forest but also another phase of the conflict between Saint-Thierry and the Archbishop. As already briefly mentioned above, the miraculous story seems to be an explicit reference to this rivalry. The story says that, in his rage, Thierry the knight first entered Reims Cathedral, which, since the 10th century, had been dedicated to Saint Remigius⁸⁹. But, the patron saint of the archepiscopal was not able to cure him. The healing happened only when Thierry the knight spent several days in Saint-Thierry. This narrative seems to encapsulate the strife that the brethren of Saint-Thierry waged against their main rival in the city of Reims. In this way, the authors of BHL 8067 wanted to affirm the superiority of the abbey's patron saint over Remigius, the patron the archepiscopal cathedral, and, consequently, the legitimacy of their right over the estate which Thierry the knight granted to the abbey. If it was Saint Thierry who helped Thierry the knight, the donation made thereafter legitimately belongs to the saint who healed the Flemish guest. This minor detail signifies a major change in the discourse: Saint-Thierry's rights are no longer based on some secular agreements but on Saint-Thierry's outstanding, miraculous capacities to heal, and, finally, on God's will.

Since we do not have any evidence of the existence of BHL 8067 before 1071, it seems likely that the miracle story was created between Adèle's inspiring visit and Philip's letter, which M. Prou dates 1106/1108, that is between 1090 and 1106–1108⁹⁰. Thus, by the first decade of the 12th century, the brethren of Saint-Thierry had three different documents justifying their position in different ways, both legally and spiritually.

The last stage of the process was the codification of all the three pieces. They were assembled at least three decades later, in Reg. Lat. 466. The insertion of the documents into an important hagiographical collection was a way of enhancing their value but also of closing the matter of Villers-Franqueux. The abbey now had at its disposal sufficient proof justifying its rights over the estate: the miraculous story describing how the abbey had obtained the village, the decision of King Henri, and, finally, the letter addressed by King Philip.

As far as we know, the ownership of Villers-Franqueux was never again disputed. It is probably for this reason that the cartulary of the 13th century lacks information about the property. Situated in the closest vicinity of the monastery, by the 13th century, Villers-Franqueux had become inseparable from the abbey itself. In the 11th century, however, the abbey had to protect its possession and fight for it, with archbishops of Reims making the monks of Saint-Thierry forge various documents to support their claims and point of view.

⁸⁹ Demouy P. Genèse d'une cathédrale.

⁹⁰ Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}. Vol. 1. P.416–417. In this letter addressed to "people and clergy of Reims, as well as to the abbot of Saint-Remi and vidame Roger", Philippe ordered Roger to concede the rights over Villers-Franqueux to Saint-Thierry.

As far as chronology is concerned, there is more evidence to help us date the first of the three documents, the record of Henri's intervention. As I argue, it was created at the very beginning of the property rights affair, which was likely triggered by Archbishop Guy's willingness to compensate a family member in 1053. While a thorough forgery, the document references many events that really took place; it might have had some documentary evidence in its basis, but in its final form it seems to have been made up. It was not integrated into the monastery's cartulary because it contains a fundamental chronological error, and it does not explicitly mention the acquisition of the estate. The detail allowing us to refine the date of the forgery is the mention in the document of *Regina*, i. e., Anna Yaroslavna⁹¹. A reference to Anna in an inauthentic document looks like an attempt of an unknown scribe at Saint-Thierry to impart some flavour of authenticity to the document and enhance its value. It would be necessary if Anna was considered to be an important figure in the political landscape, and indeed she was. At the beginning of 1060s, Anna, then a queen-regent, was at the peak of her power. Mentioning her in a witness list was necessary to make the document weightier. It seems that the record can also be interpreted as an indirect indication of Anna's political weight at the moment of the creation of the document. I suggest, for this reason, that the document was created between 1053, when Guy's action triggered the dispute, and 1062, when Anna relinquished power⁹². The copy of the document in the Reims manuscripts might have been produced slightly later. Unfortunately, it is impossible to date the record more precisely.

Conclusion

The property dispute which I have reconstructed shows the different instruments at the disposal of a reformed monastic community to delimit and protect their interests during a very turbulent time when the church generally struggled to get rid of an overwhelming dominance of exterior powers.

A kaleidoscope of hagiography, forgeries, and authentic documents allowed the monks to weave their 'protective narration.' By mixing different genres, rethinking the role of historical and hagiographical accounts, arranging them into new combinations, giving them new functions and placing them into new contexts, communities could successfully strengthen their positions in conflicts, although, it often took several generations to achieve the desired results. The reconstruction also reveals the vivid importance of writing in shaping collective identity and protecting the interests of the communities: not only the content of texts, but also the reception and ways in which texts were read (or supposed to be read), the function and influence of the text could change, thus enhancing its value.

⁹¹ Anna Iaroslavna (after 1025 — ca. 1075), the daughter of Prince Iaroslav the Wise of Rus', who married the King of France Henri I (1031–1060) in 1051 and later became a co-regent of her son Philippe I (1060–1063). The record of Henri I's intervention is thus one of only 28 documents testifying Anna's role in assisting the royal council, assenting to a decision, or witnessing an act. The documentary sources about Anna's French life were inventoried by: *Bautier R.-H.* Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XI^e siècle // *Revue des études slaves*. 1985. Vol. 57, issue 4. P. 539–564; *Bogomoletz W. V.* Anna of Kiev: An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century // *French History*. 2005. Vol. 19, issue 3. P. 299–323; *Zajac T.* Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? // *Royal Studies Journal*. 2016. Vol. 3, issue 1. P. 28; *Shishkin V. V.* Anna Iaroslavna vo frantsuzskoi literature epokhi Vozrozhdeniia (vtoraia polovina XV–XVI vv.) // *Drevniia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki*. 2021. Issue 3 (85). P. 60–74.

⁹² At any rate after 1053, because the seizure of Villers-Franqueux could have constituted a sort of compensation to Manassès who conceded his property to Saint-Remi. See note 86.

Quite unexpectedly, the property dispute demonstrates how subtle the evidence of women's power could be at the turn of High Middle Ages. The assessments of Anna Yaroslavna oscillate between a complete denial of the role of this 'alien queen' in the political life of eleventh-century France and a claim that she was one of the mighty women who brought vibrant colour to the history of power in the Medieval West⁹³. Such an imbalance stems, in no small measure, from the fact that evidence of her activity in France is mostly indirect and notoriously difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, attentive scrutiny and evaluation of every piece of documentation, even seemingly scarce, can sometimes reveal some unexpected, fresh evidence which eventually help to justly assess not only the studied documents, but also Anna's place in the political processes of the third quarter of the 11th century.

Annexe 1

Forgery (?)

[ca. 1053-ca. 1062] — S.l. s. a.

Henri I settles the long-lasting dispute over an estate in Villiers-Franqueux between the monastery of Saint-Thierry and the Archbishop of Reims, Guy.

A. Original is lost.

B. Reims. Bibliothèque municipale. MS 85. Fol. 3r (third quarter of the 11th century); C. Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 466. Fol. 64v-65r (1137-1180).

a. Catalogue des actes d'Henri I^{er}, roi de France (1031-1060) / ed. by F. Soehnée. Paris, 1907. N^o 89. P. 93; b. *Demouy P. Actes des archevêques de Reims d'Arnoul à Renaud II (997-1139)*. N^o 14; 30. P. 62-63; 98-99.

Mentioned: Gallia christiana. Vol. 9. Paris, 1751. P. 185; *Wilmart A. Codices Reginenses Latini*. Vol. 2. Romae, 1945. P. 622; *Bur M. La formation du Comté de Champagne (v. 950 — v. 1150)*. P. 256-257; *Bur M. Saint-Thierry et le renouveau monastique dans le diocèse de Reims au X^e siècle // Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle (Actes du Colloque international d'histoire monastique, Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 18 octobre 1976) / ed. by M. Bur. Saint-Thierry, 1979. P. 45; Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? // Royal Studies Journal. 2016. Vol. 3, issue 1. P. 35, n. 30; Shishkin V. V. Anna Iaroslavna vo frantsuzskoi literature epokhi Vozrozhdeniia (vtoraia polovina XV-XVI vv.) // Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki. 2021. Issue 3 (85). P. 60-74.*

In⁹⁴ autenticis et antiquis privilegiis nostris⁹⁵ scriptum habemus, probatis- que et fidelibus viris referentibus didicimus sanctum Bartholomeum⁹⁶ et sanc-

⁹³ The documentary evidence for Anna's life in France and her participation in public duties is extremely scarce. For this reason, scholarly works on Anna of Kiev are few. Cf. *Bogomoletz W. V. Anna of Kiev: An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century*. P. 300. Remarkable exceptions are: *Labanoff de Rostoff A. Recueil de pièces historiques sur la reine Anne ou Agnès, épouse de Henri Ier, roi de France et fille de Iaroslav Ier, grand-duc de Russie*. Paris, 1825. XXII, 57 p.

⁹⁴ In B, the text of the record is preceded with a notice written in an eighteenth-century hand: De jure s[ancti] Theodorici (*sic!*) in pagum Villare Francorum Francvilliers (*the word is stricken out*) situm inter Montaignu Villers Franqueux uno milliario [ab] Remensi urbe [absint dubia?].

⁹⁵ Privilegiis nostris; nostris privilegiis C.

⁹⁶ Bartholomeum; apostolum *add.* C.

tum Teodericum⁹⁷ Villare Francorum in dominicatum possedisse et ab omni exactione et alterius jure liberam omnibus temporibus, omnium archiepiscoporum Remensis ecclesie usque ad domnum Oebalum quiete tenuisse. Sed domnum Oebalum partem juris quod ecclesia nostra semper tenuerat quadam occasione in suum proprium usum certum est convertisse; orto namque bello inter Rainardum de Monte Acuto et Odonem fortem de Roceo ville interjacentes inter Montem Acutum et civitatem Remorum mira depopulatione vastabantur, inter quas Villare Francorum, quia abbas et monachi tutari non poterant, intolerabili confusione praemebatur; et quia abbas et monachi predictam villam ad plenum defendere non valebant, permissione sua rustici ejusdem ville ad Hugonem Cervellum de Castellione, qui tunc mansum unum in eadem villa possidebat confugerunt, pepigeruntque cum eo de unaquaque domo se quotannis minam avene et quatuor nummos daturos, eo videlicet pacto si eos a presenti inquietatione defenderet; ille autem propria virtute et obsequio placito dominis illis eam et a presenti infestatione liberavit et sanctum Bartholomeum villam suam cum pace et securitate tota vita sua possidere fecit. Quo defuncto successit filius ejus Gerardus qui eadem virtute ad securitatem rusticorum et ad commodum ecclesie supradictam villam⁹⁸ in pace requiescere fecit; sed et eodem absque legitimo herede defuncto et sopito aliquantulum bello, villa ad ecclesiam tota rediit. Oebalus autem archiepiscopus, suadente Jancelino vicedomino, hoc quod predicti milites hac occasione tenuerant dixit se velle obtinere; addidit etiam quod bannum et placitum, quod ecclesia absque ulla repugnantia tenuerat, obtineret; voluit⁹⁹; et ut vir potens et dives aliquot annis pro voluntate injuste tamen obtinuit; tandem¹⁰⁰ timore Dei correptus confessus¹⁰¹ se contra Deum et sanctos ejus graviter peccasse et injustitiam de villa sua maximam fecisse, et villam reddidit, et ut Deus¹⁰² et sanctus Bartholomeus quicquid inde deliquerat condonarent, antequam moreretur in satisfactionem centum libras persolvit. Defuncto Eballo¹⁰³ successit Wido in pontificatum, qui etiam suggerentibus perversis et infidelibus viris menbris (sic!) videlicet diaboli illud quod vir bonus resipiscens ecclesie reddidit lesa justitia in proprios usus convertit tenuitque, quousque rex Henricus Novum Castrum obsedit, abbas Albertus et monachi sancti B[artholomei] apud regiam majestatem de predicta injustitia multum conquesti obtinuerunt ut et¹⁰⁴ rex archiepiscopum¹⁰⁵ oraret, immo preciperet, ut ab injusta exactione quam in ecclesiam Dei fecerat desisteret. W[ido] vero archiepiscopus quicquid rex voluit et abbas petiit recognita justitia sancto B[artholomeo]¹⁰⁶ et fratribus iterum reddidit in curia regis, praesente Henrico rege et *regina* et Richero Senonensi archiepiscopo, Elinando Laudunensi episcopo, Rodulfo comite.

⁹⁷ Sanctum Teodericum; sanctis confessoribus Theoderico et Theodulfo C.

⁹⁸ Villam; Francorum *add.* C.

⁹⁹ Voluit; valuit C.

¹⁰⁰ Tandem; vero *add.* C.

¹⁰¹ Confessus; est *add.* C.

¹⁰² Deus; abbas C.

¹⁰³ Eballo; Oebalo C.

¹⁰⁴ Et; *om.* C.

¹⁰⁵ Archiepiscopum; episcopum C.

¹⁰⁶ Sancto B[artholomeo]; et sanctis confessoribus Theoderico et Theodulfo C.

Translation

As it is written in our authentic and ancient privileges and also confirmed by relations of trustworthy and faithful men, Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thierry have possessed the demesne of Villers-Franqueux and that they have been quietly holding it until the time of *dominus* Ebles, and under all archbishops of Reims, this demesne was always free from any exaction and from any tax to whom it might be due. It is settled that *dominus* Ebles has, on some occasion, partly usurped the right which our church (*ecclesia*) has always possessed, for a war broke out between Renard of Montaigu and Eudes the Strong of Roucy, and all the villages situated between Montaigu and Reims were devastated by extraordinary pillage, and Villers-Franqueux among them was in an utter confusion, because the abbot and the brethren [of the monastery] could not defend it. Since the abbot and the monks could not entirely protect the aforementioned village, with his permission, peasants of this village sought protection from Hugo of Châtillon-les-Sons who held, at that time, a mansion in this village. And they contracted with him that they would pay annually one measure of oats and four coins from each house if he would protect them from the unrest. In compliance with the agreement, he not only protected the peasants from those seigniors during the unrest, but also, by his own virtue, passed, peacefully and securely, the possession of the village to Saint Bartholomew for the term of his life. After his death he was succeeded by his son, Gerard, who, by the same virtue, peacefully kept the aforementioned village in the cloister's possessions for the sake of the security of the peasants and convenience of the monastery. When he died without a legitimate heir, the village passed totally to the cloister without war. However, Archbishop Ebles, on the advice of *vicedominus* Jacelinus, said that he would like on this occasion (*i. e. heirless death of Gerard*) to obtain what had been held by the aforesaid knights. He added that he wanted the banal lordship (*bannum*) and jurisdiction (*placitum*), that the cloister had held without any repugnance, and, as a powerful and rich man, he arbitrarily and unjustly possessed it for several years. Yet, seized by the fear of God, he confessed that had heavily sinned against God and his saints and had contrived a great injustice to their village; he gave back the village, and, in order for God and saint Bartholomew to pardon his offence, he paid out 100 pounds (*centum libras*). After Ebles's death, he was succeeded by Guy to the bishop's office. At the instigation of faithless and perverted men, obviously the devil's accomplices, he broke the justice and appropriated what the good man before him had returned to the cloister when he came to his senses. And Guy held it to the time when king Henri sieged Neufchâtel, and Abbot Albertus with monks of saint Bartholomew made multiple complaints about him, and they solicited the king to ask the archbishop, and even order that he (*i. e. Guy*) desist from the exaction that he has unjustly made against God's cloister. Guy once again restored what the king had ordered to him [to restore] and what the monks had asked for in royal council in the presence of King Henri and the Queen; Richer, archbishop of Sens; Elinandus, bishop of Laon; and count Raoul.

Annexe 2

Reproduced following the orthography and punctuation from: *Acta sanctorum julii, ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium monumentis, servata primigenia veterum scriptorum phrasi*. Vol. 1. Antwerp, 1719. P.81.

[Nobilis Flander Romam peregrinitatus,] Fuit quidam miles Theodericus nomine, Flandrensis quidem patriæ, secundum seculi fastum oriundus, & hic, ut multi noverimus, in rerum facultate dives, qui quodam tempore ductus amore peregrinationis, sumpto apparatu, viam Romæ aggreditur, Apostolorum limina visurus, & ab eis veniam peccaminum deprecaturus. Iter agendo, hoc in loco devenit, & quia tunc hospitalitatis gratia pollebat, sese ea nocte ibidem mansurum disposuit, & audita loci religione, multum sibi complacuit. Recreatis ea nocte somni dulcedine artubus, summo diluculo resumpto itinere, suis diebus Romam pervenit, factaque oratione jam inde cœperat reverti: dum autem emensis viarum miliariis, per hunc locum regrederetur, comitibus ejus orationis gratia templum intrans, nescio cujus iudicii ultione correptus, impos itineris effectus est. Ceteris igitur ignorantibus, retro substitit, ostendens illico actibus debachationis exterius, [in reditu fit phreneticus,] qui phrenesim mentis pateretur interius. Videres eum per quæque devia discurrere, incomposita verba proferre, quasdam inanitates ventorum, acsi manu capi possent, magno conamine insectari. Dum tanta mentis pervagatione, per diversitates viarum, Remis usque pervenit templumque beati Remigii irreverenter ingressus, nec minus quoque debachabatur: sed comites, facta tandem oratione, Theodericum abesse in comitatu animadvertentes, ut ejus debachationis signa ab incolis loci didicere, adhibitis secum quibusdam fratribus monasterii, quo eum certius divertisse audiunt, incunctanter iter acceleraverunt. Tandem itaque de templo extractus, ad hunc locum reducit, ubi ferme quinque hebdomadibus consequenter immorabatur, ut de expulsionis hostis præconium laudis beato Theoderico adscriberetur. Interea comites, adhibita illi servili custodia, accelerant revisere propria. Sed qui ei familiares, immo & fideliores fuerant, ut ejus finem viderent, infra paucos dies cum aliis quibusdam ad eum redire. Verum sub hoc temporis intervallo, accidit ut ea nocte, qua solennitas beati Theodulfi celebraretur, circa primam vigiliam ductus in extasi, videret signum sanctæ Crucis in specie flammæ sibi prætendi, dehinc etiam sequebatur quidam senex, candidus ultra communem hominum aspectum, [& ab apparente sibi S. Theoderico curatur.] vultu decorus, & ut eodem energumeno signa referente, cognovimus, ipse fuerit Dominus Theodericus. Accedens itaque propius, eum lenissimo tactu attractavit; sed quibusdam spatiis interpositis, tandem evanuit & nusquam ei ultra comparuit. Quid plura? Evigilans Theodericus, tactu viri Dei sensit se sibi fuisse redditum, moxque impiger ecclesiam intrans, coram feretro ejus se in terram prostravit, pro recuperata salute gratias agens Deo & sancto Confessori. Surgens autem post paululum, quid nocte viderat per ordinem quibusdam fratribus explanavit, eique sunt multum congratulati. His ita habitis, alacrior remeavit ad propria, sumptoque a suis saluberrimo consilio, pro recompensatione collati beneficii, data plurima pecunia, ut dives erat, infra hanc viciniam a quibusdam nobilibus viris, a Tebaldo scilicet patre Fulcridi, Tecelina de Cantamerla, Rodulfo & Joanna de

Ham, Rainero de Geldum emit quoddam prædium, quod dicitur villa Francorum, quod beato Confessori Christi Theoderico tradidit ad temporalia solatia Fratrum. Multis deinceps supervixit annis, sed modernis temporibus viam ingressus est universæ carnis.

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