

Sibil Gruntar Vilfan

**QUASI NANI SUPER HUMEROS GIGANTUM? REUSING  
CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL QUOTATIONS IN  
HAGIOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE IN THE AREA OF LIÈGE (10TH  
CENTURY)**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

October 2017

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(Slovenia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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# ABSTRACT

The present thesis offers a detailed investigation of select passages from the *Vita II S. Remacii*, a hagiographic text produced in the diocese of Liège in the last decades of the tenth century. The purpose of this investigation is threefold. First, to illustrate the point that in tenth-century Latin hagiographic texts produced in the diocese of Liège quotations from classical and patristic authors were not simply used as petrified forms of frozen ancient wisdom with a mere decorative function, but rather as raw gems which, properly polished and adjusted, so as to fit seamlessly into a new framework, could enhance both the form and the contents of texts closely connected to the political and intellectual realities of their age. Second, to show that nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of such texts can act as distorting mirrors to modern readers and researchers, since, due to an editorial strategy that privileged classical material over its medieval context, they sometimes completely neglected the way in which quotations from ancient authors were re-worked by the tenth-century hagiographer in accordance with the stylistic requirements of rhymed prose. Third, to suggest as a necessary corrective to this distorting approach a new way of reading, which places classical and patristic quotations in their proper context, by paying due attention to manuscript evidence, to the stylistic requirements of their new context, and to the complex functions they play in their new textual environment.

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I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor Dr Cristian Gaşpar without whose indepth knowledge and continuing support this thesis could not have seen the light of the day. My sincerest gratitude for their goodwill and humour also goes to my new friends whom I have met during my year of studying at CEU, thank you Mihaela, Rebecca and Patrik. I would also like to express gratitude to the Medieval Studies Department for giving me the opportunity to come and study at CEU; I would especially like to thank to Katalin Szende, who is the best head of department one could wish for.

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# Table of contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
Table of contents.....	iii
Introduction.....	1
1. Overview of Historiography .....	5
1.1 Hagiography.....	5
1.2 Saint Remaclus.....	7
1.3 Rhymed Prose .....	9
2. Vita Remacli Secunda: Introduction .....	12
2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 Historical Context.....	12
2.3 The Editions .....	14
2.4 Comparison of Vita I and Vita II .....	16
2.5 Text Transcription.....	19
2.5.1 Epistula ad Werinfridum abbatem Stabulensem.....	20
2.5.2 Proemium in vitam sancti Remacli .....	27
2.5.3 Exhortacio .....	31



3. Vita Remaili II: Quotation, Rhymed Prose and Content Analysis.....	39
3.1 Latin quotation analysis .....	40
3.1.1 Epistula ad Werinfridum.....	40
3.1.2 Proemium to the Vita II .....	42
3.1.3 Exhortacio .....	44
3.2 Rhymed Prose and Content Analysis .....	46
3.2.1 Analysis of the first three paragraphs of the Epistula .....	47
3.2.2 Analysis of paragraph one of Proemium .....	51
3.2.3 Analysis of paragraphs 10–12 from the Exhortacio .....	52
3.3 Spolientechnik in the Ottonian Renaissance.....	54
Conclusion .....	56
Bibliography or Reference List.....	60

# Introduction

The tenth century has been known under many names and described variously as ‘post-Carolingian,’ ‘pre-Gregorian,’ ‘the iron century,’ and ‘the dark century.’<sup>1</sup> It has been labelled as ‘post-Carolingian’ because it came after the period known as the Carolingian renaissance in the ninth century. The term ‘pre-Gregorian’ was applied to it because it was seen merely as a transitional period towards the age of the Gregorian church reform in the eleventh century. The terms ‘iron century’ and ‘dark century’ were used because this is the period which saw the production of a relatively lower number of extant Latin manuscripts and, therefore, must have, presumably, witnessed a lower-key intellectual life in comparison to the Carolingian renaissance before it or the renaissance of the late eleventh and twelfth century after it. Tenth century seems to be a period of literary and intellectual decline.<sup>2</sup> However, instead of focusing on the search for adequate terminology with which to describe it would be better to perceive the tenth century as an age of intellectual transition, especially when seen from the perspective of the better-known periods of flourishing intellectual life that preceded or followed it. For the modern researcher, it may be more reasonable to have a closer look at what was actually happening in the tenth century in terms of intellectual life, schooling, manuscript production and literary activity, as suggested by Claudio Leonardi.<sup>3</sup>

If one was to assess the intellectual importance of the tenth century in the Western Europe based on its intellectual achievements, one might, indeed, conclude that the tenth century was

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<sup>1</sup> Claudio Leonardi, “Intellectual Life,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3C.900-c.1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 186-211, here at 186.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. Augustin Theiner, vol. 15 (Paris: Bar-le-Duc, 1868), 467; John J. Contreni, “Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts,” (Hampshire: Variorum, 1992), 380; Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3; Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 16.

<sup>3</sup> Leonardi, “Intellectual Life,” 186.

not one of the most important periods in that respect.<sup>4</sup> It probably saw the production of a smaller number of manuscripts compared to the Carolingian times; according to Claudio Leonardi, this could have been due to the fact that by the tenth century the demands for written texts from the ninth century had already been met.<sup>5</sup> Since manuscript production was an expensive endeavour, over-production was not the favoured course of action. It should also be noted, as Leonardi pointed out, that in certain areas, such as Benevento and lesser Lombardy, manuscript production was actually higher than elsewhere during the tenth century as compared to the previous century.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, lower numbers of newly-copied manuscripts cannot be ascribed automatically to low literacy levels; a high number of legal documents survive from the tenth century, suggesting that literacy in other areas was expanding rather than diminishing.<sup>7</sup>

C. Stephen Jaeger proposed a different explanation as to why there seems to be a lack of intellectual achievements during the tenth century despite the fact that centres of learning, especially cathedral schools, are highly praised by contemporary authors.<sup>8</sup> He suggested that the period between 950 and 1100 did not cultivate intellectual achievements in terms of texts and artefacts, but rather men who had ‘manners’ and were ‘composed’.<sup>9</sup> It is by focusing on these, not just on the surviving texts and artefacts, that research into the intellectual life of the tenth century is likely to obtain a more accurate picture of the age.

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<sup>4</sup> For a new, more nuanced assessment of the tenth century, see now the various studies collected in *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 38, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), especially Peter Christian Jacobsen, “Formen und Strukturen der lateinischen Literatur der ottonischen Zeit” (pp. 917-49). See also Rosamond McKitterick, “Continuity and Innovation in Tenth-Century Ottonian Culture,” in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon, 1992), 15-24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

The present thesis focuses on some of the authors and texts associated with the cathedral school of Liège, one of the most important intellectual and educational centres during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Western Europe; it lays a special emphasis on one of the most representative texts created in the area at that time, namely the hagiographic text known as the *Vita Remaculi Secunda* (*Vita II*) [BHL 7115, 7116]. Scholars who have dealt with this text have so far focused on the questions of its authorship, the context of the rewriting of the earlier *Vita Remaculi* [BHL 7113, 7114], which served as basis for the *Vita II*, and the function played by the saint's cult at the abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy, which claimed St. Remaclus as its founder.

However, the studies of the text produced until now have focused less on its formal features or on its structure, especially in relation to the extensive use of rhymed prose and the wealth of Latin quotations it contains. In my opinion, the study of the stylistic features of the *Vita II* is important because it can help to shed light on some of the intellectual practices that informed the composition of the hagiographic material produced in the area of Liège, thus reflecting the intellectual and literary achievements of the cathedral school of Liège at the end of the tenth century. Furthermore, such research may contribute to the on-going discussion on the authorship of *Vita II*; its paternity has long been disputed, for the presence of similar stylistic conventions and the building scheme of both the dedicatory letter which prefaces it in the manuscripts, sometimes ascribed to bishop Notger of Liège, and of the *Vita II* itself, now more often ascribed to Heriger of Lobbes can argue in favour of one and the same author for both these texts.

The present thesis, therefore, aims to offer an in-depth stylistic and content analysis of the preface to the *Vita II*, i.e., the dedicatory epistle to abbot Werinfrid of Stavelot, *Epistula ad abbatem Werinfridum stabulensem* (*Epistula*) and of two parts of the text of the *Vita II*, namely its prologue and chapter twenty-one containing the death-bed speech of St. Remaclus. I have

chosen these passages because they contain the highest density of Latin quotations in the entire text and are, therefore, most likely to be illustrative of its author's intellectual background as well as of his rhetorical strategies.

The aim of the thesis is threefold. First, to illustrate the idea that Latin classical quotations were not systematically used merely as petrified forms of lifeless ancient wisdom, but rather as raw gems which were nicely polished to fit into the pattern of rhymed prose in which the dedicatory epistle and *Vita II* were written. Second, to point out that the old nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of this text are likely to act as distorting mirrors for the modern reader, since they completely neglected what is, in my view, an important, constitutive stylistic feature of the text, namely its regular and intricate use of rhymed prose. Third, my research is meant to suggest an alternative, more suitable way of editing similar hagiographic texts written consistently in rhymed prose.

# 1. Overview of Historiography

## 1.1 Hagiography

Peter Brown's study of the cult of the saints and its functions in Western Christendom has rightly been considered a milestone in the study of hagiography and the cult of saints.<sup>10</sup> In his study, Brown introduced a variety of approaches to the study of the cult of saints, which have since become commonplace tools in the research on sainthood and saints' lives. Brown emphasized that in the study of saint's cult social, cultural, intellectual and political contexts need to be taken into consideration for these inevitably shaped the cult and the hagiographic material produced in connection with it. Brown's emphasis on taking the saint's social, cultural and intellectual and political contexts in the study of saints can be applicable also to the study of *Vita Remacli Secunda*.

Other modern studies focused on more specific aspects of the cult of saints, such as Patrick Geary's investigation of the attitude towards saints' relics in the Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> More recently, more focused approaches, which do research on hagiography from one particular monastery, one author or concerning one particular saint have become very common. Detailed studies have been produced for areas such as medieval Francia, Ireland, England, and Brittany.<sup>12</sup> Comparatively, the area of Liège has been less favoured by scholars writing in English,

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<sup>10</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (The Haskell Lectures on History of Religions)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>11</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> Francia: Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: the diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Paul Fouracre, Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography, "Past and Present" 127(1990); M. de Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism: the power of prayer," in *prayer*, *New Cambridge Medieval History c.700-c.900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Ireland: Elizabeth Rees, *Celtic Saints of Ireland* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013). England: Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon & East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

although recently several recent publications in other languages have dealt extensively with the personality of Notger, the first prince and bishop of Liège. In this regard, the volume edited by Alex Wilkin and Jean-Louis Kupper, *Évêque et prince: Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an mil* deserves special mention.<sup>13</sup> It explores issues such as the economic growth of the Moselle region, Notger's role in the context of the imperial church and in the political context of his time, the place of Lower Lotharingia as a cultural intermediary, and the use of historiography for the construction of identities. The studies collected in the volume mentioned above explore more the manifold context of Notger's pontificate rather than turn into a particular investigation of hagiographic material. Another recent study on Notger is Jean Louis Kupper's monograph *Notger de Liège (972–1008)*,<sup>14</sup> which explores in some detail Notger's life and his pontificate.

A valuable discussion of hagiographic literature from the area of Liège is Matthew Zimmern's doctoral dissertation *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the diocese of Liège c. 700–980*.<sup>15</sup> In his thesis, Zimmern placed hagiography at the centre of his investigation and offered a survey of all the hagiography from the area of Liège from the period of 700 to 980. His discussion was especially interested in issues such as the interplay between politics and the sacred, including both the living bishops and dead saints, the place of hagiography in the monastic reform, and the relationship between patron saints and the communities that claimed them as patrons.

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<sup>13</sup> Alex Wilkin and Jean-Louis Kupper, eds., *Évêque et prince: Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an mil* (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Jean-Louis Kupper, *Notger de Liège (972–1008)* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2015).

<sup>15</sup> Matthew Zimmern, "Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the diocese of Liège, c. 700–980" (PhD Dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2007).

## 1.2 Saint Remaclus

In more recent times, the life of Saint Remaclus has made the object of two studies by Tjamke Snijders<sup>16</sup> and J. R. Webb.<sup>17</sup> The former was interested in the evolution of patron saint *libelli* as hagiographic ‘dossiers’ and propaganda material in the monasteries of Stavelot and Malmedy between 938 and 1247, the second focuses on *Vita Remacli II*, its production, manuscript tradition and content.

Snijders explored the function of the manuscripts which contain the *Vita II* and used the manuscript perspective to evaluate the communicative function of the saint’s life.<sup>18</sup> The monasteries of Stavelot and Malmedy were engaged in a continuous strife for supremacy and, as part of this conflict, produced a large number of *patron saint libelli*, i.e., manuscript collections of hagiographic material dedicated to a single subject, in this case St Remaclus.<sup>19</sup> She argued that the function of the manuscripts of *Vita Remacli II* could be divided into three categories according to what type of *libellus* they were found in.<sup>20</sup> In the first category are *libelli* that aimed to provide the ‘rallying point’ for a wide readership. In the second category are *libelli* which strove to enhance the status of the patron saint and the abbey. In the third category are *libelli* produced to be read by a very specific audience or with a very specific message.

Webb was mostly interested in *Vita II* as a ‘forum for intellectual and cultural reflections.’<sup>21</sup> He pointed out that the *Vita II* was used as means to reflect on the issues relevant in his own time. Webb explains that the hagiographer achieved this purpose by addressing the question of Remaclus’ abdication from his episcopal position and inserting a large number of classical

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<sup>16</sup> Tjamke Snijders, “Obtulisti libellum de vita domni Remacli: The Evolution of Patron Saint Libelli as Propagandist Instruments in the Monastery of Stavelot-Malmedy, 938-1247,” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Overview* 128, no. 2 (2013): 3-30.

<sup>17</sup> J. R. Webb, “The Decrees of the Fathers and the Wisdom of the Ancients in Heriger of Lobbes’ *Vita Remacli*,” *Revue Bénédictine* 120, no. 1 (2010): 31-58.

<sup>18</sup> Snijders, “Obtulisti libellum,” 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>21</sup> Webb, “The Decrees of the Fathers,” 31.



quotations at specific points in his text, thus combining the ancient wisdom with Christian thought.<sup>22</sup> Webb analyzed two passages of the *Vita II* in great detail and concluded that at the time of the writing of the *Vita II* episcopal ideals were influenced by monasticism and bishops had to struggle to retain holy men under their supervision and prevent them from going into ascetic isolation.<sup>23</sup> He further emphasized that including a large number of classical quotations in the text of the *Vita II* served as a display of knowledge, reflected the stylistic ideals taught and held in honor at the schools in the diocese of Liège, and helped to increase the prestige of the commissioner, the author, the recipients of the text and of the saint patron himself.<sup>24</sup>

Another prominent study which reflected on the *Vita II* is Robert Gary Babcock's monograph on the *Freising Florilegium*,<sup>25</sup> in this he identified Latin classical citations from various poets included in the text of the *Vita II* and argued that they were either taken out of *Freising Florilegium* or that *Freising Florilegium* was compiled after the *Vita II* was written. In any case, he proposed that *Freising Florilegium* was written by Heriger of Lobbes. His valuable research, although identifying and discussing a wealth of classical quotations integrated into the text of the *Vita II*, did not distinguish, however, between the different degrees of textual variation which these quotations display in the text; thus, Babcock's analysis making it appear as though Latin classical quotations were simply borrowed from their original source as building blocks in a petrified, non-variable form. As I intend to show in what follows, this is not the case for all the classical quotations employed by the author of the *Vita II*.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 32. J. R. Webb, "Hagiography in the diocese of Liège (950-1130)," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 6, ed. Monique Goullet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 809-905.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium: A Study of the Influence of Classical Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* vol. 18, Lateinsiche Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters (Frankfurt: Duke University, 1984).

Babcock further pointed out that quotes from classical authors appear mostly in the prologue of the *Vita II* and in the last two chapters.<sup>26</sup> Babcock noted that the *Vita II* was written in order to stylistically improve the older *Vita Remacii Prima* (*Vita I*), which it re-wrote. According to Babcock, one of the ways in which the style of the text was upgraded was the use of classical quotations; while this is undoubtedly true, his research made no mention of the consistent use of rhymed prose in the *Vita II* or of the way in which quotations from classical authors were integrated into such prose and modified in order to achieve better fit into this new stylistic context.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3 Rhymed Prose

Existing studies on the use of rhymed prose in medieval texts, and more specifically in hagiographic material, are rare. One of the few scholars from the early twentieth century who dealt with rhymed prose was Karl Polheim.<sup>28</sup> His work, however, rather than offering a systematic discussion of rhymed prose as a stylistic feature of medieval prose consists of individual chapters dedicated to several chosen texts, whose use of rhymed prose it analyses in some detail. These include texts such as various works by Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, the *Vita Mathildis reginae*, the *Chronicle* of Gallus Anonymus, and charters. A historical overview of the development of rhyme prose is also included. However, Polheim does not offer a clear summary of his conclusions about rhymed prose or a systematic overview of its development and use, and one needs to browse through various passages of his work to find some of the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>28</sup> Karl Polheim, *Die Lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

specialized terminology, or rules and principles Polheim has established for dealing with this feature of medieval prose.<sup>29</sup>

The only modern author who has carried out an extensive research on the use of rhymed prose in medieval hagiographic texts is Anne-Marie Turcan Verkerk.<sup>30</sup> She traced the beginning of the use of rhymed prose to Gregory the Great, who offered a possible inspiration and models for later usage. However, the peak of the Latin prose style, including the use of rhymed prose, is commonly placed in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>31</sup> Both the texts which I analyse in the present thesis, the *Vita II* and the *Epistula* were written in the late tenth century, but in spite of their relatively early date, as we shall see in what follows, display both a high literary style and a very complex use of rhymed prose.

This is probably to be explained by the fact that these texts were composed in what, according to Turcan-Verkerk, was the region where an extensive and regular use of rhymed prose as a distinctive stylistic device originated. As far as the origin of the rhymed prose is concerned, Turcan-Verkerk points out that after the tenth century, rhymed prose is attested in the area around Paris, in England and Northern France, Southern France and Spain, while in the tenth century the use of rhymed prose was still confined to a relatively reduced space, which included the dioceses of Liège, Cambrai and Trier. She sees this area as the cradle of rhymed prose, from where it later spread to other parts of Europe probably in connection with and following the trail of the religious reforms which characterized the age. Based on Turcan-Verkerk's findings, it seems that the golden age of rhymed prose can be dated in between 1050 and 1150 since the distribution of texts with rhymed prose greatly increased in that period. It reached

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<sup>29</sup> This has been already noted by Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Forme et la réforme: le grégorianisme du moyen âge latin: essai d'interprétation historique du phénomène de la prose rimée latin aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles" (PhD Dissertation, Sorbonne, 1995), 1–2.

<sup>30</sup> See previous note.

<sup>31</sup> Terence O. Tunberg, "Prose Style and Cursus," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996), 112.

western and northern Germany, Italy (Monte Cassino, Fonte Avellana, Pomposa), Cluny, Besançon, Aquitaine and Britain. The use of rhymed prose was spread by travelling monks or bishops and through existing connections between different monastic centres. One example of this kind would be the institutional and intellectual links between Liège, Lobbes and Durham; not only did Durham have a catalogue of the monastic library of Lobbes, but it also had a bishop coming from the continent and this was not an isolated example of such links as Talbot pointed out.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> C. H. Talbot, "The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin," *Analecta monastica. 3rd series* 37(1955): 2–3 .

## 2. Vita Remacli Secunda: Introduction

### 2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, to examine the circumstance of production and the historical context of *Vita II*, a hagiographic text of disputed authorship, modelled on an earlier *Life of St. Remaclus (Vita I)* and to compare the two *vitae*. Second, to offer a transcription of the dedicatory epistle which prefaced the *Vita II* as well as of two fragments of *Vita II*, namely its *Proemium* and the saint's final address to his disciples, the *Exhortacio*, with the text divided into *cola* and *commata* so as to make apparent its articulation according to the principles of rhymed prose.

### 2.2 Historical Context

The *Vita II* of St. Remaclus was produced in tenth-century Liège, at the time when the use of rhymed prose was emerging as a fashionable stylistic convention in Latin prose. As the modern conventional name of the saint's *Vita II* suggests, this is the second *Vita* written about Remaclus. He was a seventh-century bishop (d. 673), who founded the abbey of Malmedy in the bishopric of Cologne and not long afterwards also the abbey of Stavelot, a few kilometres west of Malmedy.<sup>33</sup> As an abbot, he decided to live the rest of his life in the abbey of Malmedy and also to die there.<sup>34</sup> The two abbeys were for a long time fighting for the 'ownership' of the saint's cult until in 938 both came under the rule of a single abbot.<sup>35</sup> It is in these circumstances that the abbot of the imperial monastery of Stavelot Werinfrid (954–980) requested from Notger, bishop of Liège (972–1008), to revise the existing saint's life, now commonly referred

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<sup>33</sup> Sarah Fawcett Thomas, *Butler's Lives of the Saints (September)* (Collegeville: Burns&Oates, 2000), 26.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

to as *Vita Remacii I*.<sup>36</sup> When the *Vita II* was finished, sometime between 972 and 980, it was prefaced by a letter in Notger's name.<sup>37</sup> At that time, Notger's secretary was the abbot of Lobbes, Heriger, who most probably was responsible for drafting much of Notger's correspondence.<sup>38</sup> The two men worked closely together in such a way that to this day there is an intense dispute among scholars regarding the authorship of *Vita II*.<sup>39</sup> The problem of authorship is not an easy one to solve due to several reasons. First, the *Vita II* has been originally prefaced by a letter in Notger's name, which does not necessarily imply that the letter was indeed written by Notger.<sup>40</sup> During the writing of *Vita*, Notger and Heriger also planned to write a history of all the bishops in the Tongeren-Maastricht-Liège diocese to date, a work today known as the *Gesta Pontificum Tungrensium sive Leodiensium* (hereafter referred to as *Gesta*).<sup>41</sup> The *Vita II* was included into this *Gesta* and the dedicatory letter which had originally prefaced the *Vita II* was then used as a preface to the *Gesta*. At the same time, the *Vita II* was transmitted also as a separate text in several manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the authorship of the rest of the *Gesta* is also in some doubt, with its traditional attribution to Heriger disputed.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Webb, "The Decrees of the Fathers," 33.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> A similar relationship existed in the case of archbishop Adalbero of Reims and Gerbert of Aurillac according to Webb: *ibid.* 34.

<sup>39</sup> Webb argued that Notger commissioned Heriger to write the *Vita II Remacii*, but that Notger might nonetheless have been actively engaged in the process of writing, although it is by no means certain to what extent; see *ibid.* 34. Kurth's earlier discussion of the issue is not entirely without problems; see Godefroid Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: A. Dewitt, 1905), 333-5. Brunhölzl doubted the authorship of Heriger, but failed to take into consideration other writings by Heriger, which exhibit notable parallels with the *Vita II*; see Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Louvain: Brepols, 1996), 252. Babcock ascribed the authorship of the *Vita* to Heriger; see Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes*, 180. Bayer has recently argued in favour of Notger; see Clemens M. M. Bayer, "La Vita Handelini de Notger de Liège et la protohistoire de l'abbaye de Celles," in *Évêque et prince: Notger et la Basse-Lotharingie aux alentours de l'an mil*, ed. Alexis Wilkin and Jean-Louis Kupper (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2013), 403.

<sup>40</sup> It might have been a collaborative process with Heriger or it also might be that Heriger wrote it and Notger only gave it his name to strengthen its authority, see Webb, "The Decrees of the Fathers," 34.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Vatican, Reg. lat. 615; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 565; St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 571.

<sup>43</sup> Brunhölzl, *Histoire*, vol. 2, 252.

## 2.3 The Editions

### 1. *Epistula ad Werinfridum abbatem Stabulensem (Epistula)*

The latest critical edition is that published by Bruno Krusch.<sup>44</sup> His edition was based on three manuscripts, namely Vatican, Reg. lat. 615; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 565; St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 571.<sup>45</sup> Krusch took as the basis of his edition the Vatican manuscript, which he compared with the two St. Gallen manuscripts; these have similar versions of the text and are probably related.

Krusch's approach to editing the text clearly exhibits the importance he attached to Latin classical quotations, which he marked in Italics, thus separating them visually from the rest of the text. In terms of visual representation of quotations, he also distinguished between prose and verse. He kept the prose quotations as part of the text while indenting the verse quotations as separate units. Furthermore, Krusch only provided references to the source of a particular quotation, i.e. the author, the title of the work and the textual division within that work, without in any way marking the degree of similarity between the original Latin text and the form in which this was quoted in the *Epistula*. In addition, the way Krusch uses punctuation completely disregards the use of rhymed prose in the text of the *Epistula*, thus obscuring the rhymed prose's very existence.

In sharp contrast to Krusch's editorial practice, the manuscripts used for his edition handled textual material borrowed from classical Latin authors and the system of rhymed prose which informed the structure of the text in very different ways. In the ms. Vatican, Reg. lat. 615,<sup>46</sup> the beginning of every sentence is marked with a gold capital letter and *punctum* is used to separate

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<sup>44</sup> MGH SS rer. Merov. 5 (1905), 109–111. The text, as published by Krusch, is reproduced in Appendix 2.

<sup>45</sup> I have transcribed the relevant parts of the text of the *Epistula* as given in the mss in Appendix 1.

<sup>46</sup> Accessed online: [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Reg.lat.615](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.615) (March 1, 2017).

parts of sentences. This division within the sentences mostly corresponds with the division into *cola*, but usually more rhyming *cola* are present within a sentence without being separated by *punctum*. Latin classical quotations are not marked in any special way in the text.

In the ms. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 565,<sup>47</sup> only the capital letters on the first page are marked with red ink, all the rest are not marked in any special way. *Punctum* is used to separate parts of sentences, which mostly corresponds with *cola*, but usually there are more *cola* within a sentence than there indicated by *punctum*. There are some differences in the use of *punctum* between this and the Vatican manuscript. Classical and medieval quotations are not singled out in any special way in the text.

In the ms. St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 571,<sup>48</sup> the capital letters are not marked. *Punctum* is used to separate parts of sentences, which mostly corresponds with *cola*, but usually there are more *cola* than marked by *punctum*. There are some differences in the use of *punctum* between this manuscript and the previous two. Latin classical and medieval quotations are not singled out in any special way in the text.

## 2. *Vita Remacli Secunda*

This text has been transmitted in two different ways, namely as part of the *Gesta* [BHL 7115] and individually as a separate text [BHL 7116]. BHL 7115 was edited by Rudolph Köpke; his edition was then reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>49</sup> BHL 7116 was first edited by Laurentius Surius; his edition was also reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Accessed online: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0565/421/0/Sequence-593> (March 1, 2017).

<sup>48</sup> Accessed online: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0571/179/0/Sequence-599> (March 1, 2017). For a full description see Snijders, *ibid*.

<sup>49</sup> *Gesta pontificum*, MGH SS 7 (1846), 166–189; Migne, *PL* vol. 139, coll. 1043–46.

<sup>50</sup> L. Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis: partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani ... partim etiam ex egregiis manuscriptis codicibus ...: nunc recens optima fide collectis*, vol. 5 (Köln, 1574), 17–29; J.P. Migne, *PL* vol. 139, coll. 1149–68.



## 2.4 Comparison of *Vita I* and *Vita II*

Before the in-depth analysis of *Vita II*,<sup>51</sup> one needs to have a closer look at the earlier *Vita I*<sup>52</sup> in comparison to *Vita II*, in order to better understand the changes introduced by the *Vita II* into the text and the story of St. Remaclus. *Vita I* starts with a short introduction which serves as a justification for writing the life of the saint. Both *vitae* open with an attempt at justifying the hagiographer's endeavour expressed through commonplaces specific of the genre, although different for each *vita*.

In the next paragraph,<sup>53</sup> the author of *Vita I* describes Remaclus' origin, his parents, and upbringing.<sup>54</sup> In *Vita II* this is preceded by a long excursion on the province of Aquitaine, which was Remaclus' homeland.<sup>55</sup> This is then followed by a paragraph dedicated to his parents. Very similar vocabulary was used for this part of both *vitae*, for example *secundum saeculi dignitatem; pollentes* (*Vita I*) and *pro saeculi dignitate; pollebant* (*Vita II*), which shows that in this part *Vita II* relied heavily on *Vita I*. However, the main difference between the two versions of the saint's life is the style in which they were written. *Vita I* is written in a simple style, with no remarkable rhetorical figures used and a word order that follows the more 'normal' patterns of Latin prose. In contrast to this, *Vita II* is written in a more complex rhetorical style, where verbs often stand at the beginning of the sentence and the last word of the sentence is carefully chosen to create a rhyming pattern enhanced by a chiasmus, as, for

<sup>51</sup> Here quoted from Migne, *PL* vol. 139, coll. 1149-68.

<sup>52</sup> Here quoted from Krusch, *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 5, 104–108 (1910).

<sup>53</sup> *Vita I*, 1.

<sup>54</sup> For a detailed analysis of the structure of hagiographic texts and the various commonplaces they employ, see Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000).

<sup>55</sup> *Vita II*, 1.

example, in *patre Albutio, Matrinea matre*, where the Abl. sg. forms of *pater* and *mater* create the rhyme; for this, in *Vita I*, one read simply *pater eius dictus est Albutius, mater vero Matrinia est vocitata*, with no rhyme or chiasmic arrangement. In the *Vita II* there is a heavy use of other rhetorical devices, such as anthithesis (1.12 *sive ab ipso, sive a maioribus eius*), and direct speech (14.10 *Nos miseros, quidnam acturi sumus, qui tanto pastore destituimur?*).

*Vita I* continues with the foundation of the Stavelot-Malmedy monasteries.<sup>56</sup> The description is detailed with language reflecting the phraseology in the foundation charter of the monastery and the commander Grimoald's grant.<sup>57</sup> The passage that deals with the reasons for foundation of the monasteries also reflects the language used in the charter.<sup>58</sup> In this way the writer of the *Vita I* strives to stress the importance of the royal origins of the community, its important status, and to create a sense of continuity between the time when the saint lived in the mid-seventh century and present day reality in 830's.<sup>59</sup> It could thus be concluded that the hagiographer of *Vita I* aimed at stressing the community's antiquity, legal legitimacy based on royal sanction and spiritual suitability regarding its position in the wilderness.<sup>60</sup> The reason why the hagiographer chose this emphasis is twofold. There were instances when noblemen jeopardized the use of land granted to the monastery, so stressing the royal privileges was an important defence strategy.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the monastic rule followed at Stavelot-Malmedy at the time of Remaclus was that of Solignac, since Remaclus had been educated there. It is not clear whether at time when *Vita I* was written this was still the case, but it is possible that the rule followed at Stavelot-Malmedy was not that suggested by Benedict of Aniane's reform.

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<sup>56</sup> *Vita I*, 3.

<sup>57</sup> See Zimmern, "Hagiography and the Cult of Saints," 175.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

Consequently, *Vita I* could be also written as a defence of the old way of living in Stavelot-Malmedy as opposed to the new, reformed monastic lifestyle advocated by Benedict.<sup>62</sup>

In *Vita II* the emphasis is not only on the founding of the monastery, but also on the abdication of Remaclus as bishop of Tongeren-Maastricht and his new role as bishop of Stavelot-Malmedy, which enabled him to seek a more ascetic lifestyle in solitude, because the Stavelot-Malmedy monasteries were built in the wilderness. The hagiographer of the *Vita II* dramatically recreated the tension between the episcopal and the monastic lifestyle by first emphasizing that Remaclus obtained his permission from the king with great difficulty, then his flock made loud complaints about being abandoned and compared themselves with children from an adulterous relationships who were now being cast aside.<sup>63</sup> Next Remaclus makes his defense by saying that there were also other soldiers of Christ who decided to fight in solitude and were no less honourable because of it. In the end, the monks decide to follow Remaclus to his new position at the Stavelot-Malmedy monasteries and all are content. If one compares the speech of the monks in *Vita I* (5.3) and the speech of the monks in *Vita II* (14.10–13) it becomes clear that the speech in the *Vita II* is written in rhymed prose, unlike its counterpart in the *Vita I*, where rhyming *cola* are accidental.

### *Vita I*

Quid facturi sumus nos miseri,	x	
qui talem amittimus pastorem?	a	
Unde recipiemus consolationem,	a	
cum ipse fuerit curator	x	
corporum et animarum?	x	
Unde nobis spes,	x	
cum destituimur tanto pastore?	x	

### *Vita II*

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>63</sup> See also Webb, “The Decrees of the Fathers,” 37–48.

Heu miseros nos,	x	
quidnam acturi sumus,	x	
qui tanto pastore destituimur?	a	
Unde nobis suppetet consolatio	b	
illo amiso,	b	
qui miseriarum nostrum	c	
fuit praecipuum levamentum?	c	
Quis porro nobis medebitur,	a	
quando ille nos deserit,	d	
qui nostris doloribus praecipue novit	d	
facere medicinam?	x	
Quae nobis salutis	e	
spes reliqua est	x	
tanti patris praesentia carituris?	e	

The second important addition to the story of Remaclus in the *Vita II* is the elaborate speech of the dying Remaclus, which is unparalleled in the earlier *Vita I*. In this speech, the consistent and regular use of rhymed prose is further enriched with a high number of Latin classical quotations. This passage will be dealt with in detail in the following subchapters.

## 2.5 Text Transcription

The present text transcription comes in two parts and contains a transcription of the dedicatory epistle which introduces the text, i.e., the *Epistula ad Werinfridum abbatem Stabulensem*, and the *Vita Remacii Secunda* (BHL 7116).<sup>64</sup> I provide the transcription of the text divided into *cola* according to the system of the rhymed prose which structures the text. In identifying the *cola*, I have disregarded the modern editors' conventions of punctuation, capitalization, and division of the text. My analysis also includes a survey of the Latin quotations contained in the text. This is conducted line by line, providing a clear overview of which pieces have been identified so far by previous editors and which have been now identified for the first time. The

<sup>64</sup> The text analysed here will be taken from the version of the *Vita II Remacii Secunda* [BHL 7116], which has been transmitted individually. The reasons for this decision are of a practical nature, namely, the ready availability online of the three mss of BHL 7116, which had been used by previous editors. This made it easier to work with both mss and critical editions.

differences between the quotation in its original form and the way it was changed in the *vita* itself have been pointed out, as well as the discrepancies between the edited text and the manuscripts in those cases where it appears that the modern editors' choice has disregarded the conventions of rhymed prose followed by the author of the original text.

The division of the text according to Polheim's understanding of rhymed prose was conducted with the help of my supervisor, Cristian Gaşpar. It is certainly possible that certain *cola* would be arranged differently by another reader. We have tried to the best of our abilities to track down all the occurrences of rhymed prose in the text. The translation of the text is the result of a joint endeavor with my supervisor. When rhyme occurs in the same paragraph it is marked in bold letters. However, if rhyme occurs between the end of one colon and the beginning of the next or between two consecutive paragraphs it is marked by double underlining.

### 2.5.1 *Epistula ad Werinfridum abbatem Stabulensem*

#### I. *Transcription*<sup>65</sup>

#### II.

#### EPISTOLA AD WERINFRIDUM ABBATEM STABULENSEM (KRUSCH MGH SS RER. MEROV. 5 (1905), 109–111)

1 NOTGERUS quem etsi indignum	a
Sanctae Mariae Sanctique Lamberti mancipium	a
praedicant tamen episcopum	a
WERINFRIDO venerabili	b
in Christo patri et consacerdoti	b
salutis aeternae subsidium.	a
2 <u>Omnis antiquitas</u> ut ait oratorum maximus	x
<u>quo propius aberat</u>	b
<u>ab ortu et divina progenie</u>	c
<u>hoc melius ea fortasse</u>	c
<u>quae erant vera cernebat.</u>	b
3 Verum angelo Danieli narrante novimus	x
<i>quia pertransibunt plurimi et multiplex erit scientia</i>	x
in antiquis utique vigente	b
ratione veritatis indagatrice	b

<sup>65</sup> In the Latin text, the verbatim quotes from various sources are given in *Italics*, underlining has been used for those parts where the original quote has been remodelled to a smaller or greater degree. I offer here a more word-for-word translation into English in order to illustrate how the meaning and form were closely interconnected.

et perspicacia futurorum	c
in modernis vero fide	b
credulitatis quamprimum pollente	b
cum plurima scientia praeteritorum.	c
<b>4</b> Illis <u>diuturnitas vitae vetustatis obducens callum</u>	a1
<u>cognitionem</u> praestitit omnium rerum	a2
nobis contra <u>quos calidus sanguis,</u>	x
<u>quos rerum inscitia versat,</u>	b
utinam non avolet	b
ob brevem vitam et curam sollicitudinum,	a1
antiquorum memorare inventa virorum!	a2
<b>5</b> <u>Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi</u>	x
<u>sed omnes illacrymabiles ignotique</u>	a
<u>urgentur longa nocte,</u>	a
<u>carent quia sacro vate.</u>	a
<b>6</b> Haec ut credo perpendens	x
abbatum reverendissime	a
et quia necesse est	x
<u>quanto iuniores</u>	b
<u>tanto esse perspicaciores</u>	b
obtulisti libellum de vita tam nostri	c
quam vestri specialis patroni	c
domini scilicet Remacii	c
conquestus propter incuriam	d
tamen praedecessorum vestrorum	e
brevius quam ut res expostularet	x
pro magnitudine gestorum	e
eius esse editam	d
<b>7</b> Simulque visus es	a
ut ne dicam precari	b
sed potius exhortari	b
ut eam non modo exemplari	b
verum aliquanto lepidius	a
mandarem poliri	b
tum quod gestorum	c
illius aliunde sumptorum	c
suppetat copia	d
tum quod temporum	c
quorum diversitas nunc maxime scito	e
opus est ex chartulario vestro	e
non desit notitia.	d
<b>8</b> Sed ad haec dum te cum tuis	a
omnium artium praesulem esse constaret,	b
illudque Pierium animo occurreret:	b
<i>In silvam ne ligna feras!</i>	c
<b>9</b> <u>et in mare quid pisces,</u>	c
<u>quid aquas in flumina mittis?</u>	a
<b>10</b> <u>suspensam interea</u>	a
<u>librare silentia</u>	a
<u>mentem coeperant,</u>	b
cum ecce memoriam offendeat,	b
quia vires, quas imperitia denegat,	b
caritas ministrat,	b
et quia incoepto tantum opus est.	c
<u>cetera res expedit.</u>	c
<b>11</b> Igitur adorsus sum <u>et</u>	a

ut verbis cuiusdam sapientis <u>utar</u>	b
et ex illo <u>quantum res pascit</u>	a
<u>acervo tollam</u> exhortatione tua	x
<i>quae et praesentis honestate propositi</i>	c
<i>et futurae aetatis utilitate coniuncta est</i>	b
<i>nihil antiquius existimavi</i>	c
et ne auctoritatem diffugere viderer	b
ei muneri libenter acquievi.	c
<b>12</b> Praesumentem enim auctoritatis <b>datur</b> ,	a
cum credit praestari posse quod <b>petitur</b> ;	a
et parere scire	b
est aequalis gloria cum imperante.	b
<b>13</b> Fecerant hoc idem iamdudum aetate venerabiles viri,	a
Hilduinus abbas in Passione S. Dionysii,	a
Hincmarus archiepiscopus in Vita S. Remigii	a
et alii quamplurimi	a
in non paucorum	b
compilandis gestis sanctorum	b
<u>quibus auctoribus obtinere possumus optimis</u>	c
<u>quod in omnibus causis</u>	c
<u>et solet</u>	d
<u>et debet</u>	d
<u>valere plurimum.</u>	b
<b>14</b> <u>Nam numquam ita quisquam</u>	a
<u>bene subducta ratione ad vitam</u>	a
<u>fuit, quin res, aetas, usus,</u>	x
<u>semper aliquid apportet novi.</u>	x
<b>15</b> Et ne hic labor	x
qui te adhortante susceptus est	x
infructu fiat non eius modo	a
cuius meminimus sancti	b
scilicet Remacii	b
verum caeterorum	c
nostrae sedis pontificum	c
tempora et gesta	x
quae undecunque potuere conradi	b
ad nostra usque tempora collegi	b
et cuius potissimum anhelabas desiderio	a
Vitam inde excerptam votis tuis porrexi.	b
<b>16</b> <u>Longe quidem mea sententia</u>	a
<u>ab oratoris primi excellentia</u>	a
<u>me ratur differre</u>	b
<u>qui plurima paucis absolvere</u>	b
<u>pauca plurimis protelare</u>	b
<u>vel magna extenuare</u>	b
<u>maxima e minimis efficere</u>	b
<u>lata anguste</u>	b
<u>angusta late</u>	b
<u>vulgata decenter</u>	c
<u>decentia intellectualiter</u>	c
<u>nova usitate</u>	b
<u>usitata nove</u>	b
<u>et id genus plurima valeat delibare.</u>	b
<b>17</b> Cui et a poeta praecipitur:	x
<i>Aut famam sequere</i>	a
<i>aut sibi convenientia finge.</i>	a

<b>18</b> Nec ut scholares	x
posito themate,	x
quibus verbis uti potuit,	a
qui iniuriam passus est:	a
vel ille, qui intulit,	a
aliquid finximus frivolum,	b
imo nec creperum.	b
<b>19</b> Quod etsi eloquentissimum	a
quemdam dicentem	a
Quod si haec inquit	b
uterque non dixit	b
tamen in voto habuit	b
et in actu ostendit	b
sectari contenderem	c
nullius utique iudicium extimescerem	c
verum haec alias.	x
<b>20</b> Misi inquam charitati tuae munus	x
quod minus quidem <u>efficientiae securitate</u>	a
<u>maxime autem susceptum est amicitiae praesumptione.</u>	a
<b>21</b> <u>Magnas etenim in difficillimi operis cursu vires</u>	x
<u>amicitiae contemplatio supplet</u>	a
<u>et placere cupientibus multa saepe</u>	x
<u>rerum copia suppeditat.</u>	a
<b>22</b> Unde licet <u>verear</u>	x
<u>ne dum imperato muneri par esse nequeam,</u>	a
<u>deficientis culpa in adhortantis cedat iniuriam</u>	a
tamen <u>cum tuam specto benevolentiam</u>	a
<u>fit omne pronum et facile et (ut ita dicam) voluptuarium</u>	b
<u>quod in tuae iucunditatis impenditur praescriptum.</u>	b
<b>23</b> Hoc autem munere impenso	a
sollicitum te reddere cupio	a
quia si quid operum tuorum quandoque expostulavero	a
iniurius mihi fueris	b
si negabis.	b
<b>24</b> <i>Quisquis magna dedit voluit sibi magna remitti.</i>	x
<b>25</b> Sed non arroganter magna	a
quippe tuis meritis	b
et nostris votis	b
imparia.	a
<b>26</b> Quapropter oblatrantis morsus timeo invidiae	a
quia difficili re facile solet livor praeiudicium importare.	a
<b>27</b> <u>Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amanti.</u>	a
<b>28</b> Ergo <u>non istic obliquo oculo</u>	a
<u>mea famina quisquam limet</u>	b
<u>non odio obscuro</u>	a
<u>morsuque venenet.</u>	b
<b>29</b> Sed tu pater beatissime	a
<u>mei laboris tuaeque</u>	a
<u>adhortationis assertor</u>	b
<u>caveas securum</u>	c
<u>me peractum</u>	c
<u>reddat officium</u>	c
<u>cum tibi pudor</u>	b
<u>amici dignius possit</u>	d



<u>convenire si displicet.</u>	d
<b>30 Vale.</b>	x
<b>31</b> <u>Quod nec vota pati nec fingere somnia possunt</u>	x
gaudens semper habe:	a
<i>gaudent pro nomine</i>	a
<i>molles auriculae</i>	a
<i>tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum.</i>	x
<b>32 Iterum vale.</b>	x

## II. Latin Quotation Analysis

No	new*	The origin of the quote	Source text	MSS
1		Cic. <i>Tusc. Disp.</i> 1.12.26 omni antiquitate, quae quo propius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse quae erant vera cernebant.	<u>Omnis antiquitas</u> ut ait oratorum <u>maximus</u> <u>quo propius aberat</u> <u>ab ortu et divina progenie</u> <u>hoc melius ea fortasse</u> <u>quae erant vera cernebat.</u>	no variants
2		<i>Dan.</i> 12:4 pertransibunt plurimi, et multiplex erit scientia	<i>pertransibunt plurimi et</i> <i>multiplex erit scientia</i>	no variants
3	*	<i>Aug. Epist.</i> 187.57.7 credulitatis fidem	<u>fide</u> <u>credulitatis</u>	no variants
4		Cic. <i>Tusc. Disp.</i> 3.22.53 quorum animis diuturna cogitatio callum vetustatis obduxerat	Illis <u>diuturnitas vitae vetustatis</u> <u>obducens callum cognitionem</u>	no variants
5		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.3.33 seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat	<u>quos calidus sanguis</u> <u>quos rerum inscientia versat</u>	no variants
6		Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 4.9.25 vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles urgentur ignotique longa nocte, carent quia vate sacro.	<u>Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona</u> <u>multi</u> <u>sed omnes illacrymabiles</u> <u>ignotique</u> <u>urgentur longa nocte.</u> <u>carent quia sacro vate.</u>	Reg. lat. 615: vate sacro Cod. Sang. 565, Cod. Sang. 571: sacro vate [these mss. need to be identified either by their full designation or by sigla]
7	*	Prisc. <i>Inst. Prol.</i> 1 quanto sunt iuniores, tanto perspicatiores	<u>quanto iuniores</u> <u>tanto esse perspicatiores</u>	no variants

8		Hor. <i>Sat.</i> 1.10.34 in silvam non ligna feras	<i>In silvam ne ligna feras</i>	no variants
9		Unidentified proverb, <sup>66</sup> quoted in its full form in a letter by Acca, bishop of Hexam to Bede and reported in Bede, <i>Expositio in Lucam</i> , prol. 14- 18 In mare quid pisces, quid aquas in flumina mittas? [obviously not the source]	<u>et in mare quid pisces.</u> <u>quid aquas in flumina mittis</u>	no variants
10		Claud. <i>De bello Get.</i> 457 mentem suspensa silentia librant	<u>suspensam interea</u> <u>librare silentia</u> <u>mentem</u>	no variants
11	*	Greg. <i>Hom.</i> 2.21.9 vires, quas imperitia denegat caritas ministrat	<i>vires, quas imperitia denegat, caritas ministrat</i>	no variants
12	*	Sall. <i>Bell. Cat.</i> 20.10 tantummodo incepto opus est, cetera res expedit	<u>incepto tantum opus est.</u> <u>cetera res expedit</u>	no variants
13		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 2.2.190-1 Utar et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo tollam	<u>utar</u> <u>et ex illo quantum res poscit</u> <u>acervo tollam</u>	no variants
14	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 1.1 quae et praesentis honestate propositi et futurae aetatis utilitate coniuncta est, nihil antiquius existimavi.	<i>quae et praesentis honestate propositi et futurae aetatis utilitate coniuncta est nihil antiquius existimavi</i>	no variants
15	*	Cic. <i>Tusc. Disp.</i> 1.12.26 Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum	<u>quibus auctoribus obtinere</u> <u>possumus optimis</u> <u>quod in omnibus causis</u> <u>et solet</u> <u>et debet</u> <u>valere plurimum</u>	no variants
16		Ter. <i>Adelp.</i> 5.4.1  Numquam ita quisquam bene	<i>Nam numquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit, quin res, aetas, usus, semper aliquid apportet novi.</i>	no variants

<sup>66</sup> On this, see Robert Gary Babcock, "The *Proverbium antiquum* in Acca's Letter to Bede," *Mitellateinisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1989): 53-55.

		subducta ratione ad uitam fuit, quin res aetas usus semper aliquid apportet noui		
17	*	Apul. <i>Peri Herm.</i> 1.4 in quibus oratoris excellentis est lata anguste, angusta late, vulgata decenter, nova usitate, usitata nove, extenuare magna, maxima e minimis posse efficere aliaque id genus plurima	<u>Longe quidem mea sententia ab oratoris primi excellentia me ratus differre qui plurima paucis absolvere pauca plurimis protelare vel magna extenuare maxima e minimis efficere lata anguste angusta late vulgata decenter decentia intellectualiter nova usitate usitata nove et id genus plurima valeat delibare.</u>	no variants
18		Hor. <i>Ars Poetica</i> 119 Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.	<i>Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.</i>	no variants
20	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 1.12 non efficientiae securitate, sed amicitiae praesumptione susceptum	<u>efficientiae securitate maxime autem susceptum est amicitiae praesumptione</u>	no variants
21	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 4.24 quantas saepe in difficillimi operis cursu vires afferat amicitiae contemplatio	<u>Magnas etenim in difficillimi operis cursu vires amicitiae contemplatio supplet</u>	no variants
22	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 4.24 et placere cupientibus multa sese rerum copia subministret.	<u>et placere cupientibus multa saepe rerum copia suppeditat.</u>	no variants
23	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 4.32 vereor, ne imperato muneri par esse non possim et deficientis culpa in adhortantis cedat iniuriam	<u>vereor ne dum imperato muneri par esse nequeam, deficientis culpa in adhortantis cedat iniuriam</u>	no variants
24	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 4.30 quum tuam benevolentiam spectro, pronum omne atque, ut ita dicam, voluptarium, quod in tuae praescriptum iucunditatis impenditur	<u>cum tuam spectro benevolentiam fit omne pronum et facile et (ut ita dicam) voluptarium quod in tuae iucunditatis impenditur praescriptum</u>	no variants

25		Mart. <i>Epig.</i> 5.59.3 Quisquis magna dedit voluit sibi magna remitti	<i>Quisquis magna dedit voluit sibi magna remitti</i>	no variants
26		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 2.2.57 Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque	<i>Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque</i>	no variants
27		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.14.37- 38 Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam limat, non odio obscuro morsuque uenenat	<u>non istic obliquo oculo</u> <u>mea famina quisquam limet</u> <u>non odio obscuro</u> <u>morsuque venenet</u>	no variants
28	*	Boet. <i>Comm.</i> 4.37 nostri laboris tuae que adhortationis assertor, quum praesertim securum me peractum reddat officium, quo te amici pudor dignius possit convenire, si displicet	<u>mei laboris tuaeque</u> <u>adhortationis assertor</u> <u>caveas securum</u> <u>me peractum</u> <u>reddat officium</u> <u>cum tibi pudor</u> <u>amici dignius possit</u> <u>convenire si displicet.</u>	no variants
29	Identified by Babcock	Claudius Claudianus <i>In</i> <i>Eutropium</i> (= <i>Carm. Maiora</i> ) 18.170 quod nec uota pati nec fingere somnia possent	<u>Quod nec vota pati nec fingere</u> <u>somnia possunt</u>	no variants
30		Hor. <i>Sat.</i> 2.5.32- 33 gaudent praenomine molles auriculae, tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum	<i>gaudent pro nomine molles auriculae tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum</i>	no variants

## 2.5.2 Proemium in vitam sancti Remacii

### I. Transcription<sup>67</sup>

**1** Omnipotens Dominus,  
*qui dives est in misericordia,*

a  
b

<sup>67</sup> See above, n. 65.

<u>cuius natura bonitas,</u>	a
<u>voluntas efficientia,</u>	b
<u>opus misericordia,</u>	b
<u>sustinuit vasa irae,</u>	x
<u>apta in interitum,</u>	x
<u>in multa paciencia,</u>	b
tandem salvandis omnibus venit,	c
quia <u>a reatu primae praevaricationis</u>	x
<u>liberum nullum invenit.</u>	c

<b>2</b> <i>Divitias bonitatis et longanimitatis</i>	a
suae omnibus praerogavit,	b
voluntatis omnipotentiam in ingratis	a
et respectu gratiae suae indignis	a
efficacissime exercuit,	b
quia opus misericordiae salvatricis	a
ut esset recuperabile	x
misericorditer ante providit.	b

<b>3</b> Forti arma abstulit,	a
in quibus confidebat,	b
vasa distribuit	a
quae possidebat,	b
ut sicut prius fuerant	c
peccatis interpellantibus irae,	d
ita deinceps per gratiam divinam fierent	c
vasa misericordiae.	d

<b>4</b> <u>Quia ut non est credendum</u>	a
<u>aliquem ad salutem</u>	b
<u>venire nisi Deo invitate,</u>	c
<u>sic nec invitum</u>	a
<u>quidem salutem suam</u>	b
<u>operari nisi Deo auxiliante,</u>	c
<u>nullum voluntate Dei perire,</u>	d
<u>sed permissio arbitrii pro sua electione,</u>	x
<u>ne ingenuitas potestatis attributa</u>	x
<u>semel homini ad servilem</u>	b
<u>cogatur necessitatem referri.</u>	d

<b>5</b> <u>Initium ergo salutis nostrae</u>	a
<u>Deo miserante habemus</u>	b
<u>ut itaque adquiescamus</u>	b
<u>salutiferae inspirationi</u>	x
<u>nostrae est potestatis,</u>	c
<u>ut adipiscamur</u>	d
<u>quod moniti adquiescendo cupimus,</u>	b
<u>divini est muneris;</u>	e
<u>ut labamur,</u>	d
<u>nostrae est potestatis et ignaviae,</u>	a
<u>ut non labamur,</u>	d
<u>indepto salutis munere nostrae</u>	a
<u>quidem est quodammodo sollicitudinis,</u>	e
<u>omnimodo vero adiutorii caelestis.</u>	e

<b>6</b> Et ei spei fortissimae	a
innitentes beatos esse,	a
re ipsa comperimus,	x
qui dum Christum	b
in carne tantam praelibantem	b

salutem non viderint,	c
credere fideliter audita non dubitaverint.	c
7 Multos namque ipsorum	a
quae ipse fecit fecisse,	b
et majora juxta promissum	c
ipsius operatos esse,	b
non solum fatentur proximi,	d
sed etiam ultra Sauromatas praedicant positi,	d
et glaciale frequentantes oceanum	c
et fortunatarum incolae insolarum.	a
8 Et ideo tanto delectet	a
nos succumbere bono,	b
tanto voluptas sit subesse Domino,	b
qui non modo fautor et	a
adiutor est incremendo proficientium,	c
verum remediabiliter providet ruentium	c
casibus obviandum,	c
dum et angelica nobis praestat suffragia	d
non deesse et patrocinia	d
confert sanctorum,	c
quos pro reatibus intercessores	x
non dubitemus effligere.	x
9 Quos cum passim et diversis donatos provinciis	a
in commune conveniat honorare;	x
singulis tamen quibusque locis	a
misericorditer provisos attribuit,	b
quos specialiter amplectendos	x
et propensius exorandos voluit.	b
10 E quibus nobis beatum Remaclum destinavit,	x
cuius quia suffragiis	a
plurimum innitimur,	b
eius vita et gesta, ut captus est facultatis,	a
narrare ordimur.	b

## II. Latin Quotation Analysis

No	new*	The origin of the quote	Source text	MSS
1	*	Sed. Scot. <i>In Evang. Matt. 1.1.52</i> Nam Deus omnipotens et clemens, cuius natura bonitas, cuius uoluntas potentia, cuius opus misericordia est	<u>Omnipotens Dominus,</u> /.../ <u>cuius natura bonitas,</u> <u>voluntas efficientia,</u> <u>opus misericordia,</u>	No variants
2	*	Vulgate, Eph. 2:4 qui dives est in misericordia	<i>qui dives est in misericordia</i>	No variants
3	*	Vulgate, Rom. 9:22 sustinuit in multa patientia vasa irae aptata in interitum	<u>sustinuit vasa irae,</u> <u>apta in interitum,</u> <u>in multa patientia</u>	No variants

4	*	Bede, <i>In Cant. Cant.</i> 4.201 ex reatu primae praevaricationis uenire	<u>a reatu primae praevaricationis liberum nullum invenit.</u>	No variants
5	*	Aug. <i>Serm.</i> 18.45 Aug. <i>De civ.</i> 1.265 Divitias bonitatis et longanimitatis	Divitias bonitatis et longanimitatis	No variants
6	*	Gennadius of Marseille, <i>Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum</i> 56.24 Nullum credimus ad salutem nisi deo invitante venire, nullum invitatum salutem suam nisi deo auxiliante operari, nullum nisi orantem auxilium promereri, nullum dei voluntate perire, sed permissu, pro electione arbitrii, ne ingenuitas potestatis semel homini attributa ad servilem cogatur necessitatem.	<u>Quia ut non est credendum aliquem ad salutem venire nisi Deo invitante, sic nec invitum quidem salutem suam operari nisi Deo auxiliante, nullum voluntate Dei perire, sed permissu arbitrii pro sua electione, ne ingenuitas potestatis attributa semel homini ad servilem cogatur necessitatem referri.</u>	No variants
7	*	Genadius of Marseille, <i>Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum</i> 20.11 initium ergo salutis nostrae habemus Deo miserante: ut adquiescamus salutiferae inspirationi, nostrae potestatis est: ut adipiscamur quod admonitioni cupimus, diuini muneris est: ut non labamur ab indepto salutis munere, sollicitudinis nostrae est et caelestis pariter adiutorii: ut labamur, potestatis nostrae est et ignaviae.	<u>Initium ergo salutis nostrae Deo miserante habemus ut itaque adquiescamus salutiferae inspirationi nostrae est potestatis, ut adipiscamur quod moniti adquiescendo cupimus, divini est muneris; ut labamur, nostrae est potestatis et ignaviae, ut non labamur, indepto salutis munere nostrae quidem est quodammodo sollicitudinis, omnimodo vero adiutorii caelestis</u>	No variants

## 2.5.3 Exhortacio

### I. Transcription<sup>68</sup>

<b>1</b> Eo tempore et beatus Remaclus iam <b>senior</b> ,	a
sed moribus quam annis matur <b>ior</b> ,	a
diem sibi vocationis intelligens imminere,	x
quo recondensaret	b
honor in caelis quod triverat	b
labor in terris,	c
morem gerere decrevit subjectis.	c
Quos accersitos et de abscessu patris	c
suaque desolatione mestos,	x
his ultimis solatus est verbis:	c
 <b>2</b> Ecce, patres sanctissimi,	a
ecce fratres karissimi,	a
praecordium meorum conviscerati compage,	b
<u>pars animae dimidia meae,</u>	b
viam universae terrae	b
sum ingressurus,	c
et ad vos deinceps non reversurus.	c
Vestra me, vestra quos desero solitudo sollicitat,	d
non mea abicio,	e
qui Deo solatore confortor contristat.	d
Non me terret proventus conditionis	f
omni mortali communis,	f
cum tota etiam sapientium vita commendatio	e
esse debeat mortis.	f
 <b>3</b> <u>Non turpis mors potest accidere viro forti,</u>	a
<u>non inmaturo consulari,</u>	b
<u>non misera prospicienti,</u>	a
vestrarum me magis	c
vestrarum mentium,	x
<u>quas asperioribus adhuc esset</u>	d
<u>necesse studiis informari,</u>	b
teneritudo retentat;	d
vobis, inquam, timeo,	x
ut si luporum adigerit rabies,	c
ne nemo sit qui abigat.	d
 <b>4</b> Haec monasteria Dei	a
et sanctorum dicavi,	b
vestris quoque ancillari	a
usibus delegavi.	b
Vestra ad hoc usus	c
sum opera forti et fideli;	a
vereor cum sepe pendere debeat animi.	a
Quo loco nostrae sitae sunt res,	x
in commune videtis,	d
et quique hic mundus	c
in maligno positus sit,	x

<sup>68</sup> See above, n. 45.



iuxta mecum omnes attenditis.	d
<b>5</b> Si ergo quicquam pensi est videte	a
ne ab integritate,	a
quam in vos locavi,	b
ullo unquam errore seducamini,	b
sed unanimi	b
glutino pacis in Christo,	c
iuxta quod et patrum habet traditio,	c
et scripturarum sanctarum lectione,	d
sed et meae invigilantiae	d
didicistis ammonitione.	d
<b>6</b> Et vestris itaque manibus sacra	a
numquam recedat lectio,	b
et in ea vobis jugis sit meditatio.	b
<u>Ut enim ager, quamvis fertilis sine cultura,</u>	a
<u>non potest esse fructuosus,</u>	c
<u>sic sine doctrina animus,</u>	c
<u>doctoque homini et eruditio</u>	b
<u>vivere est cogitare,</u>	d
<u>orationi frequenter incumbendum,</u>	e
<u>pro excessibus humana fragilitate</u>	d
<u>contractis exorandum,</u>	e
et de caetero contrahendis non modo supplicandum,	e
verum cauta sollertia invigilandum.	e
<b>7</b> <u>Ubi namque socordiae</u>	a
<u>se quis ignaviaeque</u>	a
<u>tradiderit necququam Deum inploret.</u>	x
Vobisque <u>virtus sit vitium iugere,</u>	a
<u>et sapientia prima stulticia caruisse;</u>	a
<i>pudor iusticiaeque soror,</i>	x
<i>incorrupta fides</i>	b
<i>nudaque veritas.</i>	b
<b>8</b> In vestris cordibus obtineant locum,	a
ut vestra opera spectantes,	b
provocentur ad exemplum.	a
Confessionem veram delictorum	a
Deo et praelatis offerte,	c
temptationum pulsationes	b
in iuso auditu detegite,	c
quia <i>stultorum incurata pudor</i>	x
<i>malus ulcera celat,</i>	d
<u>et tegendo vires ministrat.</u>	d
<b>9</b> <u>Oboedientiae bonum maioribus exhibete,</u>	a
eorum documentis animos inuite,	a
quia quisque <u>tum recte vivit,</u>	b
<u>si curat id esse quod audit.</u>	b
<b>10</b> <u>Ab omnibus quae ira fieri amat temperate,</u>	a
quia verum est <u>solum esse</u>	b
<u>triumphum innocentiae,</u>	a
<u>non peccare,</u>	a
<u>ubi liceat posse.</u>	b
<b>11</b> In optimis quoque et adiudicantes	a
temperantes estote,	x

quia <u>est modus in rebus;</u>	x
<u>sunt certi denique fines</u>	a
<u>quos ultra citraque nequit consistere verum.</u>	x
<b>12</b> <i>Metiri se quemque suo modulu ac pede verum est.</i>	a
Nemo iniuriosus sit alteri,	b
quia <u>accipere quam facere praestat iniuriam.</u>	x
<u>Pacientiam</u> , quae miseriarum portus <b>est</b> ,	a
amplectimini;	b
quoniam <i>nemo adeo ferus est</i> ,	a
<i>ut non mitescere possit,</i>	x
<i>si modo culturae patientem</i>	c
<i>commodet aurem.</i>	c
<b>13</b> A nullo labore a praelatis proposito deteramini,	x
quia <u>omnes clari et nobilitati labores.</u>	a
<u>contentu etiam fiunt tollerabiles,</u>	a
<u>et consuetudo laborum</u>	b
<u>perpesionem facit faciliorem dolorum.</u>	b
<b>14</b> Segnitiam devitate,	a
quia <u>tardis mentibus non facile comitatur virtus.</u>	b
Superbiam supra omnia calcate,	a
ut vera donemini libertate,	a
liber enim non est,	x
quem superbus inflamat animus.	b
<b>15</b> Castitatem diligite,	a
quia omnis sacra scriptura.	b
<i>Nil ait esse prius,</i>	x
<i>melius nil celibe vita.</i>	b
<u>Prospera, quae sapientium animos fatigant,</u>	c
non vos delectent,	c
quia <i>quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,</i>	a
<i>mutatae quacient.</i>	c
<b>16</b> <u>Pacem prae omnibus</u>	a
<u>et unanimittatis concordiam</u>	a
<u>moneo tenendam,</u>	b
ut, sicut in duobus	b
monasteriis estis aggregati,	a
ita gemina ferveatis dilectione Dei et proximi,	c
et quia ab uno pastore regimini,	c
numquam aliquo scandalo vel scismate	c
possitis disiungi.	c
<b>17</b> Non vos quae ossa consumit	
<u>rumpat invidia,</u>	a
quia <u>invidus alterius maccrescit</u>	x
<u>rebus optimis invidia Siculi</u>	a
<u>non invenere tyranni</u>	b
<u>majus tormentum.</u>	b
	x
<b>18</b> Et <u>de minori forte substantia</u> non queramini,	
<u>papuper enim non est,</u>	x
<u>cui teram suppetit usus,</u>	x
ipsaque <u>vos cottidies</u>	a
<u>natura ammonet,</u>	b
<u>quam paucis.</u>	x
<u>quam vilibus.</u>	b

<u>quam pravis egeat rebus.</u>	a
	a
<b>19</b> <u>Esto, non opibus</u>	
<i>mentes hominum curaeque levantur,</i>	a
haec igitur meae sunt exhortationis monita,	b
quae iamiamque recessurum	x
et ultimum valefacturum,	c
me vobis communicatum oportuit,	c
ut vestris tanto arcus inprimantur	d
cordibus quanto constiterit	b
meo vos discessu gravari molestius.	d
	a
<b>20</b> <u>Quae si aliquem attulerint fructum,</u>	
<u>id mihi erit palmarium,</u>	a
id fieri triumphabo,	a
<u>inde animus gaudebit inpendio.</u>	b
	b
<b>21</b> Vos quoque, karissimi,	
morituros scitote,	a
ideo paenitentiae tempus indultum	a
non paciamini,	b
quaeso, transire incassum.	a
	b
<b>22</b> Veniet, veniet dies certissime,	
cum frustra desideretis <i>unius usuram horae.</i>	a
	a
<b>21</b> <u>Dum tempus est operamini bonum ad omnes,</u>	
quia <u>labuntur anni fugaces</u>	a
<u>dieque truditur dies.</u>	a
	a
<b>22</b> <u>Immortalia non speranda monet annus et album,</u>	
<u>quae rapit hora diem.</u>	a
	a
<b>23</b> <u>Mors ultima linea est.</u>	
	x
<b>24</b> <u>Perpetuus nulli datur usus,</u>	
<u>et heres heredem</u>	x
<u>alterius velut unda supervenit undam.</u>	a
	a
<b>25</b> <u>Pulvis et umbra sumus,</u>	
<u>omnes una manet mors</u>	x
<u>et calcanda semel via loeti.</u>	x
	x
<b>26</b> In bono autem opere finientes,	
<u>beati erimus,</u>	x
<u>cum relictis corporibus</u>	a
<u>cupiditatum omnium</u>	a
<u>et emulationum</u>	b
<u>expertes fuerimus.</u>	b
	a

## II. Latin Quotation Analysis

No	new*	The origin of the quote	Source text	MSS
.				

1		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 1.3.8 animae dimidium meae	<u>pars animae dimidia meae</u>	No variants
2		Cic. <i>Cat.</i> 4.2 Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec misera sapienti	<u>Non turpis mors potest accidere viro forti, non inmatura consulari, non misera prospicienti,</u>	No variants
3	*	Hor. <i>Od.</i> 3.24.51 mentes asperioribus firmandae studiis	<u>mentium, quas asperioribus adhuc esset necesse studiis informari,</u>	No variants
4		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 2.5 ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus	<u>Ut enim ager, quamvis fertilis sine cultura, non potest esse fructuosus, sic sine doctrina animus</u>	Cod. Sang. 565, Cod. Sang. 571: Ut enim ager, quamvis sit fertilis sine cultura, non potest esse fructuosus, sic sine doctrina animus
5		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 5.38 loquor enim de docto homine et erudito, cui vivere est cogitare	<u>doctoque homini et eruditio vivere est cogitare,</u>	No variants
6	*	Aug. <i>Serm.</i> 229.21 si forte aliqua talia contracta sunt de huius mundi temptatione et uitae humanae fragilitate, tergitur dominica oratione	<u>orationi frequenter incumbendum, pro excessibus humana fragilitate contractis exorandum,</u>	No variants
7		Sal. <i>Cat.</i> 52 ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos inplores	<u>Ubi namque socordiae se quis ignaviaeque tradiderit necquiquam Deum inploret.</u>	All three mss have <i>implorat</i> instead of <i>inploret</i>
8		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.1.41 Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima stultitia caruisse	<u>virtus sit vitium fugere, et sapientia prima stulticia caruisse;</u>	No variants
9		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 1.24.6-7 Pudor et Iustitiae soror, incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas	<i>pudor iusticiaeque soror, incorrupta fides nudaque veritas</i>	No variants
10		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.16.24 Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat	<i>stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat,</i>	No variants
11		Verg. <i>Aen.</i> 9.71 non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat	<u>et tegendo vires ministrat</u>	No variants
12	*	St. Benedict, <i>Regula monachorum</i> 71.1 Oboedientiae	<u>Oboedientiae bonum maioribus exhibete,</u>	No variants

		bonum non solum abbati exhibendum est ab omnibus		
13		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.16.17 Tu recte uiuis, si curas esse quod audis	<u>tum recte vivit,</u> <u>si curat id esse quod audit</u>	No variants
14	*	Sal. <i>De Bello Iog.</i> 34.1.83 atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat	<u>Ab omnibus quae ira fieri amat</u> <u>temperate,</u>	No variants
15	*	Proverbial dictum quoted by several authors <sup>69</sup> and attributed either to Plato or to Aristotle Triumphus innocentiae est non peccare ubi liceat posse	solum esse <u>triumphum innocentiae,</u> <u>non peccare,</u> <u>ubi liceat posse</u>	No variants
16		Hor. <i>Serm.</i> 1.1.105– 106 est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citra que nequit consistere rectum.	<u>est modus in rebus;</u> <u>sunt certi denique fines</u> <u>quos ultra citraque nequit consistere</u> <u>verum</u>	No variants
17		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.7.98 metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.	<i>Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac</i> <i>pede verum est</i>	No variants
18		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 5.19 accipere quam facere praestat iniuriam	<i>accipere quam facere praestat</i> <i>iniuriam</i>	Cod. Sang. 571: iniuriam praestat
19		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.1.39–40 nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit, si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem	<i>nemo adeo ferus est,</i> <i>ut non mitescere possit,</i> <i>si modo culturae patientem</i> <i>commodet aurem</i>	No variants
20		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 2.25 omnes clari et nobilitati labores continuo fiunt etiam tolerabiles	<u>omnes clari et nobilitati labores,</u> <u>contentu etiam fiunt tollerabiles,</u>	No variants
21		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 2.15 consuetudo enim laborum perpersionem dolorum efficit faciliorem.	<u>et consuetudo laborum</u> <u>perpersionem facit faciliorem dolorum</u>	No variants
22	*	Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 5.24.68	<u>tardis mentibus non facile comitatur</u> <u>virtus</u>	No variants

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre*, ed. Riccardo Quadri (Fribourg: Edizioni Universitarie Friburgo, 1966), 135, item 12.

		tardis enim mentibus virtus non facile comitatur		
23		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.1.88 nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita	<i>Nil ait esse prius, melius nil celibe vita</i>	No variants
24		Sal. <i>Bell. Cat.</i> 11 secundae res sapientium animos fatigant	<u>Prospera, quae sapientium animos fatigant,</u>	No variants
25		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.10.30 quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae, mutatae quatient.	<i>quem res plus nimio delectavere secund<u>ae</u>, mutat<u>ae</u> quacient.</i>	No variants
26	*	Cyp. <i>Ep.</i> 48.43 pacem concordiae unanimitate teneamus	<u>Pacem prae omnibus et unanimatis concordiam moneo tenendam,</u>	No variants
27	*	Marc. <i>Epig.</i> 9.97.1 rumpitur invidia	<u>rumpat invidia,</u>	No variants
28		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.2.4 invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis; invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni maius tormentum	<u>invidus alterius maccrescit rebus optimis invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum</u>	Cod. Sang. 571 : optimis est invidia
29		St. Benedict, <i>Regula monachorum</i> 2.35 de minori forte substantia	Et <u>de minori forte substantia</u> non	No variants
30		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.12.4 pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.	<u>pauper enim non est, cui terram suppetit usus</u>	Cod. Sang. 565, Cod. Sang. 571: cui rerum suppetit
31		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 5.35 cotidie nos ipsa natura admonet, quam paucis, quam parvis rebus egeat, quam vilibus.	<u>vos cottidies natura ammonet, quam paucis, quam vilibus, quam pravis egeat rebus</u>	Cod. Sang. 565, Cod. Sang. 571: cottidie natura nos admonet quam paucis quam vilibus egeat rebus
33		Tib. <i>Eleg.</i> 3.3.21 non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur	<u>non opib<u>us</u> mentes hominum curaeque levantur</u>	No variants
34		Ter. <i>Eun.</i> 5.4.8 id uerost quod ego mihi puto palmarium	<u>id mihi erit palmarium,</u>	No variants
35		Ter. <i>Eun.</i> 586 inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi	<u>inde animus gaudebit inpendio</u>	No variants
36		Cic. <i>Cat.</i> 1.12 unius usuram horae	<i>unius usuram horae</i>	No variants

37	*	Cyp. <i>De bono patientiae</i> 13.257 ergo dum tempus habemus, operemur quod bonum est ad omnes	<u>Dum tempus est operamini bonum ad omnes,</u>	No variants
38		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 2.14.2 eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, labuntur anni	<u>labuntur anni fugaces</u>	No variants
39		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 2.18.15 truditur dies die	<u>dieque truditur dies</u>	No variants
40		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 4.7.7–8 immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium quae rapit hora diem.	<u>Immortalia non speranda monet annus et album,</u> <u>quae rapit hora diem.</u>	No variants
41		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 1.16.79 mors ultima linea rerum est	<u>Mors ultima linea est.</u>	No variants
42		Hor. <i>Ep.</i> 2.2.175 perpetuus nulli datur usus et heres heredem alternis velut unda supervenit undam	<u>Perpetuus nulli datur usus,</u> <u>et heres heredem</u> <u>alterius velut unda supervenit undam</u>	No variants
43		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 4.7.16 pulvis et umbra sumus	<i>Pulvis et umbra sumus</i>	No variants
44		Hor. <i>Od.</i> 1.28.15–16 sed omnis una manet nox et calcanda semel via leti	<u>omnes una manet mors</u> <u>et calcanda semel via loeti</u>	No variants
45		Cic. <i>Tusc. Dis.</i> 1.10 beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et emulationum erimus expertes	<u>beati erimus,</u> <u>cum relictis corporibus</u> <u>cupiditatum omnium</u> <u>et emulationum</u> <u>expertes fuerimus</u>	No variants

### 3. *Vita Remacii II*: Quotation, Rhymed Prose and Content Analysis

The text transcription and division into *cola* and *commata* of selected passages from the *Vita Remacii II* presented in the previous chapter will now be followed by a close stylistic analysis combined with the content analysis. This analysis focuses on two aspects, namely on the meaning of the reused quotations from classical authors and on the patterns of rhymed prose into which these are embedded; for both, I will pay special attention to the way in which such earlier material is adapted to the actual contents of the hagiographic text. The stylistic and content analysis of selected passages from the *Epistula* and the *Vita II*, which I will conduct in what follows, will be combined with a detailed reading of the text, which contrasts modern editorial practices with manuscript evidence, where significant. The focus will be on the formal and internal structure of the text, in order to reveal how the text was built and how its meaning was conveyed through a particular structure. My analysis will reveal the different layers of the text, reflecting on its use of textual material borrowed from other classical and medieval sources. These will be analysed both in terms of their meaning and their form. I will pay special attention to the way in which such quotations, which were not originally composed in rhymed prose, were embedded into a text thoroughly informed by the stylistic conventions of rhymed prose. In this way, I hope to shed new light not only on the understanding of the internal logic of the text, but also on the complex question of its authorship.



### 3.1 Latin quotation analysis

#### 3.1.1 Epistula ad Werinfridum

In the dedicatory epistle which precedes the *Vita II* in one part of the manuscript tradition, there are twenty-eight examples of either verbatim or remodelled quotations mostly from Latin classical authors. Nine verbatim quotations were taken from authors such as Terence, Horace, Martial, the Vulgate, Gregory the Great, and Boethius; Horace stands out in this category, his works being quoted four times. Six remodelled quotations with no adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose originate from the works of Horace (quoted twice), Cicero, Sallust, Priscian, Boethius, and Claudian. A total of thirteen remodelled quotations with adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose originate from Horace (quoted twice), Cicero (three instances), Augustine, Claudian, Apuleius, and Boethius (five examples). The catalogue of authors quoted does not seem too varied, as there is considerable overlap between categories. It is interesting to note that the remodelled quotations were taken from both classical and post-classical authors; this suggests that ancient authors were not considered as an authority whose exact wording could not be changed if needed, while we do not find quotations from the Bible in this category; this implies that the word of God could not be altered in the same way and, in fact, when the Bible is quoted in the dedicatory epistle, its text is reproduced *verbatim*.

Verbatim quotations could also be divided into two subcategories. The first would include those quotations which, in their original form, were completely incompatible with rhymed prose except if altered, for instance Mart. *Epig.* 5.59.3. In the second category, we find instances where even in its original form the text contained instances of *homoeoteleuton*, and, as such, were easily adaptable without change to a text composed in rhymed prose; an example would be Greg. *Hom.* 2.21.9 where *denegat* at the end of one *colon* rhymes with *ministrat* at the end of the following *colon*.

Remodelled quotes with no adaptation the requirements of rhymed prose mostly contain a change of word as, for example, in Hor. *Ep.* 1.3.33 where *seu ...seu* is replaced by *quos...quos* or in Prisc. *Inst. prol.* 1, where *sunt* is replaced by *esse*; such changes do not in any way affect the rhymed prose. Sometimes word endings from the original are changed, but rhymed prose would be present even if the original word endings had been left unaltered as in Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.37-38, where *limat...venenat* becomes *limet...venenet*. There is an example where one-word ending is changed without significant impact on the rhymed prose of its new context as in Claudian's *In Eutr.* 18.170, where *possent* becomes *possunt*. Remodelled quotes with application of the rhymes prose display different degrees of change. An example of a simple change would be Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.12.26 where the 3rd person pl. form of the verb *cernebat* was changed into 3rd person sg. *cernebat* in order to make it rhyme with *aberrat* from three *cola* above. Another less complex change is the change of word order as in Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.25 where *vate sacro* is replaced by *sacro vate* so as to make it rhyme with *nocte* from the *colon* before it. A more complex change would be a combination, for example, of the word order and the change of case as in Aug. *Epist.* 187.57.7 where *credulitatis fidem* becomes *fide credulitatis* making *fide* rhyme with *vigente, indagatrice* and *pollente*. Another example of a more complex change would be Claudian *De bello Get.* 457 where the word *interea* is added to make it rhyme with *silentia* which was moved to the end of the next *colon*. There was another change in this remodelled quote, namely, 3rd person pl. verbal form *librant* was changed into the present infinitive *librare*, but this in itself does not affect the rhyming pattern. There is also an example (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.12.26), where the first part of the remodelled quote is changed significantly while the second part suffered no change, since it already included a rhyme in its original form. The first part is introduced by *quibus* to syntactically connect it with the preceding *colon*, then it is further shortened by leaving out the dependent clause *quam vis obtineri* and replacing it simply with the present infinitive *obtinere*; furthermore, the word order is changed by placing

*optimis* at the end of the *colon* to make it rhyme with *causis* in the next *colon* as indicated below.

Cic. <i>Tusc. Disp.</i> 1.12.26  Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet valere plurimum	<u>quibus auctoribus obtinere possumus optimis</u> <u>quod in omnibus causis</u> <u>et solet</u> <u>et debet</u> <u>valere plurimum</u>
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It is also interesting to observe the way quotes are incorporated into the text of the *Epistula*. Often, they are simply introduced by the subordinate conjunction *quia* as in Greg. *Hom.* 2.21.9 where the verbatim quote *vires, quas imperitia denegat caritas ministrat* is attached to its new context by a prefatory *quia*, which serves a dual purpose: it embeds the quotation into the text as a justification of what has been said before and, at the same time, it may function as a subtle indicator that it *is* a quotation. Another possibility was to have the quotation logically continue the preceding part of the sentence as in Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.190-1 where *ut verbis cuiusdam sapientis*, an explicit quotation marker, is complemented by *utar*. This can be nicely observed in the syntactical structure of the sentence because the verb *utar* of Horace's original requires an object in the Ablative case and here the word *verbis* takes up this role. Also, in the new arrangement, *utar* is made to stand at the end of a *colon*, so that it could provide a partial rhyme with *viderer* at the end of a subsequent *colon*.

### 3.1.2 Proemium to the Vita II

This part of the *Vita II* contains a smaller number of quotes, seven altogether. Two verbatim quotes were taken from the Vulgate and from Augustine. One remodelled quote with no adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose originates from the Vulgate. Four instances of remodelled quotes with adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose concern textual material taken from from Sedulius Scotus, Bede and Gennadius of Marseille (quoted twice).

This concentration of Christian and biblical material in this part of the text is certainly remarkable, especially as there are no quotations from classical pagan authors in the *proemium*, which is a little unusual, since both the *Epistula* and *Exortacio* contain a large number of classical Latin quotations. As for why this might be the case, it seems that the core of the text, a part of which is also the *proemium*, is very much Christian both in content and in the form. In this it follows the hagiographical tradition of the area. However, to make the saint stand out, to make him as a founder of Stavelot-Malmedy as an authority and the source of wisdom, to show what a great and learnt man he was, his speech is filled with classical quotations. This way the community would become even more renowned and it would attract new members. But there is also another aspect. That is to show how skilful a writer from the cathedral school of Liège could become and thus to make the school itself more famous. Classical quotations help make the community of Stavelot-Malmedy and the cathedral school of Liège more illustrious.

Verbatim quotations in this part of the text could again be divided into two subcategories. In the first group, we find one quotation from the Bible (Eph. 2:4: *qui dives est in misericordia*) whose original form is reproduced *ad litteram* and makes up a *colon* of its own. However, this was then skilfully integrated into the system of rhymed prose of the passage where it appears by rearranging another biblical quotation (Rom. 9:22: *sustinuit in multa patientia vasa irae aptata in interitum* rearranged as *sustinuit vasa irae, / apta in interitum, / in multa patientia*) so as to provide a rhyming *colon* for the first in addition to *efficientia* and *misericordia* provided by rearranging a text quoted from Sedulius Scotus, which serves as a transition between the two biblical quotations. The quotation from Rom. 9:22 is an apt illustration for the second category, namely, that of the quotations which, in their original form, contain material that is compatible with rearrangement and insertion into rhymed prose; this case further suggests that in the author's practice, even the text of the Bible was not immune to rearranging (although not actual change) if its new context required it.

Remodelled quotes with adaptation to rhymed prose display different degrees of change. An example of a minimal change would be Bede, *In Cant. Cant.* 4.201 where the infinitive *venire* of the original was replaced by a finite form of the verb, *invenit*, to make it rhyme with *venit* from a previous *colon* above. Examples of more complex changes are the passages quoted from Sedulius Scottus, *In Evang. Matt.* 1.1.52 and Gennadius of Marseille, *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* 56.24 and 20.11. In the passage from Sedulius we can observe a lexical change accompanied by a change of the word order; *Deus* of the original is replaced with *Dominus*, which is then placed at the end of the colon, so to make it rhyme with *bonitas*. Also the linking verb *est* is omitted, so that *miser cordia* comes at the end of the *colon* making it rhyme with *efficiencia* from the previous *colon*. In both quotations from Gennadius of Marseille the principle of word change is applied consistently throughout both rather extended passages; for example, the words *credendum*, *salutem* and *auxiliante* in the first passage were put at the end of *cola* to create rhymes. In addition, the finite form of the verb *credimus* was changed into the Gerundive *credendum*, so as to make it rhyme with *invitum*, and at the end of the passage the verb *referri* was added to make it rhyme with *perire*. In the second passage quoted the words *habemus*, *potestatis*, *nostrae* and *sollicitudinis* were all placed at the end of *cola* to create rhymes.

The principles governing the incorporation of quotes into the text are the same as in *Epistula*.<sup>70</sup>

### 3.1.3 Exhortacio

The *Exhortacio* contains the largest number of quotations, as it is to be expected, given the length of the passage and its importance in the internal economy of the text. There are altogether forty-five examples of either verbatim or remodelled quotations. Verbatim quotations, eleven in number, originate from Horace, who is used seven times, Cicero (twice),

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<sup>70</sup> See the last paragraph in 3.1.1 *Epistula ad Werinfridum*.

Tibullus. Remodelled quotes without any adaptation to the system of rhymed prose, eighteen in number, originate from Terence, Horace (quoted nine times), Vergil, Cicero, Sallust (with three such quotations), Martial, Cyprian, and the *Rule* of St. Benedict (twice). Fifteen remodelled quotes adapted to the system of rhymed prose practised by the author of the text originate from Terence, Horace (four times), Cicero (seven instances), Augustine, Cyprian, and an unidentified philosophical *dictum*.

As verbatim quotations from the *Epistula* and the *Proemium* could be divided into two subcategories so, too, can the ones from the *Exhortacio*. In the first category are those quotations which do not allow to form rhymed prose without alteration of their original form; these are represented here by only one quotation, namely Hor. *Od.* 4.7.16. In the second category are those quotations which were suitable to rearrangement into rhymed prose (nine instances). Tibullus, *Eleg.* 3.3.21 provides an apt illustration for this category; *opibus* at the end of one *colon* rhymes with *rebus* at the end of a *colon* from a previous paragraph and with *molestius* at the end of the *colon* in the same paragraph as *opibus*.

Remodelled quotes with no adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose mostly contain a change of a single word, such as in Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.41 where the 3rd person indicative *est* is replaced by present subjunctive *sit* or as in Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 11 where *secundae res* are replaced by *prospera*. There is no example for the change of the word order.

Remodelled quotes with adaptation to the requirements of rhymed prose display different degrees of change. An example of a minimal change would be Cicero, *Cat.* 4.2, where the change of the word order from the original *forti viro* to *viro forti* creates a rich rhyming pattern, by adding a third rhyming *colon* to the two already present in the original (*immatura consulari* and *misera sapienti*, which has been changed to *misera prospicienti*). Another example is Cicero, *Cat.* 4.2, where *potest accidere* is moved towards the beginning of the *colon* and

replaced with *forti viro* with the change into *viro forti* to make *forti* rhyme with *consulari* and *prospicienti*, which were already in those places in the original quote. Another simple change concerns the replacement of one word in Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.* 5.38, where the past participle *erudito* is replaced by the noun *eruditio*, which rhymes with *lectio* and *meditacio* at the end of two previous *cola*. An example of a more complex change would be Horace, *Od.* 3.24.51, where the verb *esset* is added to the original, so as to make it rhyme with *retentat* and *abigat*. Other examples of more complex changes are the passages quoted from Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.* 2.15 and Cyprian, *Ep.* 48.43. In Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.* 2.15 the verb *efficit* is replaced with *facit* to create an internal repetition with *faciliorem* and an internal rhyme with *dolorum* and *laborum*. At the same time *dolorum* is put at the end of the *colon* to make it rhyme with *laborum*. In the case of the quotation from Cyprian, *Ep.* 48.43 the phrase *prae omnibus* is inserted, gen. sg. *concordiae* is changed into *concordiam* to make it rhyme with *tenendam* which was created from the original *teneamus*. To fit *tenendam* syntactically into the new text the original sentence was expanded by the addition of the verbal form verb *moneo*.

The principles governing the incorporation of quotations into the text are similar to those identified and discussed in the case of the *Epistula* and the *Proemium*.<sup>71</sup> Material quoted from other sources are either introduced into the text with *quia* or embedded by effecting changes to the word forms of the original, so that they syntactically fit into the rest of the text as in Horace, *Od.* 3.24.51, where N. pl. *mentes* is changed into G. pl. *mentium* to make it syntactically dependent on *teneritudo* from the next *colon*.

### 3.2 Rymed Prose and Content Analysis

What now follows is a thorough analysis of the way in which rhymed prose is used to highlight the actual message of the text in very complex structures formed by the interplay between form

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<sup>71</sup> See the last paragraph in 3.1.1 *Epistula ad Werinfridum*.

and content. In general, rhymed prose, as used by the author of the *Vita II*, creates further coherence in the text, in addition to the syntactical changes made to quotations meant to embed them smoothly in their new context, as illustrated by my discussion in the previous subsection. There are a number of different rhyming patterns from regular ones such as *aabb*, *abba*, *abacbc*, *aabbbccddd*, *aba* to more irregular ones, which include non-rhyming members (here marked with an x). In addition to the end rhyme, the most common type, there occurs also the rhyme between the end of one paragraph and the beginning of the next paragraph as in *Proemium* 2.8 *providit* and 3.1 *abstulit*; or the beginnings of two consecutive paragraphs as in the *Epistula* 2.1 *maximus* and 3.1 *novimus*, which functions as an echo of the previous paragraph and thus strengthens the coherence of the text. There is also an internal rhyme as in *Proemium* 2.3 *voluntatis...ingratis* or rhyme between the end of one colon and the beginning of the next colon as in *Epistula* 3.3 *vigente* and 3.4 *ratione*. There is also repetition at the beginning of two consecutive *cola*, also creating an internal rhyme as in *Exhortacio* 3.2 *non* and 3.3 *non* or 3.4 *vestrarum* and 3.5 *vestrarum*.

### 3.2.1 Analysis of the first three paragraphs of the *Epistula*

*The Epistula ad Werinfridum abbatem Stabulensem*, which prefaces the *Vita*, therefore serving as an important introduction into the subject of a religious nature, starts with a quote from the greatest rhetorical authority in the Latin language, Cicero. However, the quote is not taken from one of Cicero's rhetorical writings, but from one of his best philosophical works, the *Tusculanae Disputationes*. In this way, the quote creates the framework for the text and calls to the reader's mind not only the high classical style and rhetorical conventions, but also the deep philosophical meaning of the original. The quote is slightly altered to make it fit into the scheme of rhymed prose, thus making it instrumental to the grander scheme of the narrative. It expresses the idea that the entire Antiquity was as much closer to the true nature of things as



further away it was from the divine birth and origin, which is in sharp contrast to how truth is perceived in Christianity, because truth comes from closeness to God, not from chronological distance from it.

The next sentence introduces the immovable word of God through the words of the Prophet Daniel in striking contrast to the previously cited ‘pagan’ authority. The quote from Daniel is taken from chapter 12 of that biblical book, carrying the image of apocalyptic visions, but these visions, as they came from God are not false or to be doubted. Surprisingly, the biblical quote was not altered to fit into the scheme of the rhymed prose. It provides a *colon* of its own, ending with *scientia*, which does not rhyme with any of the following or previous *cola* and in this way stands out in isolation as an ‘orphan member’.<sup>72</sup> This and the previous sentence serve as a prelude to the key philosophical and religious idea the author of *Epistula* would express in the next sentence.

The reader is thus faced with a powerful opposition between the world of the ancients (*in antiquis*) and the modern world (*in modernis*), i.e., the world of the tenth century. This contrast is vividly marked in the structure of the text, because *in antiquis* embraces the first three *cola* and *in modernis* the next three *cola*. What is more, the two phrases rhyme with each other, creating a dynamic relationship. As the text continues we have a rhyme at the end of the first and second *colon*, namely *vigente* and *indagatrice*, but also a rhyme across the two *cola* *vigente* and *ratione*. This connects the two *cola* more closely together and, at the same time, creates an internal rhyme inside the second *colon* between *ratione* and *indagatrice*, which embrace the word *veritatis*. This structure well reflects the meaning itself. For in the ancient times, people had to rely on the flourishing (*vigente*) of the reason (*ratione*) and they had to seek (*indagatrice*)

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<sup>72</sup> To use the terminology proposed by Turcan-Verkerk, “Forme et la réforme,” 215. One may also refer to such non-rhyming *cola* as ‘stray members,’ which stand out from the regular system of rhyming *cola* used in texts that employ rhyming prose.

for the truth (*veritatis*). What is more, they had to try and foresee the future, to predict it as the text implies by using the phrase *perspicatia futurorum*. In the fourth *colon*, *in modernis* first recalls *in antiquis*, setting itself as the mirror to the ancient times. At the end of the *colon*, the word *fide*, which rhymes with *vigente* and *indagatrice* invokes faith in God as opposed to the human searching for the meaning. Faith is something firm, something you can rely on while searching is uncertain. This very faith is based on the Christian belief in the word of God, while the search for meaning practised by the ancients is based on human reasoning. In addition, the use of the words *pollente* to describe *fide* and the use of *vigente* to describe *ratione*, which rhyme across *cola*, nicely contrast the very nature of *fides* and *ratio*.

The use of the words *pollente* and *vigente* might be revealing. In the past, reason was, as the word *vigente* suggests, alive, thriving, flourishing, which in turn implies it is also something which inevitably will die, as all living things do. But faith is not *vigente*, it is *pollente*, meaning it is potent and strong, not something which has a beginning and an end as living things. Faith is eternal. But in modern times people do not only have the faith of the belief, but also the abundance of knowledge of the past, expressed as *plurima scientia praeteritorum*, which again recalls *perspicatia futurorum* from two *cola* above, making a double rhyme across the *cola* as to further emphasize the statement. What is more, the very word *scientia* looks back to the biblical quote in which *scientia* was *multiplex* suggesting that the knowledge of the past that people have in modern times is not the speculative knowledge of the ancients, but the unique knowledge from God as revealed in Bible.

It now becomes clear why the biblical quote was not changed according to the stylistic demands of rhymed prose. One could appropriate the way the message of the ancients was uttered, because it was a speculation, based on causality and, therefore, subject to change and reshaping. But the word of God, which contained the eternal, unchangeable truth, was not to be touched.

The text continues with another opposition between *illis*, i.e., the ancients, and *nobis*, i.e., the Christians in the tenth century, again creating a rhyme across *cola*. The *colon* introduced by *illis* concludes with *vetustatis* creating an internal rhyme. The idea presented is that the ancients had to live a long life to be able to acquire (*praestitit*) the understanding (*cognitionem*) about everything (*omnium rerum*). The antagonism between then and now is firmly established by the word *econtra* following *nobis*. However, this antagonism, which is embedded in the meaning of the text, is nicely contrasted with two cross *cola* rhymes. The first one already mentioned connects the beginnings of *colon* 1 and *colon* 4 (*illis* – *nobis*) and the second one connects the ends of *colon* 1 and *colon* 4 (*vetustatis* – *sanguis*) adding coherence and internal logic to the text itself.

What follows is a wish to remember (*utinam memorare*) which pairs the longevity of old life with the brevity of modern life and worries that beset it, and the acquired knowledge of things from the past with passions (*calidus sanguis*) and ignorance (*inscientia*) of today. This message, in the centre of which stands the *colon* ending with *versat*, which rhymes with *aberrat* and *cernebat* from the first sentence, thus making a cross reference to the very beginning, is in dialogue with the message from the previous sentence, where the modernity is equipped with *scientia praeteritorum*. The author of the text expresses a wish that the discoveries (*inventa*), i.e., the knowledge of the ancients (*antiquorum virorum*), would not disappear away from modern times, precisely because the moderns do not have a long life which would allow them to come to those discoveries. Again, the use of rhymed prose supports the internal structure. *Brevem* in *colon* 6 of this sentence rhymes back with *cognitionem* in the second *colon* and the last two *cola* end with the rhyming *antiquorum* and *virorum*.

### 3.2.2 Analysis of paragraph one of Proemium

The Proemium is apparently written in a much more Christian tone than the *Epistula* or the *Exhortacio*, as suggested by the complete lack of quotations from classical non-Christian authors. The Proemium starts with the evocation of the Almighty God and the wording is taken from the Cristian author Sedulius Scotus, who was a former monk from Ireland and later also a prominent literary author from the area of Liège. It is not clear whether the author of *Vita* chose Sedulius Scotus as an important authority to begin his *Vita II* with because of Sedulius' connection to Liège.

The remodeled quotation from Sedulius is interrupted by a verbatim quotation from the Vulgate, which conveys the idea that that God is full of mercy. This verbatim quote is skillfully linked with the rest of Sedulius' remodelled text through rhyme, namely *misericordia* rhymes with *efficientia* and again with *misericordia* in the fifth and sixth cola. The passage goes on to describe God's attributes, saying his nature is goodness, his will efficient and his mission is mercy. He sustains anger like in a vessel which is ready and full of patience. Here *patientia* rhymes with *misericordia* and *efficientia* from the colon above, thus creating an arch across cola, which helps to keep the structure of the text together. Even though there are two non-rhyming cola, this does not break the coherence of the text because the rhyme encloses the non-rhyming pattern from both sides and provides a bridge of sorts between the two parts of the passage. The next colon, which is not a quotation, but the author's own contribution, functions as a connecting link to a passage quoted from Bede.

The author's original contribution is limited to the image of God's descent to earth in human form in order to provide salvation for humankind, which, as the quotation from Bede adds, was in dire need of such salvation, since it was living and suffering under the burden of the original sin. The whole passage articulates a theological view of God's infinite mercy as proved by his

willingness to assume human form and provide fallen humankind with the chance of redemption. This message is articulated with the help of the initial quotation from Sedulius' commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, complemented with two actual biblical quotations, and linked to the final justification for the story of salvation (the idea that what made it necessary was the original sin) by means of the author's only contribution, the statement that in the end God descended to earth in order to effect salvation.

### 3.2.3 Analysis of paragraphs 10–12 from the *Exhortacio*

The passage of the *Vita II* I refer to here as the *Exhortacio* contains Remaclus' deathbed speech full of admonitions, suggestions, and exhortations to his fellow-monks. The entire speech comes through as an address full of Christian zeal couched, however, in the words of both pagan ancient writers and Christian authors. Pagan and Christian thought are skillfully intertwined, leaving aside any dichotomy which might arise from the religious differences of the authors quoted. The segment where this is most beautifully illustrated is represented by paragraphs 10 to 13 of ch. 21 of the *Vita II*. Paragraph 10 starts with a warning to the monks to stay away from everything which anger loves echoing the words of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*. The military context of pagan antiquity is then replaced with the Christian metaphor of a monk as a Christ's soldier. In the next sentence, this is further reinforced with the choice of the word *triumphus* emphasizing that the only triumph of innocence is not to sin although there was an opportunity. Sedulius is here exceptional in attributing these words to Aristotle. The idea and its formulation were attributed in the Middle Ages, most often to Plato by name (*Plato dixit*), so, for instance in the compilation of philosophical *dicta* (*Sententiae philosophorum*) attributed to [Pseudo-]Caecilius Balbus and transmitted in Heiric of Auxerre's compilation *Collectanea*. Here the rhyme *esse – posse* nicely frames the message inside which

is a contrast illustrated by two opposing concepts of *innocentiae* and *peccare* which are connected together by the same rhyme.

Next comes a quote from one of Seneca's philosophical letters further stating that not only in bad things, such as anger, but also in good things one needs to have a measure; this connects seamlessly with Horace's famous *dictum* that there is a measure for everything. There is even an internal rhyme between *adiudicantes* and *temperantes*, which then rhymes with *finis* in the second part, thus serving as a link and creating coherence. The quotation from Horacequote remains almost unchanged and is incorporated in such a way that the rhyme comes naturally.

Then follows a verbatim quote from Horace's *Letters* illustrating the idea that everyone must measure their own step meaning that no one is to compete with another. Furthermore, no one is to be harmful to another person because it is far better to receive an insult than be the cause of one. This is reminiscent of Christ's teaching about turning the other cheek. But here this wisdom comes from a pagan authority and not the Bible. Cicero's quote is skillfully connected with the author's own thoughts by another internal rhyme between *iniuriam* and *patientiam*. Again the rhyme stands in sharp contrast to the antagonism of the meaning. The author's original words ending in *est* and *amplectimini* are connected through the rhyme to the quotation from Horace which ends in *est* and author's own words ending in *alteri*.

The next verbatim quote from Horace is introduced by the subordinate conjunction *quoniam* connecting the idea of patience from the previous *colon* with the idea that everybody can be softened if he/she offers a patient ear to advice and education. The word *est* in the sixth *colon* rhymes back with the two identical verbal forms in two previous *cola*, while *patientem* in the quote rhymes with *aurem* as the last word of the quote.

### 3.3 *Spolientechnik* in the Ottonian Renaissance

As the analysis of the quotations, rhymed prose, and their relation to the actual content of the text of select passages from the *Epistula ad Werinfridum*, the *Proemium* of the *Vita II Remacii* and the *Exhortacio* has shown, all these texts are embellished with passages and fragments taken from other classical and medieval Latin texts. It can be argued that one of the main motivations for this compositional strategy was to make the text more modern, especially if compared to the earlier hagiographic production that it was rewriting, the *Vita I Remacii*. By modern here I mean a text that was more up to date and more adhering to the stylistic conventions that inform other hagiographic texts (but not exclusively) produced during the late tenth century in the diocese of Liège. Such a stylistic upgrading had been requested expressly by Abbot Werinfrid, the one who commissioned the text of the new *vita* from Notger of Liège.<sup>73</sup>

Building a new piece of art with an extensive use of various elements of antiquity was something that has often been recognized as a typical characteristic of the Ottonian Renaissance.<sup>74</sup> In Ottonian Latin prose texts this creative strategy as reflected in the extensive use of quotations from and allusions to not only classical authors, but also from the Bible and Christian authors. Such quotations were used as textual building blocks in a manner which has been considered by modern scholars as one of the distinguishing features of Ottonian prose, and especially of hagiography. The result of such use of classical and Christian *spolia*

<sup>73</sup> Donatus, *Vita Trudonis* 5, ed. W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 6 (1913), p. 279.

<sup>74</sup> A useful discussion of the use of quotations in medieval texts (and of *spolia* in medieval art) is available in the various studies collected in the volume *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols., Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1999); see especially Umberto Eco, "Riflessioni sulle tecniche di citazione nel medioevo" (461-484). On *spolia* in general, see Dale Kinney, "The Concept of *Spolia*," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 233-52 with further literature.

(*Spolientechnik*) is what Walter Berschin calls *ottonische Schmuckstil*.<sup>75</sup> In my opinion, the *Vita II Remacii*, in all its component parts, is a prime example of this creative style.

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<sup>75</sup> *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 4.1, *Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter 920-1220 n. Chr. 920-1070 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1999), 100-101, 157 and *ibid.*, 127, on the *Zitat-Spolien* as a distinguishing characteristic of the (hagiographic) style of Ottonian times.



## Conclusion

The analysis of quotations from classical and Christian authors in the *Vita II Remaculi*, which I have conducted and presented in the previous chapters has shown, I believe, that such quotations were consistently used by the author of that text in the same manner, either as verbatim quotes or as remodeled quotes, all throughout the various parts of text. There is no visible difference in the way such quotations were used in the dedicatory *Epistula* and in the final *Exhortacio*, both of which make use of a mixture of verbatim and remodeled quotations from classical and medieval Latin authors. The *Proemium* differs in this respect because it only contains quotes from medieval writers and the Bible. However, regardless of the status of the author quoted, whether classical or medieval, the author of *Vita II* seems to have had no reticence in applying to both a uniform treatment, by introducing changes to the original texts he reused; in most cases, such changes were dictated by and in consonance with to the need to create the rhyming pattern which structure his prose all throughout the text.

The inventory of authors quoted in the various parts of the *Vita II*, drawn in the previous chapters on the basis of identifications made by previous scholarship and of the results of my own research, is rather impressive. Among the names that appear in the *Epistula* are the following: Terence, Horace, Cicero, Sallust, Martial, Apuleius, Gregory the Great, Augustine, Priscian, Boethius, Claudian, and the Vulgate. In the *Proemium* the author used materials taken mainly from Christian authors such as Augustine, Bede, Sedulius Scottus, Gennadius of Marseille, and from the Vulgate. The final part of the *Vita II*, which contains Remaculus' final *Exhortacio* to his disciples yielded the most impressive collection of reused ancient and medieval authors, such as Terence, Tibullus, Horace, Cicero, Vergil, Seneca, Sallustius, Martial, Cyprian, Augustine, philosophical *dicta* of unknown provenance and, as it could only be expected in a text elaborated for a monastic community, the *Rule* of St. Benedict. The only

author who appears in the *Epistula* and both passages from *Vita II* is Augustine. Horace is the most often quoted one, appearing eight times in the *Epistula* and thirteen times in the *Exhortacio*, followed by Cicero, four times in the *Epistula* and nine time in the *Exhortacio*. Two unusual occurrences for the tenth century are texts from Tibullus and Apuleius. There are comparatively and surprisingly fewer quotes from the Bible considering the Christian ethos of the text.

Looking at the way in which such quotations were integrated into his text by the author of the *Vita II Remacii*, I have distinguished between verbatim and remodeled quotations, both further subdivided into. Thus, we can distinguish between verbatim quotes which do not allow, in their original form, an outright integration into the rhyming pattern characteristic of the text, those which allow the author to integrate them into his rhymed prose without any alteration, since they contain already rhyming *cola*. Remodeled quotations can also be divided into instances where remodeling introduces changes that do not influence the rhyming pattern of their new context and others where the original material undergoes changes meant to make it suitable to the requirements of rhymed prose. The quotations in this last category display different degrees of change, from simpler to more complex ones, but their application is consistent in the three portions of the text studied here, namely the *Epistula*, the *Proemium*, and the *Exhortacio*.

A detailed reading of selected passage from the *Epistula*, the *Proemium*, and the *Exhortacio* has shown that, for the author of this hagiographic text, rhymed prose was not only a stylistic convention, but a way of building the structure of the text and ensuring its coherence. The meaning is intertwined with the form, often changing the sense of the original quotation, in order to make it fit into the new context. Since the governing system of rhymed prose and the way Latin quotations have been appropriated to fit into these systems seem to be applied consistently and in the same manner in both to the prefatory *Epistula* and the two different

passages from *Vita II* analyzed here, this would argue in favour of a single authorship for both the *Epistula* and the *Vita II*. However, whether this single author is Heriger of Lobbes or Notger of Liège is at this stage impossible to tell based solely on the style and content analysis presented in the present study. Further, more detailed investigation on the same lines could provide an answer to the disputed question of the authorship of these texts.

Another way in which research could move forward is through a new discussion of the relationship between the extant manuscripts and the texts printed in modern times, informed by editorial practices that can often obscure the original makeup of medieval texts, especially those composed in rhymed prose. My research suggests that reliance on modern critical editions in such cases should not be automatic. Although the comparison of different textual variants in the three main manuscripts that transmitted the *Vita II* as an independent text did not reveal major discrepancies between the manuscripts themselves, the comparison of the manuscript material with the printed editions of the text is very instructive. There is one example in which it is clear that the nineteenth-century editor privileged the “better,” more lavishly decorated, manuscript now at the Vatican the two “humbler” mss from St. Gall, which contain a text that displays a stricter adherence to the requirements of rhymed prose. In one concrete case, a quotation Horace *Carm.* 4.9.25, which was inserted in the text of the *Epistula* 5. The Vatican manuscript quoted Horace verbatim, retaining the original word order *vate sacro* whereas the two manuscripts from St. Gall have the two words in reversed order, i.e. *sacro vate*, thus creating a rhyme with the word *nocte* from the previous *colon*. Although the quotation was taken from a piece of classical poetry with its own internal rules of meter and originated with a writer whose prestige as an authority was undisputed, the author of the *Vita II* had no qualms about changing Horace’s text because he found it inconsistent with his own regular use of rhymed prose. I believe that, in this instance, it is clear that the coherent stylistic makeup of the *Vita II* was more important to its medieval author than the authority or meter of

Horace's text. One may even think that the importance of Horace as an authority was much more present for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors than for the tenth century author; and the former rejected the changed word order (*vate sacro*), which was considered as a scribal error, not a mark of stylistic innovation required by the internal logic of the text. I believe that such editorial changes at the expense of the original manuscript evidence distort the image of the edited text, especially of those composed in rhyming prose, which were often considered to be in bad taste by post-medieval readers and editors.<sup>76</sup> A more appropriate way of editing such texts might be in a layout organized *per cola et commata*, retaining the medieval punctuation, which often served the purpose of emphasizing the rhyming *cola*.

Whoever the author of the prefatory *Epistula* and of the *Vita II Remacii* was, as my analysis has tried to demonstrate, he was a remarkably learned and talented intellectual with a great knowledge of not only the Christian Scriptures, but also of the great authors of classical antiquity. His skill at integrating, in the novel stylistic form of the rhymed prose expressions of both old wisdom and new faith is indisputable, just as indisputable as the fact that he could not have achieved his great masterpiece without the great men before him. In this sense, it would be just to say, as a writer that he was indeed standing on the shoulders of the giants who came before him.

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<sup>76</sup> This was demonstrated and deplored by Turcan-Verkerk in her monograph on rhymed prose; see Turcan-Verkerk, "Forme et la réforme," 14-40.

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