Emotions, Communities, and Difference in Medieval Europe

This book of eleven essays by an international group of scholars in medieval studies honors the work of Barbara H. Rosenwein, Professor *emerita* of History at Loyola University Chicago. Part I, "Emotions and Communities," comprises six chapters that make use of Rosenwein's well-known and widely influential work on the history of emotions and what Rosenwein has called "emotional communities." These chapters employ a wide variety of source material such as chronicles, monastic records, painting, music theory, and religious practice to elucidate emotional commonalities among the medieval people who experienced them. The five chapters in Part II, "Communities and Difference," explore different kinds of communities and have difference as their primary theme: difference between the poor and the unfree, between power as wielded by rulers or the clergy, between the western Mediterranean region and the rest of Europe, and between a supposedly great king and lesser ones.

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Barbara H. Rosenwein (photo: Valentina Atturo)

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Essays in Honor of Barbara H. Rosenwein

Edited by Maureen C. Miller and Edward Wheatley

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-4724-8422-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-57927-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Preface

When Barbara Rosenwein was an undergraduate at the University of Chicago in the mid-1960s, she brought to her earliest encounters with the Middle Ages much of the best of what that institution had to offer. Still more or less intact were the "College courses" instituted in the 1930s by Robert M. Hutchins, year-long courses that included among others one called simply "Humanities," another called "Social Sciences," and a third, "Natural Sciences"; "Western Civilization" was one of a few later additions to the list. Works by Aristotle came at or near the start of the reading list of each of these courses. The Social Sciences course, for example, was not a combination of the standard introductory courses in contemporary economics, sociology, psychology, and so on, but rather a series of inquiries into different approaches to and manifestations of social phenomena as revealed over the course of several centuries in influential books by major writers ("Great Books" being the term that Hutchins and Mortimer Adler used for the evening courses they co-taught for adults). The Western Civilization course was dominated by a brilliant and charismatic former *Gymnasium* professor and to a lesser extent by one of his disciples, also a German immigrant, who happened to be Barbara's section leader. This legendary course was basically an intellectual history of the West from the Greeks to 1914, which had a notable seven-century gap between Augustine and Anselm, shortly followed by Aquinas and then a triumphantly Burckhardtian Renaissance.

Barbara was curious to know about that gap, and not just what took place during it but why the gap itself existed. From the start, then, perhaps even without realizing it at the time, she was a historiographer as well as a historian. Given her *lycée*- or *Gymnasium*-type general education, which Hutchins had intended that Chicago students have before moving on to more specialized studies, she was at ease in discussing and writing about vast stretches of time, as in her history-major special studies paper on the Faust legend, which incorporated more than a millennium and a half of antecedents. It seemed natural for her to draw upon apt insights from Cicero or Petrarch or Locke or Rousseau or Durkheim or Freud or Weber that might shed light on whatever historical problem she was thinking through at a given moment. How difficult it would be to imagine, let alone find, a

third-year college student better prepared to begin the study of medieval history, as Barbara did, through the lens of the French *annaliste* approach.

This recollection of Barbara the apprentice serves as a preface to the editors' introductory chapter reflecting upon the accomplishments of Barbara the mature scholar, extraordinary in themselves but rendered in particularly sharp focus by being placed within the full range of innovative scholarship in medieval studies during the past half century. Reflections of another sort are found in that chapter as well as in all those that constitute the main body of this volume, namely reflections of the influences that Barbara has had on all of the contributors to this Festschrift, former students and colleagues alike. All of them – or if I may join in – all of us, in addition to being citizens of the large international community of appreciative readers of Barbara's writings, are also part of that more select but still by no means small community of those who are personally indebted to her for generous criticism, advice, and encouragement. How fortunate we all are that she was curious about the gap.

Lester K. Little

Acknowledgments

This volume emerged out of a conference held at the Newberry Library in Chicago on February 28, 2014: *At the Intersection of Medieval History and the Social Sciences: A Symposium Honoring Barbara H. Rosenwein.* We owe a deep debt of thanks to The Newberry Center for Renaissance Studies of the Newberry Library for hosting the event and especially to then acting director Karen Christianson and her staff for their enthusiastic support. Other key sponsors were the Illinois Medieval Association and its executive director Mark D. Johnson; the Medieval Studies Center at Loyola University Chicago and its director Theresa Gross-Diaz; Dean Frank Fennell of the College of Arts and Sciences of Loyola University Chicago; and the Departments of History at both Loyola and the University of California, Berkeley. It was a memorable day, and we are grateful to all these individuals and institutions for making it happen.

All the scholars who contributed chapters have provided the most crucial support to the development of this volume: their intellectual generosity, consummate collegiality, and gracious patience with two first-time editors were deeply appreciated. We are grateful to Lester K. Little for his encouragement throughout the project, his sage comments on the introduction, and his preface. Special thanks are owed to Tom Gray, who initially signed the volume for Ashgate and carried it with him to Routledge, as well as to his worthy successor, Max Novick. Key financial support for illustrations, editing, and indexing were provided by the Illinois Medieval Association (thanks again to Mark Johnson); Father Thomas J. Regan, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Dr. Robert O. Bucholz, Chair of the Department of History at Loyola; and both Carla Hesse, Executive Dean for the College of Letters and Science, and the Abigail Reynolds Hodgen Publication Fund at the University of California, Berkeley. Clara Leon translated the chapters of Dominique Iogna-Prat and Monique Bourin with care and copy-edited the entire volume. Her gracious and meticulous assistance made all the difference as the volume came together; we are deeply grateful for her collaboration.

We thank, above all, Barbara H. Rosenwein. The celebration of her career at the Newberry was memorable not only for the intellectual testaments to

her influence and collaboration, but also for the outpouring of gratitude for her wise and compassionate mentorship; her inspirational example; her tireless efforts on behalf of friends, students, and the field at large. Her scholarship and teaching are enduring legacies, but her friendship is the greatest gift of all.

Abbreviations

The Douay-Rheims translation has been used for all passages of Scripture since it is closest to the language of the Vulgate Latin translation most widely known in medieval Europe.

ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, eds. Albert Bruckner, Robert Marichal (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf, 1954–).
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, with subseries:
Diplomata	*Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* (Hannover: Hahn, 1893–).
SSRM	*Scriptores rerum Merouingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, William Levison, 7 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1885–1919).
SS	*Scriptores* in folio, 32 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1826–1934).
SSRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim ediit* (Hannover: Hahn, 1871–).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, Ser. Lat., ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844–1864).
SC	*Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1941–).

5 One site, many more meanings

The community of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and its relic collection

Julia M. H. Smith

In September 1998, a group of experts in late antique and early medieval history met for a week-long workshop in the Villa Serbelloni on Lake Como, the historic villa now transformed into the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellaggio Center. Working on tables and benches arranged al fresco under shady trees, Barbara Rosenwein and I were among the twenty scholars who crafted a volume published in 2001 under the title *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. Barbara invited us to think hard about how one site could have many meanings, and chose as her example Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.[1] Only 110 miles (176 km) separate Bellaggio from Saint-Maurice as the crow flies, but the span encompasses the entirety of the Alps, from south to north, a long and arduous journey which would have taken the medieval traveler over the Mont-Joux Pass (the ancient pass of *Mons Iovis*, renamed the Great Saint Bernard Pass in the high Middle Ages). I have cherished Barbara's friendship and support since the 1980s, and in tribute to her, will use recently discovered evidence to add to the complexities of Saint-Maurice as Barbara herself outlined them in the paper she presented to us in Bellaggio.

As Barbara recognized, there are two keys to the historical significance of Agaune.[2] The first is its strategic location at the point where the Rhône debouches from its narrow Alpine valley. The abbey sits on a mound of gravel just above the flood-line of the narrow valley floor, adjacent to a spring which gushes from the sheer rock face. Whoever controlled Agaune thus also regulated access from France into Italy via the most commonly used pass in the western part of the Alps. The Romans placed a toll station here, and medieval rulers were equally alert to the geo-political importance of the site.[3] The mountain spring seems to have been sacred to local water nymphs, and it attracted a cluster of burials and mausolea in the second and third centuries CE. Then, at the end of the fourth century, the site's significance was reconfigured when the presence of martyr remains was revealed to the local bishop, Theodore of Octodurum (modern Martigny). An associate of Ambrose of Milan, Theodore was active in the 380–390s, and although his "discovery" cannot be dated with precision, it was, in effect, an adroit

rural equivalent to Ambrose's urban *inventiones* of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius in 386.[4] Thereafter, exceptional Christian holiness was the second reason for the site's enduring significance.

The relics, so it was believed, belonged to the military commander Maurice, his fellow officers Candidus and Exuperius, and other members of a military unit known as the *Thebaei*, a detachment reported in the fourth-century *Notitia Dignitatum* as being stationed in Italy.[5] According to traditions first reported by Eucherius of Lyon (fl. 428–450), the unit had been decimated for its adherence to Christianity during the persecutions ordered by Diocletian and his western co-emperor Maximian. Closely associated with the Theban soldiers' remains were those of a passing Christian veteran named Victor, who was also caught up in the mass slaughter. Effecting a take-over of the pagan shrine, Theodore of Octodurum re-interred their remains in a basilica which he built hard up against the rock cliff overhanging the old pagan cult site, and he also installed a mixed community of Christian men and women to watch over them. Miracles of healing and conversion to Christianity ensued, assuring the shrine was renowned by the early fifth century.[6] The combination of geo-strategic location and a plentiful supply of potent martyr relics remained the parameters of Agaune's significance throughout the earlier Middle Ages.

In 515, King Sigismund of Burgundy confirmed his conversion from Arianism to orthodoxy by rebuilding the basilica and refounding its community as a monastic one. With a distinctive liturgy that fused praise and supplication in a continuous liturgical cycle, Agaune's combination of monastic prayer, martyrial sacrifice, and royal patronage would become highly influential under the Merovingians.[7] In the reign of Louis the Pious, the community opted for life as canons rather than monks, and was ruled by great regional potentates in the role of lay abbots from the 850s onward. Finally, in 1128 Amadeus III of Savoy renounced the lay abbacy and reformed the community as canons regular under the Augustinian rule, to which it still adheres. Since then, it has been reformed but never closed down or refounded. Thus, although its history – like that of all religious communities – has been a fluctuating cycle of religious stagnation and renewal played out against a backdrop of political imperatives and economic pressures, the cult of Saint Maurice and its location astride the route from France to Italy remain central to Agaune's identity.

The abbey's early medieval origins have left an enduring imprint on its institutional structure, territorial possessions, juridical status, and community identity. The modern era, and most recently, the advent of the digital age, have nevertheless profoundly affected it. In 1999, work began accessioning the monastic archives, which had not been catalogued since 1782, and, since 2014 the entire collection has been freely accessible in digital form.[8] This unprecedented opportunity for reappraising the monastery's history was given added impetus by preparations for the year-long celebration of the community's 1,500th anniversary, which culminated on the feast

of Saint Maurice, September 22, 2015. In this context, major archaeological discoveries have gone hand in hand with the retrieval of objects known from old inventories of the abbey's treasury but assumed to have been lost long ago.[9]

This chapter takes advantage of the abbey's exceptional longevity and stability to offer fresh perspectives on the medieval cult of relics. To do so, I exploit the labels which were formerly affixed to relics inside reliquaries in the abbey's treasury, but which are now accessioned in its archive. In keeping with a tradition which can be traced from the sixth century onward, their original raison d'être was self-evidently to identify and differentiate the many different material tokens of Christian holiness.[10] When relics labeled in this way were sealed into an altar or a reliquary, the names of the saints invoked remained unknown until such time as the altar or reliquary was opened, unless, of course, an inventory had been prepared in advance – but no such list has survived from Saint-Maurice.[11] In a medieval religious context, relics' invisibility did not erode their value as material tokens of spiritual patronage.[12] In a modern scholarly context, the labels thus function as proxy evidence for relics which are, for the most part, either inaccessible or no longer in existence.

Approximately one hundred relic labels survive at Saint-Maurice, two thirds of which date from the Merovingian and Carolingian eras, and the remainder from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries.[13] I shall demonstrate their importance as a source for several aspects of the community's history and identity, as follows. First, I emphasize that they cannot be understood without appreciation of their context within the larger history of the abbey's changing attitudes to its relics as a religious form of symbolic capital. In so doing, I use them to shed light on the changing ways in which the community of Saint-Maurice has engaged with its own 1,500-year-long past. This provides the necessary background for evaluating their significance as a source for early medieval history. The second section treats them as a documentary ensemble which offers insights into the care of relics at Saint-Maurice and elsewhere in the early Middle Ages. The third section sheds light on the history of the abbey itself, especially during the early medieval centuries in which its history is least documented by other sources. I conclude with more general reflections on the circulation of relics in Merovingian Gaul. In addition to providing privileged insights into aspects of the cults of saints which are often ignored, it will become clear that these labels add many more meanings to the early medieval history of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as Barbara sketched it.

The preservation of medieval relics at Agaune

Although the story of the community's care for the relics in its midst is as long as the history of the church of Agaune itself, we cannot understand its earliest centuries unless we acknowledge that we perceive them filtered

through the activities and interventions of successive abbots of more recent times. In particular, interventions in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries have shaped the way in which the contents of the abbey's medieval reliquaries are preserved and presented today.

Interest in the abbey's heritage of relics coincided with the renewal of communal living in the central decades of the seventeenth century, under the impulse of Pierre Maurice Odet (sacristan 1638–1640, abbot 1640–1657) and his successor as abbot, Jean-Jodoc Quartéry (1657–1669). Surviving traces of their activities reveal how they worked within the perspectives and assumptions of their day, sometimes struggling to make sense of what they found in their visitations. Bafflement at the contents of the medieval reliquaries is epitomized by Odet's opening of a late medieval embroidered pouch which he found in the sacristy in 1639: all he managed to do was to label its contents as *Res veteres* ("various old things").[14] That same year, he also opened the Carolingian bursa reliquary, in which he discovered two packets of relics.[15] The larger one (c. 50 x 40 mm) contained some bone fragments and a copper buckle wrapped in a coarse undyed fabric without any indication of what they were, so he labeled them: *Reliquiæ incognitæ ob neglecta[m] visitationem* ("relics which are unknown because they have not been visited") and added a note of the date of his inspection. Wrapped in green silk inside the smaller bundle (44 x 26 mm) was a parchment label naming two fragments of bone as belonging to Saints Candidus and Innocent; here also Odet attached an external label identifying the contents of the bundle and noting his inspection.[16] Educated by the Jesuits, Odet had only been ordained after a secular administrative career; as sacristan then abbot, he was a vigorous administrator whose interest in the abbey's relics should be seen in the context of his reform of regular life.[17]

His legacy of administrative rigor and liturgical revitalization was greatly extended by his successor. Even before his consecration as abbot on September 8, 1659, Quartéry had conducted a visitation of the relics in the crypt and opened all the reliquaries in the treasury to inspect their contents, compiling a comprehensive inventory of his findings.[18] The contents of three reliquaries, in particular, bear the traces of his activity. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the reliquary shrine commissioned for the bones of Saint Maurice by Abbot Nantelm in 1225 no longer contained the abbey's patronal saint; instead, it held the bodies of Candidus and Innocent.[19] Quartéry placed two neat parchment labels inside it to identify each of them and gathered together the scattered fragments and ash of Saint Innocent into an inscribed leather bag.[20] At the conclusion of his investigation, he resealed the shrine "in such a way that it cannot be reopened."[21] He did the same for the shrine of Saint Sigismund, and his inventory of its contents corresponds precisely to the inscriptions on two recently discovered leather bags which contained the martyred king's bones.[22] Furthermore, he succeeded in opening the head reliquary of Saint Candidus by prising off the silver-gilt casing to expose its inner wooden core.[23] Having emptied and sorted through its

contents, he made new labels for some of the Holy Land relics inside, before replacing everything.[24] Finally, he reconstructed the reliquary, but not before inserting a list detailing the bones he found inside it.[25]

Twentieth-century investigations have revealed the community's relic collection more or less as Quartéry left it, for interest in the contents of the abbey's relics abated after his death and was not resumed until the abbacy of Joseph-Tobie Mariétan (abbot 1914–1931). Working in association with the Basel professor of Christian antiquities, the art historian E. A. Stückelberg (1867–1926), Mariétan conducted an extensive series of reliquary visitations in October 1923. As part of this, he inventoried the contents of the reliquaries of Saint Maurice and of the children of Sigismund, and transferred relics from the head reliquary of Saint Victor to the Sigismund shrine.[26] He also authorized the opening of the abbey's most important Merovingian and Carolingian treasures: the seventh-century Theuderic casket, the sardonyx vase (the so-called vase of Saint Martin), and the possibly ninth-century reliquary jug known as Charlemagne's ewer.[27] Mariétan reported that he had to break open a tenth-century seal to get inside the sardonyx vase, and he took care to inventory its contents: a tiny wooden box containing two pieces of cloth and inscribed *de ligno Domini et de sepulchro Domini*; several fragments of cloth, bone, and stone, and "a large quantity of dust."[28] The Theuderic casket and the jug were full of late antique and very early medieval relics, labeled and wrapped in silk, but Mariétan did not bother to detail them. Although Stückelberg's publication of the silks followed promptly and made occasional reference to the twenty-five labels which accompanied them, the parchments themselves remained unedited until 1953.[29] In effect, the 1923 campaign of relic openings combined an interest in the abbey's patronal saints with the search for ancient material of art historical value, and although the fabrics and labels certainly provide exceptional insights into an early medieval relic collection, much valuable contextualizing data has been lost forever.

The next significant discoveries occurred in a very different spirit of thorough scientific investigation in February 1961, when Canon Leo Müller and the art historian Dr. Rudolf Schnyder took apart the twelfth-century reliquary-head of Saint Candidus and catalogued its structure and contents in meticulous detail.[30] Virtually untouched since Quartéry's visitation of 1659, this reliquary was the source of more than fifty textiles and another fifty-six labels, most of which are early medieval.[31] At the conclusion of the investigation, some of the relics and textiles were replaced inside the reliquary-head, which Müller returned to its place in the treasury's display. But he put the labels aside and Schnyder's pioneering regard for the contents of the reliquary-head as a complex ensemble remained without consequence. Unlike the textiles, whose art historical value ensured that their existence remained known, no further thought was given to the Candidus labels: they were rediscovered at the back of the abbey's junk room in 2013.

Taking place in the context of the burgeoning fascination with medieval silks, the twentieth-century reliquary openings were not explorations of the abbey's history. Nevertheless, they do emphasize how very restricted the interests of Odet and Quartéry really were. These men mostly focused on the abbey's own sainted patrons. They also made new copies of some of the medieval labels which identified Holy Land pilgrimage places – and on occasion miscopied them.[32] They preserved, but ignored, dozens of early medieval relics of non-Agaune saints altogether, even though they must have handled them. Perhaps some of them were among the relics labeled in the seventeenth century as "unrecognized."[33] In effect, the presence of relics of non-local saints has remained invisible from the early Middle Ages: only now is their historical significance becoming evident.

Writing and the care of relics

The full history of the evolving use of written documentation to interpret, constrain, and control the meaning of relic objects remains to be written.[34] It is nevertheless clear that the medieval custom of labeling relics in standardized formulae on parchment tags evolved out of earlier, rather more varied practices. The oldest surviving evidence, all of which comes from Italian churches, indicates that identifications might be punched into metal *lamellae* or inscribed upon cloth and papyrus as alternatives to parchment.[35] The documentation from Saint-Maurice fits this pattern: among the contents of the Saint Candidus reliquary-head are one label on papyrus and an inscribed cloth wrapper.[36] All the remaining labels are on parchment, including those from the 1650s. Founded at a pivotal moment in the transition from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages and located north of the Alps but in close contact with Italy, and with a collection of labels stretching back to the sixth or seventh centuries, Saint-Maurice provides unparalleled evidence for the slow evolution of the relationship of writing to relics, especially in the early Middle Ages.

In view of the fact that parchment was expensive, and not to be wasted, it is no surprise that several churches have preserved evidence that old documents and damaged books were recycled as relic wrappers or labels.[37] The Saint-Maurice collection provides similar proof of care not to waste even the smallest scraps of parchment. Two tags, both recording the names of Roman martyrs, were manufactured from the irregularly shaped offcuts of poor-quality parchment jettisoned when a prepared skin was trimmed into a rectangular sheet.[38] Another two are palimpsests.[39] One other parchment, which had originally wrapped relics of three saints from the monastery of Iona, was subsequently recycled to identify relics of a popular saint in central-southern France, Saint Julian.[40]

It cannot have been at all easy to write on a tiny slip of parchment, and indeed, Saint-Maurice has preserved an example of a smudged label that had been abandoned rather than completed.[41] In general, it is clear that several

tags were commonly written on a single, larger piece of parchment which was then cut into separate strips. However, the scribes who labeled Saint-Maurice's oldest relics were not practiced at the task. On several occasions, the scribe started to write in a clear bold hand, but realized in mid-task that the line-length was too short to accommodate everything and either changed to a more compact script or compressed the line-end.[42] Further evidence that scribes struggled to lay out the text comes from those labels where the tips of the ascenders and descenders have been cropped.[43] On other instances, the shafts of elongated letters stray over onto the edges of the adjacent label on the sheet.[44] Under the impulse of the Carolingian reforms of script and writing practices, however, scribes became steadily more skilled at arranging the text so that, when cut, each label had its text in the middle, with a clean border around it. They also become adroit at forming tiny, even letters, so that from the ninth century onward, relic labels are generally very much smaller and neater than previously.

The slow standardization of labeling procedures is evident in additional respects, including the means of attaching labels to relics. In the very early Middle Ages, the cloth or parchment wrapper which contained the relics might sometimes also be the medium which bore the text.[45] More commonly, a piece of linen or silk was folded and rolled around the relic to make a tiny bundle and then a papyrus or parchment label was either wrapped around it like a collar, or placed along its length. Finally, thread was then wound tightly around the whole package to keep everything in place. From the tenth century, the technique developed for sealing a letter was occasionally adapted for relics: a long, thin tongue of parchment was left attached to the label, forming an integral tie.[46] In this respect also, the Saint-Maurice collection is a valuable witness to the slow evolution of relic practices.

Another feature of very ancient relic labels is their great variety of formulae, vocabulary, layout, and choice of script. In all these respects, the Saint-Maurice labels are typical of pre-Carolingian habits elsewhere. Most of the oldest Agaune ones use a simple possessive or ablative formula "of Saint X" or "from Saint X." Some name the objects as *reliquiae*, but it is notable that two use the very early term *patrocinia*, a word which fell out of use by c. 800.[47] Sometimes scribes chose to preface the name of the relic with an invocatory cross or an elaborate paraph.[48] In terms of script, too, they varied between using informal cursive hands, elaborate charter hands, majuscule book hands, or minuscule scripts. Prior to the Carolingian reforms of script and Latin, lack of paleographical consistency is accompanied by reliance on vernacular late Latin: different spellings for the same name are not uncommon and there is disregard for syntax and grammar.[49] This can lead to some uncertainty in identifying saints, a problem exacerbated by various forms of carelessness, including misremembering, mishearing, and miscopying.[50] In effect, diversity and heterogeneity are the key features of the early medieval labels at Saint-Maurice, as elsewhere.[51] Standardized conventions only developed from the ninth century onward, when the cult of saints, the

writing of Latin, and forms of script were all the target of a sustained drive for greater regulation and *correctio*.[52]

Finally, the collection confirms what we know from medieval inventories: that old labels became almost impossible to read. Many of the earliest labels are so rubbed that they are virtually illegible, and others have been attacked by vermin and insects. For this reason, religious communities inspected and relabeled their relics from time to time, as Jean-Jodoc Quartéry did. His careful "curating" of the contents of the reliquary-head of Saint Candidus has preserved these ancient labels, and reveals what he thought some of them said.[53] In so doing, he perpetuated procedures for identifying and protecting relics which had emerged one thousand years earlier, while, at the same time, preserving its contents for future generations.

The cult of relics at Saint-Maurice in the early Middle Ages

Previous scholars have commented on the extensive evidence for the circulation throughout medieval Europe of the relics of Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion and of Saint Sigismund.[54] This section presents an overview of an equally important but hitherto neglected phenomenon: the flow of relics into Saint-Maurice d'Agaune. As has been seen, the survival of such rich evidence from the abbey's earliest centuries is the fortunate result of many centuries of benign neglect. Since the twelfth century, when the adoption of the rule of Saint Augustine led to a wholesale reorganization of the abbey's landed and spiritual possessions (both estates and relics), the canons' focus has fallen almost exclusively on the bodily remains of Saint Maurice and his companions in the Theban Legion, together with their founder, King Sigismund, and his murdered sons.[55] To be sure, the abbey's ancient collection of many small, non-corporeal relics of other saints remained, but attracted no attention. Their distribution among the abbey's early medieval reliquaries cannot be reconstructed, but what matters here is that they survived, in some cases protected by early seals which remained unbroken into the twentieth century.[56]

Taken as a group, the labels offer complementary perspectives on early medieval Agaune. In the first place, the profile of this relic assemblage is in keeping with what we might expect on the basis of other evidence. Approximately 25 percent of its relics were associated with Biblical sites, a proportion lower than the exceptionally Christocentric collection in the Sancta Sanctorum (Rome) but higher than that in the two huge northern Gaul relic sets, at Sens and Chelles.[57] Second, a broad-brush census of hagiographical manuscripts has emphasized that the cult of saints in the early Middle Ages was predominantly the cult of martyrs not confessors, and of men not women.[58] As an array of saints, the Saint-Maurice relics conform to this profile, for only 10 percent of the labels mention female saints. There is one qualification to this, however: although male saints at Agaune were mostly martyrs or bishops, some were both, and the presence of three murdered

Merovingian bishops is particularly notable.[59] By contrast, only two monastic founders are represented.[60]

A different, and more informative, picture emerges when we use place of origin to divide the relic labels into subsets. This analysis throws a sharp spotlight on the networks of communication in which the monks of Saint-Maurice participated as well as on the transalpine travel which flowed past their door. It will be seen that the relic labels constitute a map of medieval Christendom with Agaune at its center.

Its focal point was of course the shrine of Saint Maurice himself. Its original location cannot be pinpointed with accuracy, but archaeological evidence indicates that it was moved into a western semi-circular crypt in the Carolingian era, when the basilica was rebuilt for the sixth time.[61] Traces of Maurice's relics in the pre-Carolingian era do survive, however, in one label which, according to Stückelberg, was found inside the reliquary jug known as Charlemagne's ewer: its seventh-century script states: *patrocinias s(an)c(t)o maoricio*.[62] This must surely have been written on the spot, and thus constitutes the oldest known specimen of handwriting from the abbey, antedating the oldest document in the abbey's archive by some three centuries.[63] Much later, in the thirteenth century, large, calligraphic labels accompanied the bodily remains of the abbey's martyrs: an exceptionally large label in a red display hand was placed with Maurice's bones (probably when translated into the shrine commissioned by Abbot Nantelm), and a less elaborate but still spaciously proportioned label identifies the bones of Saint Candidus that still remain inside this reliquary.[64] As for Saint Victor, a fifteenth-century label indicates that a portion of his body was removed, perhaps when his skull and other bones were placed in the reliquary-bust presented in his honor by the duke of Savoy.[65]

Other labels throw interesting light on the early history of two other saints associated with the Theban Legion, Innocent and Vitalis. Eucherius's *passio martyrum Agaunensium* made no mention of Innocent, whose name was interpolated into later versions of this work.[66] He is identified on a seventh- or eighth-century label which preserves the early spelling of the name (*Innocentus*, not the later *Innocentius*). This too was surely written at Saint-Maurice, providing a second specimen of early medieval Agaune script.[67] Alongside Innocent, Vitalis features among the Agaune martyrs listed in the oldest, eighth-century, manuscript of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and in one of the variant versions of the anonymous passion of Saint Maurice. Although a seventh- or eighth-century label does reference one Vitalis, there are several martyrs of this name, so it is impossible to be certain that this one does indeed refer to the Agaune saint.[68]

Non-local relics fall into three main groups. A significant proportion derives from the two most important bishoprics of the Rhône Valley, Lyon and Vienne, with which Agaune is known to have enjoyed close ties. Indeed, ties to Lyon predate Sigismund's foundation, for Eucherius, author of the *Passio martyrum Acaunensium*, was bishop of Lyon and a key exponent of

Lerinian monasticism. Much later, Burchard, the illegitimate son of King Conrad of Burgundy (937–993), was archbishop of Lyon under the rule of his father and then his half-brother, Rudolph III (993–1032): he was also appointed prior and then abbot of Saint-Maurice (1000–1030/31).[69] These ties were certainly supplemented by much informal interaction and communication, and in this context, the presence of relics from four different shrines in the immediate vicinity of Lyon is notable.[70] Their script, similar to that found in several of the seventh- and early eighth-century manuscripts from Lyon, suggests that the relations with the city were multi-faceted and intense, emphasizing how tightly Agaune was integrated into the Merovingian kingdom.[71]

Until the Carolingian creation of the archbishopric of Tarantaise, Agaune lay nominally within the ecclesiastical province of Vienne, and here too relations were very close. In the immediate vicinity of his cathedral, Bishop Eoaldus of Vienne (fl. 650–660s) built an intramural church for relics of Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion, and by the ninth century, Maurice's patronage had become so important to Vienne that he supplanted the cathedral's previous dedication.[72] Ties between Merovingian Saint-Maurice and its metropolitan see were such that when Wilcharius of Vienne abandoned his bishopric in disgust at the depredations of Charles Martel in c. 740, he settled at Agaune, where he is attested functioning as abbot 762–765.[73] While still bishop of Vienne, Wilcharius had translated the relics of the martyrs Ferreol and Julian to a new church within the city walls and so it is perhaps to this man that Saint-Maurice owed its relics of Julian.[74] He may well also have been the source of the abbey's several relics of Desiderius, the bishop of Vienne murdered for political reasons in 611.[75] It would have been entirely in keeping with Wilcharius's struggles for him to take relics of his persecuted predecessor with him into retirement at Agaune.[76]

A second subset of non-local relics testifies to the transalpine traffic which passed the abbey's gates during the early Middle Ages. It came from both directions: central Gaul and northern Italy.[77] The largest cluster of tags originates from Rome, denoting an eclectic selection of at least ten different martyr shrines, including both famous and obscure ones.[78] The abbey's search for papal privileges, together with the pull of pilgrimage *ad limina apostolorum* is context enough to explain their presence.[79] Other relics originated directly or indirectly from saints' shrines across the Alps (Milan, Como, Aquileia), in the Loire Valley and northern Aquitaine (Angers, Bourges, Orléans, Poitou, Tours) in addition to those already mentioned at Lyon and Vienne.[80] This network suggests that, in the Merovingian era, Saint-Maurice remained firmly within a Neustro-Burgundian network of communication, supplemented by links across the Alps.

A more distant world did, at times, also make itself present at Agaune. There is only one outlier from northern Gaul, a relic of the restless missionary

bishop Amandus, who had himself crossed the Alps to visit Rome, and must therefore have made the acquaintance of the monks of Saint-Maurice when he passed through Agaune.[81]

But the most significant group of distant relics derives from the farthest edges of Christendom, both east and west. On the one hand, there are relics brought back by early medieval pilgrims to the Holy Land. Some might have been monks of Saint-Maurice, but others were certainly journeying home across the Alps from the Mediterranean to north-western Europe. One seventh- or early eighth-century label was originally attached to a scrap of wood from a bush on the banks of the river Jordan, at the site where Jesus had been baptized, while another, also very early, announces the presence of relics of the Lord's sepulcher.[82] In the eighth century, a Frankish pilgrim who wrote in a characteristically Merovingian script deposited relics of both the Holy Sepulcher and the Cross of the crucifixion at Agaune.[83]

Two other pilgrims stand out because they wrote in distinctively insular hands. One of them had visited Sebastiya, where John the Baptist had been beheaded, and the shrine on the site of Christ's birth at Bethlehem. This pilgrim left the two relics at Agaune after having fashioned labels for them out of a single piece of parchment cut into two very unequal and irregular parts.[84] The other pilgrim had climbed to the summit of Mount Sinai, and left at Agaune a piece of the rock on which Moses had been standing when he received the law.[85] Alongside these insular pilgrims can be added a third whose journey had taken him to Rome, including a visit to the original burial place of the apostle Peter.[86]

Irish and Anglo-Saxon travelers also passed through Agaune in the other direction. From this context come two labels of exceptional importance for the history of Irish Christianity and script in the seventh to eighth centuries. Both are in characteristically insular hands of the eighth century. The first one must have originated at Iona: it uses Latinized forms of the Old Irish names for Columcille, his teacher Uuiniau, and his hagiographer Adomnán (d. 704).[87] The second label is a superb specimen of early insular minuscule c. 700 that comes from Kildare, for it names Brigit, her successor Derlugdach, and Conláed, her bishop.[88]

Saint-Maurice's relic labels thus supplement the sparse information on its early medieval history provided by diplomatic, hagiographical, and narrative sources. They tell complementary stories of the abbey's many roles: as a major martyrial shrine, a node in regional networks, and as a strategic place of transit between north-western Europe and the Mediterranean.

Pilgrimage and the circulation of relics in early medieval Gaul

Saint-Maurice d'Agaune's exceptional collection of labels offers a perspective on relic cults that diverges from the usual hagiographical emphasis on patronal saints, the distribution of material tokens of sanctity to pilgrims to

carry home, and the thank offerings they left behind. To explain the presence of such a diverse collection of saints' relics here, we should follow Barbara's lead in finding many meanings in one site. By way of conclusion, I offer some reflections on the wider implications of this material.

My first set of observations concerns the relationship between relics and pilgrimage. In view of its location astride the main route across the Alps, it is hardly surprising that Saint-Maurice was a way-station for pilgrims, as also for envoys, popes, and potentates. The relic labels nevertheless afford tantalizing hints of what this meant in practice. The unmistakable presence of relics brought from Ireland invites speculation about how Saint-Maurice functioned on the early medieval *via francigena*. Was it common practice for insular pilgrims to spread the cults of their own saints by making donations of their relics wherever they traveled? Or did the monks of Iona and Kildare who had embarked on their journey carrying material tokens of their own patronal saints intend them as gifts for Saint Peter rather than Saint Maurice? Perhaps they had died en route, as did Ceolfrith of Wearmouth/Jarrow, whose magnificent Bible had been destined for the pope but was left at Monte Amiata when its donor died there in 716. Do the hints of Irish and/or Anglo-Saxon pilgrims returning northward from the Holy Land and Rome via Saint-Maurice imply that it was customary to acquire sufficient relics during the pilgrimage to make a donation to each religious house which offered shelter on the long journey home? If so, did Frankish pilgrims do likewise, accounting for the Holy Land and Roman labels in Frankish hands? Alternatively, were monks of Saint-Maurice themselves among the pilgrims who ventured to Christendom's holiest sites?

In this context, sixth-century inscriptional evidence for the burial in Agaune's cemetery of a pilgrim gives pause for thought.[89] Perhaps some pilgrims decided to remain at Saint-Maurice in the long term, or perhaps the arduous transalpine journey was simply too much, and others died in the abbey's hostelry. In short, Saint-Maurice's role in sheltering and feeding long-distance travelers had multiple implications. It probably extended to nursing and burying some of them, but the encounter between monastic hosts and passing pilgrims perhaps also included a gift of relics in recompense for food and lodging.

Turning now to relics from Gaul and Italy, it is fairly straightforward to envisage that tokens of such an established and famous miracle-worker as Martin of Tours might have reached Saint-Maurice in the baggage of pilgrims.[90] Other cults fit this model less easily, however. For example, Maurilio seems to have enjoyed a local, essentially liturgical, cult at Angers but is not known to have been a miracle-worker: long-distance pilgrims are unlikely to have bothered to seek out his shrine. Nor does pilgrimage provide a satisfactory explanation for the presence of relics of Euphemia, the martyr of Chalcedon whose relics were distributed across northern Italy as markers of orthodoxy during the Three Chapters controversy. By acknowledging that many of the relics at Saint-Maurice map out a clear Neustro-Burgundian

network, we can propose that these relics were exchanged as gifts within the political circuits that centered on royal courts and ecclesiastical synods.

Saint-Maurice possessed relics of four seventh-century newcomers to the cultic landscape, three of them murdered bishops. These demand yet another explanation. Desiderius of Vienne (d. 611), Audemundus (d. c. 660), Amandus (d. c. 675), and Leodegarius (d. 677) are all represented by labels from around or before c.700: in all these cases, relics were circulating very shortly after the death of the saint in question. Although this may have been the consequence of rapidly developing cult activity at their tombs, it is more attractive to propose that the distribution of relics was itself a means of promoting a new cult, and that their circulation was carefully orchestrated, rather than being left entirely in the hands of passing pilgrims.

Finally, a fourth reason for the transfer of relics can be deduced from a label referring simply to "the relics of Saint John."[91] Written in calligraphic Luxeuil minuscule, this refers in all likelihood to John of Réomé (d. c. 544), who shared a hagiographer with Columbanus, Jonas of Bobbio. Now John's remains had originally been buried in a church dedicated to Saint Maurice at Corsaint, in close proximity to Agaune's dependent priory of Semur-en-Auxois, but by 659 they had been transferred into the abbey church of Moutiers-Saint-Jean. Neighborly seigneurial links are thus the most likely channel through which this particular relic reached Saint-Maurice.

In posing many new questions about saints, relics, and pilgrimage in the early Middle Ages, this exceptional collection of relic labels thus adds many more meanings to the interpretations of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune which Barbara Rosenwein delineated in her essay of 2001. Home of one of the best-known martyr cults of the early Middle Ages, pilgrimage destination, transit hostelry, participant in the networks which animated Merovingian ecclesiastical politics, and landlord: early medieval Saint-Maurice was all of these. Fifteen hundred years later, its significance as a window into the earliest phase of medieval relic practices can at last be acknowledged.

Notes

1 Barbara H. Rosenwein, "One Site, Many Meanings: Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as a Place of Power in the Early Middle Ages," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 271–90. She also addressed Agaune in "Perennial Prayer at Agaune," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, eds. Barbara H. Rosenwein and Sharon Farmer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 37–56.

2 The following paragraphs draw heavily on the volumes published to mark the abbey's 1,500th anniversary. They provide a full guide with extensive bibliography to Saint-Maurice's archaeology, history, and material heritage, to which my footnotes are merely a supplement: *Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515–2015, Volume 1: Histoire et archéologie*, eds. Bernard Andenmatten and Laurent Ripart (Gollion: Infolio, 2015); *Abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515–2015,*

Volume 2: Le trésor, ed. Pierre Alain Mariaux (Gollion: Infolio, 2015). Hereafter these volumes are cited as *Abbaye*, 1 and 2.

3 Katharina Winckler, *Die Alpen im Frühmittelalter: die Geschichte eines Raumes in den Jahren 500 bis 800* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 131–32, 221–22, 223–24, 294.

4 Beat Näf, *Städte und ihre Martyrer. Der Kult der Thebäischen Legion* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011).

5 David Woods, "The Origin of the Legend of Maurice and the Theban Legion," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45.3 (1994): 385–95.

6 Eucherius, *Passio Acaunensium martyrum*, MGH SSRM 3:20–41; anonymous *Passio sanctorum qui passi sunt in Acauno X kl. Octobris*, in *La mémoire hagiographique de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune: Passion anonyme de saint Maurice, Vie des abbés d'Agaune, Passion de saint Sigismond*, eds. Eric Chevalley and Cédric Roduit (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 2014), 82–90.

7 This characterization is that of Anne-Marie Helvétius, "L'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune dans le haut moyen âge," in *Autour de Saint Maurice*, eds. Nicole Brocard, Françoise Vannotti, and Anne Wagner (Besançon: Laboratoire des sciences historiques de l'université de Franche-Comté; Saint-Maurice: Fondation des archives historiques de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice, 2011), 113–30, at 117. For a differing view see Albrecht Diem, "Who Is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 47–88.

8 www.digi-archives.org. All Saint-Maurice archival material cited in subsequent footnotes is prefixed AASM and can be found on this website.

9 See *Abbaye*, 1 and 2 for a full guide to new discoveries.

10 The development of documentary forms to validate and "authenticate" relics is of late medieval origin, but only became standard practice in post-Tridentine Christianity. For this reason, I cannot accept the habit of styling these small parchment slips "authentics."

11 Numerous examples can be found in MGH SS 15.2:960–1125, 1269–88.

12 Hedwig Röckelein, "Des 'saints cachés': les reliques dans les sépultures d'autel," in *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offertes à Denise Angers et Joseph–Claude Poulin*, eds. Jean-François Cottier, Martin Gravel, and Sébastien Rossignol (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 21–34; Julia M. H. Smith, "Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c. 700–1200)," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012): 143–67.

13 This chapter is a heavily revised version of my contribution to the abbey's anniversary publications: Julia M. H. Smith, "Les reliques et leurs étiquettes," *Abbaye* 2:221–31. All references to relic labels (*étiquettes*; abbreviated to Et.) are to the edition appended to that chapter (pp. 232–57) and use the numbering system devised for it; in the notes below the label numbers are followed by the relevant page numbers. Low- and high-resolution digital images of all of them are also available on the website in note 8.

14 Et. 96:254.

15 The bursa reliquary is discussed in *Abbaye* 2:116–19. See also Elisabeth Antoine-König, Pierre Alain Mariaux, and Marie-Cécile Bardoz, *Le Trésor de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune* (Paris: Somogy, 2014), 56–58. This is a catalogue of the exhibition of the same name at the Louvre, March 14–June 16, 2014.

16 All details from the report of the 1956 opening: AASM COM/630/5/2.

17 *Les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin en Valais: le Grand-Saint-Bernard, Saint-Maurice d'Aguane et les prieurés valaisans d'Abondance*, eds. Brigitte

Degler-Spengler and Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, Helvetia Sacra, IV/1 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1997), 456–57.

18 Preserved under the accession number AASM, CHA 64/1/14.
19 Nantelm reliquary: *Abbaye* 2:87–99.
20 Et. 92, 93, 101 and 102:253, 256–57.
21 AASM, CHA 64/1/14 (image 6) . . . *ut non possit aperiri.*
22 Et. 94 and 95:254; AASM, CHA 64/1/14 (image 7). Shrine of Saint Sigismund: *Abbaye* 2:61–71; Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 80–83.
23 Candidus head reliquary: *Abbaye* 2:120–25; Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 86–88.
24 Et. 38, 45, 48, 56 and 78:241, 243, 245, 250. These labels match his inventory, AASM, CHA 64/1/14 (image 11).
25 Et. 55:245.
26 AASM CHN 64/1/32–33.
27 Theuderic casket: *Abbaye* 2:108–11, Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 52–55. Saint Martin's vase: *Abbaye* 2:102–107; Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 48–51. Charlemagne's ewer: *Abbaye* 2:112–15, with photo of it before it was unsealed at 112; Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 60–63.
28 AASM COM 631/3/1a–1. In fact, it was a twelfth-century seal: Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 48.
29 Albert Bruckner, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Erforschung des frühmittelalterlichen Heiligenkultes in der Schweiz," in *Studi di paleografia, diplomatica, storia e araldica in onore di Cesare Manaresi* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1953), 31–52. Revised edition: Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal, ChLA 1:30–39.
30 Rudolf Schnyder, "Das Kopfreliquiar des heiligen Candidus in Saint-Maurice," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1965–6): 65–127. The twentieth-century sequence of reliquary openings is outlined by Regula Schorta, "Les reliques et leurs enveloppes textiles," *Abbaye* 2:259–70.
31 Et. 31–86, 100:240–52, 256. Schnyder had made his best effort to transcribe and date these, but with limited accuracy.
32 Et. 29–30:239.
33 Et. 98:155: *reliquiae certo sunt sed incognitae*.
34 For overviews, see Paul Bertrand, "Authentiques de reliques: authentiques ou reliques," *Le Moyen Age* 112.2 (2006): 363–74; Philippe Cordez, "Gestion et médiation des collections de reliques au moyen âge. Le témoignage des authentiques et des inventaires," in *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, Pecia: resources en médiévistique, 8–11, eds. Jean-Luc Deuffic and André Vauchez (Saint-Denis: Pecia, 2006), 33–63.
35 Papyrus: See the tags from ChLA 29:2–11, nos. 862, 863. Gold foil: Ezio Marocco, *Il tesoro del duomo di Grado* (Trieste: B. Fachini, 2001), 14–15. Cloth: Bruno Galland, *Les authentiques de reliques du Sancta Sanctorum*, Studi e Testi 421 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2004), 69, 72, 95–7:118, 120, 129–30.
36 Et. 44, 100:242, 256.
37 Julia M.H. Smith, "Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome," in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, eds. Valerie L. Garver and Owen Phelan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 179–205, at notes 77, 78, 86, 87, 90:197–99.
38 Et. 42, 69:242, 248.
39 Et. 50, 70:244, 249.
40 Et. 36:241.
41 Et. 79:250.

42 For example, Et. 18, 22, 39:236, 237, 241.
43 For example, Et. 13, 15, 29:235–37.
44 For example, Et. 24, 58, 59:238, 246.
45 Et. 36, 100:241, 256.
46 Et. 77:250.
47 Et. 8, 36:234, 241. For further comments on relic terminology see Julia M.H. Smith, "Relics: An Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cynthia J. Hahn and Holger A. Klein, Dumbarton Oaks Symposia, and Colloquia (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015), 58.
48 For example, Et. 5, 15, 23, 68:233, 236, 237, 248.
49 Good examples are Et. 1, 19, 20:233, 236–37.
50 Especially problematic in this respect are Et. 11 and 21:235, 237.
51 Compare Smith, "The Care of Relics," 179–205.
52 For example, Et. 63:247.
53 Schnyder, "Das Kopfreliquiar," 100–101.
54 Brocard, et al., *Autour de Saint Maurice*; Degler-Spengler and Gilomen-Schenkel, *Les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin en Valais*, 309–10; Eugen Ewig, "Die Kathedralpatrozinien im römischen und im fränkischen Gallien," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 79 (1960): 1–61 at 46–48; Schnyder, "Das Kopfreliquiar," 67–68; Daniel Thurre, *L'Atelier roman d'orfèvrerie de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice* (Sierre: Editions Monographic, 1992), 42–48.
55 Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Trésor, mémoire, collection à Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 1128–1225," in *Le trésor au Moyen Age. Discours, pratiques et objets*, ed. Lucas Burkart (Florence: SISMEL del Galluzzo, 2010), 333–44.
56 See above, at notes 27 and 28.
57 Galland, *Authentiques*, 45–6; Smith, "Care of Relics," 183.
58 Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 24–25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), 40–44.
59 Aunemundus of Lyon, Leodegarius of Autun, Desiderius of Vienne: Et. 1, 12, 22, 32 and 68:233, 235, 237, 240, 248.
60 Et. 26 (John, probably of Réomé), Et. 47 (Benedict):238, 243.
61 Alessandra Antonini, "Archéologie du site abbatial (des origines au Xe siècle)," *Abbaye* 1:59–109, at 82–89.
62 Et. 8:234.
63 Bernard Andenmatten, *Écrire et conserver: album paléographique et diplomatique de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune (VIe–XVIe s.)* (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2010), 21–23; Antoine-König, et al., *Trésor*, 68–69.
64 Et. 27, 103:238, 257.
65 Et. 87:252. Several churches claim Saint Victor as theirs, but Saint-Maurice certainly possessed a large number of his relics. See *Abbaye* 2:168–71; Brocard, et al., *Autour de Saint Maurice*, 141, 400, 414, 445.
66 Eric Chevalley and Cédric Roduit, eds., *La mémoire hagiographique*, 10–11.
67 Et. 59:246.
68 Et. 33:240; cf. Chevalley and Roduit, *La mémoire hagiographique*, 31–32.
69 Degler-Spengler and Gilomen-Schenkel, *Les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin en Valais*, 419–21.
70 One tag represents the forty-eight martyrs of Lyon made famous by Eusebius and Gregory of Tours, and three refer to bishops of Lyon, Justus (d. c. 381), Nicetius (d. 573), and Aunemund (murdered c. 660). Et. 1, 11, 35, 39:233, 235, 240–41.
71 Hans Hubert Anton, *Studien zu den Klosterprivilegien der Päpste im frühen Mittelalter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Privilegierung von St. Maurice d'Agaune* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), 115, 132; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses*

antiquissimi. Le scriptorium de Lyon: le plus ancienne école calligraphique de France (Lyon: Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, 1924); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Jean-Marie Theurillat, "L'Abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune des origines à la réforme canoniale," *Vallesia* 9 (1954): 111–12.

72 Jacques Biarne, Charles Bonnet, Renée Colardelle, Françoise Descombes, Paul-Albert Février, Nancy Gauthier, Jean Guyon, and Catherine Santschi, *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle: III, Provinces ecclésiastiques de Vienne et d'Arles (Viennensis et Alpes Graiae et Poeninae)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1986), 25.

73 Thomas Bauer, "Wilchar," in *Biographisch–Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 13, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (Hamm: Traugott Bautz, 1998), cols 1169–72; Degler-Spengler and Gilomen-Schenkel, *Les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin en Valais*, 411–14.

74 Et. 36, 60:241, 247.

75 Et. 12, 32, 68:235, 240, 248.

76 Wilcharius did not remain in retirement: he played a key role in securing communication between Pippin III and Popes Stephen II and Paul I and ended his career as archbishop of Sens, where he vigorously promoted the cult of Maurice and the Theban Legion: see Nathanaël Nimmegeers, *Evêques entre Bourgogne et Provence. La province ecclésiastique de Vienne au haut Moyen Age (Ve–XIe siècle)* (Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes, 2014), 136–40.

77 Apart from three fourteenth-century tags identifying relics of Bernard of Aosta (d. 1081), the founder of the pilgrim hospice which bears his name at the summit of the Mount-Joux Pass (Et. 89, 90, 91:252–53), all the labels in this group are in Merovingian or Carolingian hands.

78 Et. 2, 5, 6, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 42, 65, 69:233–37, 242, 248.

79 Anton, *Studien zu den Klosterprivilegien der Päpste*.

80 Northern Italy: Et. 3 and 4 (Milan); Et. 24 and 44 (Milan, Como, or Aquileia):233, 238, 242; Loire Valley and Aquitaine: Et. 9 and 52 (Tours), Et. 17 (Angers), Et. 23 (Autun or Saint-Maixent, in Poitou), Et. 23 (?Cahors), Et. 53 (?Clermont), Et. 61 (Orléans), Et. 84 (Bourges): 234, 236, 237, 244, 247, 251.

81 Et. 13:235.

82 Et. 15, 20:236–37.

83 Et. 37:241.

84 Et. 31, 58:240, 246.

85 Et. 29:239.

86 Et. 16:236. There is also a set of five twelfth-century Holy Land labels from the reliquary-head of Saint Candidus (see note 24 for details); I discussed these in 2012 in Smith, "Portable Christianity," 162–65, an article I wrote before the rediscovery of the Candidus labels in 2013. The current article entirely supersedes my 2012 discussion of the profile of the Candidus relic set except as regards these twelfth-century Holy Land relics.

87 Et. 36:241. See also Jean-Michel Picard, "Adomnán's *vita Columbae* and the cult of Colum Cille in continental Europe," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 98C (1998): 1–23.

88 Et. 57:246. I shall discuss these more fully in my 2016 Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge, forthcoming).

89 Christoph Jörg and Carl Pfaff, eds., *Corpus inscriptionum medii aevi Helvetiae: die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Inschriften der Schweiz. 1, Die Inschriften des Kantons Wallis bis 1300* (Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1977), 16, 68–69.

90 The legend associating Saint Martin with the origins of the cult of the Theban Legion cannot be traced any earlier than the twelfth century: Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Objet de trésor et mémoire projective: le vase 'de saint Martin, onques faict par mains d'omme terrein,'" *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'Histoire et Philologie* 114.1 (2008): 37–53.
91 Et. 26:238.