

Rewriting the founder: Werden on the Ruhr and the uses of hagiography

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The rich hagiographical corpus, charters and privileges of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr allow unparalleled access to its ninth-century history. This article focuses upon three ninth-century *Vitae* of its founding saint which delineate both the transformations which Werden underwent in the course of the century and the ways in which the monastery attempted to respond and adapt to these changes. In so doing, it illuminates the role that saintly relics and hagiography could play in the formation of Christian communities both within and beyond cloister walls.

Keywords: hagiography; monasticism; Carolingian Europe; Saint Liudger; Werden on the Ruhr

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Introduction

Around the turn of the ninth century, the missionary saint Liudger founded the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr in the borderlands between Francia and Saxony. Although Liudger's precise involvement with the monastery is difficult to trace – he was at the same time a leader in the Saxon mission, and around 805 became bishop of Münster – his impact upon Werden is undeniable. Werden was founded primarily on his family lands; after his death in 809, the monastery continued to be ruled by members of his family right up until the late ninth century; and Liudger's burial at Werden allowed the monks to develop his cult, which continued to flourish and spread. As witness to his cult, four lives of the saint survive, all of which can be traced back to the Werden community. Three of these lives were composed within a period of less than 30 years, between c.839 and 864.

Previous scholarship on the lives of Liudger has, with a few notable exceptions,¹ concentrated on the first life to the exclusion of the rest, a focus that can be attributed to a lingering interest in reconstructing the 'historical' Liudger. Yet even the *Vita prima* was a deliberate literary composition, written to promote Liudger's cult by a man who had never met the saint and who was writing a full three decades after his death; it offers as much, if not more insight into the period of composition as into the period which it ostensibly describes. Similarly, the *Vita secunda* and *tertia*, works which have been for the most part sidelined in

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¹ The following abbreviation is used in this paper: MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Eckhard Freise, ed., *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 323 der Staatsbibliothek Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar, Forschungsbeiträge* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999); Eberhard Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 142 (1992): 9–55.

the historiography – indeed, the most recent complete edition of the *Vita tertia* dates to 1571² – should not be merely set aside as ahistorical embellishments, but rather considered as products of their own time. In recent decades, scholarship on the contemporary uses of hagiography and, more generally, on uses of the past, has blossomed, underscoring the ways in which authors responded to the demands of the present.³ The rewriting of hagiography has been recognised belatedly as a deserving recipient of scholarly attention, with recent volumes and articles addressing the formal and conceptual aspects of such undertakings as well as the contemporary requirements which could have prompted such work.⁴ A re-examination of the lives of St Liudger thus not only fills a gap but also complements a growing trend in scholarship. The survival of three lives of the same saint, written for the same centre, over the course of the same generation offers a particularly evocative example of the aims to which hagiography could be turned and of the issues which it could be employed to articulate.

This peculiarly dense production of *Vitae* was undertaken in response to contemporary circumstance at the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr – and, in the case of the *Vita prima*, at the bishopric of Münster. The monastery of Werden subsequently underwent a

² *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *De Probatis Sanctorum: Historiis, partim ex tomis Aloysii Lipomani, doctissimi episcopi, partim etiam ex egregiis manuscriptis codicibus, quarum per multae ante hac nunquam in lucem prodire, nunc recens optima fide collectis*, ed. Laurentius Surius. 6 vols. (Cologne: Apud Geruinum Calenium et haeredes, 1571), 2: 384–409. The more recent edition by Diekamp only includes selected extracts: see *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Wilhelm Diekamp. Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster 4 (Münster: Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1881), 85–134.

³ See, for example, Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127 (1990): 3–38. Many of these themes are addressed in Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder, eds., *The resources of the past in the early middle ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

⁴ Among other works, see Robert Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: the Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum* 58 (1983): 598–613; Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann, eds., *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*. Beihefte der Francia 58 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); Bernard Merdrignac, 'The Process and Significance of Rewriting Breton Hagiography', in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 177–97; Monique Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: essai sur les réécritures de vies de saints dans l'occident latin médiéval, viiie–xiiie s.* Hagiologia 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann, eds., *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'occident médiéval: actes de l'atelier 'La réécriture des miracles' (IHAP, juin 2004) et SHG X–XII: dossiers des saints de Metz et Laon et de saint Saturnin de Toulouse*. Beihefte der Francia 65 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006); Monique Goullet, Martin Heinzelmann, and Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, eds., *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures*. Beihefte der Francia 71 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010); Richard Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult', *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 38 (2011): 1–31.

series of changes, which one may see reflected in the composition, form and content of the *Vita secunda* and *tertia*. Although the *Vita secunda* and *tertia* are largely dependent on the *Vita prima* for content, nonetheless the differences between these lives can illuminate the community's reactions to the upheaval of these years. This hagiographical corpus, moreover, was not alone in its use of the founder: a cartulary and two forged foundation charters date to this same mid-century period. None of these documents simply rehashed a predetermined 'historical past': instead, they actively adapted the *memoria* of the founding saint in step with contemporary needs.

Setting the trend

The first life of Liudger was written by Altfrid sometime between 839, when Altfrid became bishop of Münster, and his death in 849.⁵ Altfrid was well placed to compose such a *Vita*: he was himself one of the Liudgeriden, the Frisian family from which so many bishops and *rectores* of Werden were drawn, and he too followed Liudger (albeit a generation later) as both *rector* of Werden and bishop of Münster.⁶ Thus, while ostensibly writing at the monks'

⁵ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 3–53. This edition is greatly to be preferred to the previous MGH edition: see Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Georg H. Pertz. MGH Scriptores 2 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1829), 403–19. For the authorship of Altfrid, see Karl Hauck, 'Zu geschichtlichen Werken Münsterscher Bischöfe', in *Monasterium: Festschrift zum siebenhundertjährigen Weihegedächtnis des Paulus-Domes zu Münster*, ed. Alois Schröer (Münster, Regensburg, 1966), 337–426 (341–8). For the dating of the work, cf. Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xx–xxi. Diekamp places the composition of this *Vita* before 843, as Bishop Jonas of Orléans is referred to in the text without the use of the phrase 'beatae memoriae' or any equivalent, which Diekamp takes to mean that Jonas was still alive at the time of composition. However, far from being universally employed when discussing the departed, the phrase 'beatae memoriae' was often used to mark out those with a special relationship to the author's institution, even while the person described was still alive: see Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri VI* (Paris: sumtibus Ludovici Billaine, in Palatio Regio, 1681), 538, 601, and Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 23 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), 139.

⁶ See especially Karl Schmid, 'Die "Liudgeriden"'. Erscheinung und Problematik einer Adelsfamilie', in *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter: ausgewählte Beiträge: Festgabe zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 305–35; see further Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xv–xvi. I should note here that I use the term Latin term *rector* rather than abbot not only because that is the word the sources more frequently employ, but also to underline the fact that the Liudgeriden *rectores* were, for the most part, non-resident at the monastery, and never assumed the monastic habit. On the term *rector* and its implications, see Pius Engelbert, 'Liudger und das fränkische Mönchtum seiner Zeit', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 151–66 (156); see further Hermann Nottarp, 'Das Ludgerische Eigenkloster Werden im 9. Jahrhundert', *Historische Jahrbuch* 37 (1916): 80–98 (83–7); Schmid, 'Die

request,⁷ he worked in his own agenda, as heir – by both blood and office – to his distinguished forebear.

In fact, Altfrid's account of Liudger's life, while replete with detail about Liudger's family, his upbringing and his work in Frisia, says very little about his foundation of Werden. The first four chapters discuss Liudger's paternal grandfather, Wursingus, who ran foul of the pagan king Radbod; the next three talk about Liudger's mother, Liafburch, her religious brothers, and how she was almost drowned at birth by her pagan grandmother; and then, finally, in Chapter 8 Liudger is born, following a miracle in which he is spared *in utero*.⁸ As Karl Schmid has indicated, this is a consummate depiction of a Christian noble family, whose members are defined not only by blood relationships, but also by a profession of Christian religion.⁹ While less narrative focus is given to more recent members of the Liudgeriden, still Liudger's brother and nephew are marked out as bishops in the prologue.¹⁰ Moreover, the continuance of the Liudgeriden as a Christian noble family would be more than obvious to the community at Werden: Altfrid was, after all, the fourth or fifth Liudgeriden *rector* presiding at Werden.¹¹

After Altfrid's long, often miraculous excursions into Liudger's ancestry, he begins to describe in great detail Liudger's time at Utrecht, where he was entrusted to Abbot Gregory for his education; at York, where he studied briefly under Alcuin; at Deventer, where Liudger constructed a church and discovered the relics of the martyr, Lebuin; at Ostrache, where Liudger served as a priest; at Rome, where Liudger fled when rebellions threatened the Frisian mission; and at Monte Cassino, where Liudger stayed upon his return from Rome,

"Liudgeriden", 314; Marc Van Uytvanghe, 'Altfrids "Vita Ludgeri" als hagiographischer und historischer Text', in *Heiliger Liudger: Zeuge des Glaubens, 742–809*, ed. Rudolf Ludger Schütz (Bochum: Kamp, 2009), 143–59 (143).

⁷ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 3 (Prologue).

⁸ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 6–13 (Book 1:1–8).

⁹ Schmid, 'Die "Liudgeriden"', 318–20.

¹⁰ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 4 (Prologue).

¹¹ There is uncertainty over whether the Liudgeriden Thiatgrim of Halberstadt (d. 840) was a *rector* of Werden: see Wilhelm Stüwer, *Das Erzbistums Köln 3: Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*. Germania Sacra Neue Folge 12 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 296–300.

and where he learned the Benedictine Rule. It is only in relation to Liudger's time at Monte Cassino that Altfrid finally notes that Liudger 'was desirous to build a monastery of monks on his inheritance, which afterwards, with the Lord bringing aid, was granted in a place called Werden'.¹² It is worth noting that even this sequence of events may play a rhetorical role: it creates the impression that Werden was initially founded as a Benedictine house, a suggestion which is notably without support in Werden's early sources.¹³ A faint glimmer may thus be detected of what Arnold Angenendt has termed the 'Benedictinisation' of Werden,¹⁴ a process which would likewise be attested in the *Vita secunda* and which would later accelerate in the *Vita tertia*.

Having made this brief aside about Werden, Altfrid returns to Liudger's ever-increasing missionary work, tracing Liudger's steps as Charlemagne first charges him with the Christianisation of five Frisian *pagi*, and then later appoints him as pastor to the East [sic] Saxons.¹⁵ The latter is followed swiftly by his ordination as bishop of Münster, where, Altfrid notes, he constructed a monastery. At the same time, Charlemagne gives Liudger – and presumably his bishopric – the West Frankish cell of Lotusa, which could provide both limited economic support and a recruiting ground for missionaries to aid him in his episcopal duties.¹⁶ Having amply described Liudger's missionary career, Altfrid then turns to miracles

¹² Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 25 (Book 1:21): 'Erat enim cupiens in hereditate sua coenobium construere monachorum, quod ita postea Domino opitulante concessum est in loco, qui vocatur Werthina.'

¹³ Arnold Angenendt, *Liudger: Missionar, Abt, Bischof im frühen Mittelalter* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 107–9; Eckhard Freise, 'Liudger und das Kloster Werden – Gründervater, Gründerjahre und Gründungstradition', in *805: Liudger wird Bischof: Spuren eines Heiligen zwischen York, Rom und Münster*, eds. G. Isenberg and B. Rommé (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 133–40 (137–8); cf. Engelbert, 'Liudger und das fränkische Mönchtum', 155–6, 165–6; Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 116.

¹⁴ Angenendt, *Liudger*, 120.

¹⁵ For the geographical area comprehended in the term 'East Saxons', see Joseph Prinz, 'Die Parochia des heiligen Liudger', in *Liudger und seine Erbe. Westfalia Sacra: Quellen und Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte Westfalens I*, eds. Heinrich Börsting and Alois Schröer (Münster: Aschendorff, 1948), 1–83 (1–3).

¹⁶ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp 29 (Book 1:24). For more on the phenomenon of granting monastic cells to Saxon episcopal foundations, see Hedwig Röckelein, "'Pervenimus mirificum ad sancti Medardi oraculum". Der Anteil westfränkischer Zellen am Aufbau', in *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung: das Epos "Karolus Magnus et Leo papa" und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, eds. Peter Godman, Jörg Jarnut, and Peter Johaneck (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 145–62.

performed during Liudger's lifetime. Werden is only mentioned again as the setting for a vision, as the eventual place of Liudger's burial and then in posthumous miracles.

This lack of focus on Werden has been widely observed:¹⁷ Werden's foundation is barely alluded to in passing, nor is its later history discussed. Although he names, alongside Liudger, two other former *rectores* of Werden, Altfrid never refers to them as *rectores*, prioritising instead the title of bishop.¹⁸ Indeed, he refers to himself as a bishop in the prologue, and only identifies himself with the monastery to the extent that he uses 'noster' in the miracle stories.¹⁹ Wilhelm Diekamp argued that Altfrid's failure to provide an adequate record of Werden's foundation directly resulted in the composition of the *Vita secunda* less than a decade later.²⁰ Yet this is not the only way in which the contrasting emphases of the first two lives may be explained.

The importance of Werden in Liudger's 'historical' life should not be assumed. Liudger's career was multifaceted: there is little to suggest that he prized his monastic foundations above his missionary and episcopal work, and Werden was, in any case, not his only foundation: in addition to the house of canons at Münster, which some have suggested acted as a 'double monastery' with Werden,²¹ Liudger had twice attempted to found houses elsewhere.²² In the early eleventh century, Thietmar of Merseburg attributed the foundation of the monastery of Helmstedt to Liudger, and Werden and Helmstedt may have been simultaneously ruled by the same *rector* in this early period, although the lateness of the

¹⁷ Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xlv–xlv; Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 14; Schmid, 'Die "Liudgeriden"', 309.

¹⁸ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 4, 38, 40 (Prologue, Books 1:32; 2:1).

¹⁹ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 3–4, 41–2, 49 (Prologue, Book 2:4–5, 2:18).

²⁰ Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xlv–xlv; see further Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 232.

²¹ Eckhard Freise, 'Vom vorchristlichen Mimigernaford zum *honestum monasterium* Liudgers', *Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, ed. Franz J. Jakobi. 3 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), 1: 1–53, (26–35); cf. Jan Gerchow, 'Liudger und die angelsächsische Kirche', in Isenberg and Rommé, eds., *805: Liudger wird Bischof*, 141–8.

²² See below.

evidence encourages caution.²³ In any case, the centrality of Werden in our current appreciation of Liudger may be largely a product of its role in the promotion of his cult. Even the idea that Liudger specifically intended Werden to function as a *Memorialkloster* is only attested after his death.²⁴ Liudger's eventual burial at Werden appears to have been engineered by his brother, bishop Hildigrim of Châlons-sur-Marne; the subsequent interment of the Liudgeriden *rectores* at Werden²⁵ and the development of Liudger's cult at the monastery can be seen as organic developments rather than as part of Liudger's design. When Altfrid picked up his pen at the request of the monks at Werden, this process was under way: the placement of Liudger's relics at Werden rendered it the natural centre of his cult, and it had already become a favoured burial ground of the Liudgeriden.

Hauck has suggested that Altfrid's emphases may reflect his 'Utrecht horizons': after all, much of the *Vita* concentrates on Liudger's missionary work in Frisia, and alongside Liudger's own biography, stories about or allusions to other prominent missionary-saints associated with Utrecht are included: Willibrord (bishop of Utrecht, d. 739), Boniface (active in the Utrecht area, 719–21 and 753–4, d. 754), Gregory (abbot of Utrecht, d. 775), and Lebuin (a priest active in the area in the mid-eighth century), all figure to greater or lesser degrees in the narrative, despite the fact that only Gregory appears to have had a personal relationship with Liudger.²⁶ The wish to connect Liudger with such saintly predecessors may be self-evident, but is countered by the fact that even lesser-known figures associated with

²³ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann. MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, new series 9 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935), 209 (Book 4:68); see also Wilhelm Kohl, 'Liudger. Wandlungen einer Biographie', *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte* 84 (1990): 17–29, (25); idem, *Das Bistum Münster 7: Die Diözese*. Germania Sacra Neue Folge 37: 3. 3 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 3: 15–16; Hedwig Röckelein, 'Halberstadt, Helmstedt und die Liudgeriden', in *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche: Kloster Welt Werden, 799–1803*, eds. Jan Gerchow and Reinhild Stephan-Maaser (Cologne: Wienand, 1999), 65–73 (68); Hauck, 'Zu geschichtlichen Werken', 390.

²⁴ Cf. Angenendt, *Liudger*, 119, and Engelbert, 'Liudger und das fränkische Mönchtum', 165.

²⁵ Schmid, 'Die "Liudgeriden"', 308; Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 16–18.

²⁶ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 8–10, 13–20 (Book 1:4–5, 1:9–15, 1:18); see also Hauck, 'Zu geschichtlichen Werken', 348–62, especially 348; Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 13–16; Lutz E. von Padberg, 'Die Liudger-Viten in der Angelsächsischen Tradition der Missionsarbeit im geistlichen Familienverband', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 113–26 (120–1); Van Uytvanghe, 'Altfrids "Vita Ludgeri"', 147.

Utrecht – such Albricus, abbot of Utrecht and archbishop of Cologne; Alubert, missionary-priest and later bishop, who worked in concert with Abbot Gregory; Sigibodus, Thiatbrat and Adalgar, priests subordinate to Utrecht; and Marchelmus and Haddo, monks at the monastery of Utrecht – are woven neatly into the narrative.²⁷ Thus, according to Hauck, Altfrid's *Vita* can and should be read as part of Utrecht's hagiographical tradition. Such a focus is probably more representative of Liudger's life than later generations at Werden would admit: Liudger himself was greatly influenced by his time at Utrecht, as his *Vita Gregorii* reveals.²⁸

Furthermore, as the recent work of Eric Knibbs has suggested, Liudger may well have been acting in the capacity of chorbishop – that is, as a rural bishop who was subordinate to the diocesan bishop, in this case, the bishop of Utrecht – right up until his consecration as bishop in 805.²⁹

Meanwhile, as Eberhard Kaus, Ian Wood, and most recently Marc Van Uytfanghe have argued, Altfrid drew both directly and indirectly upon Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*, sometimes even borrowing sentences and phrases from the earlier work.³⁰ Alcuin was, like Altfrid, related to the saint he eulogised; his *Vita* too was intended for the monks of the monastery which Willibrord had founded, Echternach. Nor do the similarities in situation end there: both Echternach and Werden can be classed as *Eigenklöster*, or private, family monasteries, in this period. In Werden's case, as Hermann Nottarp has written, this is revealed not only by the continued leadership of the Liudgeriden, but also by documentary evidence, such as a sale of 848, where property was transferred from a certain Gunthard and

²⁷ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 4, 15–16, 17–22, 24–5, 29 (Prologue, Book 1:10, 1:13, 1:15–18, 1:21, 1:24).

²⁸ Liudger, *Vita sancti Gregorii*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. MGH, Scriptores 15: 1 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1887), 63–79; see also Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 35–6 (Book 1:30).

²⁹ Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg–Bremen* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 26, 58.

³⁰ Alcuin, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, ed. Wilhelm Levison. MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 7 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1920), 81–141; Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 14–5; Van Uytfanghe, 'Altfrids "Vita Ludgeri"', 148; Ian N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 80–5, 113–15; see further Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xxii–xxiii; von Padberg, 'Die Liudger-Viten in der Angelsächsischen Tradition', 121.

Athiluuinus to Altfrid, ‘ad proprium vestrum monasterium’, that is, to Altfrid’s very own monastery.³¹ It is therefore interesting that the lives that both authors produced show such clear parallels. Both Alcuin and Altfrid are surprisingly taciturn about the act of monastic foundation, and much more interested in emphasising two distinct themes: the saint’s family and the saint’s activity as a missionary, and in Altfrid’s case, eventually as bishop of Münster. Such themes had obvious resonances for Altfrid; in enhancing the prestige of the Liudgeriden, and in stressing the importance of Liudger’s preaching and later appointment as bishop, he also neatly enhanced his own claim to authority.

Altfrid’s concentration on Liudger’s missionary work in Frisia may also be directly related to contemporary events. Altfrid penned his life of Liudger in the period between 839 and 849, a period which coincides with one of the greatest re-alignments of the ninth century: the civil war between the sons of Louis the Pious, which would conclude in 843 with the Treaty of Verdun and the division of the empire into three kingdoms. This division would affect both of the institutions over which Altfrid held sway: the bishopric of Münster, whose diocesan territory in Frisia and Saxony spanned two kingdoms, and the monastery of Werden, whose landed interests likewise straddled the new border.

It is in this context, then, that we should envisage the composition of the *Vita prima sancti Liudgeri* as a work designed not only to articulate cross-border holdings, but also to assert the extent of episcopal governance. In so doing, it was far from alone: James Palmer has observed a veritable flurry of hagiographical writing along the East Frankish border in the 840s, in which institutions attempted to reassert their cross-border influence and control

³¹ *Cartularium Werthinense*, edited in Dirk Blok, ‘Een diplomatisch Onderzoek van de oudste particuliere oorkonden van Werden’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1960), 218–19, no. 66; see also Nottarp, ‘Das Ludgerische Eigenkloster Werden’, 88; cf. Schmid, ‘Die “Liudgeriden”’, 315. It is worth noting, however, that this edition of the Werden Cartulary reorders and adds material to the text found in the manuscript: for the original order, see Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss lat. Q 55. For a recent study of the cartulary, see Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The Uses of Literacy in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe: Literate Conventions of Memory in Carolingian Europe’, in *Scrivere e leggere nel alto medioevo*. Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 59:1 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 2012), 179–211 (189–98).

over landholdings.³² The articulation of such claims through hagiographical texts may appear, at first glance, rather weak. Abstract claims voiced through hagiographical works – however evocatively expressed – could hardly compare to the immediate demands made upon kings by their loyal followers, who had risked life and limb during the civil war. Yet hagiographical texts did not operate on their own: rather, they were a part of wider strategies that institutions employed in attempts to retain lands and influence, strategies which also involved the collection of privileges, the drafting of cartularies, and – even more importantly – personal appeals to rulers, ecclesiastical leaders and the lay elite. They represent an important window on these disputes and processes.

Approaching Altfred's *Vita* and, likewise, the *Vita secunda* and *tertia*, as the most enduring parts of more complex and varied programmes of self-promotion can moreover explain the significance of such texts both inside and outside the monastic community while avoiding the thorny issue of extra-monastic audiences.³³ It is, in fact, eminently possible – if, alas, impossible to demonstrate – that the *Vitae sancti Liudgeri* reached lay audiences, whether through readings in the liturgy or on feast days, vernacular sermons or even, in the case of young boys, in the schoolroom. The monastery maintained a high profile in its local community, as revealed by the long lay witness lists in the Werden Cartulary, and much of its interaction with that community appears to have centred around Liudger's cult: the *Vitae* report many members of the laity being healed at Liudger's tomb and record lay attendance at the feast of St Liudger, as well as more generally at monastic services.³⁴ On these occasions,

³² James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900*. Studies in the early Middle Ages 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 286.

³³ The work of Katrien Heene, in particular, has cast doubt on the public consumption of hagiography in the Carolingian era: see Katrien Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?', *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 415–29; eadem, 'Audire, legere, vulgo: an Attempt to Define Public Use and Comprehensibility of Carolingian Hagiography', in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Wright (London: Routledge, 1991), 146–63.

³⁴ For lay participation in the celebration of Liudger's feast, see Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4^o, Nr. 29, ff. 52r–53v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 117–19 (Book 2:9–10); for the attendance of the laity at monastic services, see, for example, Altfred, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 44–6, 51–2 (Book 2:8–9, 2:20).

extracts from the *Vitae* could be used as readings or explained in vernacular sermons, and indeed, the focus in certain chapters of the *Vitae* on matters of lay *correctio* (addressing such themes as Sunday observance, correct sexual behaviour and respect for monastic lands) suggests that they were, at least in part, intended for lay consumption.³⁵ Yet even if these texts were not directly accessible, or even linguistically comprehensible, to the local laity, these *Vitae* would still have had impact beyond monastic walls. The *Vitae* were read extensively within the monastery; the arguments they advanced were then redeployed in other forms in the monastery's interactions with the outside world.

Thus, in the *Vita prima sancti Liudgeri*, Altfrid was able to put forward a claim for cross-border authority and landownership with the realistic hope it would have some effect outside, as well as within, the cloister. Throughout the *Vita*, much emphasis is placed upon Liudger's connections to Frisia – through his family and ancestry, his education and training, and, even more prominently, through his missionary work in Frisia, which is described in lavish detail. Altfrid begins by discussing Liudger's posting in Deventer, where he located the martyr Lebuin's relics, rebuilt his church and reintroduced Christianity more generally – an undertaking which had produced lasting results: as Altfrid writes, 'there exists there, even today, a monastery of canons serving the Lord.'³⁶ Various other stories of Liudger's missionary feats in Frisia fill the succeeding chapters – his destruction of pagan temples, and his general aptitude in building churches and fostering Christian religion – before his first formal assignment by Charlemagne, who appointed him as pastor over five Frisian *pagi* – Hugmerich, Hunusga, Fivilga, Emisga and Fediritga – as well as over the island of Bant.³⁷

³⁵ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 33-4 (Book 1:28); *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 72-3 (Book 1:27); Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4^o, Nr. 29, ff. 32v-33r, 52v-53v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 105-6, 118-19 (Books 1:36, 2:10).

³⁶ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 20 (Book 1:15): 'ubi etiam nunc caenobium est canonicorum Domino famulantium.'

³⁷ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 20, 22-7 (Book 1:16, 1:19, 1:21-2).

Particularly interesting in this section is one dream sequence which anticipates his later appointment as bishop.

In Chapter 18, Altfrid narrates a dream which Liudger allegedly had while still serving at the monastery of Utrecht. One night, as Liudger lingered in the church after evening prayers,

The venerable Abbot Gregory appeared to him in a vision, saying, ‘Brother Liudger, follow me.’ He followed Gregory as he climbed to a prominent place, scattered some small bits of parchment and parts of garments in front of him, and said, ‘Collect those, and make them into piles.’ When Liudger had assembled three piles out of the scraps, Gregory said to him, ‘Distribute them thus in the work of the Lord, and I will give you enough.’ And he made the sign of the cross and departed.³⁸

The next morning, Liudger described his dream to another monk, who promptly provided an interpretation: ‘the three piles which you assembled represent the governance of three peoples, whom you will lead with pastoral authority.’³⁹

This prophecy is eventually fulfilled by the appointment of Liudger as pastor over the East Saxons and his consequent appointment as bishop of Münster.⁴⁰ Altfrid is quick to indicate that Liudger’s acceptance of a bishopric in Saxony did not constitute a disavowal of his role within Frisia:

Likewise he took charge of the episcopal governance of those five little *pagi* in Frisia, which he had led away from paganism to the recognition of the true

³⁸ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 22 (Book 1:18): ‘venerabilis abbas Gregorius per visionem apparuit dicens: “Frater Liudgere, sequere me.” Quem dum ipse sequeretur, ascendit ipse in locum eminentiorem iactavitque coram eo particulatim quasi membranae et vestimentorum partes et dixit: “Collige ex eis acervos.” Cumque congregasset ex eis tres tumulos, dixit ei: “Distribue ista bene in opere Domini et ego tibi satis dabo.” Et signavit eum signaculo crucis et abscessit.’ See also Van Uytfanghe, ‘Altfrids “Vita Ludgeri”’, 156–7.

³⁹ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 22 (Book 1:18): ‘Tres tumuli, quos congregasti, trium sunt gubernacula plebium, quibus adhuc pastoralis te oportet praeesse regimine.’

⁴⁰ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 27–9 (Book 1:23–4). For the use of the term ‘East Saxons’, see above, note 15.

and indivisible Trinity, and which previously had not had a bishop; so too his successors held both places as one parish.⁴¹

At the same time as his consecration, Charlemagne granted Liudger ‘the monastery of saint Peter in Lotusa, in the *pagus* of Brabant in the kingdom of the Franks ... with all its appurtenances, churches, and farms.’⁴² Thus, by his appointment to the Saxons, Frisians, and finally the monastic cell at Lotusa, ‘the dream about the collection of three piles, which signified the governance of three peoples ... was fulfilled.’⁴³ According to Altfrid, Liudger’s control of Lotusa did not just come about by imperial favour: it was part of the divine plan.

Following this key chapter, Altfrid turns to the miracles performed by the saint during his lifetime, many of which were made manifest in Frisia.⁴⁴ The second book, which addresses miracles performed by Liudger’s relics, is more directly focused on the saint’s shrine at Werden, but nevertheless Altfrid takes care to designate some of the towns and *pagi* from which petitioners came, thereby illustrating the scope of Liudger’s influence – a hagiographical strategy which has been excellently described elsewhere by Hedwig Röckelein.⁴⁵ While most pilgrims appear to have come from within the limits of Saxony to seek a cure, nonetheless two are recorded as having travelled from Frisia, thereby indicating continuing connections with the region.⁴⁶ In one miracle, Liudger is even described as the

⁴¹ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 29 (Book 1:24): ‘Illis etiam quinque pagellis, quos in Fresia ad agnitionem verae et individuae Trinitatis de gentilitate perduxerat, eo quod prius non haberent episcopum, simili modo pontificali preerat regimine, sed et successores eius utraque loca pro una habuerant parrochia.’

⁴² Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 29 (Book 1:24): ‘in regno Francorum in pago Brabante in loco, qui Lotusa vocatur, monasterium sancti Petri ... cum omnibus adiacentibus suis aeclesiis et villulis.’

⁴³ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 29 (Book 1:24): ‘adimpletum est somnium... de collectione trium tumulorum significantium trium gubernacula plebium.’

⁴⁴ For the miracles that took place in Frisia during the saint’s lifetime, see Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 30–5 (Book 1:25–7, 1:29).

⁴⁵ Hedwig Röckelein, ‘Eliten markieren den sächsischen Raum als christlichen: Bremen, Halberstadt, und Herford (8.–11. Jahrhundert)’, in *Les élites et leurs espaces: mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VIe au XIe siècle)*, eds. Philippe Depreux, François Bougad and Régine Le Jan. Collection Haut Moyen Âge 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 273–98.

⁴⁶ For pilgrims who travelled from Frisia to be healed at Werden, see Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 46–7 (Book 2:10–11).

‘former bishop of Saxony and Frisia’, a style to which Altfrid, as his successor in the diocese at Münster, must have also aspired.⁴⁷

Throughout the *Vita*, Altfrid articulates the continuing claims of Münster and Werden both to the monastic cell of Lotusa and more generally to jurisdiction and authority within Frisia. He places positive stress upon Liudger’s role in the conversion of Frisia and the creation of a diocese which spanned both Frisia and Saxony, and highlights the continuing connection between the regions. Altfrid’s claim to Lotusa, meanwhile, could not be clearer: Liudger’s governance of Lotusa – and by implication, that of his successors – fulfilled a divine prophecy. The particular circumstances in which Altfrid wrote the *Vita* makes it unlikely that these emphases were coincidental. At the very juncture when his continuing ownership of Lotusa and continuing episcopal jurisdiction over sections of Frisia were threatened, he created a work which advanced his cross-border claims.

Alongside the *Vita*, Altfrid sought more practical means of retaining Werden’s Frisian lands. Contemporaneously with the *Vita*, in 841, an advocate, ‘Meinhardi, advocati nostri’, appears for the first time in the Werden Cartulary.⁴⁸ In the remaining entries of the cartulary, a ‘Meinhard’ or ‘Meginhard’ shows up in the witness list six out of eight times, at one other point being expressly identified as ‘advocatus’.⁴⁹ While the common use of this name makes it difficult to determine whether all of these instances refer to the same man, it is nonetheless significant that Werden chose to seek its own advocate at this particular juncture. As a recent article by Charles West has underlined, advocates could act as powerful defenders for a monastery’s interests in the courts, deploying legal expertise to practical ends.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 51 (Book 2:20): ‘quondam episcopi Saxonum Fresonumque’.

⁴⁸ Blok, ed., *Cartularium Werthinense*, 211–12, no. 58; see also Diekamp, ed., *Die vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xvi; Kaus, ‘Zu den Liudger-Viten’, 17; Schmid, ‘Die “Liudgeriden”’, 315.

⁴⁹ Blok, ed., *Cartularium Werthinense*, 212–19, nos. 59–60, 62, 64–6.

⁵⁰ Charles West, ‘The Significance of the Carolingian Advocate’, *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 186–206.

Altfrid's *Vita*, and its silence regarding the foundation of the monastery of Werden, may appear a strange response to the monks at Werden who had so eagerly requested a *vita* of their founder. But its orientation is explicable. Altfrid turned to literary precedent to craft a *vita* which highlighted the saint's family and missions, with particular emphasis on his activity in Frisia. In so doing, he reinforced the basis of his own authority and made a claim for the continuing influence of the saint and, by extension, his monastery and bishopric, beyond the borders of the still-emerging East Frankish kingdom.

Assembling an arsenal

Altfrid died in 849. It is unclear whether or not a new *rector* was chosen: if so, no trace of him has come down to us. The monastery was still in limbo in 855 when a Frisian noble named Folker, upon his entry into the community, made a vast donation to the monastery.⁵¹ The conditions with which he frames his donation are telling: if Werden neglects its prayers for his ancestors, or if his lands are granted in benefice without the consent of the monks, or if the heirs of the monastery wish to divide the lands of the monastery between them, as if by the law of inheritance, or, lastly, if the monastery is itself disbanded, his donation will become null and void. If he is still living, he can take his lands with him to another monastery; if he has died, his heirs can arrange for his lands to be transferred to the monastery of Fulda. These conditions appear too exact to be purely hypothetical: and indeed they were not. Through a later recension of the so-called Werden Privilege, a forged foundation charter, we learn that in this period Bertold, a lay relative of the Liudgeriden, began to claim lands of the monastery.⁵²

⁵¹ *Urbare Werthinense*, in *Die Urbare der Abtei Werden a.d. Ruhr: Die Urbare vom 9.–13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rudolf Köttschke. Rheinische Urbare: Sammlung von Urbaren und anderen Quellen zur Rheinischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte 2 (Bonn: H. Behrendt, 1906) 8–15, no. A1:2.

⁵² *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, 286–94 (292–3). For more on Bertold and Folker, see Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xi–xiii; Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 18; Schmid, 'Die "Liudgeriden"', 315–7; Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 89–90.

It was in response to these uncertainties and counter-claims that three works were undertaken: the compilation of the Werden Cartulary, which was composed soon after 848, and presumably in the first years of the 850s; the *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, which was written c.850; and, more controversially, the first recension of the Werden Privilege. The cartulary was a strong statement of institutional ownership and rights in the face of lay incursions.⁵³ The *Vita secunda*, meanwhile, worked alongside the cartulary to articulate the foundation of Werden and to promote a sense of community when it seemed most threatened.⁵⁴ Finally, recension A of the Werden Privilege put forward a clear, if erroneous, claim to the lands of the Liudgeriden.

The Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri and the Werden Cartulary

While the *Vita secunda* draws most of its content from Altfrid's life, nevertheless it gives greater prominence to Liudger's act of monastic foundation. In a similar manner to the *Vita secunda sancti Samsonis* – which, as Richard Sowerby has recently argued, sought to provide a stronger connection between the saint and his foundation than had been the case in the earlier *Vita* – the *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri* places far more emphasis upon Liudger's relationship with Werden.⁵⁵ So, while in Altfrid's version Liudger goes to Rome because he was compelled to leave Frisia during Widukind's uprising, in the *Vita secunda* he reveals to the pope that his express reason was to obtain relics for a monastic foundation.⁵⁶ Liudger also receives Lotusa, the West Frankish monastic cell, from Charlemagne immediately upon his

⁵³ On the deliberate construction of cartularies more generally, see Brigitte Resl, 'Vom Nutzen des Abschreibens: Überlegungen zu mittelalterlichen Chartularen', in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, eds. Walter Pohl and Paul A. Herold. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 5 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 205–22.

⁵⁴ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 54–84. There is also an excellent facsimile edition of an early manuscript: see Freise, ed., *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*. The version of the text in this manuscript has however been interpolated with chapters from the *Vita prima* and *Vita tertia*, and so future references, unless otherwise noted, will be made in reference to the Diekamp edition.

⁵⁵ Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', 8.

⁵⁶ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 60 (Book 1:13); see also Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 36.

return from Monte Cassino, thus associating this gift with Liudger's stated intention to found a monastery, rather than, as in Altfrid, Liudger's assignment of a bishopric.⁵⁷ As Werden was no longer ruled by the bishop of Münster, this distinction would be of new-found importance.

The *Vita secunda* furthermore provides a narrative for the foundation of Werden.⁵⁸ Here, we learn that Liudger was forced to reconsider his plans for monastic foundation after making a prophecy about the later devastations of the Vikings along the coast, where most of his inheritance lay. Previously, he had thought two places apt for such a foundation – Wichmond, on the River Yssel, and Ad Crucem, on the River Erft⁵⁹ – yet still he feared for the places' safety.⁶⁰ It was at the latter, Ad Crucem, that Liudger resorted to keeping vigil in the snow in a bid for divine revelation, through which he learned of a dense wooded area, hitherto uninhabited. Liudger then hurried to this place, bought the land in exchange for land elsewhere and set about preparing it. But the men who he had brought with him declared it to be entirely uninhabitable: the trees were far too numerous and dense. That night, as all but one other cleric lay sleeping, Liudger emerged from his tent and, praying underneath a tree, raised such a storm as to clear the entire forest. The next morning, only one tree was left standing – the tree under which the saint had prayed the night before – and it was on this spot that Liudger would later request to be buried.

While this account is replete with miracles and hagiographical *topoi*, it should not be completely dismissed. In fact, both its remarks concerning Liudger's earlier attempts to found monasteries and its avowal that Liudger acquired – rather than inherited, in contrast to Altfrid's passing comment – the site of the foundation at Werden can be corroborated in the

⁵⁷ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 61 (Book 1:15); see also Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 297.

⁵⁸ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 73–8 (Book 1:28–30).

⁵⁹ For a suggestion concerning the location of this site, see Eckhard Freise, 'Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri: Deutsche Übersetzung und Kommentar', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 29–61 (43, note 93).

⁶⁰ For more on these attempted foundations, see Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 88.

Werden Cartulary.⁶¹ In 799, in a deed that would later be recorded as the first charter in the cartulary – and thus, following Rosamond McKitterick’s recent work,⁶² presumably the most important – a certain Folcbert traded a large swathe of land in the vicinity of Werden with Liudger in exchange for land elsewhere.⁶³ About a month earlier, another large donation at Werden had been made, and this is included as the second charter in the cartulary.⁶⁴ While Liudger’s foundation at Werden did not directly follow on divine revelation, then, the overall picture mapped out in the *Vita secunda* may be considered generally accurate.

However, even if this account finds some support in the charter evidence, it must also be viewed as a composition deliberately framed to be advantageous towards the monastery’s interests. First, the author does not address the foundation of Werden in his chronological account of Liudger’s life, but rather, as Eberhard Kaus has noted, in the section on his miracles.⁶⁵ Werden appears to have been founded through God’s direct intervention on two separate occasions: both in the divine revelation of the site on which to build, and also in the divine clearing of the land. This level of divine interest in the monastic foundation might be seen as a deterrent for lay incursions. Secondly, the emphasis placed on the fact that the land was overgrown and obscured by trees is a common topos in stories of foundation, often used to defend the institution’s possession in the face of conflicting claims: for example, in the *Vita Sturmi* Eigil claims that Fulda was built in the wilderness, despite clear indications to the contrary.⁶⁶ If the place of the initial foundation was the land which Folcbert exchanged with Liudger, the *Vita secunda* may be found guilty of exaggeration rather than outright fabrication: the land was uncultivated, but was not described as an actual forest.

⁶¹ Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 25 (Book 1:21).

⁶² McKitterick, ‘Literate conventions of memory’, 191–4.

⁶³ Blok, ed., *Cartularium Werthinense*, 172–3, no. 15; for its original placement in the cartulary, see Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss lat. Q 55.

⁶⁴ Blok, ed., *Cartularium Werthinense*, 169–70, no. 13.

⁶⁵ Kaus, ‘Zu den Liudger-Viten’, 36–7.

⁶⁶ Eigil of Fulda, *Vita sancti Sturmi*, in *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda: literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, ed. Pius Engelbert. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 29 (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1968), 140–1 (Chapters 8–9); see also Wood, *Missionary Life*, 70.

Although the account of Werden's foundation is the most obvious deviation from Altfrid's account, the *Vita secunda* shows further differences in its treatment of the wider Liudgeriden. While Altfrid lavished the initial eight chapters on Liudger's ancestry, in the *Vita secunda* this is cut down to a trim three which redirect the focus from Liudger's male ancestry to the two miracles linked to his mother.⁶⁷ This is a significant recalibration away from the wider family which Altfrid had laid out: in comparison to Altfrid's discussion of Liudger's ancestry, which refers to nine relatives by name, and to 11 more unnamed relatives, the *Vita secunda* mentions three named and one unnamed ancestor. This narrowing of focus is understandable if the monastery was under threat from lay relatives. But equally significant for the treatment of the Liudgeriden in the *Vita secunda* is the conclusion of its first book: after Liudger's burial and an affirmation of the miracles which continue to be performed at his tomb, it adds that the next two Liudgeriden *rectores* of Werden, following the example of Liudger, not only were buried at Werden but also enlarged Werden with their ample inheritance.⁶⁸ Thus, the penultimate sentence of the first book of the *Vita secunda* affirms the monastery's rightful possession of the inheritance of its first three *rectores*.

In a time when the monastery's future was uncertain, when it lacked a *rector* and lay incursions seemed imminent, the *Vita secunda* affirmed the institution's role in Liudger's life, gave the community a sense of pride in its beginnings and, alongside the cartulary, asserted its rights to continued ownership. Soon after its composition, the *Vita secunda* would serve as an inspiration for a further impassioned defence of Werden's landholding: recension A of the Werden Privilege.⁶⁹

The first recension of the Werden Privilege

⁶⁷ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 54–6 (Book 1:1–3).

⁶⁸ *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 83 (Book 1:35).

⁶⁹ *Privilegium Werthinense A*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 286–94.

The dating of the Werden Privilege, which survives in two recensions from different periods, has been much disputed.⁷⁰ A *terminus ante quem* of the late eleventh or early twelfth century is provided by the first manuscript of recension A of the Werden Privilege. However, Otto Oppermann has noted that recension A has very close textual links to the *Vita secunda*, whereas recension B shares more similarities with the *Vita tertia*.⁷¹ He therefore proposes that both recensions should be dated relative to the life they emulate – a highly plausible solution, though his dates for the *Vita secunda* and *Vita tertia* need to be modified. Recension A of the Privilege, then, may be tentatively dated to the period between the composition of the *Vitae secunda* and *tertia*, that is between c.850 to 864.

Recension A of the Werden Privilege begins by summarising Liudger's foundation of Werden, mostly following the *Vita secunda*, albeit with some expansions: Liudger, for instance, is able to obtain the relics of all 12 apostles in Rome, rather than just Peter and Paul.⁷² However, once the monastery has been founded and endowed with Liudger's hereditary property and other donations, its version of events becomes interesting. Liudger cannot find any men who wish to assume the monastic habit: neither among the Saxons and Frisians, who are still unschooled in the faith, nor even among his brother Hildigrim's students, which provokes a rather stiff speech on the part of Hildigrim. But his students speak up: they are reluctant to enter monastic life, they say, out of fear that, while Liudger is preaching far away, the *rectores* of the monastery will rise up and strip it of its lands, thereby forcing the monks at Werden into poverty.⁷³ While Liudger's brothers are able to alleviate such fears to some degree – the students duly agree to assume the monastic habit – they nonetheless wish for more concrete reassurance, and send for Liudger. When Liudger arrives,

⁷⁰ Contrast to Angenendt, *Liudger*, 120; Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, cviii–cxiii; Freise, 'Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 44, note 103; Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 232.

⁷¹ Otto A. Oppermann, *Rheinische Urkundenstudien*. Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 39. 2 vols. (Bonn: Hanstein, 1922), 1: 109–13.

⁷² *Privilegium Werthinense A*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 287.

⁷³ *Privilegium Werthinense A*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 289–90.

he is naturally shocked at the idea that his relatives might deny his arrangements: he loudly proclaims anathema upon anyone who would dare such folly, and convokes an assembly of all his kinsmen at Werden. Each kinsman is required to take an oath in which he accepts the monks' ownership of Liudger's inheritance and confirms the right of the monks to elect a *rector* from within Liudger's family.⁷⁴

The penultimate sentence of the privilege, meanwhile, goes one step further: Charlemagne is shown granting a petition of Liudger, which would give the monks the opportunity to elect their own head from within the community, 'if truly, with the compassion of God, it ever came to pass that either royal solace or spiritual zeal were lacking in his kinsmen'.⁷⁵ This detail sharpens the argument that this recension was written in the 850s or early 860s – after Hildigrim II took over the monastery, such a kinsman was not lacking – and this recension must certainly be placed before 877, when the monastery passed into the king's hands, thus rendering the focus on kinship irrelevant. In the 850s, when the community at Werden lacked an ecclesiastical or monastic *rector* and was subject to the more exploitative leadership of Liudger's lay relative, it would be entirely unsurprising for the community to begin to formulate claims along these lines. The initial provision, that the community was free to elect a Liudgeriden to serve as *rector*, reveals that Werden was still considered an *Eigenkloster* at the time of composition. The comment that if no suitable candidates from amongst the Liudgeriden could be found, then the monks could elect a leader from their own number, indicates the start of the conversation that would eventually lead to the transfer of monastery into royal hands, and the simultaneous granting of free election, in 877. However, at the time of recension A's composition, this was still distant. The monks had more pressing priorities: to recover the lands usurped by Liudger's lay relatives, and to underline the community's right to continued existence. The document ends with the threat of

⁷⁴ *Privilegium Werthinense A*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 290–3.

⁷⁵ *Privilegium Werthinense A*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 293: 'Si vero Dei miseratione quandoque actum fieret, ut consanguineis illius regale solatium vel spirituale studium deficeret ...'

vengeance on the part of the monastery's saints should anyone dare to violate this arrangement: a more clear-cut expression of the monks' rights could hardly be imagined.

Reform and restoration

Over the next few years, the incursions of Bertold, the lay relative discussed above, increased until, according to recension B of the Werden Privilege, a synod was eventually convened under the leadership of Archbishop Liudbert of Mainz. This synod decided in favour of the monks, soon after which, as recension B informs us with scarcely-concealed glee, Bertold died a miserable death.⁷⁶ Around the same time Hildigrim II, a member of the Liudgeriden family and bishop of Halberstadt since 853, was chosen as *rector*. The disbanding or impoverishment of the monastery no longer looked imminent. However, the years of depredations had taken their toll.⁷⁷ In the following decades, the monastery attempted to revive its standards of religious life while also safeguarding against such incursions in future, as can be observed in the *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri* and recension B of the Werden Privilege respectively.

The Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri

The *Vita tertia* was composed sometime soon after 864, a date which is mentioned explicitly in the text, and which can be taken as the year of the synod led by Archbishop Liudbert.⁷⁸ In

⁷⁶ *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 292–3.

⁷⁷ See, for example, the letter from Hildigrim to his *praepositus* which intones, repeatedly, the need to supply monks with basic necessities: Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae variorum inde a saeculo nono medio usque ad mortem Karoli II. (Calvi) imperatoris collectae*. MGH, *Epistolae* (in Quart) 6: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 4 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925), 195, no. 30.

⁷⁸ There is no sufficient edition of the *Vita tertia*. The only full printed edition dates from the sixteenth century: see Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 384–409; the more recent edition is unfortunately only partial: see *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 85–134. When referring to the *Vita tertia*, therefore, I cite the first full manuscript – Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29 – as well as a printed edition. Whether citing Diekamp or Surius (and I give preference to Diekamp where possible), I use the book and chapter assignments of Diekamp, which correspond more closely to the divisions in the early manuscripts. For the mention of 864 in the text, see *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek,

reference to the monastery's recent tribulations, the *Vita* describes how 'after having been transferred to more wicked overseers, we began to be more indifferent and lukewarm in the honour of our profession, and even the miracles, which had hitherto occurred at our monastery, ceased.'⁷⁹ This is the only comment offered on the subject: unsurprisingly, the author seems very eager to pass over most of the monastery's recent history in silence. Since 864, the author asserts, miracles had begun anew at the monastery. Interestingly, the *Vita tertia* itself credits the restoration of the Werden community, and the subsequent resumption of miracles, to 'royal piety' and 'imperial clemency' rather than to the actions of the synod – though of course the author could well be referring to royal support at the synod.⁸⁰ The phrase 'imperial clemency' must here refer to Louis the German, and can be taken to indicate the continuation of the discussion about free election and royal protection, the first part of which is evidenced in recension A of the Werden Privilege. Soon, in 877, at the request of the monks, and with the help of a certain 'Otto' – almost certainly a member of the powerful Liudolfing family – *rector* Hildigrim II would formally transfer the monastery into royal protection.⁸¹ However, this was by no means the *causa scribendi* of the work: the *Vita tertia* was composed as a largely exegetical text, to help its readers draw both biblical and moral lessons from Liudger's life.

The most distinguishing feature of the *Vita tertia* is its length: it is at least twice as long as either of the two previous *Vitae*. While Altfrid's *Vita* extends over 27 folios in its earliest manuscript, by contrast the earliest complete manuscript of the *Vita tertia*, a codex of

MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, f. 59v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 123 (Book 2:26); for a discussion of the dating of the synod to 864, see Diekamp, ed., *Die vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xiii.

⁷⁹ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, f. 59v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 123 (Book 2:26): 'Nam postquam ad improbiore prepositos devoluti, ipsi in nostrae professionis titulo neglegentiores et tepidiores esse coepimus, signa quoque, quae eatenus apud nos fiebant, cessarunt.'

⁸⁰ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, folio 59v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 123–4 (Book 2:26): 'regiae pietatis' and 'imperialis clementiae'.

⁸¹ *Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata* in MGH, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs der Jüngerer*, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1934) 340–2, no. 6; Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae variorum inde a saeculo nono medio*, 194–5, no. 30.

similar dimensions, fills 65 folios.⁸² This expansion is taken up in part by additional chapters: the *Vita tertia* adds 10 lengthy miracle stories after the reported resumption of miracles in 864, as well as adding a few before this date.⁸³ Yet the length of the *Vita tertia* – like that of many other secondary and tertiary hagiographic compositions – can be primarily attributed to the addition of biblical references and rhetorical flourishes.⁸⁴ Indeed, the more elevated style in which this *Vita tertia* is written is similar to that adopted by other hagiographic revisers in this period, who recast the earlier, ‘uncultivated language’ of (primarily Merovingian) *vitae* in a more Latinate style in keeping with Carolingian reforms.⁸⁵ In particular, the anonymous author’s penchant for parallel constructions, in which the actions of two parties are discussed in alternating sentences or clauses, sometimes using *ille/iste* formulations, bears helpful comparison to Alcuin’s hagiographical revisions, which likewise favoured such parallel phrasing.⁸⁶ This rhetorical form allowed the anonymous author to develop several long, edificatory comparisons: for instance, between the role of the king and that of a priest, or between Liudger’s religious standards and the contemporary standards of the monastery.⁸⁷ For the most part, however, the comparisons made in this rhetorical fashion are between Liudger and biblical figures, thus fitting into the larger, exegetical framework of the text.

These long direct comparisons between biblical heroes and Liudger – or, on one occasion, his mother, Liafburch – occur at frequent intervals throughout the text. Thus, in Chapter 2, when Liafburch is almost drowned by her pagan grandmother, the author seizes

⁸² Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss lat. Q 55, ff. 1r–27v; Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 2r–66v.

⁸³ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 32v–33r, 52r–53v, 57v–58v, 60r–66v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 105–6, 117–9, 122, 124–33 (Books 1:36, 2:9–10, 2:22–3, 2:27–8, 2:30–7).

⁸⁴ See, for example, *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 2r–6r, 14v–17r, 19r–20v, 22v–30r; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 85–7, 95–101 (Prologue to Book 1, Book 1:18–9, 1:24); Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 385–6, 394–7 (Book 1:2–3, 1:28–32).

⁸⁵ Merdrignac, ‘Process and Significance’, 186; Heene, ‘Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography’, 415–29.

⁸⁶ Christiane Veyard-Cosme, ‘Alcuin et la réécriture d’un programme d’*emendatio* à son actualisation’, in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l’Occident médiéval*, eds. Goullet and Heinzelmann, 71–86 (75).

⁸⁷ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 27v–28r, 39r–41r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 396, 402 (Book 1:30, 1:42).

the opportunity: after acknowledging that Liafburch is generally considered to be far inferior to Moses in merits and dignity, he embarks on a comparison which works – rather surprisingly – in her favour.⁸⁸ Moses too was condemned to be cast into a river by an evil king: he was sent out in a basket along the Nile when he was three months old. Liafburch, meanwhile, was condemned to be drowned in the very hour of her birth. Moses, too, grew up separated from his mother, but while he was raised by the daughter of a king, Liafburch was brought up by a poor serving girl. Moses would later go on to lead the Jews out of Egypt; Liafburch likewise would, through her progeny, liberate many from the gentile error. Later in the text, the author compares Liudger directly to Moses.⁸⁹ Both were sent to disbelieving, or in Liudger's case, semi-Christian peoples; both were reluctant to undertake God's commission, exemplified in Liudger's case by his hesitation, born out of fears of his own unworthiness, before his consecration as bishop; both, however, went on to perform great miracles among the people. The act of comparing of the saint to Moses may not be, in itself, particularly novel: Moses was frequently employed as a biblical model in early medieval hagiography, featuring in the works of Osbert and Gregory of Tours among many other authors.⁹⁰ Yet the direct involvement of the saint's mother – not to mention the extended nature of these 'triple' comparisons – stand out as unusual.

Moses is not the only figure to whom Liudger is compared. Upon Liudger's death, a bright beam of light shines down from heaven, and the author seizes the chance to make a comparison to Elijah, who was taken up to heaven on a chariot of fire.⁹¹ Such a comparison is far from original; columns of fire or light are a common hagiographical topos, appearing, for

⁸⁸ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 3v–5r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 385 (Book 1:2).

⁸⁹ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 22v–24v; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 394 (Book 1:28).

⁹⁰ Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives', 609; Marc Van Uytenghe, *Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne (600–750)*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 120 (Brussels: WLSK, 1987), 19.

⁹¹ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 43r–44r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 403–4 (Book 1:45).

instance, in both Jonas' and Alcuin's *Vitae sancti Vedasti*.⁹² Even comparisons to Elijah's ascension are made with relative frequency: Bishop Arnulf of Metz, for example, is likened to a 'Helias novus' upon the occasion of his retirement to a reclusive life.⁹³ More interesting is the rather forced comparison between Liudger and St John the Baptist, which the anonymous author provides when a noble woman attempts to bribe Liudger in order to ensure his acceptance of her incestuous marriage.⁹⁴ After denouncing Herod's incestuous marriage, the author continues, John endured much persecution; Liudger, meanwhile, was offered – and, naturally, rejected – a bribe to overlook incest on two occasions.

These extended comparisons – which function both as nominative typologies and 'réactualisations' of biblical events, to borrow the terminology of Van Uytfanghe⁹⁵ – are not made with simply any biblical figures: instead, Liudger is associated with great prophets, and his own prophecies are made much in the text. Moreover, all of the prophets to whom Liudger is compared enjoy a close relationship with Jesus in the New Testament: John's connection is obvious, while Moses and Elijah are the only Old Testament figures actually to play a direct role in the New Testament, where they appear to Jesus and converse with him at the Transfiguration. While no direct comparisons can be made, Liudger himself is marked out as an imitator of Christ twice in the course of the text, and the miracles surrounding Liafburch are compared to the prophecies surrounding Elizabeth and Mary.⁹⁶

Liudger is thus consistently depicted as re-enacting biblical history, and on one occasion Werden too is tied directly into this framework. In a rather stretched comparison, Liudger's divine felling of the trees at Werden is likened to the episode in Daniel 3:13-27 in

⁹² Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 240.

⁹³ Van Uytfanghe, 'Stylisation biblique et condition humaine', 19.

⁹⁴ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 28r–29r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 396 (Book 1:31).

⁹⁵ Van Uytfanghe, 'Stylisation biblique et condition humaine', 17–24.

⁹⁶ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 5r–6r, 25v, 30r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 385–6, 394–7 (Book 1:3, 1:29, 1:32).

which three men, refusing to worship idols, are condemned by King Nebuchadnezzar to be cast, bound and tied, into the burning, fiery furnace, but emerge unscathed and without their restraints.⁹⁷ In both cases, the author of the *Vita tertia* asserts, impediments are turned into advantages: in Werden's case, the felled trees which had obstructed the foundation later provide the wood for building, while the restraints with which the three men were bound exhausted the fire and allowed the men to escape its fury.

There are 57 biblical references in the *Vita tertia*; these references are employed – to turn once more to Van Uytfanghe's helpful taxonomy – to make Scripture manifest in the present day through the use of nominative typologies and the 'réactualisations' of biblical events; to articulate ideas and emotions to readers through the citation of relevant scriptural passages; and to hold up biblical figures as exemplary models for both the saint and readers alike.⁹⁸ Sometimes these references take the form of quotes, designated by such phrases as 'noverat enim scriptu', 'ut in Euangelio legitur', 'iuxta psalmographum', and so on; at other points, allusions are made to Scripture without direct citation.⁹⁹ These references are taken from 22 books across the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha: in the Old Testament, references to Exodus, Psalms and the Book of Wisdom are the most frequent, but use is also made of lesser books such as the Book of Amos. The overall thrust of the references is, however, slanted towards the New Testament and, more specifically, the Pauline Epistles: of the 57 references, 34 come from the New Testament, and 22 of those from the correspondence of the Apostle Paul. From his works, his First Epistle to the Corinthians, which stresses the unity of the Church and correct doctrine in the face of enduring paganism, is favoured before all with nine references in the *Vita tertia*. This emphasis on Paul should perhaps be unsurprising: Liudger is reputed to have shown special interest in the apostle, as

⁹⁷ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS, 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 33v–36r; Surius, *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 399–400 (Book 1:38).

⁹⁸ Van Uytfanghe, 'Stylisation biblique et condition humaine', 17–24, 28–35, 40–2.

⁹⁹ See the Surius edition for marginal notations of these biblical references.

demonstrated by the codex of St Paul's Epistles at Werden allegedly copied by Liudger himself,¹⁰⁰ and Altfrid's depiction of Liudger in the *Vita prima* has been interpreted as an embodiment of the Pauline idea of mission.¹⁰¹

The frequency with which allusions to Scripture occur in the text, alongside the rhetorical flourishes added at regular intervals, give the impression that the *Vita tertia* was – as is the case of many rewritten *Vitae* – intended, in part, as a schoolroom text.¹⁰² Much more emphasis is placed on education in the *Vita tertia* than in either of the two previous lives. For instance, a new story is inserted about Liudger's upbringing at Utrecht.¹⁰³ When Liudger was called to read the Gospel in the presence of Gregory, abbot of Utrecht, he muddled the passage and was publicly corrected. Afterwards, he accosted the abbot, and asked that he might be allowed to receive further education, saying that until he had improved, he would be unworthy of his office. Accordingly Abbot Gregory allowed Liudger to depart to Alcuin for further education, and when Liudger eventually returned to Utrecht, the author notes, he could read through the Old and New Testaments perfectly, but he never read any secular literature – interestingly, this is the second condemnation of secular literature in the first nine chapters of the *Vita tertia*.¹⁰⁴ This story, which is nowhere to be found in the previous lives – in fact, Liudger's aptitude as a student is stressed instead – should be read as an encouragement to the monks at Werden as the monastery resumed its former standards. Even such a man as Liudger could make errors, to his shame, but that shame and unworthiness could be washed away through careful study and improvement.

¹⁰⁰ V.H. Elbern, *St. Liudger und die Abtei Werden* (Essen, 1962), 26–7; Jan Gerchow, 'Liudger, Werden und die Angelsachsen', in *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, eds. Gerchow and Stephan-Maaser, 49–58 (56).

¹⁰¹ Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 33.

¹⁰² Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, I; Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten', 23.

¹⁰³ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 8v–10r; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 90–2 (Book 1:8).

¹⁰⁴ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 7r–8r, 10r; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 89–90, 92 (Book 1:6, 1:9).

Certainly, the *Vita tertia* had an internal function within the monastery: to buttress the revival and restoration of monastic life. Its strong exegetical and rhetorical functions and its focus on education speak to its use in the schoolroom: meanwhile, at a more basic level, its contemporary function is suggested by the very act of rewriting the *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, a work which, after all, already existed in two different versions from the last 20 to 30 years. ‘Reissuing’ the life of the founder may have been a desperate bid to help reaffirm the monastery’s communal identity, as the persistent use of *noster* and *nos* when describing recent miracles would suggest.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Liudger is continually raised as an example to the monks at Werden, a tendency which culminates in a chapter entitled *Sermo laudibilis*.¹⁰⁶ In the course of this sermon, an extended comparison is made between Liudger’s fervour and the lukewarm devotion of the contemporary congregation. It is scarcely discernable from the *Vita tertia* that Liudger was an aristocratic secular cleric: the tendency towards ‘Benedictinisation’ first evidenced in Altfred’s *Vita* reaches its climax here.¹⁰⁷ Liudger is raised up as the embodiment of Benedictine monasticism,¹⁰⁸ especially during his stay at Monte Cassino where, in addition to learning the Benedictine Rule, he also manages to instruct the monks there in its application: ‘accordingly, everything which they read in the Rule of St Benedict, they observed in the deeds of this man.’¹⁰⁹ Such a shift in emphasis may be paralleled in many secondary hagiographic works, for instance, in Bede’s *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, which, in contrast to the original, anonymous *Vita*, casts Cuthbert into a developed monastic context.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 27v–28r; Surius, ed., *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, 396 (Book 1:30).

¹⁰⁷ See above.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Kaus, ‘Zu den Liudger-Viten’, 51.

¹⁰⁹ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 14v–15v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 95–7 (97) (Book 1:18): ‘Siquidem cuncta, quae in sancti Benedicti regula legebant, in huius viri factis videbant.’

¹¹⁰ Catherine Cubitt, ‘Memory and Narrative in the Cult of the Early Anglo-Saxon Saints’, in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 48.

Despite the clear internal uses of the text, the *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri* appears to have also been intended for circulation outside of Werden. This is evident in the prologue, as Kaus has described: the brothers at Werden dedicate the *Vita* ‘to believers in Christ everywhere’, a statement which is supported by the exhortations to listeners to cast their doubt aside, and the marshalling of honest witnesses who observed the miracles first-hand.¹¹¹ More specifically, the *Vita tertia* may have found an audience at the female monastery of Essen, which lay a mere 10 kilometres from Werden. Certainly, in comparison to the previous *Vitae*, the *Vita tertia* devotes far more attention to Liafburch, who is compared at length to Moses, Elizabeth and Mary. On a more basic level, Essen is featured directly in the narrative: a new miracle story is included concerning a certain Amalburga who was thrice healed by Liudger’s relics and who, on the occasion of her second recovery, promised to assume the sacred veil. She delayed fulfilling her promise, however, and was injured once more; eventually, having been healed for the third time by the saint, she took her vow, and, as the anonymous author relates, ‘now leads a religious life in the monastery of canonesses called Essen’.¹¹² It seems likely that the community of Essen would have been well-placed to consume such a work of hagiography; the high standards of the Essen scriptorium, particularly in the Ottonian period, have been the subject of much recent work.¹¹³ Moreover, the veneration of Liudger at Essen would later be attested by the entry, in an eleventh- or twelfth-century hand, of a Mass to the saint in one of Essen’s liturgical manuscripts.¹¹⁴

Many complementary aspects – the profuse biblical references, the continuing use of Liudger as a moral example, and even the general use of more rhetorical language – all

¹¹¹ *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, ff. 2r–3v; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 85–7 (85) (Prologue to Book 1): ‘Omnibus ubique in Christo fidelibus’; see also Kaus, ‘Zu den Liudger-Viten’, 21–2.

¹¹² *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, f. 62r; *Vita tertia sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 126–7 (Book 2:30): ‘nunc in monasterio sanctimonialium quid astnidi appellatur religiosam uitam ducit.’

¹¹³ See, for example, Katrinette Bodarwé, *Sanctimoniales litterata: Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg*. Quellen und Studien 10 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004).

¹¹⁴ Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS D1, ff. 40r–40v.

reinforce the perception that this was a text perhaps written by the *magister* at Werden and aimed at either celebrating or promoting the restoration of learning inside the Werden community. At a time when the monastery was just starting to find its feet again, the *Vita tertia* worked to foster learning, recreate a sense of community and above all reaffirm the monastery's restored life, confirmed through the return of miracles. To those outside the monastery, as well as within it, Liudger emerged from the *Vita tertia* as a patron more powerful than ever before, who had re-enacted biblical history in his life and in his passing, and who once again, following the restoration of the monastery, was performing great miracles at his tomb at Werden. The crisis had passed, and change was afoot.

The second recension of the Werden Privilege

In 877, *rector* Hildigrim II formally entrusted the monastery of Werden to royal protection.¹¹⁵ Werden was no longer an *Eigenkloster*, and the monks had won the right to free election.¹¹⁶ Hildigrim remained *rector* until his death in 886, soon after which an anonymous author composed recension B of the Werden Privilege. Here, too, the dating has been much disputed. The text begins by asserting that it was written by two students of Liudger on his orders in 815, a date which is clearly erroneous: not only did Liudger die in 809, but the recension itself gives its own version of Werden's history in the mid- and late ninth century. Many have dated this recension after the death of Archbishop Liudbert of Mainz, who is referred to in the text with the phrase 'of blessed memory', but the phrase 'of blessed memory' could be just as easily employed when the person described was still alive.¹¹⁷ It is most probable that it dates from soon after the death of *rector* and bishop Hildigrim II in 886,

¹¹⁵ *Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata*, 340–2, no. 6.

¹¹⁶ Nottarp, 'Das Ludgerische Eigenkloster Werden', 97.

¹¹⁷ See *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 292, for the reference to Liudbert of Mainz. See above for dating of recension B of the Werden Privilege; see above, note 5, for the use of the phrase 'beatae memoriae'.

as his episcopacy is referred to in the text in the past tense.¹¹⁸ This immediate context helps to explain the emphasis placed upon certain issues in the text.

Recension B starts off following recension A, although some portions, for instance the details about Liudger's visit to Monte Cassino, are left out. However, after stating that Liudger convened his kinsmen at Werden to acknowledge the transfer of his inheritance to the monks, the author omits the monks' right to elect a leader from within the Liudgeriden, as well as the additional proviso in case there were no suitable Liudgeriden: after all, Werden was no longer an *Eigenkloster*. Instead, recension B tackles head on the incursions of Bertold, assigning his death to divine retribution, and from there goes on to discuss the synod of Liudbert of Mainz and, finally, the commendation of the monastery into royal protection in 877, under *rector* Hildigrim II.¹¹⁹ Here, a rather interesting comment is made: the author rebuffs the claims made by the enemies of Werden that Hildigrim had given Werden to King Louis the Younger *in proprium*, that is, as his own possession: this could not have been the case, the author asserts, because Werden never was Hildigrim's possession.¹²⁰ Before launching into the same threat of vengeance that concluded recension A, the author again notes that Werden had always been free.

After the death of the last Liudgeriden *rector*, Werden needed to bolster its precarious independence. Charles the Fat appears previously to have favoured the monastery, possibly even donating a swathe of land to it during Hildigrim's lifetime.¹²¹ Yet after Hildigrim's death in 886, just at the point when Charles' own situation was becoming increasingly precarious, the monks at Werden could no longer count on the emperor's good will. A comparison with Corvey may be instructive. In 887, Charles the Fat moved to restrict Corvey's military exemption – a monastery which he had previously supported – justifying

¹¹⁸ *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 293.

¹¹⁹ *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 292–3.

¹²⁰ *Privilegium Werthinense B*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 293.

¹²¹ *Urbare Werthinense*, in *Die Urbare der Abtei Werden a.d. Ruhr: Die Urbare vom 9.–13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Köttschke, 15–20 (16–17), no. A1:3; Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, 91–2.

this defiance of precedent by the recent attacks of the Northmen.¹²² Corvey was a wealthy and influential monastery, boasting many privileges that had been confirmed and strengthened since its foundation. Werden, by contrast, had been transferred into royal protection only nine years before and, having very little precedent to fall back on, presumably invented it.

Recension B of the Werden Privilege can thus be seen as a composition which appeared at the very juncture Werden was attempting to negotiate its position with Charles the Fat. Like recension A, it provided an unflinching justification of the monks' rights, subtly altered to match the monastery's new circumstances. In the years that followed, the monks would find other ways to strengthen their position: in 888 and 891, the community obtained further confirmations of its status from King Arnulf and Pope Stephen V.¹²³ Alongside these more formal, legal claims, however, there are ample indications that the community at Werden continued to employ the *Vitae* and Privileges to advance their aims.

Reusing the revisions

In the coming centuries, the contemporary circumstances that led to the composition of the *Vitae*, cartulary, and recensions of the Privilege would fade. Yet all these texts – with the possible exception of the cartulary, which only survives in a mid-ninth-century manuscript – continued to be copied at Werden.¹²⁴ These texts were adapted and redeployed in the process

¹²² *Karoli III. Diplomata*, in MGH, *Die Urkunden Karls III.*, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1937), no. 158, 255–7; see also Ingrid Rembold, 'The Poeta Saxo at Paderborn: episcopal authority and Carolingian rule in late-ninth-century Saxony', *Early Medieval Europe* 21:2 (2013), 169–96 (180).

¹²³ *Arnolfi Diplomata*, in MGH: *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1940), no. 36, 52–4; Heinrich August Erhard, ed., *Regesta historiae Westfaliae: accedit codex diplomaticus*. Westfälisches Urkundenbuch 1. 2 vols. (Münster: Friedrich Regensberg, 1847), 1: 39, no. 43; see also Theodor Schieffer, ed., *Provincia Coloniensis I: Archidiocesis Coloniensis*. Germania Pontificia 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1986), 218–19.

¹²⁴ For a thorough discussion of the surviving manuscripts, see Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xxviii–xxxv, xli–xlix, lvii–lxx. For a wider look at Werden's manuscript collection, see R. McKitterick, 'Werden im Spiegel seiner Handschriften (8./9. Jahrhundert)', in *Geschichtsvorstellungen: Bilder, Texte, und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-

of copying: there is frequent cross-pollination between the *Vitae*, for example in an early manuscript of Altfrid, where the foundation story of Werden from the *Vita secunda* is tacked on at the end. Yet the active engagement with the material that cross-pollination entails, and the placement of these texts in the manuscript alongside other documents which forwarded claims about Werden's position, suggest that these texts continued to be employed in response to contemporary needs.

The earliest manuscripts of the *Vitae sancti Liudgeri* date from the tenth century, and are of the *Vita tertia*. Indeed, in contrast to its present scholarly neglect, the *Vita tertia* emerges quickly as by far the most popular of all the lives, surviving in 18 manuscripts, three of which date to the early medieval period and can be traced, with greater or lesser degrees of certainty, back to Werden.¹²⁵ The tenth-century Beuron Erzabtei MS 29, originally from Werden, is a rather functional production save for some rather interesting and complicated quire marks: unfortunately it is not only unbound, but without its first quire.¹²⁶ Still more fragmentary is the tenth-century unbound manuscript formerly in Berlin and now in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Krakow, Theol. Lat. Quart. 162, which can only circumstantially be placed at Werden: its slightly larger format is paired with a significantly more compact and elegant Caroline script; with the exception of an elaborate first initial, functionality once again prevails.¹²⁷ Yet there is one complete, early medieval manuscript of the *Vita tertia*: the late tenth- or eleventh-century Kassel Universitätsbibliothek MS 4⁰, 29.¹²⁸ This manuscript is a codicological whole – that is, it was undertaken as a single production – and consists of nine quires of eight folios each. Here, the *Vita tertia* (folios 2r to 66v) is flanked by a selection of texts emanating from Werden: a praise poem about Liudger by the Werden monk

Lutz, and Volker Scior (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 326–53; see further McKitterick, 'Literate conventions of memory', 199–207.

¹²⁵ Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, lvii–lxx.

¹²⁶ Beuron Erzabtei, MS 29; see also Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, lx–lxi.

¹²⁷ Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berol. MS Theol. Lat. Quart. 162; see also Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, lxi.

¹²⁸ Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29.

Uffing (folios 66v–68r);¹²⁹ a copy of the earliest papal privilege to Werden from 891 (folios 68r–69v); and three further Liudger *miracula* stories which are only attested here (folios 69v–72r).¹³⁰ All of these other texts appear to have been copied by the main scribal hand of the *Vita* and conform to its layout (21 lines of texts within a ruled space of approximately 14.2 by 9.1 cm). Later additions to the manuscript include a prayer to Vitus, the patron saint of Corvey, by an early twelfth-century hand (folio 1r) and another poem by an early modern hand (folio 72v). The general inclusion of Werden material, and in particular the papal privilege and the *miracula* stories, strongly suggests a Werden provenance, despite arguments to the contrary.¹³¹ The copying of this *Vita*, not to mention its placement in the manuscript alongside the papal privilege and other more recent compositions about Liudger, suggests that it continued to be employed to assert claims concerning Werden's status. The manuscript's lasting relevance is demonstrated by the ample medieval and early modern marginal corrections and comments (folios 3r, 12v, 15r, 15v, 16v, 19v, 30r, 31r, 31v, 37v, 54r, 54v, 72r).

The *Vita prima sancti Liudgeri*, meanwhile, first survives in Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss lat. Q 55, a late tenth- or early eleventh-century manuscript originally from Werden.¹³² As mentioned above, this is not a 'pure' manuscript of Altfred's work: instead, eight chapters from the *Vita secunda*, including amongst other material the foundation story of Werden, have been added directly before the concluding chapter,¹³³ thus demonstrating that Altfred's narrative was adapted according to contemporary needs. Its current manuscript placement alongside the Werden Cartulary cannot be traced

¹²⁹ Uffing, *Carmina*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 223–5.

¹³⁰ *Miracula sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 229–32.

¹³¹ Namely, the presence of the prayer to Vitus and a mistake made by the scribe in charge of initials in the praise poem: instead of 'Uffing', the author's name is rendered 'Effing'. For 'Effing', see Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4⁰, Nr. 29, f. 68r. For the Werden provenance, see Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, lviii–lx.

¹³² Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss lat. Q 55; see also Diekamp, ed., *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xxviii–xxx.

¹³³ Oppermann, *Rheinische Urkundenstudien*, 106–7.

before the fifteenth-century, when it was bound in its current form.¹³⁴ The two parts of this manuscript differ in terms of both ruled space, ruling medium, the number of lines per folio, and, it would seem, in terms of original leaf dimensions (the *Vita* was subsequently trimmed down): it thus seems unlikely that the manuscripts of the *Vita* and cartulary were initially intended to be combined. Nevertheless, the subsequent trimming and binding of these two texts as a single codex raises the possibility that these texts were deployed together for a specific aim. In terms of aesthetics, both parts of this manuscript are plain and functional: the texts appear to have been heavily read.

Despite the functional appearance of the *Vita*, cycles of readings are marked out in the margins of the text, raising the possibility that this manuscript was read either liturgically or in the refectory. These cycles are composed of three readings each (or in one case, four), and could be seen as part of a celebration of Liudger's feast day and octave: however, certain irregularities invite caution. The cycles were added in by not one, but three different hands; there is one more reading cycle than strictly necessary for the octave; and finally, as mentioned above, the manuscript has been trimmed down, possibly losing some marginal notation of reading cycles (there are no reading cycles marked in the margins beyond folio 11v, while the *Vita* itself continues to folio 27v). Moreover, the selections are irregular both in their length – they are very brief, often encompassing just two sentences – and in their subject matter: one cycle is concerned with the restoration of the church at Deventer and the discovery of Lebuin's relics, possibly indicating the use of this selection on Lebuin's feast day; another three cycles, marked out by the same hand, concern Liudger's ancestry, youth and education – all of which were no doubt subjects of interest, but appear strange as choices for liturgical celebration. Only two cycles – one concerning Liudger's work in Saxony and

¹³⁴ Cf. McKitterick, 'Literate conventions of memory', 190, 198.

consecration as bishop, and another concerning his miracles – appear suitable as liturgical readings for Liudger, perhaps suggesting that this manuscript had a different function.

Finally, the first surviving manuscript of the *Vita secunda*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Theol. lat. fol. 323, is a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manuscript from Werden.¹³⁵ Like the earlier copy of the *Vita prima*, this has had its share of cross-pollination from both the *Vitae prima* and *tertia*: the scribe was adapting this *Vita* to his own purposes. Here, too, there are three cycles of readings marked out in the text: the first includes Liudger's instructions for his burial at Werden, a discussion of his virtues, his death and three miracles performed at his tomb; the second, meanwhile, is solely devoted to posthumous miracles. The third cycle is particularly interesting: it is drawn from the first recension of the Werden Privilege, which follows directly on from the end of the *Vita* in the same hand.¹³⁶ These readings, while carefully chosen to assert claims about Werden's status and position, also appear to have liturgical significance, suggesting that these cycles were intended to be read as part of the monastic offices.

The contemporary significance and liturgical role of this manuscript is further confirmed through the aesthetic properties of the manuscript. It is in every way a high-class production: specially designed to match the dimensions of the late antique ivory diptych which formed its covers, it also boasts decorated headings and initials and a striking illustration programme featuring 23 miniatures, miniatures which further advance the claims made in the texts.¹³⁷ The strength of Liudger's connection with Werden is highlighted not only through the illustration of posthumous miracles, but also through the two large, double-panelled illustrations devoted to Werden. In the first of these, the dedicatory image posits the

¹³⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Theol. lat. fol. 323; see also Freise, ed., *Die Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri* for a full facsimile edition; Diekamp, ed., *Die vitae sancti Liudgeri*, xlvii–xlviii.

¹³⁶ Bernd Michael, 'Die Handschrift: zu Geschichte und Gestalt von Manuskript und Buchkasten', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 63–84 (79).

¹³⁷ Barbara Klössel, 'Bildausrüstung, Bildprogramm und Bildgestaltung der *Vita secunda sancti Liudgeri*', in *Die Vita sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Freise, 85–111; Michael, 'Die Handschrift', 63–70.

relation of Werden, its monks and their writing to the world above: in the lower part of the composition, monks sit with scrolls in hand underneath the pediments of Werden; above, in heaven, St Liudger and St Benedict extend their arms to the enthroned Virgin and child.¹³⁸ The second double-panelled illumination, meanwhile, concerns the foundation of Werden. In the top frame of the image, men saw the miraculously-felled trees; in the bottom frame, Liudger, with an especially large nimbus, reveals to his student that he wishes to be buried under the sole remaining tree. Many of the miniatures can be seen as appropriate to liturgical contexts,¹³⁹ and by the period of this manuscript's production, three annual feasts of Liudger are attested: his death, the advent of his relics in Werden and the 'commemoratio sancti Liudgeri'.¹⁴⁰ While a liturgical context can be surmised for many of the miniatures involving posthumous miracles, perhaps most striking in this regard is the image of the *adventus* of the relics, which would have been particularly relevant for the liturgical celebration of this event.

The three lives were all initially drafted as responses to contemporary challenges and articulated subtly different images of Liudger and his foundation of Werden as the situation demanded. In the coming centuries, while the specific circumstances of their composition were forgotten, these *Vitae* continued to be actively adapted. As time wore on, these texts were more likely to be combined, to be excerpted as readings, whether for monastic offices or for reading in the refectory, or to be set alongside other documents which pertained to the position of Werden, such as the cartulary or a privilege. Whether used for private reflective reading, as schoolroom texts, or as part of the liturgy, they continued to make claims for Werden's interests.

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¹³⁸ Klössel, 'Bildausrüstung, Bildprogramm und Bildgestaltung', 85.

¹³⁹ Klössel, 'Bildausrüstung, Bildprogramm und Bildgestaltung', 111.

¹⁴⁰ Michael, 'Die Handschrift', 81–2.

Liudger's literary life continued far beyond the *Vitae sancti Liudgeri*. Indeed, the community at Werden appears to have defined themselves with respect to their relationship with Liudger for centuries to come. The next 200 years would see a Mass to Liudger;¹⁴¹ a laudatory poem by Uffing of Werden; another life, now unfortunately lost save its dedicatory poem;¹⁴² three additional miracles about Liudger, which appear to have been used as a focus of a sermon; and another spurious foundation charter allegedly granted by Charlemagne to Liudger in 802.¹⁴³ Even as late as the twelfth century, a rhythmical life of Liudger was composed.¹⁴⁴ All of these texts can be traced back to Werden, with the possible exceptions of the dedicatory poem, about which very little is known, and the Liudger Mass, which, as mentioned above, is preserved in a manuscript at Essen, but which may well have originated at Werden. At Werden, then, the use of hagiography to define and to articulate the needs of the community appears to have been developed to an exceptional degree.

All of these works – from Altfred's *Vita*, which advanced the episcopal authority of the bishopric of Münster alongside the landholding interests of Werden, to recension B of the Werden Privilege, which vehemently asserted the monastery's freedom, and beyond – voiced different claims about the position and status of Werden, which evolved in step with the contemporary contexts in which they were composed. That these claims worked, or at least were perceived as worth reformulating, speaks loudly to the success of the cult, and to the devotion and piety that Liudger could elicit. The monks at Werden had realised the potential of harnessing the power of a saint.

¹⁴¹ Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS D1, ff. 40r–40v.

¹⁴² Rodoldus, *Poema dedicationis*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 226; see also Kohl, *Die Diözese*, 18.

¹⁴³ *Caroli Magni Diplomata* in MGH: *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1906), no. 266, 388–90.

¹⁴⁴ *Vita rythmica sancti Liudgeri*, in *Die Vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. Diekamp, 135–220.

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