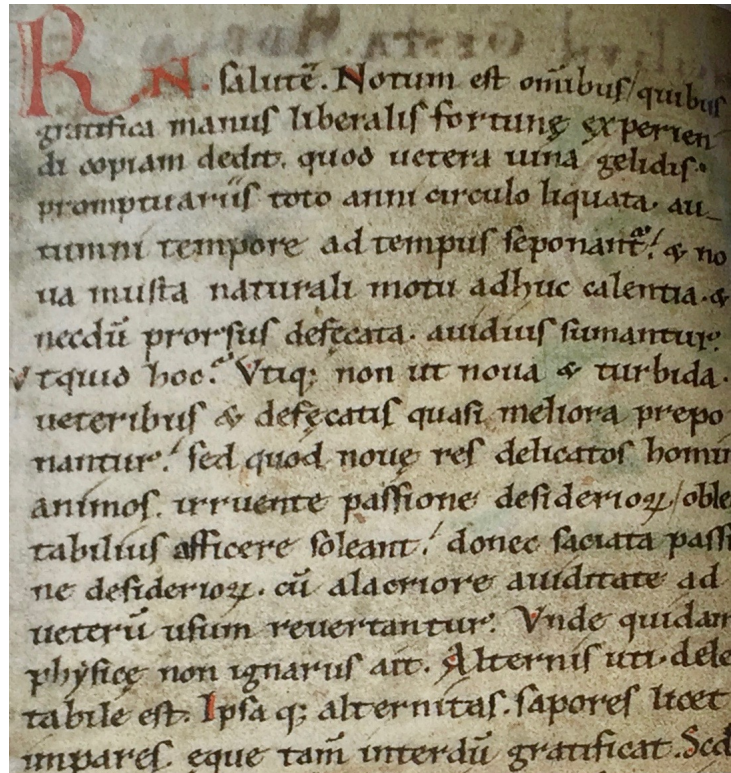


# From the highest peaks into the deepest abyss

The construction of monastic identity in the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* by  
Rudolph of St. Trond



Opening page of Rudolph's dedicatory letter of the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*. Maurits Sabbe bibliotheek, faculteit theologie en religiewetenschappen, KU Leuven, collectie Mechelen, codex 4, f. 1r.

RMA-thesis Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies,  
University of Utrecht  
Student: Niels de Rooij  
Student number: 3536513  
Supervisor: Dr. A.J. van den Hoven van Genderen  
Second reader: Prof. dr. M. Mostert

<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CHAPTER I: THE ABBEY OF ST. TROND, RUDOLPH, AND THE <i>GESTA ABBATUM TRUDONENSIMUM</i> .....</b>	<b>10</b>
THE ABBEY OF ST. TROND .....	10
RUDOLPH OF ST. TROND .....	14
THE <i>GESTA ABBATUM</i> AS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE .....	16
RUDOLPH'S GAT AND THE <i>GESTA ABBATUM TRUDONENSIMUM CONTINUATIO PRIMA</i> .....	19
<b>CHAPTER 2: INSIDE OUT .....</b>	<b>21</b>
THE GOOD ABBOT.....	21
THE OLD AND THE YOUNG .....	30
INSIDE OUT: THE MONASTIC SPACE OF ST. TROND.....	34
FEED THE HUNGRY, CLOTHE THE NAKED.....	40
REFORM.....	44
<b>CHAPTER III: FROM THE HIGHEST PEAK INTO THE DEEPEST ABYSS.....</b>	<b>50</b>
PAST AND PRESENT IN THE <i>GESTA ABBATUM TRUDONENSIMUM</i> .....	50
THE MIRACULI ST TRUDONIS .....	56
THE THIRD CONTINUATION.....	60
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>68</b>
SOURCES.....	68
LITERATURE .....	70
<b>APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>78</b>

## Introduction

*When in his days, as is told, there was a famine due to the failure of the crops, people of both sexes came knocking on the door obtrusively and pitifully. Every now and then he would call some of them to him and ask them jokingly: 'Who's servant are you?' Or, 'You, woman, who do you serve? If they would answer him, for instance: 'of St. Lambert' or 'of St. Peter' or 'of St. Servace' or 'of St. Remacle', in short, from this or that saint, he would say: 'Then what is your business with the familia of St. Trudo? Let your lord, to whom you belong, feed you'. If there was someone who declared to belong to the familia of St. Trond, he would hear this fatherly answer: 'in that case our lord, St. Trudo, will feed you today, for you are his servant, as are we.'*<sup>1</sup>

The quotation above is the first story Rudolph of St. Trond (c. 1070-1138) narrates in the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* (henceforward GaT). Rudolph explains that this story about abbot Adelardus I, who presided over St. Trond approximately one hundred years before his own abbacy, was still being told amongst the monks.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that Rudolph starts his chronicle of St. Trond with this anecdote, because it reveals much about the intent Rudolph had with his work. Firstly, it shows the educational function of Rudolph's book. By feeding the poor, Adelardus I sets a good example for the monks, because they had the apostolic obligation to feed the hungry. Secondly, this story illustrates the importance of separation between monks and the world. The laity came knocking on the door for help. Although they were sometimes let inside, by mentioning that both women and men called for help, and by calling them obtrusive and pitiful, Rudolph underlines the divide between the 'inside' of the monastery and the 'outside' world. However, what Rudolph considered 'us' and 'them' differed depending on the subject and questions asked. Although all the hungry people knocking on the door were portrayed as being obtrusive and pitiful, the ones that belonged to the *familia* of the monastery were fed, while those that depended on another monastery were sent away.

---

<sup>1</sup> Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013) I, 7: 'Cum ex sterilitate terre, aiunt, fames aliquando eius tempore accidisset, concurrebat ad elemosinam fratrum omnis sexus et etas importune et miserabiliter. Quorum aliquibus interdum ad se uocatis, querere dicebatur ioculariter: "Cuius seruus tu ille, tu ue illa cuius ancilla es?" Respondentibus illis, uerbi gratia, sancti Lamberti aut sancti Petri, siue sancti Seruatii, siue sancti Remacii, postremo cuiuslibet sancti, aiebat: "Quid igitur tibi et familie sancti Trudonis? Pascat te tuus dominus, cuius tu es seruus." Qui sancti Trudonis se esse profitebatur, paterne ab eo audiebat: "Pascet ergo te hodie sanctus Trudo dominus noster, conseruus enim noster es".

<sup>2</sup> GaT, I, 7: 'Unde et usque in hodiernam diem de eo a plerisque solet tale quid memoriale referri'.

Thirdly, the story makes clear that the abbey was in such a position that the hungry came flocking to St. Trond. The other saints that are named (Lambert, Peter, Servace and Remacle)<sup>3</sup> were patron saints of important institutions near St. Trond. Apparently, the poor depending on those institutions sought support in St. Trond instead of the other way around. So, by telling this story Rudolph showed his readership the importance of the monastery at the time of the famine. Lastly, as I already mentioned, Rudolf starts off with a hundred-year-old story that was, so to say 'legendary' in the monastery. By incorporating a popular, orally transmitted story, Rudolph ensured his audience that he reflected the identity and history of the monastery he was writing about. On the other hand, there were more stories going around in the monastery about Adelardus I. From these stories, Rudolph handpicked this story to start his narrative about the deeds of the abbots of St. Trond. By choosing certain stories, by emphasizing certain of their aspects, and presumably by wilfully ignoring other parts of the history of the monastery, Rudolph was not only reflecting the identity of the abbey of St. Trond, he was also actively moulding it.<sup>4</sup>

The GaT by Rudolph of St. Trond is a historiographical work in seven books that relates the deeds of the abbots of St. Trond written in seven books. Rudolf starts his history roughly hundred years before his own time and ends when he is chosen as abbot himself. At the end of Rudolph's life, a first anonymous continuator wrote book VIII until XIII in which he narrates the deeds of Rudolph himself.<sup>5</sup> As was Rudolph's explicit wish, later writers continued his work until 1679.<sup>6</sup> The first seven books form a fascinating account of monastery life under great turmoil in the 11th and 12th centuries. Between 1082 and 1099 the office of abbot was almost continuously contested. A huge factor contributing to this was that until 1227 St. Trond was dependent on the bishopric of Metz for its secular affairs, while in religious matters it depended on the Bishop of Liège. This meant that the Bishop of Metz had the right to appoint the abbot, while the Bishop of Liège consecrated him. During the Investiture Controversy, the Bishop of

---

<sup>3</sup> St. Lambertus probably refers to the cathedral of Liège of which Lambert was patron saint. St. Servatius most likely refers to those people that were dependent on the Basilica of Maastricht, because the nearby village of Zepperen belonged to the bishopric of Maastricht. St. Remaclus was the patron saint of the great Benedictine abbey in Stavelot. Lastly, Rudolph could be referring to the abbey of St. Peter in Ghent here. This monastery played an important role in the history of the abbey of St. Trond. Rudolph's predecessor abbot Theoderic resided in St. Peter when the monks of St. Trond convinced him with letters to take office in St. Trond.

<sup>4</sup> On remembrance and memory in monasteries, see: J.P. Gumbert, 'What do we want to remember? Memories in the manuscripts of two Dutch monasteries: the Benedictine abbey of Egmond and the Utrecht charterhouse', in: *The Medieval Low Countries 2* (2015) 19-35; H.W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Giselbert of St. Trond and Rudolph of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium VIII-XIII. Liber IX opus intextum Rodulfi Trudonensis*, ed. P. Tombeur, CCCM 257A (Turnhout 2013).

<sup>6</sup> The texts of later the later continuators are edited in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. C. de Borman, *Chronique de l'abbaye de St. Trond*, vol. 2 (Liège 1877).

Metz chose the side of Pope Gregory VII, while the Bishop of Liège chose the side of Emperor Henry IV. This international political conflict consequently resulted in anti-abbots, excommunications, warfare, pillaging and the burning down of the monastery of St Trond. What added to the turmoil was that the local aristocracy, who were the *advocati* of the monastery, used the monastery and its possessions to fight each other to protect and increase their own interests.<sup>7</sup> On top of this all, the monks in the monastery hardly agreed on which side to choose in these conflicts. Opposing monks grabbed opportunities as they presented themselves, and so these rivals within the community only added to the troubles that befell the monastery.

In his preface, Rudolf writes that he wants to show how the monastery had repeatedly fallen 'from the highest peaks into the greatest abyss'.<sup>8</sup> Next to this, he states that it continues to be very difficult to protect the monastery against enemies that want to destroy the 'sparkle' of religious life.<sup>9</sup> Rudolph started working on the GaT after he was consecrated as abbot. Likely, one of the reasons for writing this work, was to strengthen his own position against these 'enemies'. It also makes sense that Rudolph committed onto parchment his own views on what the monastery of St. Trond should be like. Although Rudolph has been lauded by different scholars for taking historical truth seriously, already in the preface he is clear about the fact that he omits stories from the GaT to safeguard the good name of the order and that he had an educational purpose with his work.<sup>10</sup>

All the themes mentioned in the opening quotation boil down to two interrelated questions: 'who are we?' and 'what should we aspire to be like?' These are, one could say, the essential questions when talking about identity, and they are especially opportune in or after times of crisis. The defining of an 'us' more than often happens by defining 'the other'. In the case of a monastery, which is *de facto* a place, one could also say that monks constructed an

---

<sup>7</sup>A. J.A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift giving, Memoria, and conflict management in the medieval low countries* (Hilversum 2007) 139.

<sup>8</sup> GaT, Praefatio, 3: 'ecclesia nostra fuerit, de quam sublimes ad quas abyssus uoragines frequenter corruerit

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem: quantum laboris super vix extantem adhuc veteris ruine favillam contra manignolet flatuum importunitatem cotidie irruentem, ne prorsus avolet, egerime sustineam'.

<sup>10</sup> S. Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster. Studien zu Auseinandersetzungen in monastischen Gemeinschaften des Ottonisch-Salischen Reichs* (Husum, 2000) 127; For the date Rudolph started writing the GaT, see: J.G. Preaux, 'Rodulfe de Saint-Trond et les principes de la critique historique', in: *Latomus* 5 (1946) 141-153, 142; GaT, Praefatio, 5: 'Hęc mea in hoc opusculo est intentio, ut quod aliorum negligentia ferme oblitteratum repperi, nostra saluum diligentia purius que eliquatum, future conseruem posteritati. Abbates et monachos post me futuros in hoc cenobio uolo sollicitos inde reddere, quatenus in anteriorum suorum negligentiam ulterius non incidant, sed suis quoque posteris de predecessoribus suis plenum fidei monumentum scripto relinquunt. In quo dum probitas seu improbitas singulorum frequenter legi poterit, probi piorum exemplo accensi, in melius et melius semper proficiant, improbi imaginata sibi uita sua confusi, a malis operibus suis uel sic saltem resipiscant [...] Ipse quoque de quibusdam que me presente aut me iam iuene quoque existente acta sunt, aliquantula fidelissime quidem memorie mandabo, plurima pudore nostri ordinis et nimio tedio longe relationis preteribo'.

'inside' by reflecting on what was 'outside' and vice versa.<sup>11</sup> The central question in this thesis will be how Rudolph reflects and constructs the identity of the abbey of St. Trond in the GaT. In other words, how does Rudolph define what the abbey of St. Trond ought to be like, and how he uses the past to do so.

The words 'reflect', 'construct' and 'identity' require some explanation. 'Reflecting' the identity of the monastery must have been a conscious act of Rudolph. Consider the above-mentioned opening anecdote of the GaT. Rudolph writes that the story was still being told amongst the brothers. This is important for several reasons. First, Rudolph ensured the longevity of the story, because he wrote it down. He apparently thought this story was worthy of living on in the written history of the monastery. However, as the GaT was partly written to be used internally, the anecdote also drew his readership into the history, because they already knew the story. Reflecting and reassuring the monastery's identity therefore ensured the impact on its readership. It seems beyond doubt that Rudolph had this intention by starting the history with this anecdote.

Next to this, Rudolph probably reflected the identity of the monastery without even being aware of it. Rudolph spent a reasonable time in St. Trond before he started working on the GaT. Before that, Rudolph lived and worked in several other monasteries. He therefore must have shared certain assumptions with his fellow brothers. Some of those must have been unspoken, or hardly uttered assumptions, because they felt so natural to him that they did not need to be stressed.<sup>12</sup> Of course it is very difficult for a historian to determine where and when this is the case. However, this insight should at least be taken as an advice to close read the GaT. The text might reveal more about how Rudolph envisioned the monastery to be like than he explicitly mentions.

The word 'construct' has meaning on two interrelating levels in this thesis. First, Rudolph did not merely record what had happened in the monastery. He left things out, stressed certain elements, and he had, amongst other goals, a didactic purpose with his text. He was not only reflecting the identity of the monastery of St. Trond, he also wanted to influence and change it, by correcting and reforming it. Secondly, 'to construct' also refers to the form and content of

---

<sup>11</sup> J. Sonntag, *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften. Symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit* (Berlin 2008); G. Melville, 'Inside and outside. Some considerations about cloistral boundaries in the central middle ages', in: B. Meijns and S. vanderPutten eds., *Ecclesia in medio nationis: reflections on the study of monasticism in the central middle ages* (Louvain 2011) 167-182.

<sup>12</sup> See P. Bourdieu, *The logic of practice* (1980) 53: 'The conditionings that associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them'.

Rudolph's text. How does Rudolph build up his argument and which words does he choose to do so? For example, it seems no coincidence that the GaT had seven books. What better way to underline that the monastery had reached full circle with the abbacy of Rudolph than through using a number that symbolises fullness?

Finally, the question is relevant if a monastery as such (or any other institution) has or can have an 'identity'. This issue is related to the question of how isolated monasteries were from the outside world<sup>13</sup>, and with the question how 'real life' corresponded with descriptive or prescriptive texts such as *consuetudines* and *regulae*.<sup>14</sup> A way to avoid both the epistemological pitfalls that come with asking the 'group identity' question and the difference between written prescription and historical reality is the realisation that it is beyond doubt that Rudolph thought the abbey should have a common identity. If the GaT does not reflect the historical reality of how the monks lived together – which I do not think - we can still study the GaT as a source for the ideals of a High medieval abbot in the diocese of Liège. In the context of this thesis, 'to construct identity' means Rudolph's efforts to teach his readership what the monastery ought to be like, and ought not to be like in the GaT.

The *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* are relatively well known and well-studied. The last monograph dealing with the monastery by G. Boes dates from 1970,<sup>15</sup> but the chronicle is an important witness in several more recent studies on Lotharingian monasticism in the high Middle Ages. Rudi Künzel has used the work in his study on images and self-images of medieval people to say something about early urban mentalities.<sup>16</sup> Steffen Patzold uses the GaT in his study on monastic conflict in the Ottonian and Salian empire.<sup>17</sup> Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld discusses the GaT in studies on gift-giving and landownership.<sup>18</sup> Steven Vanderputten wrote an article in which he researched reform as an instrument in the hands of abbots trying to consolidate or establish abbatial leadership.<sup>19</sup>

In a recent study, Harald Sellner researches *correctio* in Flemish monasteries during

---

<sup>13</sup> E. Goffman, *Asylums. Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (New York 1961).

<sup>14</sup> G. Melville, 'Regeln, *Consuetudines*-Texte-Statuten. Positionen für eine Typologie des normativen Schrifttums religiöser Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter', in: C. Ardenna and G. Melville eds., *Regulae-consuetudines-Statuta. Studi sulle fonti degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del medioevo* (Münster 2005) 5-38.

<sup>15</sup> G. Boes, *L'abbaye de Saint-Trond. Des origines jusqu'à 1155* (Tongres 1970).

<sup>16</sup> R. Künzel, *Beelden en zelfbeelden van middeleeuwse mensen* (Nijmegen 1997).

<sup>17</sup> Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*.

<sup>18</sup> Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*.

<sup>19</sup> S. Vanderputten, 'Monastic reform, abbatial leadership and the instrumentation of cluniac discipline in the early twelfth-century low countries' in: *Revue Mabillon Revue Internationale d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* 23 (2012) 41-65.

moments of crisis.<sup>20</sup> In the paragraph *Fragestellung* he writes: '*Die correctio eines Klosters lässt sich auf den spirituellen, organisatorischen, personellen, rechtlichen, wirtschaftlichen und herrschaftlichen Bereich beziehen. Befasst man sich mit der correctio von Klöstern, muss es zu allererst darum gehen diese Veränderungen, in der individuellen Ausprägung, der einzelnen Klöster, so genau wie möglich zu beschreiben*'.<sup>21</sup> The stress Sellner places on examining specific monasteries to be able to say something about the *correctio* that took place there is exemplary for current scholarship. Spearheaded by historians such as Gert Mellville and Steven Vanderputten, historians now agree that in older studies, such as the influential study *Kluny-Gorze* by Kassius Hallinger,<sup>22</sup> reform was considered too much an 'agent of homogenization'<sup>23</sup>. This thesis is influenced by the above-mentioned studies in the sense that I will also describe the particulars of St. Trond instead of drawing a more generalized and institutionalized picture of monastic life in Lotharingia in the early twelfth century.<sup>24</sup> Compared to the study of Sellner however, this thesis mainly focusses on the text of the GaT itself. This means I will focus more on the question how Rudolph envisioned monastic identity in his work than on the question how *correctio* was actually implemented in the abbey of St. Trond.

The first chapter will provide the context for the rest of this study. The focus will be on Rudolph and the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* itself. What is known about the monastery's history? Who was Rudolph? What did he write about? What sources did he use? What was the intended audience of the work? What is a *Gesta abbatum*?

The second chapter will concentrate on the different ways Rudolph envisions the identity of St. Trond. I will do this by discussing different themes that play a role in GaT. What are the characteristics of a good abbot? How does Rudolph think the old and the young should behave? How does Rudolph write about clothing and food in the monastery? How does Rudolph see monastic space in the GaT? How does Rudolph's view on these themes differ or complement the way these themes are discussed in prescriptive texts such as the Rule of Benedict? The choice of the themes mentioned above is mine, and it should be clear that the list is not intended to be complete. However, my choice is not coincidental, because all these themes play an important role in Rudolph's seven books of the GaT. The same themes recur in Book VIII, in which the

---

<sup>20</sup> H. Sellner, *Klöster zwischen Krise und Correctio*. Monastische "Reformen" im hochmittelalterlichen Flandern (Göttingen 2016).

<sup>21</sup> Sellner, *Klöster zwischen Krise und Correctio*, 68.

<sup>22</sup> K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Graz 1971). For the place of this book in the historiography of monastic studies, see: H. Sellner, 'Les communautés religieuses du Moyen Âge central et la recherche des réformes monastiques en Allemagne', in: B. Meijns, S. vanderPutten eds., *Ecclesia in medio nationis. Reflections on the Study of Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (Louvain 2011) 151-65.

<sup>23</sup> S. VanderPutten, 'Introduction' in: S. Vanderputten, *Reform, Conflict, and the Shaping of Corporate Identities. Collected Studies on Benedictine Monasticism, 1050 - 1150* (Berlin 2013) IX-XXXIX.

<sup>24</sup> For the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches of group culture, see: Künzel, *Beelden en zelfbeelden*, 19-24.



first continuator relates the deeds of Rudolph as prior and the first year of his abbacy. It was during these first years of Rudolph's abbacy that he wrote the first seven books of the GaT.

The third and last chapter will be concerned with the literary strategies employed in the GaT to influence the group identity of the monastery.<sup>25</sup> How did Rudolph 'use' the past to suit his own interests? How did Rudolph want his readers to interpret the past of the monastery after reading the GaT? To answer this question, I will compare the GaT to the book of miracles of St. Trond that was compiled by the monk Stepelinus before 1055 commissioned by his abbot Guntram.<sup>26</sup> Also, I will discuss the third continuation of the GaT written in the fourteenth century by an anonymous monk.<sup>27</sup> These two works present different views on the identity of the monastery, because both incorporate stories that Rudolph wilfully left out. The question is why Rudolph ignored these stories while composing the GaT.

In Book V of the GaT, Rudolph exclaims that it is a miracle that religious life still exists in St. Trond. According to Rudolph, the 'abyss' had been so deep, that at one point it was being considered to change the monastery into a much smaller provostry. In this thesis, I hope to show that Rudolph's focus on the crisis of St. Trond also gave him the opportunity to present his own vision of the ideal monastic life. The *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* is in a sense a history of Rudolph himself: a man who presents himself as the abbot who was tirelessly trying to restore monastery life in St. Trond to its former glory.

---

<sup>25</sup> W. Zewierski, *Verba volant, scripta manent; Limits of speech, power of silence and logic of practice in some monastic conflicts of the high middle ages*, in: S. Vanderputten ed. *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication* (Turnhout 2011) 24. Following Wojtek Zewierski I will not use the word strategy here in the sense of a well thought out plan. Instead the word strategy will be used in the way Zewierski cites Bourdieu: 'practical mastery of the logic or immanent necessity of a game, which is gained by experience of the game'. P. Bourdieu and P. Lamaison, 'from riles to strategies: an interview with P. Bourdieu', *Cultural anthropology* 1 (1986) 111-113, 120.

<sup>26</sup> Stepelinus Trudonensis, *Miracula Trudonis Hasbaniensis, liber secundus vel Liber secundus miraculorum sancti Trudonis* (MTH), ed. O. Holder Egger, in: *MGH, SS 15:2* (Hannover 1887) 822-830. This edition is a summary. The only complete edition is: Stepelinus Trudonensis, *Miracula Sancti Trudonis*, ed. J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti saeculum VI*, vol. 2 (Venice 1738) 83-104.

<sup>27</sup> Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* (GaTct), ed. C. de Borman, *Chronique de l'abbaye de St. Trond*, vol. 2 (Liège 1877) 82-336.

## Chapter I: The abbey of St. Trond, Rudolph, and the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*

### *The abbey of St. Trond*

The volatile history of the monastery of Saint Trond during the Investiture Controversy written down by Rudolph of St. Trond in the GaT was immediately tied up with its foundation four hundred years earlier. The sole source on the foundation of the monastery around the year 693 is the *Vita Trudonis prima* (henceforward VTP) by Donatus, who presumably was a deacon in Metz in the eighth century and who dedicated the work to his Bishop Angelram (bishop between 768-791).<sup>28</sup> Donatus presents Trudo as a man from a rich and noble family in the Hesbaye who decided to become a monk during his adolescence.<sup>29</sup> Sometime after this decision, an angel instructed Trudo in a vision to go to Remaclus. This Remaclus, the abbot of Stavelot-Malmedy, is presented by Donatus as also having been bishop of Tongeren.<sup>30</sup> Remaclus accepted Trudo as his spiritual son and instructed him to go to the church of St. Stephen (Metz) and give away his inheritance. Trudo followed this advice and gave away the lands and possessions he was entitled to. After receiving his education in Metz and being consecrated as a priest, Trudo was instructed to return to his homeland, and to build a church in Sarchinium next to the river Cysindria in modern Belgium.<sup>31</sup> Sarchinium was the name of the town which is now known as St. Trond. Trudo returned to his homeland and built a church next to the river. According to Donatus, miracles happened near St. Trond during Trudo's later life and after his death on account of his holiness.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from a few charters in which gifts of land to St. Trond are documented, not much is known about the history of the monastery until the period which Rudolph describes in the GaT.<sup>33</sup> Mathias Werner assumes that the monastery of St. Trond was favoured by the Pippinids

---

<sup>28</sup> Donatus, *Vita Trudonis confessoris Hasbaniensis auctore Donato* (VTP), ed. W. Levison, *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, VI (Hannover 1913) 273-298; For the charters, see: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, C. Piot ed., vols. 2 (Brussels 1870-1874). In this paper, I have made thankful use of the working translation by W. van Meerbeek which is available online at the University of Louvain: Donatus, *Vita Trudonis confessoris Hasbaniensis auctore Donato*, work translation in: W. van Meerbeek, *Het woord als zwaard. De relatie tussen de bisschoppen van Metz en de abdij van Sint-Truiden in de vroege en hoge middeleeuwen* (unpublished 2013).

<sup>29</sup> On the parentage of Trudo, see: J. Coenen, 'Was de H. Adela de moeder van St-Trudo?', in: *Limburg* 35 (1956) 257-261.

<sup>30</sup> VTP, 278-279.

<sup>31</sup> VTP, 285.

<sup>32</sup> VTP, 289-298.

<sup>33</sup> J.G. Preaux, 'Rodulfe de Saint-Trond et les principes de la critique historique', in: *Latomus* 5 (1946) 142.

and gained most of its property in the period 700-1000.<sup>34</sup> This property was located in different regions such as Teisterbant in the Northern Netherlands, Liège, Cologne, and Seny.<sup>35</sup> The wealth of the monastery in its earlier history is confirmed by Rudolph, who narrates a visitation by a delegation of the Bishop of Metz in 870. Rudolph incorporates a list of possessions drawn up by the visiting clerics, from which we can assume that St. Trond was rich at that time.<sup>36</sup> After the visitation, the abbey suffered from attacks by Northmen, but according to Rudolph most of the monastery's property was undamaged.<sup>37</sup> During the abbacy of Adelardus I (abbot between 999-1034), which formed the starting point of Rudolph's narrative, the monastery was back on its feet again both financially and spiritually.

Although Donatus' *vita* of Trudo explains why the Bishop of Metz would possess an *Eigenkloster* in another bishopric, it remains odd that the Bishop of Tongeren (the older seat of the bishopric of Liège) would give away its rights over a monastery in favour of another bishop. In the older historiography, it was thought that Remaclus did this because Trudo could receive a good education in Metz. Remaclus hoped that Trudo would later prove to be a good companion to fight heathens in his own territory.<sup>38</sup> However, this explanation might be somewhat naive. In a recent article on the *réécriture* of Trudo's *vita*, Winand van Meerbeek has clearly shown that the relationship between the bishoprics of Metz and Liège on the one hand, and the monastery of St. Trond on the other, was potentially problematic from the start.<sup>39</sup> According to Van Meerbeek, Donatus emphasized that Remaclus wanted to be spiritual father of Trudo, and that Trudo gave away his heritage *perpetua traditione*, an intentionally judicial way of formulating.<sup>40</sup> But Donatus did more. He claimed that Remaclus was the bishop of Tongeren, while in fact he was abbot-bishop of Stavelot-Malmedy. By asserting that Remaclus was bishop of Tongeren, Donatus increased the status of Metz' claim on his property in the bishopric of Liège, especially by intentionally using judicial language. The *vita* therefore, was not solely a hagiographic text written to incite devotion, but also a political weapon in the hands of the Church of Metz that wanted to protect its property.

Trudo's *vita* was rewritten around the year 1100 by Rudolph's predecessor Theoderic of

<sup>34</sup> M. Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum in Fränkischer Zeit* (Göttingen 1980) 93.

<sup>35</sup> E. Linck, *Sozialer Wandel in klösterlichen Grundherrschaften des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu den "familiae" von Gembloux, Stablo-Malmedy und St. Trond* (Göttingen 1979).

<sup>36</sup> GaT, I, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Boes, *L'abbaye de saint Trond*, 69; GaT, I, 9: Talem quondam fuisse thesaurum nostrum et fratrum prebendam, certa annotatione legatorum Mettensis episcopi repperimus, diu tamen ante istum Adelardum, maiorem que partem permansisse ferme usque ad ipsum, ipsum que nichilominus nonnulla perdita reparasse, quedam que illius studio acquisita usque ad nostra tempora, non tamen usque ad nostram prelationem perdurasse.

<sup>38</sup> See for instance: Boes, *L'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, 22-23.

<sup>39</sup> W. van Meerbeek, 'Réécriture van heiligenlevens over Sint-Trudo als literaire strategie, 784-1093', in: *Trajecta* 24 (2015) 209-241.

<sup>40</sup> Van Meerbeek, 'Réécriture van heiligenlevens', 213-214.

St Trond (abbot 1099-1107).<sup>41</sup> While leaving most of the original *vita* intact, Theoderic changed a few crucial sentences which reflected the contemporary interests of the abbey. In the version of Donatus, Trudo had given away his property at Sarchinium, which in the eighth century could be equalled to St. Trond. When Theoderic wrote his version of Trudo's life however, the meaning of the word Sarchinium had slightly changed. It was now the Latin for Zepperingen, a neighbouring village of St. Trond. Theoderic used this change to his advantage by writing that Trudo gave away Sarchinium to the church of Metz. According to Theoderic, this inheritance did not include the monastery's ground and church. Theoderic altered Donatus' *vita* of Trudo slightly to create a more independent relationship between the bishop of Metz and the abbey of St. Trond.<sup>42</sup>

Theoderic had ample reasons to stress independence from the bishopric of Metz when he rewrote Trudo's *vita*. When Adelardus II of St. Trond died in 1082, the bishop of Metz imposed an outsider named Lanzo as the new abbot against the wishes of the monks, who wanted their provost Gerardus as the new abbot. The consequences of this election form the core of Rudolph's narrative. Once Lanzo was instated, most of the monks who lived in St. Trond were expelled from their abbey. And when the Investiture Controversy broke out, one of the expelled monks, named Luipo, grabbed his chance and managed to get support from the emperor to become the abbot.<sup>43</sup> Although Patzold argues that one cannot say that the Investiture Controversy was the only factor that contributed to the crisis that Rudolph of St. Trond narrates in the GaT, it is clear that the consequences of the Investiture Controversy made possible and galvanised the crisis situation witnessed by Rudolph. It was because of the Investiture Controversy that the emperor, and bishops of Metz and Liège endorsed different abbots in St. Trond.<sup>44</sup>

But the bishops, the emperor and the pope were not the only ones who presented the monastery of St. Trond with problems. The second troubled relationship that Rudolph continuously writes about in the GaT, is the monastery's relationship with its 'protectors'. Rudolph writes how Theoderic came in direct conflict with Giselbert of Duras and Godfried of

---

<sup>41</sup> Theodericus, *La vie de Saint Trond ou Trudon d'après un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle*, ed. J. Barbier, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 5 (1868) 431-459.

<sup>42</sup> Van Meerbeek, 'Réécriture van heiligenlevens', 229-231.

<sup>43</sup> GaT, III, 30: ut multa inter ea hac illac que acta preteream, ab imperatore tandem obtinuit, ut suscepto dono abbatię nostrę de manu imperatoris, per duos comites eius in eam introduceretur, Gerardum scilicet de castello quod dicitur Guassenberge, et Gozwinum auunculum eius de castello quod uocatur Heinesberge.

<sup>44</sup> Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 140

Limburg.<sup>45</sup> It was the duty of *advocati* to execute justice on the lands of the abbey.<sup>46</sup> Very much to the frustration of Rudolph, these *advocati* tried to rob the monastery of its property on various occasions. At one point in the GaT, he writes in despair that their *advocati* and *villici* took lands away from the monks as they pleased, and when summoned at court they apparently swore that they had been the owners of the property for a very long time.<sup>47</sup> The relationship between the monastery and its protectors remained difficult during Rudolph's abbacy.<sup>48</sup> Bijsterveld argues that in 1300 the relationship between monasteries and their protectors had changed.<sup>49</sup> Increasingly, the protectors gained judicial power over their increasingly unified lands. While monasteries such as St. Trond kept the right to exploit their lands financially, they lost their judicial power. The start of these developments may be hard to trace, but one could say that the Investiture Controversy presented nobles an opportunity of material gain which they, according to Rudolph, did not miss. To make things even worse for their abbot, the monks of St. Trond were not simply marionettes. Tied by blood to the nobles, or seeing opportunity for themselves, the monks chose different sides in the unfolding conflicts and supported different candidates for the abbacy.<sup>50</sup>

This was the situation Rudolph faced when he entered the monastery and when he wrote the GaT. According to Bijsterveld, the measure in which monasteries resisted claims on their property by their protectors depended on the vigour and capacity of the individual abbots to take action.<sup>51</sup> The GaT itself is proof that Rudolph at least thought of himself as an abbot who fought tirelessly to protect the property of the monastery.

---

<sup>45</sup> GaT, VI, 65: Primo tempore introitus eius in abbatiam, grauissimus persecutor fuit ei comes Gislebertus de Duraz, advocatus noster, quem numquam potuit placare, nisi dampnosa ecclesie pro eo intercurrente'; B. H. Rosenwein, T. Head and S. Farmer, 'Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach', in: *Speculum*, 66:4 (1991) 764-796.

<sup>46</sup> H.J. Schmidt, 'Vogtei', in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* Vol. 8, (Munich 1997) 1811-1814.

<sup>47</sup> GaT, IV, 56: Preterea uillici nostri et quidam de beneficiatis hominibus ecclesie nostre, quicquid eis placuit, quicquid eis melius tunc uisum fuit, suis attraxerunt uillicationibus suis que feudis, nobis modo uolentibus ea recipere offerentes iurare, sua fuisse, antiqua legali que beneficii aut uillicationis possessione.

<sup>48</sup> GaT, XIII, 90: Preterea dampnum grande et irrecuperabile increuit istis diebus ecclesie.

Nam familia eius, que multum imminuta est hodie propter oppressiones aduocatorum et turbines bellorum, ampla quondam erat ualde et diffusa longe late que.

<sup>49</sup> A.J.A. Bijsterveld, 'Een zorgelijk bezit. De benedictijnse abdijen van Echternach en St. Truiden en het beheer van hun goederen en rechten in Oost-Brabant, 1100-1300', in: *Noord-Brabants historisch jaarboek* 6 (1989) 7-44.

<sup>50</sup> Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 138-139.

<sup>51</sup> Bijsterveld, 'Een zorgelijk bezit', 25.

### *Rudolph of St. Trond*

The first continuator of the GaT writes that Rudolph was born in the village Moustiers-sur-Sambre, some twenty kilometres west of Namur. He was probably born sometime before 1070.<sup>52</sup> His parents are not named, but, as a hagiographer would have done, the continuator underlines the piety of Rudolph's parents, who fed the poor and had a marriage of good reputation. Rudolph must have been from a good family, because he was sent to a school in Liège where he was educated until he became subdeacon at seventeen. On the advice of a friend (Lambertus) and because of curiosity for the hot water baths in Aachen, Rudolph went to the monastery of Burtscheid, and it was there that Rudolph felt the calling to become a monk. On his eighteenth birthday, he took his vows, and in succession he fulfilled the functions of sacristan, schoolmaster, cellarer and provost in Burtscheid. When a new abbot was chosen however, Rudolph felt that the monks did not elect the right one. He left the monastery and visited various monasteries in search for the right place to spend the rest of his religious life. The continuator writes that Rudolph passed the monastery of St. Trond by accident, and that Theoderic convinced Rudolph to stay there by promising him a position as teacher.<sup>53</sup> After the death of St. Trond's prior Boso in 1103, Rudolph received Boso's position. At this point he started a programme of reform in St. Trond, which the continuator vividly narrates.<sup>54</sup> After the death of Theoderic in 1107, Rudolph became abbot and remained so until the year of his death in 1138, excluding the years 1121-1123. In those two years a dispute arose between the so-called Alexandrines and Frederines. These two parties endorsed either Frederic or Alexander, who both claimed to be the rightful bishop of Liège. Since Rudolph endorsed Frederic, Rudolph was forced to leave St. Trond. He left for the venerable monastery of St. Pantaleon in Cologne where he was installed as abbot. When the dust in the dispute between the Alexandrines and Frederines had settled and Alexander was generally accepted as bishop, Rudolph was able to reclaim his position as the abbot of St. Trond.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> GaT, VIII, 3: Fuit iste Rodulfus natus de uilla que sita est supra Sambram fluiuium, nomine Monasterium; For Rudolph's birth date, see: Boes, *L'abbaye de St. Trond*, 172.

<sup>53</sup> GaT, VIII, 5: cepit sagacissime satagere quomodo eum sibi retineret, utilem sibi eum fore credens, primum ad instruendos sibi disciplina et doctrina pueros suos, deinde ad promouendum in aliquod, si ita forte accideret, ut accidit, ecclesiasticum intus aut foris ministerium.

<sup>54</sup> GaT, VIII, 6: The continuator mentions that deacon was the name for prior before the introduction Cluny's customs in St. Trond: Secundus Boso decanus, quia sic tunc in illo ueteri ordine appellabatur, qui modo in isto prior uocatur.

<sup>55</sup> GaT, XI, 54-67. Boes, *L'abbaye de Saint Trond*, 212-215.

Like his predecessor Theoderic, Rudolph was a prolific writer. In his recent critical edition of the GaT, Paul Tombeur discusses all of his works that have survived.<sup>56</sup> The GaT forms the largest extant work, but next to this, seven letters on different subjects survive.<sup>57</sup> Rudolph wrote various poems, amongst which a lamentation on the death of Theoderic and a lamentation on the destruction of St. Trond.<sup>58</sup> Lastly, Rudolf Steglich argued in an article written 1911 that Rudolph wrote a treatise on music called *De quaestiones in musica*. But although Rudolph was trained in the method of Guido of Arezzo and used this method in St. Trond, there is no reason to assume that Rudolph was the writer of this treatise.<sup>59</sup>

Rudolph wrote more works than the ones that have been preserved. We know of at least three such works, because the continuator tells us about them. First, Rudolph wrote a compilation of sayings of the Church Fathers for his students when he became schoolmaster.<sup>60</sup> Secondly, using the method of Guido of Arezzo, he tried to write down the music that the monks sang during prayer.<sup>61</sup> Thirdly, according to the continuator, Rudolph wrote a treatise in seven books against simony, four of which containing Rudolph's own arguments against simony and the other three books narrating what the Church Fathers had said about this subject.<sup>62</sup> It is not surprising that Rudolph would have written this work, because throughout the GaT he profiles himself as a staunch opponent of simony. Although Rudolph does not take sides with either the position of the pope or of the emperor in the Investiture Controversy, he seems sympathetic with the aims of the Gregorian Reform.

---

<sup>56</sup> P. Tombeur, 'Introduction', in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013) I-L.

<sup>57</sup> The letters are also edited by Tombeur in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013).

<sup>58</sup> For a survey of the works by Rudolph of St. Trond, see: [http://www.narrative-sources.be/result\\_auteur\\_nl.php?auteur\\_id=145](http://www.narrative-sources.be/result_auteur_nl.php?auteur_id=145).

<sup>59</sup> Tombeur, 'Introduction', XXVIII-XXIX.

<sup>60</sup> GaT, VIII, 5: 'Scripsit igitur ei eodem primo anno uolumen illud utilissimum, multum continens scripture, et pueros uix musam declinare sciolos, non tam dictamen quam metrum quoque componere docuit'.

<sup>61</sup> GaT, VIII, 6: 'miro quidem et inedicibili labore et grauissima capitis sui infirmitate graduale unum propria manu formauit, purgauit, punxit, sulcauit, scripsit, illuminauit, musice que notauit, syllabatim, ut ita dicam, totum usum prius a senioribus secundum antiqua illorum gradualia discutiens'.

<sup>62</sup> GaT, VIII, 15: 'Extat et aliud uolumen VII librorum eius, quos contra symoniachos scripsit, quatuor ratione, tribus agens auctoritatibus'.

### *The gesta abbatum as a historiographical source*

A *gesta abbatum* narrates the deeds of abbots, and follows the same structure as a *gesta episcoporum*, which is structured around the lives of bishops. The *gesta abbatum* as a 'genre' is modelled on the *Liber pontificalis*.<sup>63</sup> Like its model, *gesta abbatum* were meant to be continued by later writers after the initial writer had died.<sup>64</sup> These *gesta* could be written by the leader of an institution, i.e. abbot or bishop, but they could also instruct a monk or priest to write for them.

According to M. Sot who has written about the *gesta abbatum* and *gesta episcoporum*, the first task of the writer of *gesta* was to establish a sound chronology: who was abbot when and for how long. Rudolph makes this explicit in the introduction of the GaT when he writes that he had tirelessly went through all the documents within the monastery to see who had been in charge of the monastery for how many years.<sup>65</sup>

Once the writer had established a chronology, he would then write his story around the lives of each abbot that had ruled the institution. *Gesta* could take on quite different forms. All *gesta* use hagiography, letter collections and other literary works as sources to some extent, but while some *gesta* were more akin to *cartularia*, others, like the GaT, were written more like a *historia*. *Gesta* contain varied information on liturgy, topography, hagiography, history and juridical matters. In all cases, European politics and history are subordinate to the history of the particular institution, be it a monastery or a bishopric.<sup>66</sup>

Next to literary sources, writers of *gesta* used various other sources in their works. First and foremost their history was tied up with the place they wrote about, and therefore the archeology of this space and the archives of the institution formed the basis for *gesta*. While the GaT contains no full insertions of charters, it is filled with remarks on the monastery's property. Secondly, writers of *gesta* often incorporated details about the buildings, constructions and renovations that took place in the institution. Writers also wrote about famines, fires or any other destructive force that might have struck the monastery over time.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Sot, *Gesta abbatum, gesta episcoporum*, 20.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem. Rudolph is explicit about this: GaT, praefatio, 5: 'Abbates et monachos post me futuros in hoc cenobio uolo sollicitos inde reddere, quatenus in anteriorum suorum negligentiam ulterius non incidant, sed suis quoque posteris de predecessoribus suis plenum fidei monumentum scripto relinquant'.

<sup>65</sup> GaT, Praefatio, 4: 'Sepe necnon et sepiissime, fratres karissimi, totam armarii nostri reuoluens supplectilem, dum adhuc in carne qua nunc agonizatis positus essem, ardebam uehementer me posse reperire qui, et quot, et cuius professionis, utrumne omnes monachice an canonicę aliqui fuissent predecessores mei, et cuius quisque vocabuli, et quot annis preuerit'.

<sup>66</sup> Sot, *Gesta abbatum, gesta episcoporum*, 21, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Sot, Ibidem, 26.



Another important source for *gesta* were personal witnesses. Rudolph is very specific about this. First, he wrote about what he had witnessed himself during his stay in the monastery. Next to this he relied on what his fellow monks had witnessed during their lifetime. To be able to give an account of events further back in time, he also asked these fellow monks what elderly monks had told them when they were boys themselves.<sup>68</sup> So, oral testimony was an important complementary source to written sources in *gesta*.

Sot makes a distinction between '*gesta primitifs*' and '*continuations*'.<sup>69</sup> As I already mentioned, it was Rudolph's explicit wish that the GaT would be continued by later writers. Sot writes about 'original' (episcopal) *gesta* that they: '*constituent un système, une démonstration, établissant l'histoire sainte de la cité depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque de rédaction, visant un certain nombre d'objectifs par rapport auxquels les informations de toute nature s'organisent*'.<sup>70</sup> In contrast, Sot argues that continuations were mostly written contemporary to the events they narrated and that therefore, the information provided was often more precise. He also argues that the contributions were less modelled on the 'genre' and that continuations were written with their authors' own intentions and objectives. What glued *gesta primitifs* and *continuations* together was that they shared the same place and institution as their subject. Continuator strove to consolidate the sacredness of the institution as it had been first narrated in the original *gesta*.

But while this typology might be accurate in general, the example of St. Trond shows that particular cases seldom follow the general rule completely. Rudolph did not begin his 'original' *GaT* with information on his monastery's founders. He did not do this, because he claimed that he did not have enough accurate information on them. While this may be true for some abbots, it is clear that Rudolph could have given details about St. Trudo, who was the first founder of the monastery. Moreover, while the first and second continuator did indeed write about events that happened in their own time, the third continuator took it upon himself to write *gesta* more in line with what Sot considers to be a '*gesta primitif*'. Rudolph and the third continuator pursued different aims when writing their respective contributions to the GaT, as will be elaborated in the third chapter of this paper. For now, it suffices to conclude that Rudolph was most likely aware of the 'rules' that applied to writing *gesta abbatum*, but that he had his reasons to tread another path.

The dedicatory letter of the GaT is directed to the provost of St. Denis in Liège, but in the introduction to the first book, Rudolph addresses his 'dearest brothers'. The intended

---

<sup>68</sup> GaT, Praefatio, 5: 'Cetera vero fidelium virorum qui hec viderunt, aut eos qui hec viderant, relatu didici. Ipse quoque de quibusdam que me presente aut me iam iuvene quoque existente acta sunt. aliquantula fidelissimę quidem memorię mandabo, pluriba pudore nostri ordinis et nimio tedio longe relationis preteribo'.

<sup>69</sup> Sot, *Gesta abbatum, gesta episcoporum*, 42.

<sup>70</sup> Sot, *Ibidem*, 52.

audience of this work was therefore both the monks of St. Trond and of outsiders. It expressed the views of Rudolph and the monks of St. Trond, but also narrated opinions expressed by villagers of St. Trond.<sup>71</sup>

The intended audience of *gesta* was tied up with the aims and functions of these works. In general, *gesta abbatum* or *gesta episcoporum* were written to show the sacredness of a monastery's history. But in a more practical sense, Sot also identifies two other uses of *gesta*. First of all, they were written with the protection of the goods of the monastery in mind. Already in the first chapter, Rudolph narrates how a delegation from Metz counted the goods that were held in St. Trond in 870. Rudolph proudly writes that the monastery was at that time very rich.<sup>72</sup> Next to this, I have already mentioned that Rudolph vigorously attempted to protect property of the monastery that was unrightfully taken from St. Trond by its 'protectors'.

A second use of the *gesta* mentioned by Sot, is the protection of other certain rights.<sup>73</sup> In the GaT, this plays a role only one time, but at a crucial point in the narrative, namely at the moment that abbot Adelardus II died and the monks of St. Trond were not allowed to elect their own candidate. Rudolph extensively cites church law to prove to his audience that this decision was wrong, and thereby defended the interests of the monastery of St. Trond.<sup>74</sup>

An area that Sot mentions, but fails explore, is the way a *gesta abbatum* was used to evoke a sense of unity within the institution. In the second chapter of this thesis it will be exactly this area on which I will focus. For now, it is good to realize that 'identity' was a common feature of *gesta*. The same holds for Sot's conclusion that *gesta* were written with contemporary interests in mind.<sup>75</sup> The use of the past with the present in mind will be the subject of the third chapter. But before moving on, I will to shortly describe the content of Rudolph's history.

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, 46.

<sup>72</sup> GaT, I, 8-9.

<sup>73</sup> Sot, *Gesta abbatum, gesta episcoporum*, 47-48.

<sup>74</sup> GaT, II, 25-26.

<sup>75</sup> Sot, *Gesta abbatum, gesta episcoporum*, 48.

*Rudolph's GaT and the Gesta abbatum Trudonensium continuatio prima*

Presumably in 1114 or 1115 Rudolph started writing the first seven books of the GaT.<sup>76</sup> Tombeur and Preaux come to this conclusion, because Rudolph alludes to the death of abbot Herman the Younger in Book VII, which occurred in 1114. Before the *praefatio* there is a dedicatory letter written by Rudolph to Nicolas, who was the provost of Saint Denis in Liège.<sup>77</sup> According to Tombeur, this letter accompanied the first thirteen books of the GaT. This would mean that Rudolph was aware of the content of Books VIII-XIII, in which the deeds of Rudolph are narrated. Book IX of the GaT is a letter written by Rudolph to Bishop Stephen of Metz. In it, Rudolph narrates the fate of the possessions of St. Trond during Rudolph's prelature. It contains information on the possessions of the monastery between 1108, the year Rudolph took office, and the year 1136. If Rudolph's dedication letter indeed accompanied Books I-XIII, it would make sense that Rudolph wrote it in 1136 after the GaT had been completed.<sup>78</sup>

The oldest manuscript of the GaT, named *Malines*, is currently held at the university library of Louvain.<sup>79</sup> All later manuscripts and fragments of the first XIII Books are dependent on it. The manuscript, which is of extraordinary quality, undoubtedly was made in the first half of the twelfth century. It is noteworthy that there is no explicit caesura between Book VII and Book VIII. Also, the work is written down in a single hand. Tombeur therefore guesses that the manuscript might have been made during the last years of Rudolph's life, while his health declined.

The first continuation of the GaT (henceforward GaT<sub>cp</sub>) gives intimate details about Rudolph's life and abbacy. If Books VIII-XIII were written while Rudolph was still alive, it is plausible that they were written by an intimate of Rudolph, who wrote under supervision of his abbot. Preaux concluded in 1946 that the author was most likely Folkard, because he was provost under Rudolph, and the GaT<sub>cp</sub> contains many lists of possessions. Tombeur however, fervently argues that this is unlikely. First of all, Tombeur is not convinced because the GaT<sub>cp</sub> shows the tender relationship between a teacher and his pupil. Folkard, who followed Rudolph as abbot, was already at a venerable age when he took office. A teacher-pupil relationship between the two is therefore unlikely. Secondly, the second continuator, who related Folkard's life, does not mention any literary activity by Folkard. Tombeur argues that Gislebertus is a far

---

<sup>76</sup> Preaux, 'Rodulfe de Saint-Trond', 142.

<sup>77</sup> Tombeur, 'Appendix', in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013) 142.

<sup>78</sup> Tombeur, 'Introduction', XIII.

<sup>79</sup> Maurits Sabbe bibliotheek, faculteit theologie en en religiewetenschappen, KU Leuven, collectie Mechelen, codex 4.

more likely candidate, because he studied in the monastery's school while Rudolph taught there. Gislebertus went on to become the *custos* of St. Trond, which meant he had control over the monastery's *scriptorium*. Although Tombeur admits that this constitutes no guaranteed proof, he argues that Gislebert is the only known pupil of Rudolph that could have had the intimate relationship with his teacher which radiates from the GaT's pages.<sup>80</sup>

In the next chapter I will thematically discuss how Rudolph envisioned the monastic identity of St. Trond. In an appendix at the end of this thesis there is a short chronological description of each of the books of Rudolph's GaT, together with a table containing the dates of abbacies and other periods and important dates for each book.

---

<sup>80</sup> P. Tombeur, 'Introduction', in: Giselbert of St. Trond and Rudolph of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium VIII-XIII. Liber IX opus intextum Rodulfi Trudonensis* CCCM 257A, ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013).

## Chapter 2: inside out

### *The good abbot*

By giving descriptions of the abbots that preceded him, Rudolph was most likely teaching his readership what he thought to be good qualities for an abbot. Since Rudolph started writing the GaT after he became abbot, a good starting point for examining what Rudolph viewed as 'inside' and what he viewed as 'outside', is looking at his views on what a good abbot should be like.

Besides the Bible, Rudolph's principal source for defining what a good abbot should be like was undoubtedly the Rule of St Benedict (henceforward RB).<sup>81</sup> Rudolph often refers to it when he discusses the qualities and vices of different abbots.<sup>82</sup> According to the RB, the abbot plays the role of Christ in the monastery.<sup>83</sup> He is an absolute ruler both in secular and in spiritual matters.<sup>84</sup> The only way in which the RB restricts the abbot's executive and spiritual power is in the ruling that the abbot is supposed to consult his monks in important matters.<sup>85</sup> Giles Constable argues that there are at least three sources of power at play within monasteries. First, there is the individual holiness of every monk within the monastery, since every monk detached himself from the world and strove to live a holy life. But monks' lives were tied up with the institution they lived in. Therefore, a second source of power within a monastery are the history of the founder and the rules and traditions of the institution. The third and last source of power named by Constable is the authority that comes with rank within the monastery. One could argue that traditions, written prescriptive texts, and the status of other monks functioned as checks to the might of the abbot within the monastery.<sup>86</sup>

Because the RB stresses that the abbot is the father figure in the monastery, it is of great importance that he shows good behaviour and leads an exemplary life. Yet more so, because the RB states that the sins committed by monks fall back on to the abbot.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, a good abbot

---

<sup>81</sup> Benedictus Nursiensis, *Benedicti regula*, translated and edited by: T. Fry, RB 1980. *The rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with notes* (Collegeville 1980).

<sup>82</sup> In the first two books of the GaT only, there are nine allusions to the RB. See: GaT, 7-28.

<sup>83</sup> RB, II, 172: 'Christi enim agere vices in monasterio creditur, quando ipsius vocatur pronomine, dicente apostolo: accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater'.

<sup>84</sup> C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism* (4th edition New York 2015), 26; J. Sonntag, *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften. Symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit* (Berlin 2008) 168-192.

<sup>85</sup> RB, III, 178: de adhendibus ad consilium fratribus.

<sup>86</sup> G. Constable, 'The authority of superiors in monastic communities', in: *Monks, hermits and crusaders in medieval Europe* (London 1988) 189.

<sup>87</sup> RB, II, 172: 'Sciatque, abbas culpae pastoris incumbere quicquid in ovibus paterfamilias utilitatis minus potuerit invenire'.

was crucial for the state of an abbey. Franz Joseph Felten argues that rules and customs are very important documents when studying the role of abbots within monasteries, because these documents are less prone to the literary ambition of their writers and they have the advantage of *Praxisnähe*.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, you could say that 'literary ambition' sheds an equally important yet different light on the role of abbots in the monastery. The GaT gives us the possibility to see how Rudolph defines the qualities of the former abbots of St. Trond and by doing so how he envisions both 'ideal leadership' and how he wanted to be seen himself.

Of the abbots discussed in the first seven books of the GaT, Rudolph thought Guntram was the best one.<sup>89</sup> What does Rudolph write about him? What made him such a good abbot? And in what respect did the abbots that followed Guntram fall short?

Rudolph writes that Guntram was a tall but slender, good-looking man. He had a loud voice which sounded pleasantly despite Guntram's height. Rudolph stresses his humility, obedience and noble character. Rudolph does not say that Guntram was of noble state, but that he came from an important family in the Hesbaye.<sup>90</sup> He was raised in St. Trond's abbey, where he was educated to become a priest. Rudolph writes at length to show that the famous reformer Poppo I of Stavelot (971-1048) visited the monastery of St. Trond and saw the qualities of Guntram.<sup>91</sup> Poppo took Guntram with him to Stavelot, after which Guntram left for Hersfeld, where he became *camerarius* to the abbot. Rudolph explains that this was an important function, incomparable to a monk's chamberlain. Likely Rudolph meant that the function was more or less comparable to a modern chief of staff.<sup>92</sup> Rudolph does not fail to mention that he himself also spent a short time there, and that he was surprised by the monastery's wealth and good education in the *artes liberales*.<sup>93</sup> While in Hersfeld, Guntram had a good reputation at the royal court, as he was on friendly terms with the empress because of the nobility of his character and his good looks.<sup>94</sup> After the death of Adelardus I, the empress sent Guntram to the bishop of Metz with a letter of recommendation. When Guntram arrived at Metz, he found out that a group of monks from St. Trond had also arrived to ask the bishop to name him their abbot.

---

<sup>88</sup> F. J. Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', in: F. Prinz ed., *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen* (Stuttgart 1988) 147-296.

<sup>89</sup> GaT, I, 9, 14: 'Talis ante eum in loco nostro non surrexit, nescio utrumne post illum futurus sit'.

<sup>90</sup> GaT, I, 10: 'Post primum Adelardum successit Guntramnus, natus de Hasbania liberorum prosapia'.

<sup>91</sup> On Poppo as reformer, see: Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as a Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca 2013); P. George, 'Un réformateur lotharingien de choc: l'abbé Poppon de Stavelot (978-1048)', in: *Revue Mabillon: Revue internationale d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 10 (1999) 89-111.

<sup>92</sup> GaT, I, 12: 'Camerarius autem abbatis non idem qui et fratres est. Honor magnus. Nam et pluribus abundat, et domesticis imperans, eis que debentur abbati quasi tertius participat'.

<sup>93</sup> GaT, I, 12: 'Locus regius, studiis artium liberalium mundanarum que rerum gloria egregie precipuus'.

<sup>94</sup> GaT, I, 12: 'Ubi dum moraretur, corporis pulchritudine morum que nobilitate in brevi factus et celebris aule regie ipsi que religiose imperatrici maxime'.

After having received gifts from the bishop, Guntram was consecrated in Liège and became abbot of St. Trond, which he remained for 21 years.<sup>95</sup>

The election of Guntram went without any problems, because the bishops of Liège and Metz and the monks of St. Trond were unanimous in their support of the new abbot. Also, Guntram's abbacy and even his death are narrated as a success story. According to Rudolph, when Guntram took office, the monastery was in a sorry state in both secular and spiritual matters. Guntram sought peace and prosperity, he used the gifts he had got from the bishop and the empress to help the financial state of the abbey.<sup>96</sup> He also reformed the monastery following the rules of the religious life he had witnessed in Hersfeld. Because of these measures, monks who had fled now returned to the monastery, and new monks asked to join St. Trond. As an abbot, he remained in favour with the higher powers. Rudolph narrates that Guntram was permitted to conduct the cathedral choir of Liège *indutus honorificentissimi*, where he enchanted the audience with his beauty and his voice.<sup>97</sup>

In the last years of Guntram's abbacy, miracles started to happen around the grave of Trudo. According to Rudolph, the wise abbot Guntram understood that miracles were only intended for non-believers (I Cor 14: 22), so he tried to keep them secret.<sup>98</sup> Rudolph even narrates that Guntram foresaw what was going to happen in the future because of these miracles.<sup>99</sup> The point Rudolph seems to be trying to make is that the miracles occurred because religious life flourished under Guntram. As abbot, Guntram was the replacement of Trudo on earth, and since Trudo was pleased with Guntram's behaviour, he blessed the monastery with miracles.

Even the death of Guntram went 'by the book'.<sup>100</sup> He was surrounded by his monks when he confessed for the last time and received his extreme unction. He left his brothers food and clothes for more than a year and gave away his possessions to friends and servants.<sup>101</sup> In short, Guntram was a good father and master to the monastery. His outward beauty reflected his

---

<sup>95</sup> About these gifts, see: Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*, 138.

<sup>96</sup> GaT, I, 13: 'Paupertatem, ex eis quę ab imperatrice dono acceperat et a regio loco se cum detulerat, ordinem, ex disciplina maxima quam Hersfeldię didicerat'.

<sup>97</sup> GaT, I, 14: 'indutus honorificentissimi chorum medius cantorum reget, pulchritudine magnis corporis pascens uisus astantium, et dulcidune uocis tubeę aures delectans eum ammirantium'.

<sup>98</sup> This can hardly be true, because Guntram commissioned Stepelinus, one of his monks, to write a miracle book for the monastery (See Paragraph 3.2 below); S. Patzold comes to the same conclusion: Patzold, *Konfikte im Kloster*, 160.

<sup>99</sup> GaT, I, 13: 'Sagaci enim pectore concipiens quod futurum erat, signa data esse infidelibus, non fidelibus, dicebat'. Rudolph refers to 1 Cor 14:22 here: Itaque linguę in signum sunt non fidelibus, sed infidelibus.

<sup>100</sup> H. van Hommelsaeghe, 'Sterven als symbolische performance van leiderschap: een kijk op de doodsbeschrijvingen van enkele Lotharingische kerkhervormers', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 92:2 (2014) 231-263.

<sup>101</sup> GaT, I, 14: 'multa dona in argento, equis, annona, cętera que suppellectili famulantibus sibi familiaribus que reliquit, et uictum atque vestitum abundantissime usque in alterum annum ulterius que fratribus suis'.

inward beauty, and this was noticed by people in power who supported him. He reformed the monastery according to the rule of Hersfeld and put energy in constructing the monastery of St. Trond. At the same time he made sure that the financial situation of the monastery was stable. Because of Guntram's efforts the monastery grew in both numbers and wealth.

In all the abbots that followed Guntram until his own abbacy Rudolph saw errors. This is not to say that the abbots were bad in every sense of the word, but they all had one 'tragic flaw'. These flaws varied from abbot to abbot, but by adding them all up, a quite clear picture emerges of how Rodulph envisioned the 'ideal' abbot. Of Adelardus II, the abbot who directly followed Guntram, Rudolph relates that his abbacy was viewed highly in the world. He also writes that Adelardus was schooled in letters and had some skill in painting and sculpture. This is not necessarily a bad advertisement, but compared to the praise Guntram received it is quite meagre. Moreover, in the paragraph of the RB on artists in the monastery, artistry is seen as potentially inciting vainglory.<sup>102</sup>

Rudolph narrates that the abbacy of Adelardus II started quite successfully, but he does not attribute this success to the abbot himself. Instead, he names the legacy of Guntram (both material and spiritual), the rich and influential family of Adelardus II, and the miracles that continued to happen in St. Trond as the reasons for the high praise of Adelardus's abbacy in the eyes of the world.<sup>103</sup>

According to Rudolph, it was the very miracles happening in the monastery that initiated the downfall of St. Trond. Under Adelardus they were not longer seen as an admonition, but as a sign of fame and status.<sup>104</sup> Rudolph narrates all kinds of sins committed by monks under Adelardus II. The biggest flaw of Adelardus was that he was not able to correct the behaviour of his monks. Rudolph mentions that Adelardus II was temporarily struck with insanity to warn the monks of their wicked ways, but the monks refused to see this warning sign and the abbot was unable to change things.<sup>105</sup> At the end of his life Adelardus wanted to retire, but provost Gerardus convinced him to remain abbot until his death in 1082.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> RB, LVII, 264.

<sup>103</sup> GaT, I, 15: 'magne glorię apud mundales in abbatia habitus est'.

<sup>104</sup> GaT, II, 20: 'defuncto autem eo et succedente abbate Adelardo secundo, ceperunt haberi miracula et uirtutes sepulchri beati Trudonis non tam timori et reuerentię, quam ostentui et populari glorię.'

<sup>105</sup> GaT, II, 21: 'percussit igitur eum dominus sensu que alienauit'.

<sup>106</sup> GaT, I, 18: 'Cessisset que loco Sigeberge intentus animo, si eum non retinisset prepositi eius Gerardi nomine cura et deuotio'.



Provost Gerardus is praised by Rudolph for his abbatial qualities, while in fact he never was abbot. After the death of Adelardus II, the monks chose Gerardus to be their new abbot. The bishops of Metz and Liège did not agree to this and appointed the outsider Lanzo instead. Rudolph writes at length in Book II to show that this decision by the Bishops was wrong and not in accordance with canon law.<sup>107</sup> Bishops formed the largest external check to the might of the abbot and the monastery. The RB states that the monks were to choose a new abbot after the death of an abbot. However, the RB makes clear that monks who live in sin and choose a new abbot in favour of maintaining the status quo are not entitled to choose a new abbot. In those cases, the bishop should provide a new abbot.<sup>108</sup> Rudolph himself had witnessed in his youth that monks sometimes chose the wrong abbot 'in the light of what they were themselves'.<sup>109</sup> This was exactly what the bishops of Metz and Liège decided even before the death of Adelardus II. Rudolph however, thinks their decision was not made out of wisdom but out of anger. He agreed that the monks had sinned before God by exploiting the miracles that happened in St. Trond. These sins however, were not to blame on Gerardus, so there was no reason to deny him the abbacy.<sup>110</sup>

Rudolph calls Gerardus well educated in profane and religious literature. He is depicted as a good man, fearful of God and wise. Rudolph also explicitly writes that Gerardus was one of the last monks who had been educated by Guntram. The name of Guntram is used here as a quality brand. When in the year 1093 both Luipo, accused of simony, and Gerardus the provost die, Rudolph juxtaposes the two deaths. Luipo died after a day of hard labour on the field, without receiving extreme unction and confession. Gerardus died in the presence of his fellow monks after taking communion, receiving his extreme unction and confession.<sup>111</sup> The former represented everything that had gone wrong with the monastery, the latter, although he formally

---

<sup>107</sup> GaT, II, 25-27. On Rudolph's knowledge of canonic law: Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 144-146.

<sup>108</sup> RB, LIV, 264: Quod si etiam omnis congregatio vitis suis - quod quidem absit- consentientem personam pari conilio elegerit, et vitia ipsa in aliquatenus in notitia - episcopi ad cuius dioecesim pertinet locus ipse vel ad abbates aut christianos vicinos claruerint, prohibeant pravorum praevalere consensum, sed domui dei dignum constituent dispensatorem, scientes pro hoc se recepturos mercedem bonam, si illud caste et zelo dei faciant, sicut e diverso peccatum si neglegant. See: G. Constable, 'The authority of superiors', 196-197.

<sup>109</sup> GaT, VIII, 4: 'successit Iohannes custos et decanus eiusdem cenobii, senex multum et in nullo prorsus ualens ad tale ministerium. Nam fratres secundum quod erant, personam sibi idoneam elegerant'.

<sup>110</sup> GaT, II, 24: 'electus noster cum non tantum careat crimine sed omni quoque male suspitione'.

<sup>111</sup> GaT, IV, 12: Quodam uero tempore diebus messis ualde estuans lassus que de agro reversus, cum uespere multum bibisset, cum domesticis suis multum letatus, strato que sanus repositus, media nocte inuentus est membris pene omnibus in eum emortuis, ita ut neque loqui, neque mouere se posset, deterius queseemper et deterius ageret. Vix que utcumque usque ad primum uiuens diluculum, tandem expirauit, neque confessus, neque unctus, neque communicatus. Obiit autem kalendas augusti, uix post consecrationem suam uiuens in abbacia duobus annis, sepultus que est in monasterio nostro. Quo etiam anno prepositus Gerardus mortuus est, prius confessus, unctus et communicatus, sic que tandem in bona memoria ad patres suos in monasterio nostro est appositus.

had not been abbot, was even in his death treated as the abbot the monastery should have had and was buried accordingly.<sup>112</sup>

So instead of Gerardus, Lanzo was installed by the bishops of Metz and Liège. The continuator calls Lanzo the first of four whirlwinds that raided the monastery,<sup>113</sup> the others being Luipo, Herman the Bald and Herman the Younger. Lanzo was already abbot at the abbey of St. Vincent in Metz, and Rudolph writes that Lanzo was chosen for his holiness, his righteousness and his piety.<sup>114</sup> This was a problem for Rudolph, because he judged his installation negatively. He writes that the populace of St. Trond blamed Lanzo for a fire that ruined the monastery in the year 1085.<sup>115</sup> This fire was an ominous sign that Lanzo was the wrong man to lead the abbey of St. Trond. Also, Lanzo had hardly any support within the monastery because of the way he had received his abbacy. Rudolph writes vividly how Lanzo got locked up within the tower of the monastery at one point and has to live on water and dry bread for two weeks while being disgracefully fed by poor women.<sup>116</sup> Another way Rudolph suggests that Lanzo was not the right man to lead St. Trond is by narrating that Lanzo had prepared a journey to Jerusalem in secrecy and left the monastery sometime before his death.<sup>117</sup> To pay for the journey, Lanzo supposedly sold property belonging to the monastery and extracted money from the prebend of the monks. When he formally abdicated in Liège before leaving, he had to admit that there remained just enough food and clothes in the refectory to feed the monks for a day.<sup>118</sup> So, while Rudolph acknowledges that Lanzo might have been a holy man, he clearly wants his readers to know that Lanzo had been the wrong candidate because he lacked the necessary support within the community and he had failed in his worldly duties towards his monks.

Rudolph contrasts Luipo and Lanzo by acknowledging that Lanzo was viewed as a holy man, but was lacking in managerial skills. In Luipo's case it was exactly the opposite. Luipo, says Rudolph, was a constant, steadfast and fearless man, who resisted the abuse of power by the

---

<sup>112</sup> Van Hommelsaeghe, 'Sterven als symbolische performance', 231-263.

<sup>113</sup> GaT, X, 47: 'Hic et talis finis exitit Herimanni, qui unus et ultimus fuit quatuor illorum uentorum, quorum turbinibus agitati frequenter usque ad cęlos fuimus, et depressi usque ad abyssos descendimus. Defunctis Herimanno et comitissa, aliquantula pax abbati et ecclesię est reddita

<sup>114</sup> GaT, II, 26: 'licet sanctus, licet iustus, licet religiosus'.

<sup>115</sup> GaT, III, 41: 'De nostra quoque non bona multum spe diutius presumebat, cum et illum super se irruere cotidie | metueret, et plurimis oppidanorum nostrorum propter templi incendium et loci excidium se intolerabiliter exosum uideret'.

<sup>116</sup> GaT, III, 31: 'ut aliquos diebus a pauperioribus mulierculis per fenestulas aleretur grosso et arido pane'.

<sup>117</sup> Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 129. Patzold argues that Lanzo fled the monastery because he lacked support amongst the monks in St. Trond.

<sup>118</sup> GaT, III, 42: 'Cappas tamen et casulas, et quicquid de reliquiis thesauri nostri tulerat, per manus prepositi Gerardi ad nos remisit, sed uno tantum die se reliquisse fratribus unde uiuerent, preposito confessus discessit'.

'protectors' of St. Trond. Rudolph adds that this might be expected of a man of noble birth like Luipo.<sup>119</sup> Rudolph is complimentary about the skills of Luipo as a farmer and stock breeder<sup>120</sup>. He also acknowledges that Luipo enjoyed much more support amongst the monks than Lanzo did, but in the end Rudolph's view on the abbacy of Luipo is still quite negative.

Luipo spent too much money on his family and attire, neglecting his monks and imposing heavy taxes on farmers. Religious life deteriorated, and there was no respect for moral and decent behaviour. Luipo is also portrayed as someone who starts things, but does not finish them. Rudolph narrates condescendingly that the monastery was more like a collection of workshops than of buildings.<sup>121</sup> The worst accusation against Luipo, is that Rudolph doubts his calling and accuses him of simony.<sup>122</sup>

Luipo is not the only abbot whom Rudolph accuses of simony. The same goes for Herman 'the Bald' and Herman the Younger. The former Herman was the uncle of the second, and they were of noble birth. This is noteworthy, because Rudolph accuses all abbots of noble birth of simony. Possibly, noble lineage and wealth made an abbot more susceptible to nepotism and simony. These accusations might also have been a way for Rudolph to differentiate himself from his predecessors, because he was not of noble birth himself.

Rudolph tells us that he was unable to find anything in the character of Herman the Bald that was commendable or showed he was fit for the honourable task of being an abbot.<sup>123</sup> Under his guidance the finances of the monastery were a disaster to such an extent that at one point Herman had to sell his personal clothes to feed the monks.<sup>124</sup> Rudolph also writes about *miserum Herimanum* that he did not get the proper respect from the monks he was supposed to lead. All in all, Rudolph seems to think the first Herman was a pitiful character.

Rudolph considered Herman the Bald's nephew Herman the Younger a much more dangerous abbot. He describes him as a simple mind, patient in bearing injustice, but stubborn in plotting hidden revenge. Although he was raised in the monastery, he had little knowledge of

---

<sup>119</sup> GaT, IV, 52: 'Acer quidem erat constans que et intrepidus ad resistendum uiolentię aduocatorum, tamquam generose natus de libertate et familia Louaniensium'.

<sup>120</sup> GaT, IV, 51: 'Cultor tamen agrorum et nutritor pecorum habebatur strenuus'.

<sup>121</sup> GaT, IV, 51-52: 'Temporalia quidem in manibus eius prosperabantur, sed de tenenda aut emendanda religione pristina que morum fratrum qualitate, neque timor, neque respectus aliquis apud eos habebatur. De reparando monasterio et clauastro, quedam incipienti illi parum succedebat. Nam quod memoria dignum sit, nichil inde egi'.

<sup>122</sup> GaT, IV, 51: 'De quibus honestius est silere quam loqui.

Hoc tantum sufficiat et nimium sit dixisse, quia neque prius, neque tunc intelligere potuimus eum secundum Deum intrasse'.

<sup>123</sup> GaT, IV, 44: 'verum quidem ille scilicet Herimannus, non satis erat ad hunc honorem idoneus, utpote in quo de aliquibus virtutibus nichil didicimus, quod dignum alicuius memorię videatur, neque de secolari, neque de scientia litteralis'.

<sup>124</sup> GaT, IV, 49: 'interdum etiam uestimenta sua domesticis necessitatibus expedens'.

letters and had only knowledge of local church customs.<sup>125</sup> Rudolph came in direct conflict with Herman after the death of Theoderic, because they both were candidates for the abbacy. Rudolph discusses his struggle with Herman at length, and in book VII he relates the written objections monks read out loud to bishop Adalbero IV of Metz in opposition to Herman the Younger's abbacy. The first objection was that Herman lacked the proper knowledge of both the secular and the spiritual. Secondly, he was not the choice of the monks, and what was even worse, they wrote that the only reason Herman had become abbot was his endorsement by duke Godfrey of Bouillon. This was problematic because the monks thought a worldly leader should have no say in the appointment of a new abbot. Thirdly, Herman gave away property of the monastery and was unable to provide enough food and clothing for the monks. Fourthly, the bishops of both Liège and Trier objected to the abbacy of Herman. Fifthly, he had bought his abbacy and he had robbed and chastised monks who objected to his rule. Sixthly, he was not even consecrated a monk. And lastly, he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Liège. How could an excommunicate become abbot?<sup>126</sup> The list combines all the criticism that Rudolph had already expressed about other abbots that had succeeded Guntram, although Herman the Younger is the only one of whom it is mentioned that he was not even a monk himself. At an *audientia* in Liège with emperor Henry IV and the bishops of Metz and Liège present, Rudolph won the battle with Herman the Younger. The continuator mentions that Herman left St. Trond for a small deanery in St. Symphorien. He caused Rudolph no more trouble and later died due to pain in his groin.<sup>127</sup>

The abbot immediately preceding Rudolph was Theoderic. Theoderic was the abbot who had taken in Rudolph as a monk and given him his job as the schoolmaster of St. Trond. According to Book VI, Theoderic placed much trust in Rudolph. Rudolph praises Theoderic for being an excellent writer and an industrious builder. He was a *brevis sed pulchra persona* and had a beautiful singing voice.<sup>128</sup> He was raised in the monastery, but fled during the conflict between Lanzo and Luipo. Rudolph writes he did a great job rebuilding the monastery in the face of

---

<sup>125</sup> GaT, V, 53: 'simplex que sine prudentia, tacitus et patiens ad sufferendas iniurias [...] De liberali scientia insulsus, usu ecclesie suę tantum exercitatus'.

<sup>126</sup> GaT, VII, 90.

<sup>127</sup> GaT, X, 47: 'Qui uidelicet Herimannus ad Sanctum Symphorianum in silua supra Leodium iuxta Clarum Montem, sicut ante, se contulit, et ab inguine inferius graui infirmitate correptus, priuatus est omni gressu. Longo itaque cruciatu ibidem mortuus est et sepultus'. On the *audientia* in Liège, see: Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 144-146. Perhaps speculative, but it seems no coincidence that the continuator explicitly mentions Herman's groins as a cause of his death. Maybe the continuator wanted his readers to think Herman had used his groins for the 'wrong' things during life?

<sup>128</sup> GaT, V, 57: 'Hic si posset inde extrahi, idoneus illis uideretur ad regendum abbatiam, quoniam theutonica et gualonica lingua expeditus, liberalibus artibus egregie eruditus, in prosa et uersu nulli esset suo tempore secundus, dulci et altissima sonorus uocalitate, breuis sed pulchra persona, media que etate.

opposing forces.<sup>129</sup>

However, when Theoderic's death is narrated, Rudolph reveals in what manner he wants to distance himself from his predecessor. Theoderic is described as a kind and humorous man who was tolerant against bad behaviour.<sup>130</sup> In Book VIII the continuator explains why Theoderic had been so lenient. According to prominent members of St. Trond's *familia*, there had been too few monks in the monastery, so Theoderic was eager to invite new monks to St. Trond. Rudolph thought differently about this. He would rather have few monks that were pious than a large group that was licentious.<sup>131</sup> Rudolph himself wrote that he imposed measures upon the monastery that were supported by only a minority.<sup>132</sup> The image that Rodolph himself and the continuator try to create of Rodolph the abbot is one of somebody who does not do what is popular, but what is right.

The continuator stresses the qualities of Rudolph in Book VIII of the GaT, but most of these qualities were already pointed out by Rudolph himself in the first seven books. By discussing the abbots that came before him, Rudolph revealed much about how he saw his own abbacy. In Rudolph's view, a good abbot is elected by his fellow monks and should have enough support amongst them to be able to do his work properly. On the other hand, if need be a good abbot should not be afraid to take unpopular measures. A good abbot should be well trained in secular and religious learning, including canon law. Next to this, a good abbot should take good care of the secular belongings of the monks and provide them properly with food and clothing. Moreover, a good abbot should also be skilled in dealing with nobility, bishops and the people that surround him. In Rudolph's view a good monastery is a growing and thriving community. A good abbot therefore makes sure the monastery is in such a state that monks come flocking to the monastery instead of fleeing from it. Lastly, and most importantly, a good abbot ensures the spiritual well-being of the monastery. By inspiring his monks, by reform, and by being strict if necessary, a good abbot enables the monks to live a holy life.

---

<sup>129</sup> GaT, VI, ?? 'Studium et laborem eius circa emendandam ecclesiam nostram intus et foris, et quantum sub eo profecerit, longissimum esset enarrare, cum tamen nunquam defuissent interim ei tribulationes et persecutiones ab eis de quibus aliquid hic modo uolo referre'.

<sup>130</sup> GaT, VI, 25: 'fuerat enim erga eos lenissimi, affectus et grandis patientie, vultus hilaris et iocunde allocutionis malos equanimiter sciens tolerare, bonus amare et honorare'.

<sup>131</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'Ille [Rudolph] autem aiebat malle se cum paucis religiose uiuere quam cum multis irreligiose'.

<sup>132</sup> GaT, VI, 75: 'Ad quod peragendum quidam de fratribus, pauci tamen, instantissime eum perurgebant, plures autem grauissime inueteratas abusiones suas immutandas sibi ferebant, maxime uero qui apud nos de aliis claustris profugi confluxerant. Sed cum Dei adiutorio preualente meliori parte fratrum, licet minori, introducti sunt usus Cluniacensium in monasterium'.

### *The old and the young*

The Rule of St. Benedict states that once people have entered a monastery, there should be no difference between a freed man or a free born.<sup>133</sup> So, in theory at least, all monks were equal. Brothers received the same amount of food, the same clothes, and followed the same daily rhythm of prayer. The two main differentiations that could be made within the monastery therefore, were not wealth or birth, but age and competence. With competence, I mean the measure in which a person adhered to the rule and the capacity he had to fulfil certain functions within the monastery. For now, I will zoom in on the role of ‘age’ in the GaT.

When talking about age, it makes sense to make a distinction between ‘real’ age and the sense of belonging to a certain age group, a group with more or less the same ‘horizons of expectation’ within the monastery.<sup>134</sup> It is not always clear which age was meant exactly when the RB uses the words *puer* (boy) *iuuenis* and *iunior* (young man) *senior* (elder) and *senex* (man of old age) to differentiate age.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, my focus will lie on the social meaning of the words that Rudolph uses to talk about age in the Ga.T

The abbey of St. Trond had a school in which boys were educated. When Rudolph entered the monastery, he was at first schoolmaster of the students. The continuator writes that Rudolph taught them Latin so well that they were able to write poetry, while before they could not even correctly give the declension of *musca*.<sup>136</sup> Some of these boys were given to the monastery by their parents and were meant to stay in the monastery for the rest of their lives. Some, like Guntram, were educated to become priests.<sup>137</sup> Boys are frequently mentioned

---

<sup>133</sup> RB, II, 174: 'Non ab eo persona in monasterio discernatur. Non unus plus ametur quam alius, nisi quem in bonis actibus aut oboedientia inuenerit meliorem. Non conuertenti ex seruitio praeponatur ingenuus, nisi alia rationabilis causa existat. quod si ita, iustitia dictante, abbati uisum fuerit, et de cuiuslibet ordine id faciet. Sin alias, propria teneant loca, quia siue seruus, sive liber, omnes in christo unum sumus et sub uno domino aequalem seruitutis militiam baiulamus, quia non est apud deum personarum acceptio'.

<sup>134</sup> G. Signori, 'Generationskonflikte im Kloster. Gedanken zum Mit- und Nebeneinander von Jung und Alt in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenkonventen', in: S. Heusinger and A. Kehnel eds., *Generations in the Cloister: Youth and Age in Medieval Religious Life/ Generationen im Kloster: Jugend und Alter in der mittelalterlichen vita religiosa* (Mannheim 2008). See also: M. Miller, 'Experiencing age: the medieval body', in: *Medieval life: archeology and life course* (Woodbridge 2012) 32-67.

<sup>135</sup> G. Constable, 'Pueri and Seniores in Cluny', in: *The abbey of Cluny. A collection of essays to mark the eleven-hundredth birthday of its foundation* (Berlin 2010) 114: 'Even at Cluny, which has left a fuller series of customaries and charters than any other medieval monastery, it is impossible to say exactly who the *seniores* were and what they did'.

<sup>136</sup> GaT, VIII, 5: 'et pueros uix musam declinare sciolos, non tam dictamen quam metrum quoque componere docuit.

<sup>137</sup> GaT, I, 10: 'Post primum Adelardum successit Guntramnus, natus de Hasbania liberorum prosapia, innutritus cenobio nostro ab adolescentia, ibidem que ecclesiasticis adprime institutus officiis et regularibus disciplinis'.

throughout the GaT, but only in the role of students at the abbey's school.<sup>138</sup> While Rudolph wrote a letter on child oblation and the risk of simony in a letter written from St. Pantaleon to St. Trond in 1121,<sup>139</sup> there are only two stories of significance in the first thirteen books of GaT about *pueri*. As I already discussed in the first chapter, the continuator gives us a few details concerning the youth of Rudolph. Rudolph himself gives some biographical information on Abbot Guntram. Other than that, boys do not have a voice in Rudolph's work, nor are they the subject of any story in it.

The age categories *iuuenis* and *senior* play a far greater role in the GaT. In the Rule of Benedict these age categories are an important way to differentiate between the monks. Benedict gives seniors many mentor-like functions: they are to sleep among the younger monks to wake them at the appropriate time, they are to make sure that the younger ones do their chores, they are to eat with the younger monks to maintain discipline, and so on.<sup>140</sup> Although Benedict did not write it down explicitly, it is clear that he thought the young were most susceptible to sloth and other sins.

Rudolph follows the distinction of the RB between *iuuenis* and *senior* and elaborates on it. Guntram is described as having a '*forma elegantissima*' yet at the same time he was humble.<sup>141</sup> Rudolph writes that youthful beauty often leads to arrogance - which makes Guntram a positive exception. Elsewhere, Rudolph associates 'the younger' with having difficulty with discipline, being bored with religious exercise and prone to insolence.<sup>142</sup> In some cases, they even had a big mouth towards the abbot.<sup>143</sup> Not surprisingly, according to the continuator, the young had the most difficulties to leave behind the worldly life they had led before entering the monastery.<sup>144</sup> According to Rudolph, it was hard for them to refrain from contact with the world outside of the monastery; as a consequence, the young had the potential to destroy monastery life.<sup>145</sup>

However, with the Rule of Benedict in mind, Rudolph also saw the potential of the young to bring about change in the monastery. In the third chapter of the RB, which relates how an abbot should take counsel from his monks, Benedict writes that in important matters the

---

<sup>138</sup> On child oblation, see: M. de Jong, *In Samuel's image. Child oblation in the early medieval west* (Leiden 1995).

<sup>139</sup> Rudolph of St. Trond, *Epistula I*, in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013). On this letter, see: J. H. Lynch, *Simoniacal entry into religious life from 1000 to 1260: a social, economic, and legal study* (Ohio 1976).

<sup>140</sup> RB, XXII, 218, XLI, 240, XLVIII, 248-250.

<sup>141</sup> GaT, I, 16-17: *Erat ille primeua pube uernans, forma elegantissima [...] Hęc quę plerisque uagis iuuenibus superbiendi solent esse multe materies, pulcherrimus iuuenis tanto in se existimabat uenustiora fore, quanto humiliori exercebantur obędientia.*'

<sup>142</sup> GaT, II, 20: *iuniores uero tedio erat religio et disciplina odio*; GaT, II, 21: *'[...] et de iuuenum insolentia nec audere mutire*'.

<sup>143</sup> GaT, II, in ipsum quoque abbatem interdum indecenter proteruire

<sup>144</sup> GaT, II, 20: *'Hinc quosdam superbi sanguinis effrenabat tumida recordatio*'.

<sup>145</sup> GaT, II, 24: *'Quod que primum in anima monachi totius perditionis radicabile est seminarium, et supremum exterminandi ordinis uix que unquam euadendum excidium*'.

abbot should listen to the *iuniores*, because God often reveals to them what is best.<sup>146</sup> The moments where Rudolph lauds the youths for being industrious and zealous are exactly the moments in which the rule or customs in the monastery were changed. The first time he does so is when he writes about Guntram, who instructed the monks to follow the Rule of the royal monastery of Hersfeld.<sup>147</sup> The second time he praises the young is when the customs of Cluny were introduced into the monastery.<sup>148</sup> Rudolph undoubtedly wanted to portray these changes as very significant, because according to the GaT it was his idea to change the customs. The RB made it clear that at times of big change the support of youths was important, so what better way to underline the importance of the change of a Rule than to stress the fervour of the young? More so, because at the time when Rudolph, in the function of prior wanted to implement changes in the monastery, he was considered young himself. According to the continuator, the older monks at one time asked themselves why they should listen to the youthful impertinence of an outsider.<sup>149</sup> This is interesting, because Constable argues that abbots who got appointed at a young age are usually more powerful than abbots who got elected when they are old.<sup>150</sup> Although in the long run this is probably true - the longer someone rules, the more changes he can make -, this case shows that a young abbot could meet with resistance of 'the elder', who knew perfectly well how the monastery functioned and tried to maintain the *status quo*.

*Iuniores* are contrasted to *seniores* in the RB and the GaT. Elders play an important role in Rudolph's narrative in two ways. First, they are used in juxtaposition with youths. When Rudolph writes that youths under Adelardus II were bored with religious exercise, he contrasts this with the elders who wanted peace and quiet and were disturbed by noise.<sup>151</sup> When Rudolph introduces the music notation method of Guido of Arezzo in St. Trond, the continuator writes that the *seniores* were surprised by the young who could sing on sight melodies they had never heard before.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>146</sup> RB, III, 178-180: 'Ideo autem omnes ad consilium vocari diximus, quia sæpe iuniori Dominus revelat quod melius est'. In less important matters the abbot only needed to consult with elders.

<sup>147</sup> GaT, I, 13: 'mox qui dispersi fuerant monachis redeuntibus, nonnullus que ex seculo apud nos habitum uitam que mutantibus, florebat locus odorificentissime religiosorum canitie obedientium que iuuenum officiosa multitudine'.

<sup>148</sup> GaT, VI, 75: 'maxime iuuenibus nostris in eo laudabiliter'.

<sup>149</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'et alios hortabantur artificiosa adulatione, ut non acquiescerent iuuenili Rodulfi insolentię, maxime cum nunquam debuissent eum aliunde accitum sibi prefecisse'.

<sup>150</sup> Constable, 'Pueri and Seniores', 116. Constable argues that the younger an abbot is elected, the more powerful he usually is.

<sup>151</sup> GaT, II, 20: 'Quarum perstreptentium continua inquietatio magne fiebat molestię et ordinis impedimento senioribus solitis et uolentibus Deo seruire in quiete et silentio. Iuniores uero quibus tedio religio et disciplina odio, gratulabantur prius occulte hac quasi necessitate se magistrę regulę mandata preterire'.

<sup>152</sup> GaT, VIII, 5: 'Instruxit etiam eos arte musica secundum Guidonem, et primus illam in claustrum nostrum introduxit, stupentibus que senioribus, faciebat illos solo uisu subito cantare tacita arte magistra, quod numquam auditu didicerant'. On Rudolph, Guido of Arezzo, and local variation in monastic chant, see: M. Mostert, 'kennisoverdracht in het klooster. Over de plaats van lezen en schrijven in de vroegmiddeleeuwse monastieke



Secondly, Rudolph uses 'elders' as witnesses of a more illustrious and virtuous past. For instance, when Rudolph commends Gerardus the provost for the position of abbot after the death of Adelardus II, he writes that Gerardus was one of the last monks who was raised under the abbacy of Guntram.<sup>153</sup> More importantly, when Rudolph wanted to solve the matter of what was the appropriate way to dress for the monks, he asked an old monk (Stepelinus) how monks had clothed themselves in the past. Stepelinus described the way monks had dressed while he was young and he adds that, in his own youth, he had known monks, who were at least his own current age. Stepelinus was probably eighty years old when this occurred. This means that Rudolph was able to recall history until 150 years back in time through oral testimony. So in this case, Rudolph uses 'the old' as a claim to authority.<sup>154</sup>

Moreover, Rudolph presents the past as an ideal, as something to return to. When Rudolph was appointed prior, he talked to the elders and asked them what rule the monks used to have in the past and the way the rule had been applied.<sup>155</sup> His first actions as a prior were to find out how religious exercise had been carried out before St. Trond's troubled times. It seems that, as a youngster, Rudolph wanted to broaden the basis of his authority by affiliating himself with the seniors in his monastery and the way they perceived ideal monastic life.

The word *senex* is used in a different way in the GaT than the word *senior*.<sup>156</sup> Whereas a senior is somebody who knows how things are done, *senex* is reserved for 'an old man'. It is telling how Rudolph portrays the attitude of the old (*senibus*) and boys (*puerorum*) towards a new rule in the monastery. The old accepted the new rule peacefully and *silentio mente pacifica*. The boys did not resist the measures too much.<sup>157</sup> Rudolph is aware of the advantages of old age when he writes about Adelardus II that he was of such an age, that he would not be suspected of certain

---

opvoeding', in: R.E.V. Stuip and C. Vellekoop eds., *Scholing in de middeleeuwen* (Hilversum 1995) 87-126; M. Mostert, 'Orality, non-written communication and monastic studies', in: S. Vanderputten ed., *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication (Western Europe, 10-13th centuries)* (Turnhout 2011) 367-388.

<sup>153</sup> GaT, II, 24: 'nomine Gerardus, ex discipulis Guntramni abbatis superstitem adhuc unus'.

<sup>154</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'Nam ueniens ad unum de senioribus, fratrem nomine Stepelinum, interrogauit eum quot anni haberentur ex quo puer claustrum nostrum prius intrasset.

Qui cum respondisset "pene LXXXta", querenti illi ita ab eo subiunxit quoque se in pueritia sua seniores in claustrum nostro uidisse, qui non minoris, quin immo maioris etatis extiterint quam esset ipse. Sed cum senior illum interrogaret cur tam diligenter hoc quereret, adiunxit: "Quoniam, inquit, pater, uellem scire si de tam longo tempore, centum scilicet LX annorum, de quibus tu potes meminisse, siue relatu eorum quos uidisti octogenarios, siue uisu tuo, cum sis ipse octogenarius in claustrum isto hodie, si umquam ullomodo potes meminisse hanc consuetudinem ab antiquo in ecclesia ista fuisse, ut fratres non haberent capitia a tunicis suis pendentia, sicut non habent hodie alia cenobia religiose circa nos uiuentia."

<sup>155</sup> GaT, VIII, 6: 'Qui statim accingens se ad emendationem ordinis cotidie in capitulo et extra capitulum conferebat cum senioribus, qualis et quomodo antiquitus ordo in monasterio priori et claustrum adhuc stante teneretur'.

<sup>156</sup> For a general study on old age in the middle ages, see: S. Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: Winter Clothes Us in Shadow and Pain* (London 2004).

<sup>157</sup> GaT, VI, 75: 'senibus cum silentio mente pacifica acquiescentibus, scholarum pueris sine graui iugo cotidiana exercitatione disciplinam exhibentibus'.

behaviour in his private life.<sup>158</sup> This was probably considered a plus for monks, for whom the struggle with the denouncing of sexuality must have been an issue also in the twelfth century. A *mens pacifica* also made old men fit for certain jobs. The RB states that the porter of the monastery should be an old man, someone who does not stray and knows which answers to give.<sup>159</sup> However, according to the continuator, old age does also disqualify for certain positions. He narrates that in Rudolph's youth, when the abbot of Burtscheid named Azelinus died, the monks chose a bad new abbot. He was a poor choice precisely because he was very old.<sup>160</sup>

When Rudolph became abbot, he was not yet considered an old man. In the GaT, he uses the conventions that surround age laid down in the RB. The young should in principle listen to what elders have to say to them and learn from this. However, at times the young are the motor of change because of their enthusiasm and zeal. So, when Rudolph portrays himself as a reformer, he uses 'youth' to bring about change. When talking about restoration of the monastery, Rudolph uses seniority and historicity to give his claims extra strength.

### *Inside out: the monastic space of St. Trond*

In Book I of the GaT, Rudolph tells a story about Guntram who, as a young man, was taken to Stavelot by Poppo I, the reformist abbot. When they arrived at the abbey, Poppo commanded Guntram to sleep in the gatehouse for a night with the servants to teach him humility. Guntram did not protest, and the porter was amazed by Guntram's pious and humble behaviour.

It is no coincidence that Rudolph tells this story about the abbot he held in the greatest esteem. Staying in the gatehouse as a guest before being admitted in the monastery is prescribed in the RB. Entering the sacred space of the monastery was not for everybody, but only for those 'of God'.<sup>161</sup> Once a novice had become a monk, the RB provided rules for monks who needed to leave the monastery. Before and after a monk's journey his brothers had to pray for him. Monks were by no means allowed to talk about what they had witnessed outside the walls of the

---

<sup>158</sup> GaT, I, 12: 'Nam licet canis toto albicaret capite, et in senium uergens omnem emulis uideretur tollere suspitionem familiaris uite sue, tamen apud eum non penitus habebatur acceptus'.

<sup>159</sup> RB, LXVI, 286-288.

<sup>160</sup> GaT, VIII, 'Mortuo interea abbate Azelino, cuius nimia simplicitas et grauis senectus et ordinem et temporale bonum nimis defluere nescientis melius dimiserat, successit Iohannes custos et decanus eiusdem cenobii, senex multum et in nullo prorsus ualens ad tale ministerium. Nam fratres secundum quod erant, personam sibi idoneam elegerant'.

<sup>161</sup> RB, LVIII, 266: 'Noviter ueniens quis ad conservationem, non ei facilis tribuatur ingressus, sed sicut ait apostolus: *probate spiritus si ex deo sunt* (1 Jn 4:1)'.

abbey.<sup>162</sup> Based on the amount of travelling that is described in the GaT, the question is justified how literal the prescriptive RB was followed in St. Trond. What is clear however, is that both the GaT and the RB are written from the viewpoint that there should be a strict divide between the sacred space of the monastery and the outside world.

At the start of Book II, Rudolph compares the tragedies that occurred in St. Trond to the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem during the rule of Titus and Vespasianus. Or, even worse, to a Babylonian abandonment.<sup>163</sup> The historian Steffen Patzold has called this comparison an exaggeration.<sup>164</sup> While in a literal sense Patzold is probably right, he ignores the reason why Rudolph chose the words he used: monasteries were supposed to be signposts of 'heaven on earth' and to provide a glimpse of the kingdom of God.<sup>165</sup> By taking vows (*conversio*) and by entering the space of the monastery (*claustrum*), monks secluded themselves from the world both physically as mentally.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, the monastery was supposed to be a holy Jerusalem, while the outside world was compared to a worldly Babylon. Rudolph wanted to stress that through the events that unfolded after the death of Adelardus II, the monastery fell into 'the deepest abyss' and became Babylon.<sup>167</sup> Even though this thesis is not focussed on architecture, it is useful to discuss how Rudolph writes about the physical 'inside' and 'outside' of the monastery, because both this perceived downfall of St. Trond and his intended restoration of the monastery were tied up with it.

How deep did Rudolph think the abyss was? Rudolph paints a vivid picture of the monastery in 1099. Most troubling was the absence of physical boundaries that fenced of the monastery from the outside world. This meant that women and men could easily walk in and out of the monastery, and this resulted in monks chatting with lay people until after midnight.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> RB, LXVII, 288: 'Nec praesumat quisquam referre alio quaecumque foris monasterium viderit aut audierit, quia plurima destructio est'.

<sup>163</sup> GaT, II, 19: [...] qualia non sunt audita in toto unquam mundo ab illo famoso Tito et Vespasiano Iherosolimorum excedio; GaT, VI, 62: Vir autem bonus, scilicet domnus abbas Theodericus, noviter Iherosolimiticam, nescio an magis Babylonicam desolationem ingressus, cum omnia simul invenisset corruiisse, omnia simul et de repente non poterat erigere.

<sup>164</sup> S. Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 126.

<sup>165</sup> G. Melville, 'Inside and outside. Some considerations about cloistral boundaries in the central middle ages', in: B. Meijns and S. vanderPutten eds., *Ecclesia in medio nationis: reflections on the study of monasticism in the central middle ages* (Louvain 2011) 167. See also: J. Sonntag, *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften. Symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit* (Berlin 2008) 165-168; M. Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic spaces and their meanings. Thirteenth-century English Cistercian monasteries* (Turnhout 2001).

<sup>166</sup> RB, LXVI, 288: The RB prescribes that water, the mill and the garden should be enclosed in the monastery, because it is a bad idea for a monk to leave the monastery.

<sup>167</sup> Rudolph makes the comparison between St. Trond and the fall of Jerusalem also in his letter of 1136 to the Bishop of Metz, see: Giselbert of St. Trond and Rudolph of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium VIII-XIII. Liber IX opus intextum Rodulphi Trudonensis*, CCCM 257A (Turnhout 2013) 19.

<sup>168</sup> GaT, VI, 62: Transitus tritus sexus utriusque erat, plurimum uero ad missas mane per eum locum quem tunc appellabamus et nunc habemus conuentum, et frequens in eo cum fratribus fabulosum que laicorum et clericorum usque in noctem colloquium.

Knights who visited the monastery drove up until the refectory before dismounting from their horse and failed to show any respect for the sacred places of the monastery.<sup>169</sup> Even animals could walk in and out unguarded.<sup>170</sup> Next to this, roofs were leaking and most of the rooms lacked lighting during the night. This meant that monks had to walk in darkness to matins. Snow covered their bed during winter, and when they went to prayer they had to lock up spoons and plates, because cutlery and clothes were often stolen by thieves.<sup>171</sup> Rudolph writes that it was so dark in the monastery that monks did not dare to relieve themselves at night, as they were afraid of the dark and the muddy roads.<sup>172</sup>

For Rudolph, the failure to separate the monastery from the outside world had started during the abbacy of Adelardus II, because of the large groups of pilgrims that had flocked to St. Trond in the hope to get cured. He wrote that it looked as if St. Trond and its surrounding town laid under siege, because of the tents that were pitched in a circle around the city as far as half a mile away. So many people of all ranks and of both sexes came flocking to St. Trond that the city could barely provide for them.<sup>173</sup> Because of this racket and chaos in the city it had been difficult for Adelardus to maintain control over his monks, who intermingled with laity and were lax in religious exercise.

The most visible outward symbol of the monastery was the tower that was built during the abbacy of Guntram. At first, Rudolph is quite positive about this tower, because it made visitors look up in awe to the monastery. Rudolph writes that, although the city had no walls at the time of Guntram, the sight of the tower and the name of Trudo were enough to make potential enemies turn around.<sup>174</sup> Later however, when decline set in under Adelardus II and war broke out, he sees the tower in a new way. Rudolph mentions that the tower was more befitting a 'war-crazed city or a king's castle'.<sup>175</sup> The tower became a symbol of how monastic space had

---

<sup>169</sup> GaT, VI, 62: *Milites usque ad ostium refectorii siue ad medium conuentus equitantes, ibi descendebant, nullam que reuerentiam, non dicam monachis, sed ipsis quoque sanctis locis exhibere usque ad noctis medium curabant.*

<sup>170</sup> GaT, VI, 61: *'nichil que obstaculi quo prohiberetur quoduis animal accedere'.*

<sup>171</sup> GaT, VI, 62: *In refectorio autem post se in muro fenestulas diligenter seratas habebant, recondentes in eis mappulas suas, cultellos, ciphos, et que supererant eis de mensa, quia non habebant quibus necessitatibus suis succurrerent nisi ex ea substantia que aut supererat aut quam ori suo subtrahebant.*

<sup>172</sup> GaT, VI, 61: *'Infra matutinos siquis fratrum aut puerorum uolebat aliquando exire ad necessaria nature, dum timeret tenebrarum horrorem longi que itineris luteam difficultatem, magnam interim sustinebat naturalis necessitatis iniuriam'.*

<sup>173</sup> GaT, I, [...] *ut multitudinem peregrinorum non solum templi ambitus, sed et ipse quoque totus oppidi nostri locus ferre minime posset. Namque ad oppido nostro pene usque ad dimidium miliare per omnes in circuitu populares vias ad nos se dirigentes, necnon ad per campos atque per prata, tantus peregrinorum cetus nobilium videlicet liberorum que atque popularium sexus utriusque'.*

<sup>174</sup> GaT, I, 16: *'ex eo loco cessarent eos inimici eorum insequi, quo primum poterat altior pars turris monasterii nostri videri'.*

<sup>175</sup> GaT, III, 35: *'qualem non deceret tunc temporis habere monasterium, sed ciuitatem bellicosissimam aut castellum regium'.*

been defiled by outsiders. The church tower had become a 'den of robbers'<sup>176</sup>. This is a rhetorical strategy Rudolph employs more often. He contrasts what the monastic space ought to be like to what it had become. I already mentioned the comparison with Jerusalem and Babylon. When Rudolph relates this attack on the church by soldiers, he writes that not only the floors and the walls were covered in blood, but that human blood even touched the graves of St. Trudo and St. Eucherius.<sup>177</sup> After the battle had finished Rudolph describes the state of the monastery as follows:

*There was no one left in our monastery, no boy, no young man, no old man, no monk [...] The walls of the monastery were naked and half destroyed; a fearful loneliness inhabited the place day and night. Even for enemies the miserable sight of this once so glorious house was sad. Where once the choir sounded sweetly during vespers, the hours of night, and matins, now the screeching of bats and the ominous singing of owls could be heard.*<sup>178</sup>

Once again, Rudolph contrasts the way the monastery ought to be with what it had become, by comparing beautifully sung vespers to the screeching of owls, former glory with destruction, and a thriving community with desolation.

This was the monastery Theoderic encountered when he was summoned from Ghent in 1099 to become abbot. In Book, Rudolph discusses the building projects Theoderic undertook. The continuator complements this information in Book VIII by adding the contributions Rudolph made to building efforts while he was prior under Theoderic. Rudolph and the continuator give three reasons why these restoration campaigns were undertaken.

First, Rudolph and the continuator write extensively about Theoderic's efforts to buy liturgical items to be used during prayer and his efforts to restore the church and chapel. Rudolph explicitly states that the decay in religious exercise was due to the lack of a place where the monks could come together for prayer.<sup>179</sup> Theoderic built a new main altar in 1102, dedicated to St. Stephen (patron saint of Metz), where prayers could again be held. Rudolph also adds a list

---

<sup>176</sup> GaT, III, 33: 'fiebatur militum presidium, quin immo spelunca latronum et sacrilegorum refugium!'

<sup>177</sup> GaT, III, 37: 'humano aspergerentur sanguine, sed ipsa quoque altaria sanctorum que Trudonis et Eucherii sepulchra auulsarum intestinalium heu heu polluerentur stercore!'

<sup>178</sup> GaT, III, 39: 'Cumque in monasterio nostro nec puer, nec iuuenis, nec senex, nec quisquam monachorum horis necnon nocturnis et matutinalibus pro dulci quondam psallentium monachorum choro, stridores tantum in ea audire vespertilionum, et male ominatos cantus ulularum. tandem remansisset, nudosque et semirutos monasterii et claustrii parietes solitudo cum nimio horrore nocte et die inhabitaret, erat nimis miserabile et gemituosum etiam inimicis de tam gloriosa quondam domo faciem tam tristem, tam lugubrem tamque horribilem aspicere, vespertinisque.'

<sup>179</sup> GaT, VI, 60: 'cum augmento leticie cepit et religio augmentari et fratrum numerus aliquantulum crescere!'

of all the items Theoderic apparently bought with his own funds to be used in services, such as an altar cloth, a copper censer, various chalices and so on.<sup>180</sup>

Secondly, Theoderic and Rudolph tried to improve the standard of living for the monks. It is striking that Rudolph devotes a paragraph on darkness within the monastery. This is not so outlandish if you imagine that monks had to go to prayer during the night. Theoderic made efforts to ensure that the dormitory, the infirmary, the abbot's place, the crypt and the altar were lit during the night. Correctly lighting the monastery also had a more symbolic function. A lit monastery meant a monastery that could be a 'light in this world'. The quotation above describes the somber, dark and abandoned state of the monastery. A properly lit monastery is a way to bring about the exact opposite. According to Rudolph, appropriate housing was essential in a monastery, because without it a monk cannot do his job properly. The continuator adds that Folkard, who oversaw secular matters under Theoderic, upon advice of Rudolph, constructed a new wooden chapterhouse and dormitory.

Folkard also built roofed cloisters which connected the buildings. The continuator adds that only on the north side of the monastery a hedge remained that functioned as a fence. This fencing off the monks from the outside world formed a third important reason for Theoderic's building projects. Folkard's fence had a gate with a lock to which only the cellarer and the prior had a key. The continuator clearly narrates the twofold function of the fence. On the one hand, it ensured that the monks were not able to leave the monastery. On the other, it prevented unwanted guests of both sexes from entering.<sup>181</sup> The continuator relates another story in which separating the cloister from the world is the central theme. As discussed above, the abbey's school trained both future monks and future priests. It was a custom in St. Trond that at the year feasts of Trudo the priests, who had studied at the monastery's school, joined the monks for prayer and singing wearing white albs. After dinner, the priests would join the monks for a meal. At the same time the servants of the priests joined the servants of the monks for a meal in their refectory. According to the continuator, Rudolph thought this solemn occasion had turned into debauchery. Rudolph tried not to offend the priests, by arranging a tent outside the refectory for them. These measures however, were very unpopular. Every year, the situation became tense because the priests wanted their old rights back.<sup>182</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> GaT, VI, 63-64.

<sup>181</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'ola pars aquilonaris sepe adhuc tenebatur et postitio claudebatur.

Cum que hac conclusionem et fratres arceret ab egressu claustrum, preter eos quibus hoc solum licebat, et utrumque sexum ab ingressu, unam que ipse inde ferret clauim, cellerarius aliam'. The continuator writes prior, while it is more likely that Rudolph was called deacon at that moment in time, because the customs of Cluny had not yet been introduced in St. Trond.

<sup>182</sup> GaT, VIII, 13: 'Res uero talis multum odium et persecutionem longo tempore tam de laicis quam de clericis priori conspirauit, semper festis istis diebus apud conuenientes ad nundinas presbiteros morbum istum recommouentibus'.

Fences have the potential to change the lives of people on either side of it. Old rights were also at stake for Gertrudis, the wife of Gislebert of Duras, the *advocatus* of St. Trond. Before the fence was built, Gertrudis would visit the monastery and have friendly talks with the monks. After Rudolph's interventions, these visits were over, and the continuator tells us that both Gertrudis and the servants cursed and shouted their objections to Rudolph, who staunchly maintained the newly imposed measures. A consequence of the fence for the monks was that they had to spend their time within the monastery. The continuator writes that Rudolph was aware of this and wanted to help the monks by providing them with books as a pastime and with religious exercise.<sup>183</sup>

Fencing the monastery from the outside world and the endless efforts of abbots to improve the state of their monastery were essentially efforts to create 'heaven on earth'. More than once however, earthly reality conflicted with these efforts. To end this paragraph I would like to point out to the response of the monks when their grounds were 'contaminated'. On several occasions, Rudolph discusses situations in which the monastery temporarily had to endure an abbot of whom the bishop of Liège disapproved. In those cases, the monks refrained from divine service altogether and no church bells were rung.<sup>184</sup> In the case of Herman the Younger, who opposed Rudolph for the abbacy, Rudolph even uses 'the pest' as a metaphor, to make clear to his readers that the sacred space of the monastery was infected by the mere presence of Herman.<sup>185</sup> This meant that the monastery could not fulfil its duties towards the community of St. Trond, which in turn could lead to fierce discussions between the *familia* of St. Trond and the monks of the abbey. In Book XI, Rudolph refuses to bury the son of a local noble woman, because at that time the monks refrained from divine service. The stubborn behaviour of Rudolph wanting to keep his monastery 'pure', eventually lead to his expulsion to St. Pantaleon in 1121.<sup>186</sup>

---

<sup>183</sup> GaT, VIII, 15: 'Vt igitur secundum ordinem fratres haberent, unde in claustrum ad sedendum et legendum atque cantandum tenendum que silentium facilius retinerentur, armarium in claustrum primus ipse fecit ex obedientia sua fieri libros que in eo ad numerum fratrum reponi'. On the exclusion of women from the monastic space, see: J. T. Schulenburg, 'Gender, celibacy, and proscriptions of sacred space: symbol and practice', in: M. Frassetto ed., *Medieval purity and piety* (New York 1998) 353-376.

<sup>184</sup> GaT, V, 55: 'At fratres tanta unanimitate et constantia spreuerunt eum [Herman the Younger], ut neque signum pulsare, neque diuinum officium facere uellent, quamdiu eum sciebant esse intra septa monasterii nostri aut atrii.

<sup>185</sup> GaT, VI, 71: 'Qua peste eliminata sentina que eicta de nauis nostre ecclesie, mox quia erat hora tertia sonuit, et post tot luctuosos dies quibus chorus noster siluerat, nos iam posse licenter diuinis ora aperire laudibus, grandis leticia fuit'.

<sup>186</sup> GaT, XI, 59.

*Feed the hungry, clothe the naked*

*If you would have been present, you could have witnessed how foolish Herman was, how shameless, how dull-witted. Because his counsellors, who were far from him at this time, had caused him, in the heart of winter, not to have a thick mantle to protect himself from the cold. Instead, forced by the cold, he appeared at the meeting with these important people wearing the very cheap mantle which he usually wore when he went out riding.<sup>187</sup>*

The above quotation is part of the story in which Rodolph narrates his fight with Herman the Younger over the abbacy of St. Trond. This particular scene describes the moment in which both Herman and Rudolph appear at an *audientia* before emperor Henry V, who is asked to judge the matter. As I have discussed above, Rudolph had made abundantly clear why Herman was unfit to be abbot. Herman had been accused of simony, he was not even a monk or priest, he was unschooled, and so on. Yet, as Rudolph narrates here, it was not primarily simony or lack in the knowledge of letters that made Rudolph win the case. Herman failed to show up in the appropriate dress at a crucial moment, and therefore he did not perform his role as abbot correctly. Because of this, the nobles at court, and principally chancellor Adalbert (the later Archbishop of Mainz, d. 1137) who had previously supported Herman's claim, refused to speak on behalf of Herman.<sup>188</sup> Herman was forced to lie down in front of the emperor and acknowledge that he had sinned and had unrightfully claimed the seat of abbot.<sup>189</sup>

Clothing and food play an important role in the GaT on different levels. Food obviously was important in a monastery, where a large number of people had to be fed every day. In Book I of the GaT Rudolph gives a summary of a report made up in 870 by delegates from Bishop Adventius of Metz, in which they summed up the goods in St. Trond. Rudolph first mentions the treasures the monastery possessed, but follows immediately by specifying what food the monastery provisioned for the monks. It mentions for instance, the bread they received, how

---

<sup>187</sup> GaT, VII, 93. *Ibi si adesses, posses uidisse quam parui homo erat consilii, quam inuerecundi animi, quam hebetis ingenii. Nam inter cetera eo usque perduxerant eum sui consilarii, qui tunc procul ualde ab eo erant, quod in ipsa hieme uix habebat, unde uel frigus a se grosso aliquo tegumento propelleret, in medio tanti conuentus necessitate urentis eum frigoris super tunicellam suam indutus uilissimam cappulam cum qua equitabat.*

<sup>188</sup> G.M. von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V, sechster Band: 1106-1122* (Leipzig 1907) 71.

<sup>189</sup> GaT, VII, 94: 'Ut regressus in medio omnium se peccasse, se errasse fateretur, et toto corpore prostratus absolutionem deprecaretur, promittens se amplius talia nolle committere. Vbi et absolutus est et iussus abire'.



many pigs belonged to the monastery, how many salt the monks could use, and so on.<sup>190</sup>

Interestingly, the continuator refers to the report by the delegates of Metz in Book XIII, the last book of the GaT's first continuation. He writes that the report of 870 on the monk's prebend was not complete, and therefore Book XIII is an extensive report of what the monks ate during the year, and what clothes they were entitled to. The continuator also details what dependent villages in various regions were responsible for which food during the year. We learn that the Teisterbant region was responsible for delivering fish, and that the monks had serious complaints about how fresh the fish was.<sup>191</sup> The monks sometimes ate beef, they had vegetables everyday, mostly prepared with lard, they often received eggs, bread and so on.<sup>192</sup> Book XIII also details which clothes the monks were provided with. In line with the prescriptions in the RB they received a new mantle, two woolen shirts, new boots, shirts, two pairs of sandals, four pairs of gaiters, a tunic and a scapular yearly. Pants, socks and 'the rest' were handed out as they were needed.<sup>193</sup>

Rudolph is quite explicit about the necessity of good food in a monastery. In Book V he writes that there was almost no religious exercise in St. Trond. According to Rudolph, this should not surprise the reader, because the monks had trouble with getting enough food and clothing.<sup>194</sup> A filled belly and proper clothing are a prerequisite for proper religious exercise. It was the abbot's duty to make sure there was enough food and drink in the monastery. In one anecdote, Rudolph makes clear what the consequences could be for the abbot's authority if he did not. Herman the Bald had to sell his own property to provide food and clothing for his monks. This is an important remark, as it shows that, in line with the biblical good works in Matthew 25:35-36, the abbot had the duty to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. When Herman was unable to provide wine for one of his monks, this monk angrily went up the house of the abbot, started to bang on the door, and wanted to fight the abbot for not providing what

---

<sup>190</sup> GaT, I, 8: 'Habent ipsi fratres ad proprium usum deputatam speltam, ad panem faciendum corbos CXX, quod colligitur ad modios mille DC. Ad ceruisam faciendam ordei corbos C XC IIos, quod colligitur ad modios mille DCCCC XX. Sunt simul inter speltam et ordeum corbi CCCXII, quod colligitur ad modios III milia DXX. Porcos saginatos XV. Leguminis modios LX. Salis modios uiginti quatuor.'

<sup>191</sup> GaT, XIII, 85: 'Quia uero iugis et antiqua querela semper erat de piscibus inter nos, qui de Teisterbant adducebantur, eoquod aut nimis essent salsi aut interdum putidi et putridi, aliquando etiam quia nec qualescumque poterant propter hiemem inueniri, et unius rei cotidiano usu XXXX fratres fastidio grauiter afficiebantur'.

<sup>192</sup> GaT, XIII, 85-87. See, J. Sonntag, 'Speisen des Himmels. Essgewohnheiten und ihre biblischen Konzeptionalisierung im christlichen Kloster des Hochmittelalters zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit', in *Saeculum* 60:2 (2010) 259-276.

<sup>193</sup> GaT, XIII, 88: 'Habebant fratres ad uestimenta sua singuli in anno singulas pellicias nouas, IIas stamineas nouas, coturnos nouos, IIIor calceos nouos, nocturnales et diurnales, et portionem magnam unde ungebantur, et inter duas uices octo pedules, cucullam et tunicam, brachas et caligas et cetera, quotiens et quando indigebant'.

<sup>194</sup> GaT, V, 56: 'Nullus apud eos ordo, nulla religio, utpote qui uictus et uestitus | necessitate afflictus, fame et frigore pene interibant, et qui neque claustrales officinas habebant, quibus suas necessitates occultarent'.

was owed to him.<sup>195</sup> It is not surprising that Rudolph placed so much importance on the way abbots dealt with the worldly goods of the monastery.

The quotation at the beginning of this chapter shows that clothes were not only meant to keep the monks warm. They had a symbolic function as well.<sup>196</sup> Not every occasion called for the same type of clothing. When Herman the Younger went out riding he could make do with wearing a cheap mantle. When appearing before the emperor however, clothing that befitted the status of an abbot of a venerable monastery was of the utmost importance. And this story is not the only moment in the GaT in which the symbolic value of clothes is mentioned. I already wrote that Guntram was allowed by the bishop to conduct the choir of Liège wearing 'all his signs of honour'.<sup>197</sup> Rudolph wrote this between sixty and eighty years after the fact. It therefore must have been a story told to Rudolph by his fellow monks or a story written down in another, now lost, source. In any case Rudolph thought this detail important enough to write it down in the GaT. Most likely Rudolph thought that these outward symbols were signs of the inner quality of the wearer. In other words, the fact that Guntram was allowed to wear the signs of his official honour in Liège, and conduct the choir while wearing them, actually made him honourable. In the same vain, Herman was a fool because he dressed like a fool.

Outward symbols reflecting an inner state were not reserved solely to religious leaders. In Book IV, Rudolph tells us how Otto of Diest in 1087 robbed the monastery. In an effort to return those belongings, Rudolph writes how the bishop of Liège, in cooperation with the monks of St. Trond tried to retrieve the goods by organising a procession with the relics of St. Remigius and St. Trudo to Webbekom, one of the villages that Otto had disowned. According to Rudolph, the villagers wore wool clothes, went barefoot, and were poorly dressed. In this attire, they followed the relics while lamenting.<sup>198</sup> The way this paragraph is phrased, it seems that the villagers intentionally dressed 'poorly' to underline the bereft state they were in. Outward signs were used to reflect and reinforce their condition. Seen in this light, it is not surprising that Rudolph uses 'nakedness' to describe the state of the monastery before Theoderic was invited to become abbot in St. Trond. In Book V Rudolph writes that the monks were hungry and

---

<sup>195</sup> GaT, IV, 48: 'Contigit ergo quadam die pro una mensura uini nescio uel medonis uni fratrum deficiente, ut ad cellam eius ruerent, et nisi declinasset procacibus affectum conuiciis, male quoque eum multassent!'

<sup>196</sup> Introduction on Medieval dress and symbolism of liturgical dress in: M. Miller, *Clothing the clergy. Virtue and power in Medieval Europe c. 800-1200* (Ithaca 2014). See also: R. Gilchrist, 'Age, sexuality and transitional rights', in: *Medieval life: archeology and life course* (Woodbridge 2012) 68-113, especially 98-113. More general, see: D.G. Koslin and J. E. Snyder eds., *Encountering medieval textiles and dress. Objects, texts, images* (New York 2002).

<sup>197</sup> GaT, I, 14: 'ut summis eius sollempnitatibus, indutus honorificentissime chorum medius cantorum regeret.

<sup>198</sup> GaT, IV, 48: 'Qui uero ad Guebechem et ad alias uillas nostras pertinebant quas Otto sibi usurpauerat, nudati pedes, laneis que induti, miserabili cultu, maximo que eiulatu, ex altera parte fluminis sanctis nostris occurrerunt, ita ut ipsum etiam episcopum compungerent ad lamentum!'

'disgracefully naked'.<sup>199</sup>

The story about Herman wearing a cheap mantle makes clear the danger that comes with not wearing the appropriate dress. There are other points in the GaT in which disrespectful or disgraceful clothing is mentioned. In the previous paragraph, I have already discussed the festivities that used to take place on the feastdays of Trudo, Eucherius and Remigius. According to the continuator, neighbouring priests showed up in St. Trond wearing clothes of the laity like garments that were cut out at the front or at the back.<sup>200</sup> Here, the dress of the priests reveals what they were: unruly and unreligious. Rudolph changed the requirements for the priests to join the monks in the choir. They had to wear appropriate albs. According to the continuator, the priests did not come back the ensuing years, because the conditions of their privilege were changed.<sup>201</sup>

Rudolph was also worried about the correct dress of his own monks. When he was prior, he made changes to their costume. This famous episode is known in German historiography as the *Trachtenreform*. The episode has often been analysed along the line of Cluniac reform at the turn of the 11th century.<sup>202</sup> This discussion will be central in the next paragraph. For now, I will focus on the question what bothered Rudolph so much, and how he resolved the matter. According to the continuator, Rudolph noticed that some of the monks attached caps to their tunics, so that they either wore a tunic with cap, or a scapular with cap. This 'recent fashion' had started during the reign of Adelardus II.<sup>203</sup> Wearing these clothes gave the monks the nickname 'regular monks' which troubled Rudolph, especially because they could change this without any physical effort.<sup>204</sup> He wanted to return to the situation in which only the scapular had a cap and the monks wore both a tunic and scapular. The main reason for Rudolph to change back to this way of dress, was that the surrounding monasteries which Rudolph admired, also wore their clothes this way. He wanted St. Trond to match these monasteries in dress and thus in religiosity.

When Rudolph got permission from his abbot Theoderic to enforce the former way of

---

<sup>199</sup> GaT, V, 54: 'nudi turpiter et famelici intolerabiliter'.

<sup>200</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'ad maiorem missam sine omni reuerentia ruerent, nonnulli uestibus laicorum fissis que ante et retro turpiter induti, paucissimi saltem nigris cappis et absque albis et superpellicis'.

<sup>201</sup> GaT, VIII, 13: 'Non enim fratres ferre poterant, neque decebat eorum ordinem, ut tantam haberent et in choro et in refectorio suo indiscipline et inquietudinem. At illi omnes grauiter commoti, et indignationis irę que plenitudine rationem non admittentes, penitus recesserunt, et nisi prior eis abusus permitteretur, nichil aliud facere uoluerunt'.

<sup>202</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 712-715; Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 200-210.

<sup>203</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'sed inualescente sub abbate Adelardo secundo, iuuenum indiscipline et insolentia, presumpsisse eos hoc nouissimo tempore hanc abusionem, ut ad utrasque uestes capitia fixa ferrent, seniores tamen semper tenuisse primam et antiquam consuetudinem'.

<sup>204</sup> GaT, VIII, 8: 'Et quia talis abusus ab illis tantum tenebatur, qui irreligiositate notabiles habitus seculares quoque monachi appellabantur, dolebat multum Rodulfus hac nota se | et fratres suos teneri, quod absque aliqua corporis afflictione poterat emendari'.

dressing in St. Trond, he was opposed by a monk who refused to cut off the cap from his tunic. Rudolph took the tunic of monk, and went to the monastery's tailor who removed the cap. When the monk found the altered tunic, he went to church wearing it without a scapular, and thus without a cap, defying Rudolph. In the chapter, he was forced to go and wear his scapular, but he sought revenge. When Rudolph was sleeping, he cut off the cap of Rudolph's scapular. When Rudolph awoke, he noticed that he no longer had a cap and while he was needed in church, he did not dare to go there bareheaded, because he would look like a fool. Eventually Rudolph arranged a new tunic so he could attend the services.

Telling this story in detail was a way for the continuator to explain how Rudolph corrected religious life in St. Trond and the manner in which he showed leadership. The anecdote also shows that Rudolph thought proper dress so important, that he would probably let the hour of waking up go by to avoid having to go to church in the wrong dress. To Rudolph, dress showed who you are and made you who you are, so it is not surprising that the continuator uses so many pages to write about the reform of clothing within St. Trond.

### *Reform*

"Therefore, our days are lengthened to a truce for the amendment of the misdeeds of our present life"<sup>205</sup> writes Benedict in the prologue of his Rule. This notion makes clear that according to Benedict reform is part of the core of monastic life. Monks should always try to improve themselves, because *conversio* is not only a changing of clothes and daily rhythm. First and foremost, *conversio* means a spiritual change, a change that is never 'complete'. Reading the first seven books of the GaT and Book VIII of the GaT<sub>cp</sub>, the image arises of Rudolph as an abbot who tirelessly tried to change the way monks led their religious life in St. Trond. The themes that have already been discussed in this chapter are testimony to this. However, the way to interpret these 'reforms' has been subject to a historiographical debate which has centred around the question how to interpret the change of custom in St. Trond in 1107, when they adapted the customs of Cluny.

Historiographically, the High Middle Ages have been viewed as a time of *Reformmönchtum*. These reforms were considered part of larger reform movements.<sup>206</sup> Kassius Hallinger's *Gorze-Kluny* was a seminal study representing this way of thinking. He argued that abbots were the main motor of change within a monastery. By looking at the monasteries' *necrologia*, he argued that he

---

<sup>205</sup> RB, Prologus, 162: 'Ideo nobis propter emendationem malorum huius vitae dies ad indutias relaxantur'.

<sup>206</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*.

could trace the places abbots came from.<sup>207</sup> With this information, Hallinger divided the reform of monasteries into defined categories, with a main divide between reform movements along national lines with their base in Gorze and Cluny.<sup>208</sup>

The strong dualism between the two alleged types of reform, distinguished by Hallinger, has been to a large part refuted. First, reformers manoeuvred with ease between monasteries that in Hallinger's scheme belonged either to the the Burgundian Cluniac reform or to the Lotharingian observance of Gorze. Rudolph, for instance, was raised in Burtscheid, and afterwards spent time in Gladbach, which was part of the Siegburg reform. Rudolph did not leave these monasteries, because they did not follow the customs of Cluny, but because they chose an abbot whom Rudolph thought lax.<sup>209</sup> When Rudolph was already abbot in St. Trond and was forced to leave for St. Pantaleon near Cologne, he did not try to impose the rule of Cluny in this venerable monastery. Although the continuator writes that Rudolph 'restored the order', there is no word about a change of customs.<sup>210</sup> So, while Rudolph insisted on having the customs of Cluny introduced in St. Trond, he did not want to introduce the same customs in other monasteries earlier or later in his life.

A second criticism to Hallinger's work is the insight that monasteries and their monks had considerable leeway when adopting the custom of another monastery. In other words, Cluniac reform was not as monolithic as Hallinger presented it. Copies of Cluny's customs show considerable variations per copy.<sup>211</sup> This is not surprising, if one considers what Ullrich of Zell writes in the introduction to his redaction of the customs of Cluny.

*'Concerning those things from which souls can be edified and merits increased, concerning these, father, you shall have a meeting with the brothers. Let them examine their ancient customs; let them examine yours, with which you were brought up; let them consider also these [the custom by Ulrich], and from all those that seem best, let there be made one collection that will be observed from then on. And if you wish to have it ratified, let it be brought to the common*

---

<sup>207</sup> Ibidem, 18-19.

<sup>208</sup> On the mixed observance under the influence of St. Vanne and Poppo of Stavelot, see: P.G. Jestic, *Wayward monks and the religious revolution of the eleventh century* (Leiden 1997).

<sup>209</sup> GaT, VIII, 3: 'Tunc uidens Rodulfus quia multiplicata essent mala et dissolutio roborata, secundum quod rem ueracissime intelligebat futuram, desperans de loci aut ordinis emendatione, accepta licentia recessit tendens iter in Flandriam, ubi audierat duci religiosam monachorum uitam'. Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 205-207.

<sup>210</sup> GaT, XI, 66: 'In breui et sine grandi labore dilapsum ordinem et uiolatam fraternam concordiam pulchre reformauit, peroptimam que uirtutem pure confessionis in fratribus illis inuenit, furtiuarum que et puplicarum uigiliarum et orationum indefatigatam assiduitatem'. On Rudolph's stay in St. Pantaleon, see: J. Semmler, *Die Klosterreform von Siegburg: ihre Ausbreitung und ihr Reformprogramm im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Bonn 1959) 119-125.

<sup>211</sup> Sellner, *Zwischen Krise und correctio*, 41.

*consensus of the brothers, lest any murmur or anything of ill will arise from it.*<sup>212</sup>

Ullrich of Zell, who wrote the customs of Cluny for the monastery of Hirsau around the year 1080, explains how the custom should be introduced in the monastery. Old traditions should not be thrown away. Instead, the abbot and the monks should compare the customs written by Ullrich with their own and choose what is best. In the GaT, Rudolph writes that the monks were to be taught (*doceri*) the customs of Cluny. According to Vanderputten, this phrasing implies an oral mode of learning, and thus the customs were not the sole authority when introducing a new 'way of life'.<sup>213</sup> What is more, Cochelin argues that learning new custom went mainly through gestures and words rather than through a book. When Rudolph achieved that the customs were introduced in his monastery, two monks of both St. Jacques and St. Laurent in Liège were sent to St. Trond to instruct the monks in the new customs. Patzold speculates that it is possible that St. Trond did not even own a copy of Cluny's customs up until the middle of the 12th century.<sup>214</sup>

Thirdly, Hallinger also thought that the abbot of a monastery was the one who dictated reform to the rest of his monks. Looking at the quotation above, this seems inadequate. An abbot had to avoid murmur amongst his monks. That is why the abbot, when he wanted to reform the monastery, had to convene with his monks about their traditions. According to the historian Cochelin, monks were not like sheep which abbots could boss around any way they saw fit. A successful abbot was in contact with his monks when he wanted to change things within the monastery.<sup>215</sup>

Although Hallinger's thesis of reform movements now seems too monolithic, this does not mean that Rudolph did not take reform seriously. Hallinger is right when he says Rudolph used 'reform rhetoric'<sup>216</sup> and that he had the '*typischer Selbstüberzeugtheit*' of reformers.<sup>217</sup> Reform

---

<sup>212</sup> Ullrich of Zell, *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii collectore S. Udalrico monacho Benedicto*, in: J.P. Migne ed., *Patrologia Latina* 149 (1882) 639: 'De his autem de quibus aedificari possunt anime et incrementa fieri meritorum, de his tu, pater, habebis cum fratre collationem. Perpendant suas antiquas, perpendant tuas, cum quibus te nutrire contigit; perpendant et istas, et de omnibus que meliora videntur, de his fiat unum corpus quod de cetero teneatur. Et si hoc uoleris esse ratum, expedit ut communi fratrum consensu praeueniatur, ne quod inde murmur aut aliquid non bone uoluntatis possit oriri'. Cited translation: S. Boynton and I. Cochelin eds., *From dead of night to end of day. The medieval customs of Cluny* (Turnhout 2005) 341.

<sup>213</sup> Vanderputten, 'abbatial leadership' 61. I. Cochelin, 'Customaries as inspirational sources', in: C. M. Malone and C. Maines eds., *Consuetudines et Regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, (Turnhout 2014) 27–28.

<sup>214</sup> Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 206 (note 95). On this manuscript, see: J. Stiennon, 'Cluny et Saint-Trond au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in: *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états / Ständen en landen 8: Problèmes Liégeois d'histoire médiévale*, (Louvain 1955) 55–88. See also, recently: J. Diehl and S. Vanderputten, 'Cluniac customs beyond Cluny: Patterns of use in the Southern Low Countries', in: *Journal of religious history* 41:1 (2017) 22–41.

<sup>215</sup> I. Cochelin, 'Community and customs: obedience or agency?', in: S. Barret, G. Mellville and G. Andenna eds., *Oboedientia. Zu Formen und Grenzen von Macht und Unterordnung im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum* (Münster 2005) 229–253.

<sup>216</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 483.

<sup>217</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 712

was at the top of Rudolph's agenda, because he thought order in his monastery had been greatly disturbed. According to Rudolph, if monastic life in St. Trond was to continue to exist, a change towards a better way of monastic life was essential.

Throughout the GaT, Rudolph uses different words to describe measures intended to make the monastery function as ideally as possible: *correctio*, *emendatio*, *reformare* and *renovare*. In modern language use, we conceive a difference between words that mean 'a return to an ideal state' and words that mean 'a change towards an ideal state'. However, in medieval narrative, the creation of something entirely new was not desired.<sup>218</sup> So, in practice even a reform was presented as a return to an 'ideal state' which was to bring about institutional stability.<sup>219</sup> As I have already discussed, Rudolph thought that the monastery had turned from a Holy Jerusalem into a worldly Babylon. All measures that Rudolph undertook were meant to restore, improve or change religious life, but always with a historical idea of ideal religious life and the correct order of things at the back of his head.

When Hallinger writes the following about Rudolph: *ein späterer Beobachter kann sich nicht genug über die Selbstüberzeugtheit wundern, mit der Kluny seine zufällige Eigenform mit dem wahren Mönchtum immer wieder gleichgesetzt hat*,<sup>220</sup> it seems that he already had his categories in place before he started reading the GaT. Everything that Rudolph did, is interpreted by Hallinger as being 'typically Cluniac', whereas many of his reforms clearly were meant to improve the performance of existing traditions within the monastery. According to the first continuator, when Rudolph became prior, the first thing he did was talk with the elders of the monastery, to learn the traditions of the abbey.<sup>221</sup> When Rudolph 'reformed' the way the monks dressed, he used the reminiscences of the old monk Stepelinus to return to older traditions within the monastery. Contrary to what Hallinger argues in *Gorze-Kluny*, Rudolph did not want to change the way the monks dressed to become Cluniac, instead he wanted the monks to shrug of a 'recent fashion'. The same reasoning could be applied to other reforms Rudolph introduced in St. Trond while he was prior. Many of them were meant to restore 'old' traditions to their former glory.

Of course, the introduction of the customs of Cluny was a different story. Although the impact of the change of customs might be debatable, the introduction of Cluny's customs did

---

<sup>218</sup> G. Melville, 'Aspekte zum Vergleich von Krisen und Reformen in mittelalterlichen Klöstern und Orden, in: *Mittelalterlichen Orden und Klöster im Vergleich* (Berlin 2007) 149-150.

<sup>219</sup> Melville, 'Aspekte zum Vergleich', 148.

<sup>220</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, 715.

<sup>221</sup> GaT, VIII, 6: 'Qui statim accingens se ad emendationem ordinis, cotidie in capitulo et extra capitulum conferebat cum senioribus, qualis et quomodo antiquitus ordo in monasterio priori et clastro adhuc stante teneretur. Quibus consuetudines plenas honestissimę grauitatis et religionis antiqui monasterii illi demonstrantibus, suadebat illis benigna arte molli que, et paulatim procedente informabat uestigio, ut attemptarent eas posse recipere et antiquam inustę illis infamię rubiginem sic aliquando uel tandem abraderę'.

mean a change at St. Trond. It was not easy for Rudolph to get the customs introduced. Theoderic hesitated, because most monks in St. Trond rejected Rudolph's wish. This even resulted in Rudolph temporarily leaving the abbey. In the end however, Rudolph got his way when he was asked to return to St. Trond with the promise that the monks would accept the customs of Cluny within a year. So, according to Rudolph's narrative, he risked his career in St. Trond at this point. Rudolph wrote roughly seven years after the fact, and we do not know what exactly happened, because we only have his own account, and Rudolph eventually got his way. It still seems likely though, that at this point in his career, Rudolph took the introduction of the customs very seriously.

What is striking when reading the GaT is the reason why Rudolph wanted to have the customs of Cluny implemented. Rudolph had apparently seen how the customs were implemented in the monasteries of St. Jacques and St. Laurent in Liège. According to the continuator, Rudolph saw how many secular clerics also adopted the customs. He had seen how devotion improved in those institutions and how their income had improved. At that point Rudolph went to his abbot Theoderic and asked him to introduce the customs of Cluny. His argument was that a venerable institution as St. Trond, which was older than both St. Laurent and St. Jacques, should not lag behind in the eyes of God, nor in the eyes of the people.<sup>222</sup> On more occasions Rudolph stressed the importance of 'a good name' for the monastery. This paragraph shows that Rudolph was not born a staunch Cluniac reformer, but that a firm belief arose in Rudolph to change customs in line with what other institutions around them were doing and that the monastery had something to gain both spiritually and economically by adapting to its peers.

Rudolph's main goal throughout the GaT was to show his readers what had gone wrong in the recent past and which route the monastery had to take to regain its good name and reputation. This was both a physical and a spiritual undertaking. By rebuilding the monastery, by physically separating the monks from the outside world through walls and proper clothing, by curbing traditions that had run out of hand, and last but not least by introducing customs that were also introduced in important neighbouring institutions, Rudolph tried to revitalise religious life in St. Trond.

---

<sup>222</sup> GaT, VIII, 16: 'Decere enim eum aiebat, cum non minoris esset scientię et glorię in seculo quam illi, et locus noster antiquioris et famosioris esset nominis, ut in religione et spiritualibus non obscurior apud homines neque indignior apud Deum inueniretur'. Of course, Rudolph's worry about choosing the right type of reform did not happen in a vacuum. For a broader discussion of reform around this period from a mainly canonical point of view, see: B. Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van kanonikale instellingen in Vlaanderen tot circa 1155* (Leuven 2000).



At least - and it is important to keep this in mind - that is what Rudolph wanted his readers to believe. It must be clear by now that Rudolph of St. Trond did not merely record what had happened in the past; instead he 'used' the past to bring across the message he wanted to convey as powerfully as he could. In the third chapter I will discuss how Rudolph 'used' the past. Not only by looking at Rudolph's own words, but also by comparing them to other sources.

### Chapter III: From the highest peaks into the deepest abyss

#### *Past and present in the Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*

Several times in his narrative, Rudolph takes on the role of an auctorial commentator and gives the reader his interpretation of the things he is writing down. In the present paragraph, I will first discuss these moments in Rudolph's history. How did Rudolph interpret what happened in St. Trond? Secondly, I will discuss how Rudolph might have used the past in the GaT to suit his own ends.

Rudolph starts the dedicatory letter of the GaT with an apology for writing contemporary history. He tells us, we all love old wine of course, but in autumn we also like to drink fresh most. According to Rudolph, when we are saturated by the new, we return to the old with renewed and deepened interest.<sup>223</sup> Starting with this comparison seems no coincidence, because in the GaT Rudolph only wrote about the recent history of St. Trond. Rudolph wanted to show the reader how the monastery had fallen from the highest peak into the deepest abyss.

As was already mentioned in the second chapter, Rudolph uses the images of Jerusalem and Babylon to frame what had happened to the monastery after Adelardus II had died in 1082. He also gives the reasons for this. God had been angry with the monastery, because religious life was not strict enough, nor did the monks see the miracles that were happening in St. Trond as an admonition. According to Rudolph, the more pilgrims came to St. Trond, the more the monks were accused of leading a worldly life. At the same time, precisely these pilgrims presented the monks with the opportunity to mingle with the outside world. Rudolph was adamant that of the dangers that threatened St. Trond, laxity posed the greatest threat. This is made clear in the frame Rudolph uses to describe what happened to the abbey. In reference to the Biblical original

---

<sup>223</sup> GaT, *Epistola Rodulphi Nicolao de sancto Dyonisio*, 3: 'Notum est omnibus quibus gratifica manus liberalis fortunę experiendi copiam dedit, quod uetera uina gelidis promptuariis toto anni circulo liquata, autumnı tempore ad tempus seponantur, et noua musta naturali motu adhuc calentia et necdum prorsus defęcata auidius sumantur. Vtquid hoc? Vtique non ut noua et turbida ueteribus et defęcatis quasi meliora preponantur, sed quod nouę res delicatos hominum animos, irruente passione desideriorum, oblectabilius afficere soleant, donec saciata passione desideriorum, cum alacriore auiditate ad ueterum usum reuertantur'. Rudolph presumably makes an allusion to 2 macc. 15:40 here. See, P. Tombeur, 'Les citations bibliques dans la chronique de Raoul de Saint-Trond', in: *Latomus* 20 (1961) 510-523.

sin, Rudolph writes that the woes that befell St. Trond followed each other like contractions happen to a woman in labour.<sup>224</sup>

Several times during his narrative, Rudolph returns to this overarching idea of St. Trond's downfall. Who is to blame for this shifts throughout the GaT. Writing about Lanzo in Book II, Rudolph tells us it was God who struck the monastery with fire. According to Rudolph, God wanted to punish Lanzo by burning down the monastery, because he was abbot against the will of the monks (and God).<sup>225</sup> In Books III, IV and V, Rudolph writes that St. Trond's troubles are due to practices of simony, as Luipo, Herman the Bald, and Herman the Younger are all accused of this by Rudolph. From Book VI onwards, the period in which Theoderic and Rudolph himself were abbot, the blame for St. Trond's problems shifts from the inside of the monastery to the outside. The main scapegoat Rudolph uses to blame for St. Trond's perceived ill fate shifts from monks and abbots to the abbey's *advocati* and *villici*. This makes sense, because Rudolph probably did not want to accuse Theoderic and himself of the continued woes in St. Trond. What does not change throughout the GaT, is Rudolph's overarching frame of the crisis in St. Trond. Because of the monks' sin under Adelardus II (compared to the original sin of Eve), the monastery had fallen into the deepest abyss.<sup>226</sup>

As mentioned in the first chapter, most *gesta primitifs* tell the story of an institution from its foundation until the moment of writing. In his introduction, Rudolph tells his readers why he did not want to do this. He admits that the life of Trudo contains information on secular and religious leaders during Trudo's life, but according to Rudolph it does not mention whether secular or regular clerics joined Trudo and whether Trudo was the first abbot of St. Trond.<sup>227</sup> Apparently there existed some sources about the monastery's earliest history, but Rudolph thought they missed the historical precision to include this information in *gesta*.<sup>228</sup> Paul Tombeur praises Rudolph's apparent vigorous source criticism when he writes: '*il préféra, avec une rigueur*

---

<sup>224</sup> GaT, II, 19: 'Post obitum abbatis Adelardi secundi mala grauissima et dolores super dolorem mulieris parturientis apprehenderunt ecclesiam nostram'.

<sup>225</sup> GaT, III, 27-28: 'Tantum que fuit, non dicam infortunium, sed, ut dixi, occultum Dei iudicium, ut de una domuncula longe quidem posita, in toto oppido nostro solum nostrum combureretur monasterium. Globus namque ardentis straminis altissime se attollens ab incendio flammiumantis domunculę dicitur uisibiliter tandem corruisse super nidum cyconię in una duarum turrium, quę est iuxta orientales absides in australi latere'.

<sup>226</sup> H.W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin 1999) 402.

<sup>227</sup> GaT, Praefatio, 4: 'Sed hoc manifeste neque ibi neque alias usquam datur intelligi, utrum per eum ipsum regeretur primo edificatum cęnobium nostrum siue per alium, clerici quoque siue monachi fuerint, quos in eo constituerit, et quando monachi in eo esse inceperint'.

<sup>228</sup> GaT, Praefatio, 4: 'Talia quę quidem dignissima essent sincera annotatione, dum lectione aut uera relatione sepe et, ut dixi, sepiissime uehementer arderem cognoscere, inueni libellum quendam ubi uita sancti Siluestri habebatur atque translatio sancti Benedicti, necnon et sermo de assumptione sanctę Marię semper uirginis. In eo quantum reppererim, hic annotare curauit'.

*remarquable, s'en tenir aux faits lui semblaient avérés*'.<sup>229</sup> But was source criticism the only reason for Rudolph to leave out the foundation of the monastery and its early history?

The central theme of his *gesta* was the crisis that had befallen St. Trond. Writing the entire history of the monastery would not have served this purpose as strongly as the form he chose in the GaT. Rudolph's returning references to the current state of the monastery and the comparison with a more glorious past underline this. The monastery had had earlier moments of deep crisis. If Rudolph would have told these stories as well, it would have made the impact of the crisis in the 1080s less powerful. Writing the whole history of St. Trond would also reduce the importance of Rudolph himself. By focussing on recent history, Rudolph was able to present himself as the person who secured monastic life in St. Trond.

When narrating the destruction of St. Trond by Luipo's forces in 1085, Rudolph writes that he could have cited all lamentations to describe how sorry the state of the monastery was at that time.<sup>230</sup> Rudolph writes that pilgrims did no longer come to the monastery.<sup>231</sup> Monks left the monastery and the screeching of owls had taken the place of monks singing the vespers. In fact, according to Rudolph, it was a miracle in itself that St. Trond was still a monastery. In 1095, voices had gone up to change the monastery into a provostry with six to eight clergymen. This meant that the future of the monastery was very unclear at that point.<sup>232</sup>

The turning point in Rudolph's GaT is the moment when Theoderic was convinced by the bishop of Liège to become abbot in St. Trond. Rudolph explains that he viewed the period between Adelardus II's death and the beginning of Theoderic's rule as a period of which it was impossible to say who was abbot for exactly how long and when. Book II, IV, and V focus on the misery that befell St. Trond under Luipo, Lanzo, and uncle and nephew Herman the Bald and Herman the Younger. The change comes in Books VI and VII (as well as Book VIII of the GaTcp), when the focus shifts to the *correctio* of the monastery. Although Rudolph does not mention his own name as abbot of St. Trond, since this would have been considered vainglorious, Rudolph is far from modest when he is obviously referring to himself as the person who contributed most to the restoration of religious life in St. Trond.

---

<sup>229</sup> Tombeur, introduction, XVII.

<sup>230</sup> GaT, III, 39: 'Possem currere pene per omnem lamentationem Iheremię super Iherusalem, et etiam ad litteram inuenire possem aptissime conuenire eam ad ecclesię nostrę lamentabilem miseriam'.

<sup>231</sup> GaT, III, 34: 'Tunc demum peregrinorum multitudo cepit cessare, que, ut superius descripsi, cotidiana concertatione ad sepulchrum beati Trudonis solebat oblationem afferre'.

<sup>232</sup> GaT, V, 56: 'tanta que fuearat miseria, tanta desolatio, tanta rerum distractio, ut disperantes plerique uel ipsum nomen abbatie loco posse remanere, satagere uiderentur ut clericorum prepositura fieret, et sex aut octo subse clericos haberet'.

Rudolph does this in two ways. First, in a very explicit manner near the end of Book VI. According to Rudolph, there was only one person to thank for the introduction of Cluny's customs in St. Trond, for the rebirth of religious life in the monastery, and purifying the monastery of irreligiosity.<sup>233</sup> Although Rudolph writes that he does not want to name the person responsible for this, it is obvious that he is talking about himself. The passage makes clear that Rudolph wrote the GaT a few years after he had become abbot, because he writes that his efforts had not been in vain. In Rudolph's view, the abbey was in a much better position than during the years of crisis.

A subtler way in which Rudolph underlines his own importance to the monastery of St. Trond, is the way in which he constructs his GaT. Rudolph uses the entirety of Book VII to write about his own personal struggle to become abbot of St. Trond. In it, he compared his achievements as prior, as a flower bud which was threatened to be trampled by the followers of his competitor Herman the Younger.<sup>234</sup> More extensive than in any other Book, Rudolph writes about the hardship of journeys. This is noteworthy, because travelling was not uncommon for the monks of St. Trond, and usually these travels are not narrated extensively. Rudolph seems to narrate these hardships here, to underline the struggles he himself underwent to protect the changes he had initiated when he was prior. He writes how he was forced to build sleeping places with wood, attached to his horse, how he was repeatedly stung by mosquitoes, how he found shelter in an abandoned house in a village and how all the women of the village sought shelter in the same house to escape enemy soldiers.<sup>235</sup> Rudolph also details how he misled Gertrudis, the wife of Giselbert of Duras. Giselbert and his wife were supporters of Herman's claim to the abbacy. Rudolph gave Gertrudis the impression that he would reconcile himself with Herman and was granted safe passage to St. Trond.<sup>236</sup> According to Rudolph, when he eventually returned to the monastery, the monks greeted him as if he had risen from the dead.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> GaT, VI, 76: 'Siquis tamen nostrum precipue extitit, cuius importunitas et oportunitas, cuius mille formis uariata sagacitas animum abbatis ad hos usus tenendos prior induxerit, et cum multa sua tribulatione et angustia, odio et inuidia, apud ipsum ut tenerentur tandem obtinuerit, et cuius studio eo uiuente uiguerint, mortuo que refrixerint, non dubitat, quisquis ille sit, cum multum emendationis uite fratrum et profectus ecclesie per hos usus subsecutum sit, quod de eo, nobis tacentibus, ille tacere debeat, pro cuius amore nichil aduersi, nichil odii, nichil inuidie, nichil periculi sustinere formidabat, dum modo religio introduceretur et locus a preterite irreligionis infamia liberaretur'.

<sup>234</sup> GaT, VI, 92: 'Vnde laboris mei pro eo loco et multarum angustiarum, quas frequentissime sub domno abbate Theoderico sustinueram, multum me modo pigebat, in tenerrimo flore relinquens pede superborum conterendum et luto miserime conuersationis eorum imprimendum, quod putaueram me perducere posse ad maturum pie operationis fructum'.

<sup>235</sup> GaT, VII, 81-83.

<sup>236</sup> GaT, VII, 86: 'Suspenderam enim animum eius, quod forsitan Herimanno concordarer, si secundum misericordes litteras episcopi, quas illi afferebam, consilio meo acquiescere uellet. Quod illa libentissime de ore meo suscepit, et quicquid uolui, de pace mea ab illa tunc impetraui'.

<sup>237</sup> GaT, VII, 87: 'Fratres uero, uiso me in medio claustris preter spem, cum magno stupore atque ingenti letitia me circumsedebant tamquam rediuium de sepulchro aut depensum a patibulo et redditum uiuum conuentui suo'.

Later in Book VII, as was discussed in chapter two, Rudolph narrates how Herman the Younger's claim on the abbacy was rejected by the emperor in Liège. Rudolph calls Herman a simoniacal and a stupid man, because he showed up in the wrong dress before the emperor, the bishop of Liège, the abbot of St. Jacques in Liège and other notables. This powerful scene, at the end of Rudolph's story is another subtle way in which Rudolph reminds the readers of his own importance. Rudolph emerges as the victor in this meeting and he could not have chosen a better place in his story to stress this more. By presenting Herman as everything he does not want to be himself, Rudolph illustrates his own qualities to his readership.

A second implicit way in which Rudolph underlines his own importance to the monastery lies in the way he portrays Guntram, whom Rudolph considered the best abbot the monastery ever had. Rudolph's depiction of Guntram shows parallels with the life of Trudo. Just as Trudo, Guntram left the Hesbaye for Stavelot as a youngster and was sent to a rich monastery to be educated. Just like Trudo, he returned to St. Trond after being appointed by the bishop of Metz to become the religious leader of the place. Moreover, Rudolph mentions that miracles happened around the grave of Trudo on account of the behaviour of Guntram. He reformed the monastery spiritually and made it grow in numbers. Rudolph writes that there was no one more valuable to the monastery before Guntram and that there would be no one more valuable after him. By depicting Guntram as 'the highest peak' before the monastery fell into the 'deepest abyss', Rudolph wanted to give him a saintly aura. When Rudolph discusses the current state of the monastery, he writes that it is 'a mere shadow of its former glory'.<sup>238</sup> By presenting Guntram as the ideal, it seems that Rudolph wanted to place himself in the line of Guntram as abbot. Guntram reformed the monastery with youthful enthusiasm and so did Rudolph. Guntram was a talented singer and Rudolph was preoccupied with the singing of the monks in St. Trond. In a letter to the bishop of Metz of 1136, Rudolph calls the Aabot of St. Trond the 'replacement of Trudo'.<sup>239</sup> Guntram was such a replacement, and of all the abbots discussed by Rudolph, he was the abbot any new abbot should aspire to be like.

The continuator goes one step further and directly compares Rudolph to Trudo. In Book X, a fierce struggle is narrated between Gislebert of Duras and his wife on the one side, and Rudolph and the monks of St. Trond on the other. The continuator writes how Rudolph goes to Stavelot and prays to St. Remaclus. He confides to the saint he is mourning, because Trudo gave away his inheritance to the bishop of Metz. This act in the past is now causing much trouble in St. Trond. The continuator writes how St. Remaclus then directly pleads with St.

---

<sup>238</sup> GaT, III, 39: '[...] cum uix umbra sit hęc ad priorem eius gloriam!'.  
<sup>239</sup> GaT, IX, 33: 'Beatus Trudo, et ab eo abbas vicarius eo'.

Stephen for Rudolph's cause. This is interesting, because the continuator explicitly says that Remaclus bypassed the bishop and directly sought the help of St. Stephen. Next, the continuator vividly narrates, that the wife of Giselbert of Duras dies and upon this Giselbert admits his wrongdoings against St. Trond to Rudolph.<sup>240</sup> In this wonderful story, the continuator combines a vengeance miracle with the foundation story of St. Trond. Rudolph takes the place of Trudo in the narrative, and by altering a few details, the old story gets a new meaning reflecting the current political situation. At the same time, using the fragment of the *vita* made this story immediately recognizable and gave it stature within St. Trond.

Lastly, I'd like to point out Rudolph's use of the number seven. The continuator mentions that Rudolph wrote a now lost treatise in seven books on simony. In four of those books he presented his own arguments, in the remaining three he related the Church Fathers' opinions on the matter.<sup>241</sup> It seems no coincidence that Rudolph chose to write seven books. The number seven was considered a holy number of fullness. And Rudolph divided the seven books in three (divine) and four (human) books. When Rudolph narrates the monks' arguments against Herman the Younger, he uses seven arguments, implying Herman's total and complete incapacity for the abbacy. Rudolph's GaT is constructed in seven books, and whereas Sot argues that *gesta* are written from the monastery's beginning up until the present, the present being more or less 'accidental', I think Rudolph's use of seven books is intentional and was meant to underline the completeness of his story. In utilising seven books, Rudolph wants to convince his readers that, when he became abbot, the crisis in St. Trond had come to an end. I am not saying that Rudolph attributed saintly attributes to himself by doing so, but I do think that Rudolph's use of seven books was meant to stress his important role in the maintaining of religious life in St. Trond. In his introduction, Rudolph wrote that he had a didactic intention with his work. Undoubtedly this was partly Rudolph's purpose. But the GaT were also written by Rudolph to convince his audience of his own qualities and of the necessity of the actions that he took throughout his priorship and his abbacy.

---

<sup>240</sup> GaT, X, 47: 'Nam antequam abbas reuenteretur a Mettis Stabulaus ad beatum iterum uisitandum et orandum Remaclum, in itinere nuntiatum est ei, quod mortua esset illa superius dicta aduocatrix et ipsius ecclesie permaxima persecutrix. Aduocatus autem Gyslebertus, qui inimicissimus ei prius fuerat, reuerso a Mettis statim obuius iuit amico uultu et supplici, et quicquid in eum deliquisset, amodo se libentissime uelle emendare promisit.

<sup>241</sup> GaT, VIII, 15: 'Extat et aliud uolumen VII librorum eius, quos contra symoniachos scripsit, quatuor ratione, tribus agens auctoritatibus'.

### *The Miracula St Trudonis*

In the last paragraph, I have discussed how Rudolph used the past in the GaT. But how about stories that Rudolph excluded from his narrative? These omissions obviously also shed a light on Rudolph's intentions with the GaT. A good point to start is the *Liber miraculorum*, assembled by Stepelinus in 1050.<sup>242</sup> The work consists of a book with older miracles that happened in St. Trond until 1012, followed by miracles that supposedly happened during Guntram's abbacy.

I have discussed Stepelinus before in this thesis. Rudolph wrote that he witnessed his funeral when Stepelinus was a very old man.<sup>243</sup> He used him as a wise and old witness when he reformed the dress of St. Trond's monks. In another passage however, Rudolph meticulously wrote, how the bishop of Liège called Stepelinus a 'grey dog'. Stepelinus sided with Luipo when Luipo was fighting over the abbacy with Herman the Bald. Rudolph does not fail to mention that the bishop had Gisbert of Duras beat up both Stepelinus and Luipo and had them thrown out of the monastery temporarily.<sup>244</sup> In short, it is safe to say that Rudolph's relationship with Stepelinus was ambivalent. Joseph Brassine, who wrote a short biography of Stepelinus puts it as follows: '*Il faut croire que le personnage était d'un caractère difficile*'.<sup>245</sup>

Stepelinus presumably entered the monastery in the year 1020 as a boy. Most likely, he fled the monastery at some point during adulthood, because he wrote a treatise in the monastery of St. Bavon in Ghent in 1048 against the monastery of St. Peter in Ghent.<sup>246</sup> Rudolph mentions Stepelinus again in the year 1086, so at that time he was back in St. Trond. Brassine argues that Stepelinus might have written the *Liber miraculorum* in Ghent on behalf of Guntram.<sup>247</sup> He concludes this on the basis of an eleventh century manuscript held at the University of Liège (ms. 133), containing the *Moralia super Job* by Gregory the Great.<sup>248</sup> The last three pages of this manuscript contain miracles written down by various hands, with words crossed out and words

---

<sup>242</sup> Stepelinus Trudonensis, *Miracula Trudonis Hasbaniensis, liber secundus vel Liber secundus miraculorum sancti Trudonis*, O. Holder Egger ed., in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* 15/2 (Hannover, 1887) 822-830.

<sup>243</sup> GaT, III, 38: 'Alter uero Stepelinus, cuius nos diu post sepulture interfuimus!'

<sup>244</sup> GaT, IV, 49: 'Quos in multa oculorum suorum confusione ad domum nostram Leodii reuersos, Gislebertus, filius Ottonis aduocati, tyrunculus tunc, statim e uestigio prosecutus est, et cesos grauiter fede que laceros domo eiecit, tollens eis parefridos et quicquid preter simplicem uestem habere uidebantur. Itaque Stepelinus Mosum se contulit, Luipo Louanii mansit!'

<sup>245</sup> J. Brassine, 'Une source du livre II du miracula sancti Trudonis', in: *Bulletin de la société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse Liège* 26 (1935) 32.

<sup>246</sup> Stepelinus of St. Trond, *Versus sancti Livini episcopi martyris ad Florbertum abbatem monasterii sancti Bavonis*, ed. J. De Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre - Corpus chronicorum Flandriae*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1837) 462-463; see: C. Maier, 'Saints, tradition and monastic identity: the Ghent relics, 850-1100', in: *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 85:2 (2007) 223-277.

<sup>247</sup> Brassine, 'Une source', 32-35.

<sup>248</sup> Liège, bibliothèque de l'université de Liège, ms. 133. Brassine, 'Une source', 34: Brassine for some reason wrote that the miracles were in ms. 230, but this seems to be a mistake; See: M. Grandjean, *Catalogue des manuscrits Bibliothèque de l'université de Liège* (Liège 1875) 89.



added. Presumably these miracles were written down by witnesses shortly after the miracles had occurred. Stepelinus adapted these miracles and wrote them down in one hand.<sup>249</sup> He stylistically refined the miracles written down in ms. 133, he changed place names or left the names of places out, added details and so on.

There is a big difference between the first and second book of Stepelinus' *liber miraculorum*. The first book mainly consists of so-called vengeance miracles.<sup>250</sup> In these miracles, which happened around the first millennium, people were punished who either tried to rob the monastery or laid claims on its property. In one of the miracles, Ozkinus, steward of count Giselbert of Loon, wanted to change the borders in a forest belonging to St. Trond. He apparently kicked against a tree and said that God could smite him with a mutilated foot if this territory did not belong to him. Immediately he was afflicted with a shrunken foot and on top of this with the plague.<sup>251</sup> When writing about the monastery of Ninove, Bijsterveld and Van der Perre have argued that this type of miracles functioned both as an admonition and as an assurance of God's watch over the abbey. As an admonition because the monks should not take their property for granted and as an assurance, because God showed his active involvement with the monastery through these miracles.<sup>252</sup> Bijsterveld and Van der Perre argue that the primary audience of this type of miracles were the monks of the monastery themselves.

The miracles that Stepelinus wrote down in the second book, based on earlier notes, are mainly healing miracles. Bijsterveld and Van der Perre argue that these kinds of miracles were mainly written down for a potential lay audience.<sup>253</sup> People are cured of contraction, deafness, muteness, blindness, being barren, and other afflictions. Many of the place names that are mentioned, referred to places and areas in which St. Trond had possessions, like Texandria, Yseren, and Halen.<sup>254</sup> This means that most of the people cured in the stories belonged to the *familia* of St. Trond. In a few cases the names of the people helped or assisted are given. Typically, the miracles in which names are mentioned are stories about people of public importance, for instance a deacon of the bishop of Utrecht by the name of Folbertus,<sup>255</sup> and a countess of Heerlen named Mathilda.<sup>256</sup> Almost every miracle narrates a miraculous healing: there is someone with a medical problem who asks for help, and who is consequently helped by

---

<sup>249</sup> London, British library, ms. 16974.

<sup>250</sup> A.J. Bijsterveld and Dirk van de Perre, ed. and transl., *Het mirakelboek en de stichtingsgeschiedenis van de Ninoofse abdij* (Louvain 2001) 27-30.

<sup>251</sup> MTH, I, no. 4, 823.

<sup>252</sup> Bijsterveld and Van de Perre, *Het mirakelboek*, 30.

<sup>253</sup> Bijsterveld and Van de Perre, *Het mirakelboek*, 31.

<sup>254</sup> MTH, II, no. 30, 36, 60, 826-827.

<sup>255</sup> MTH, II, nr. 99, 829.

<sup>256</sup> MTH, II, nr. 70, 827.

God through the intercession of St. Trudo. The sixtieth miracle of part two of Stepelinus' *Liber miraculorum* is such an example. This is the only miracle that seems to have made its way into Rudolph's GaT. The miracle describes a man from Wavre who was leprous and asked for water from St. Trond's well. Because of his firm belief, this '*rusticus*' was cured from his leprosy.<sup>257</sup> Rudolph mentions in the GaT, that during Guntram's reign, the water of the well in St. Trond 'supposedly' healed people. It might be possible that Rudolph alludes to this miracle of the *Liber miraculorum*.

Cox has argued that it is no wonder that Guntram asked Stepelinus to write down a miracle book in the year 1050.<sup>258</sup> According to Rudolph, St. Trond was a thriving community at that time, thanks to the many pilgrims that visited the monastery. The *Liber miraculorum* shows the power of St. Trudo, and it might have helped spread the word of St. Trudo's cult.<sup>259</sup> Although vengeance miracles and healing miracles might have been written with a different primary audience in mind, in both cases the interaction and relation between the abbey St. Trond and its surroundings were central. The healing miracles convey the message that if a member of the *familia* of St. Trond is in need, a cry for help will not be in vain. Vengeance miracles made clear that St. Trond had a powerful protector in St. Trudo and that outsiders should not try to steal away the monastery's property.

When Rudolph wrote the GaT, the monastery was in an entirely different situation. Boasting about the monastery as a successful site of pilgrimage was not realistic in 1114 after all the pains the monastery had gone through in the previous years. In fact, Rudolph does exactly the opposite. In his narrative, he writes that it was the pilgrims mingling with monks who evoked the woes that befell St. Trond. Although Rudolph mentions that miracles 'supposedly happened' during the reign of Guntram, he does not name any of these miracles explicitly.<sup>260</sup> This does not mean, that Rudolph did not believe that miracles happened,<sup>261</sup> but that he wanted his readers to view them as an admonition. He argues that under Adelardus II the miracles were seen as a sign of pride instead of evoking humility. Guntram was Rudolph's role model, and therefore he argued that Guntram wanted to keep the miracles that happened in St. Trond secret. But given

---

<sup>257</sup> MTH, II, nr. 60, 827.

<sup>258</sup> H.L. Cox, 'Die Kontextfunktion der Miracula in den Gesta abbatum Trudonensium (628-1558), der Vita und dem Liber Miraculorum sancti Trudonis', in: *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 60 (1996) 9.

<sup>259</sup> P. Sheinhorn, 'Introduction', in: *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Pennsylvania 1971) 22-26. Sheinhorn also underlines the function of propaganda of a *Liber miraculorum*. In her case, the book of miracles of St. Foy. See also: P. Bernards, 'Die rheinische Mirakelliteratur im 12. Jahrhundert', in: *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 138 (1941) 1-78.

<sup>260</sup> GaT, II, 20: 'Vellent, nollent fratres, per omnes claustrum irrumpebant partes, maxime quia aqua nostri qui adhuc superest putei, dicebatur potata in nomine sancti Trudonis fieri medela, atque fiebat accedentibus ad eam languidis. Sed et leprosi ibidem de ea loti referuntur nonnunquam fuisse curati'.

<sup>261</sup> Cox, 'Die Kontextfunktion', 14. Cox has argued that Rudolph, as a learned reform abbot might have doubted the miracles, but Patzold has refuted this, see: Patzold, *Konflikte im Kloster*, 160.

the fact that Guntram ordered Stepelinus to make a book of miracles, and that this book was still being read in St. Trond during Rudolph's abbacy, it seems highly unlikely that this was the case. On the contrary, it seems more likely that the *Liber miraculorum* was meant as 'propaganda' for the saint's cult.

But why would Rudolph write that Guntram tried to keep the miracles hidden? First of all, Rudolph makes a direct reference to 1 Cor. 14:22: 'Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to believers, but to unbelievers; but prophecies not to unbelievers, but to believers'. Believers do not need miracles, because they already believe. Cox argues that Rudolph commits a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* here.<sup>262</sup> Of course, Rudolph wrote in 1114 and knew the troubles that had befallen the monastery. In 1050, there was no reason for Guntram to assume that the miracles occurring were a prophecy of the Investiture Controversy and the near destruction of St. Trond's monastery.

In the GaT, contrary to the *Liber miraculorum*, God is depicted as constantly showing warning signs, and when these signs are neglected God punishes the monastery. And, as was argued in the second chapter, Rudolph thought the order of things in St. Trond was disrupted. An example I have already discussed is the abbacy of Lanzo. Because Lanzo was forced upon the monastery against the will of the monks, the order of things was disturbed. Hence the monastery burned down. Rudolph thought this was an intervention of God, because he narrates that the fire could never have been so destructive under normal circumstances. This intervention is a miraculous intervention, but one in which the position of the monastery was weakened instead of reinforced.

In conclusion, the GaT does not contain healing miracles and vengeance miracles because such miracles focus on the relationship between the monks and the outside world. By contrast, Rudolph wanted the monks to focus on a monastic life away from the outside world. he does include a third kind of miracles in the GaT, by focusing on signs and prophetic admonitions.<sup>263</sup> Unfortunately, according to Rudolph, the monks failed over and over again to value the admonitions appropriately. Therefore, the natural order of things in the monastery had been greatly upset, resulting in God punishing the monastery and its monks for their misdoings.

---

<sup>262</sup> Ibidem, 12.

<sup>263</sup> An exception is the aforementioned case in which Rudolph went to Remaclus at Stavelot for help and the consequent death of Gertrudis of Duras. However, this miracle was not written down by Rudolph himself, but by the continuator twenty years later.

### *The third continuation*

Near the end of the thirteenth century, an anonymous monk wrote the *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium continuatio tertia*, (henceforward GaTct).<sup>264</sup> Instead of continuing the work of the second continuator,<sup>265</sup> he chose to write a complete history of the monastery, from the very beginning of the monastery up until the present time. This is interesting, because Rudolph chose to begin his history with the abbacy of Adelardus I in 999. For this thesis, the first and second part of the GaTc are the most important, because they give us the possibility to see if there are differences between Rudolph's narrative and the choices made by the third continuator.

The first thing that strikes the eye is that the third continuator wanted to give a complete overview of the monastery's history from Trudo's birth until the death of the abbot preceding himself. As I already discussed in chapter one, *gesta primitifs* (first versions of *gesta*), usually were constructed like this. In his introduction, the third continuator writes that he also wants to inform the reader of the riches St. Trond had before the attacks by heathen Norsemen, who raided the area of St. Trond for about sixty years.<sup>266</sup> He uses information gathered from the life of St. Trudo and charters to write his story. He further enriches his text by inserting intercalations that narrate more general history. The design of the GaTct makes clear that, unlike Rudolph, the third continuator wanted to present an all-encompassing history of St. Trond. The third continuator admits that he had difficulty finding information on the monastery before the reign of emperor Otto I (912-973). This is noteworthy, because Rudolph had argued two hundred and sixty years before the third continuator that he could not find information of the period before the reign of Adelardus I which started sixty years after Otto I became king in 936. This gives more reason to assume that Rudolph started his history with the reign of Adelardus I (999-1034) for other reasons than a lack of sources of the period before this abbot.

The design of the GaTct also shows that the third continuator thought of Rudolph's text and that of the first continuator as one whole.<sup>267</sup> This is an extra reason to argue that these texts were meant to be read as one from the start. Because the third continuator wanted his *gesta* to be

---

<sup>264</sup> GaTct, 82-336. Hardly any literature exists on the third continuation, One exception is: J. Brassine, 'Contribution à l'étude de la troisième continuation du Gesta abbatum Trudonensium', in: *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège* 15 (1906) 441-447.

<sup>265</sup> *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium continuatio secunda* (GaTcs), ed. C. de Borman, vol. 2 (Liège 1877) 1-81.

<sup>266</sup> GaTct, Praefatio, 83: 'Idcirco ut prefati cenobii futuris filiis et sucesoribus saltem ex aliqua parte, quanta prosperitate ante ipsorum Normannorum persecutionem locus iste floruerit, qualesve post sui eversionem miserias sustinuerit'.

<sup>267</sup> S. Vanderputten, M. Gypen and V. Lambert, 'Gesta abbatum Trudonensium (continuatio tertia)', 'www.narrative-sources', [http://www.narrative-sources.be/naso\\_link\\_en.php?link=427](http://www.narrative-sources.be/naso_link_en.php?link=427), checked on 11-06-2017. The writers of this lemma argue that the third continuator divided his work in five parts, separating Rudolph's and Gislebert's narrative. However, the the third continuator explicitly divides his work four parts in his introduction.

complete from beginning until the present, he gives a summary of Rudolph's work. He states that these are meant to be complementary to Rudolph's work.

But why did the GaTct not simply include Rudolph's narrative? Upon close reading of the GaTct, we can see that the writer added some new details about the period Rudolph had written about. By analysing these passages, we may learn more about Rudolph's intentions and choices. Are there plausible reasons for Rudolph not to have incorporated these stories in the GaT? The additions of the third continuator to Rudolph are fourfold. First, he adds intercalations to the story. To name but one example, in the first paragraph, when discussing the year 1003, he inserts information on the death of emperor Otto III (980-1002) and on the election of Henry II (978-1024), including a rhyme to memorize which bishops and which rulers were allowed to choose the new monarch taken from the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* Martin Polonus.<sup>268</sup>

Secondly, when discussing the reign of Adelardus II, the third continuator adds details about the building projects undertaken by this abbot. He frames Adelardus II as a builder abbot, writing at length about Adelardus II's 'pious industry': how he built a new *cancellarium*, how he constructed a new crypt, how he instituted seven new altars and so on.<sup>269</sup> There is no word about this in Rudolph's GaT. Admittedly, Rudolph writes that Adelardus II had some qualities in painting and sculpting. But as was already explained in the second chapter, this was more an insinuation of vainglory, than a praise of Adelardus II's capability as a builder. And while Rudolph vividly narrates the building projects undertaken by Theoderic, he does not mention the 'pious industry' of Adelardus II. This cannot have been due to sloth or ignorance, but rather to the fact that this kind of praise did not fit in his narrative. In the GaT, it was under the reign of Adelardus II that trouble started, because he was not strict enough. Rudolph did mention that Adelardus was temporarily struck with insanity at the end of his life, a detail that the third continuator leaves out of his narrative. So it seems that the third continuator added this details to rehabilitate Adelardus II and give him the well-deserved praise that Rudolph did not give him.

A third way in which the third continuator differed from Rudolph, is in the way he deals with the miraculous. According to Cox, the third continuator was an '*einfaucher Geist*' compared to the learned reform abbot Rudolph.<sup>270</sup> That would be the reason for Rudolph's refusal to incorporate miracle stories in his narrative, whereas the third continuator was less scrupulous to do so. As argued in the last paragraph, this argumentation is not very strong. If Rudolph did not

---

<sup>268</sup> GaTct, 137: 'Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis - Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum. Est palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis, Marchio prepositus camere, pincerna Bohemus. Hii statuunt dominum cunctis per secula summum'.

<sup>269</sup> GaTct, 147-150.

<sup>270</sup> Cox, 'Kontextfunktion', 15.

believe the miracles, then he would not have used them as signs of warning in the GaT.

Compared to the second book of the *Liber miraculorum*, the third continuator uses different kinds of miracles in his narrative than Stepelinus. In line with Sot's arguments about miracle stories in *gesta*, all miracles are immediately tied up with either possessions or rights of the monastery. Hence, while the third continuator does not incorporate healing miracles in his work, he does narrate the aforementioned story about Ozkinus, the man who ended up with a mutilated foot because he wanted to change St. Trond's borders.<sup>271</sup> Another miracle narrated by the third continuator tells about how the abbey got a relic of St. Stephen in Metz. This miracle is not recorded in the *Liber miraculorum*. Adelardus I apparently wanted to have a piece of a relic of St. Stephen which was held in Metz. When he went to bishop Theoderic II of Metz (bishop 1006-1047) and pleaded his case, the bishop argued that St. Trond should look for its own relic. The bishop argued that if they would give St. Trond a piece of the relic, others would be disadvantaged. Adelardus persisted and argued that St. Stephen himself would provide a relic for St. Trond. When Theoderic finally gave in and had brought the little bone they held in the church, Adelardus had the bone tapped lightly. Instantly the bone started to bleed and Adelardus piously collected the blood in a vessel. It may be that the third continuator added this story to underline the direct relationship between St. Stephen and St. Trond. When the third continuator wrote, the monastery of St. Trond no longer was dependent on Metz for its secular affairs. Maybe the third continuator wanted to show his readers early evidence of St. Trond's independence from the bishop of Metz.<sup>272</sup>

This could not have been the reason however, why Rudolph chose not to incorporate the story in the GaT. As mentioned above, the first continuator also stressed the direct relationship between St. Trond and St. Stephen, but avoiding the bishop of Metz. It also seems highly improbable that Rudolph did not know the story, because the blood was held in St. Trond as a relic in the abbey's church. Unless, the third continuator made up the story and that is also unlikely. Another possibility would be that Rudolph doubted the truth of the story, but as mentioned before, Rudolph most certainly believed in the prophetic power of the miracles that occurred in St. Trond.

I think that Rudolph avoided this miracle story and other similar stories, because they involved relics and emphasised the relationship between the monks of St. Trond and its *familia*. One of the main arguments of Rudolph for the downfall of St. Trond was the enormous stream of pilgrims that visited St. Trond. This stream of pilgrims had resulted in a lax religious regime

---

<sup>271</sup> GaTct, 141; MTH, I, nr. 4, 823.

<sup>272</sup> GaTct, 145-146.

and the mingling of monks with the outside world. No wonder that Rudolph placed so much stress in the GaT on restoring the right order of things: a separation of monks from the outside world, the monks wearing correct dress, ending corrupted traditions, and so on. What is more, Rudolph argued that miracles were intended for non-believers and not for believers. Maybe he thought this story to be at odds with incorporating miracle stories in the GaT, which would first of all be read by the monks of St. Trond.

The same reluctance to incorporate stories about relics, is visible in the fourth way in which Rudolph's GaT and the GaTct differ from each other. The third continuator writes about both Guntram's and Lanzo's efforts to elevate the bodies of Trudo and Eucherius and translate their relics. In Guntram's case the third continuator writes about his reason for doing this. During invasions by Norsemen the bodies of the saints and several other treasures were buried. Guntram constructed a golden shrine and then started digging for the bodies. When the diggers were digging and reached a buried vault, a fog appeared and surrounded them. They fled the burial site and called for abbot Guntram. He did not trust the matter and made the diggers close the burial site.<sup>273</sup>

In this case it is not hard to imagine why Rudolph would not include the story in his narrative. First of all, Guntram was his epitome of a good abbot. Writing about a failed relic translation, would make Rudolph's narrative less strong. However, in the case of Lanzo, incorporating a story about a failed relic translation would have only made his case stronger. After St. Trond burned down in 1085, Lanzo initiated a search for the relics of Trudo and Eucherius, but, just as had been the case with Guntram, it went wrong. He did not find the bodies of the saints and the people of St. Trond were shocked by what happened. So much indeed, that the bishop of Liège commanded Lanzo to say a mass for the deceased whose bodies the diggers had dug up and to spray their corpses with holy water.<sup>274</sup> This story would have been perfectly suited to prove Lanzo was the wrong leader for the abbey of St. Trond, lacking the necessary support of the *familia* and saints.

When Rudolph was abbot of St. Pantaleon, he was witness to Norbert of Xanten, who found the relics of one of the Thebean soldiers who were martyred with their superior St.

---

<sup>273</sup> GaTct, 143-144: 'Quod abbas ubi vidit, territus in eo quod acciderat, rejecta humo et fossa repleta, cepum intermisit!'

<sup>274</sup> GaTct, 154: 'Abbas etiam Lanzo progredi veritus, priorem claustrum ad episcopum Leodiensem Henricum direxit, querens quid vel super inventis corporibus vel in reliquum sibi esset agendam. Qui huiusmodi factum in mandatis primo arguit, inde progressum vetat, et ad ultimum, ut celebratis misarum solempniis pro fidelibus defunctis et commendatione animarum facta, clauderentur sarchofagi, aspersis pruis aqua benedicta corporibus et incensatis, et sic terra operirentur mandavit. Quod ita factum fuit!'

Gereon.<sup>275</sup> Upon this successful relic translation, Rudolph proudly wrote a letter to St. Trond, even sending a particle of the relic to the abbey. It is safe to say therefore, that Rudolph did not object to the veneration of relics or relic translations. Most likely, Rudolph did not incorporate these stories because in his narrative he did not want to emphasize the veneration of relics or the worshipping of saints in general. He wanted his narrative to underline the importance of good behaviour and seclusion from the outside world. In other words, instead of seeking the solution for St. Trond's problems outside the monks themselves, he wanted to show the monks the importance of bettering their lives, starting with themselves.

As far as the period that Rudolph also wrote about, the GaTct does not have this reformative agenda. Instead, the writer is concerned with writing an overview of the monastery's history. Writing with a bird's eye view, and focussing on what had made the monastery a truly holy institution in the past, it is not surprising that the third continuator added important miracle stories tied up with the abbey's history. On the other hand, this bird's eye view had the result that part of Rudolph's narrative and arguments were lost. As discussed in the previous chapter, Rudolph gave elaborate praise to the abbatial qualities of Gerardus the provost. Rudolph writes that Gerardus was buried amongst the abbots when he died in 1093. The third continuator does not mention Gerardus at all. It might be that the third continuator wanted to structure his narrative as clearly as possible. Discussing a provost who had abbatial qualities, but was never actually an abbot, made matters more complicated than they already were.

---

<sup>275</sup> Rudolph of St. Trond, *Epistola Rodulfi abbatis de cenobio Sancti Pantaleonis ad conuentum Sancti Trudonis de inuentione corporis unius Thebeorum martyrum*, in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Tournai 2013) 129-134. Although Rudolph is not named in it, the translation is also mentioned in the *vita Norberti*, see: *Vita Norberti*, tr. by W. Grauwen, *Het leven van heer Norbert aartsbisschop van Maagdenburg* (Averbode 1984) 32, 33.



## Conclusion

In this thesis, I have tried to describe how Rudolph constructs his vision of monastic life in St. Trond. Rudolph carefully chose the beginning of his narrative to show how the monastery of St. Trond had suffered between 1082 and 1099. He also consciously picked a frame through which he wanted his readers to view the recent past. So, although Tombeur argues that Rudolph preferred historical 'facts', Rudolph did not simply write down what had happened in the monastery. By discussing the abbots before him and judging their rule, Rudolph demonstrated his readers his vision of ideal leadership for the monastery.

A good abbot took care of both secular and spiritual matters of the monastery. Rudolph wanted to restore order by commanding the monks to dress properly, by providing good education, by making sure the monks ate enough and proper food, and by taking care of good housing that was properly lit at night. Rudolph also made efforts to separate the monks from the outside world. He was adamant that the monastery restored its good name in the world. He presents himself in the GaT as the abbot capable of restoring traditions that had degenerated into worldly events. The implementation of the customs of Cluny in St. Trond was part of Rudolph's efforts to restore religious order. Part of Rudolph's reasoning for this change of customs, was that he saw nearby institutions flourish after adopting them. He did not want St. Trond to fall behind in both religious and secular success.

Rudolph's GaT narrates an attempt to separate the monks from the outside world not only in a physical, but also in a spiritual sense. In contrast to the *Liber miraculorum* written fifty years earlier, Rudolph did not focus on the relics of Trudo, nor on the monastery as a site of pilgrimage. The *Liber miraculorum* was written as propaganda to inspire both the monks and the *familia* of St. Trond. It depicts St. Trudo as an intervening and helpful saint for those who supported his cult. Rudolph did not underline the positive relation between the monks and their *familia*. On the contrary, Rudolph pointed out to the dangers of a monastery being a site where lay people sought help from their patron saint. The miracles happening at the abbey had incited vainglory and consequently had nearly destroyed monastery life in St. Trond.

Having a good reputation was of the utmost importance for Rudolph. This also holds for his own good name. Rudolph called it a miracle that religious life still existed in St. Trond. His GaT was an apology for the current state of the monastery under Rudolph's abbacy and at the same time confirmed his own position as reform abbot in St. Trond. He wanted his audience to know that he was responsible for 'the rebirth of religious life in the monastery, and purifying the

monastery of irreligiosity'. The monastery might have fallen into the deepest abyss, Rudolph wanted his readers to know that he was doing everything in his power to restore the religious order in St. Trond.

In this thesis, I have chosen to focus solely on monastic identity within the GaT. While this approach provided me with the possibility to study this case in detail, the downside is that a comparison with literary sources of another institution is lacking. In further research, I would like to analyse how Rudolph's efforts to use the past to explain the present compare to histories written in other monasteries. How did these writers 'use' the past? What was the specific historical context in which they wrote their work? Obvious candidates would be other *gesta*, such as the *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium* written by Folcuinus near the end of the tenth century or the *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium* written by Sigebert of Gembloux around 1075.<sup>276</sup> Another interesting comparison would be the *Liber de restauratione Sancti Martini Tornacensis* by Herman of Tournai (1095-1147).<sup>277</sup> Herman was a near contemporary of Rudolph, and around 1146 he wrote a history about the abbey of St. Martin in Tournai. There are some interesting parallels and differences between the two histories. Both are Benedictine monasteries in which the customs of Cluny are introduced. Both histories narrate the process of restoring religious life. In both works the Rule of St. Benedict forms an important inspiration. However, the GaT also shows important differences from *De restauratione*. The latter was clearly written in a more urban context. Although Künzel has used the GaT to write about early urban mentality, the town of St. Trond was relatively small and had formed itself around the monastery. It existed because the abbey was founded there. In the case of St. Martin of Tournai, the situation was the opposite. In this case there already existed a cathedral church in Tournai when the monastery of St. Martin was restored a situation which resulted in fierce competition between the canons and the monks.

Another important difference between the two works is that Herman of Tournai is clearly also writing a family history. Herman belonged to the Osmonds, one of the two important noble families within Tournai. Both his brother and his father entered St. Martin's abbey and gave away family property to the monastery. The history of the monastery and the Osmond family are therefore closely intertwined. Although it is thinkable that the family of

---

<sup>276</sup> Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium*, G.H. Pertz ed., *MGH SS 4* (Hannover 1841) 52-74. See: I. van Renswoude 'De keizer krijgt de tijd. Liturgische tijd en politieke geschiedenis in de kroniek van Lobbes', in: *Madoc* (2003) 244-253; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in: *MGH, SS. 8* (Hannover, 1848) 523-557. See: T. Licht, *Untersuchungen zum biographischen Werk Sigeberts von Gembloux* (Heidelberg, 2005) and Paztold, *Konflikte im Kloster*.

<sup>277</sup> Herman of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 236 (Turnhout 2010); Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, translated by: L.H. Nelson (Washington 1996).

Herman the Bald and Herman the Younger (both nobles) had a comparable relationship with St. Trond, this cannot be proven from the GaT. The 'outsider' Rudolph, who entered the monastery as an adult, did not stress family relations as much as Herman of Tournai.

Another, more thematic approach I would like to pursue in future research, is to develop themes from the RB, such as the themes I explored in chapter two. How does what Rudolph writes about clothing compare to other monastic narrative sources written around the period? What about poverty, monastic space, the 'old and young' and reform?

But also in this kind of research one needs to be aware that each monastery's history was written in a specific context to meet specific ends. Choosing a thematic approach is risky in a sense that these themes should not become static categories which do not reflect the lived experience within specific institutions. What I have particularly enjoyed in writing this thesis is exploring how Rudolph envisioned monastery life in St. Trond, or; how a relative outsider wrote about his responsibility for restoring religious order in a monastery that had fallen into the deepest abyss.

## Bibliography

### *Sources*

Bernard of Angers, *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, translated by: P. Sheinhorn, *The Middle Ages Series: The Book of Sainte Foy* (Pennsylvania 1971) 39-262.

Benedict of Nursia, *Benedicti regula*, translated and edited by: T. Fry, RB 1980. *The rule of St. Benedict in latin and English with notes* (Collegeville 1980).

*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, C. Piot ed., vols. 2 (Brussels 1870-1874).

Donatus, *Vita Trudonis confessoris Hasbaniensis auctore Donato*, in W. Levison ed., MGH, SS 6 (Hannover 1913) 273-298.

Donatus, *Vita Trudonis confessoris Hasbaniensis auctore Donato*, work translation in: W. van Meerbeek, *Het woord als zwaard. De relatie tussen de bisschoppen van Metz en de abdij van Sint-Truiden in de vroege en hoge middeleeuwen* (unpublished 2013).

Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Lobensium*, G.H. Pertz ed., MGH SS 4 (Hannover 1841) 52-74.

*Gesta abbatum Trudonensium, Continuatio secunda*, in: C. de Borman ed., *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond 2* (Liège 1877) 1-81.

*Gesta abbatum Trudonensium, Continuatio tertia*, in: C. de Borman ed., *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond 2* (Liège 1877) 82-336.

Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*, tr. by: L.H. Nelson (Washington 1996).

Herman of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 236 (Turnhout 2010).

Giselbert of St. Trond and Rudolph of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium VIII-XIII. Liber IX opus intextum Rodulfi Trudonensis*, CCCM 257A (Turnhout 2013).

Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013)

Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. C. de Borman, *Chronique de l'abbaye de St. Trond*, vols. 2 (Liège 1877).

Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* translated by: E. Lavigne, *Kroniek van de abdij van St. truiden Deel I 628-1138* (Assen/Maastricht 1986), *Deel II 1138-1558* (Leeuwarden/Maastricht 1988), *Deel III 1558-1679* (Leeuwarden/Mechelen 1993).

Stepelinus of St. Trond, *Miracula Trudonis Hasbaniensis, liber secundus vel Liber secundus miraculorum sancti Trudonis*, O. Holder Egger ed., in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, 15/2 (Hannover 1887) 822-830.

Stepelinus of St. Trond, *Miracula Sancti Trudonis*, in J. Mabillon ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti saeculum VI*, vol. 2 (Venice) 83-104.

Theodericus of St. Trond, *La vie de Saint Trond ou Trudon d'après un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle*, in J. Barbier ed., *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 5 (Louvain 1868) 431-459.

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in: *MGH, SS*. 8 (Hannover, 1848) 523-557.

*Vita Norberti*, tr. by W. Grauwen, *Het leven van heer Norbert aartsbisschop van Maagdenburg* (Averbode 1984).

Ullrich of Zell, *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii collectore S. Udalrico monacho Benedicto*, in: J.P. Migne ed., *Patrologia Latina* 149 (1882) 643-778'.

*Literature*

Aerts, J.H., 'Onuitgegeven gedichten van Rodolf van Sint-Truiden', in: *Het oude land van Loon* 11 (1956) 47-60.

Bernards, P., 'Die rheinische Mirakelliteratur im 12. Jahrhundert', in: *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 138 (1941) 1-78.

Bijsterveld A.J.A and D. van de Perre, eds. and transl., *Het mirakelboek en de stichtingsgeschiedenis van de Ninoofse abdij* (Louvain 2001).

Bijsterveld, A.J.A, *Do ut des. Gift giving, Memoria, and conflict management in the medieval low countries* (Hilversum 2007).

Boes, G., *L'abbaye de Saint-Trond. Des origines jusqu'a 1155* (Tongres 1970).

Boes, G., 'De abdij van Sint-Truiden tijdens de eerste eeuwen van haar bestaan', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 21 (1947) 66-73.

Bonenfant, P., 'L'épisode de la nef des tissérands de 1135', in: *Mélanges Félix Rousseau. Etudes sur l'histoire de Pays Mosan au Moyen Age* (Brussel 1958) 99-109.

Bourdieu, P., *The logic of practice*, translated by R. Nice (Stanford 1990).

Bourdieu P. and P. Lamaison, 'From rules to strategies: an interview with P. Bourdieu', *Cultural anthropology* 1 (1986) 110-120.

Boynton S. and I. Cochelin eds., *From dead of night to end of day. The medieval customs of Cluny* (Turnhout 2005).

Brassine, J., 'Contribution à l'étude de la troisième continuation du Gesta abbatum Trudonensium', in: *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège* 15 (1906) 441-447.

Brassine, J., 'Une source du livre II du miracula sancti Trudonis', in: *Bulletin de la société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse Liège* 26 (1935) 29-52.

Cassidy-Welch, M., *Monastic spaces and their meanings. Thirteenth-century English Cistercian monasteries* (Turnhout 2001).

Charles, J.L., *La ville de Saint-Trond au moyen-âge, des origines à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1965).

Claes, F., 'De voormalige abdij van Sint-Truiden en haar invloed tot het einde der dertiende eeuw', in: *Limburg* 38 (1959) 221-227.

Cochelin, I., 'Community and Customs: Obedience or Agency?', in: S. Barret, G. Mellville and G. Andenna eds., *Oboedientia. Zu Formen und Grenzen von Macht und Unterordnung im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum* (Münster 2005) 229–253

Cochelin, I., 'Customaries as inspirational sources', in: C. M. Malone and C. Maines eds., *Consuetudines et Regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, (Turnhout 2014) 27–72.

Coenen, J., 'Was de H. Adela de moeder van St-Trudo?', in: *Limburg* 35 (1956) 257-261.

Constable, G., 'Renewal and reform in religious life: concepts and realities', in: *Monks, hermits crusaders in medieval Europe* (London 1988) 37-67.

Constable, G., 'The authority of superiors in monastic communities', in: *Monks, hermits and crusaders in medieval Europe* (London 1988) 90-118.

Constable, G., 'Pueri and Seniores in Cluny', in: *The abbey of Cluny. A collection of essays to mark the eleven-hundredth birthday of its foundation* (Berlin 2010) 113-120.

Cox, H.L., 'Die Kontextfunktion der Miracula in den *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* (628-1558), der Vita und dem *Liber Miraculorum sancti Trudonis*', in: *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 60 (1996) 1-15.

M. Derwich, *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen age et Temps modernes* (Wrocław 1995)

Diehl J., and S. Vanderputten, 'Cluniac customs beyond Cluny: Patterns of use in the Southern Low Countries', in: *Journal of religious history* 41:1 (2017) 22-41.

Felten, F. J., 'Herrschaft des Abtes', in: F. Prinz ed., *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen* (Stuttgart 1988) 147-296.

George, P., 'Un réformateur lotharingien de choc: l'abbé Poppon de Stavelot (978-1048)', in: *Revue Mabillon: Revue internationale d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 10 (1999) 89-111.

Gilchrist, R., 'Experiencing age: the medieval body', in: *Medieval life: archeology and life course* (Woodbridge 2012) 32-67.

Gilchrist, R., 'Age, sexuality and transitional rights', in: *Medieval life: archeology and life course* (Woodbridge 2012) 68-113.

Goetz, H.W., *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin 1999).

Goffman, E., *Asylums. Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (New York 1961).

Grandjean, M., *Catalogue des manuscrits. Bibliothèque de l'université de Liège* (Liège 1875).

Gumbert, J.P., 'What do we want to remember? Memories in the manuscripts of two Dutch monasteries: the benedictine abbey of Egmond and the Utrecht charterhouse', in: *The Medieval Low Countries* 2 (2015) 19-35.

Hallinger, K., *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Graz 1971).

Hommelsaeghe, H. van, 'Sterven als symbolische performance van leiderschap: een kijk op de doodsbeschrijvingen van enkele Lotharingische kerkhervormers', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 92:2 (2014) 231-263.

Jestice, P.G., *Wayward monks and the religious revolution of the eleventh century* (Leiden 1997).



Jong, M. de, *In Samuel's image. Child oblation in the early medieval west* (Leiden 1995).

Knobau, G.M. von, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V, sechster Band: 1106-1122* (Leipzig 1907).

Koslin D.G. and J. E. Snyder eds., *Encountering medieval textiles and dress. Objects, texts, images* (New York 2002).

Künzel, R., *Beelden en zelfbeelden van middeleeuwse mensen* (Nijmegen 1997).

Lawrence, C.H., *Medieval monasticism* (New York 2015).

Levison, W., 'A rhythmical poem of about 1100 (by Rudolf of Saint-Trond?) against abuses, in particular simony and dancing in churchyards', in: *Medievalia et humanistica* 4 (1946) 3-25.

Licht, T., *Untersuchungen zum biographischen Werk Sigeberts von Gembloux* (Heidelberg, 2005).

Linck, E., *Sozialer Wandel in klösterlichen Grundherrschaften des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu den "familiae" von Gembloux, Stablo-Malmedy und St. Trond* (Göttingen 1979).

Lynch, J. H., *Simoniacal entry into religious life from 1000 to 1260: a social, economic, and legal study* (Ohio 1976).

Maier, C., 'Saints, tradition and monastic identity: the Ghent relics, 850-1100', in: *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 85:2 (2007) 223-277.

Van Meerbeek, W., *Het woord als zwaard. De relatie tussen de bisschoppen van Metz en de abdij van Sint-Truiden in de vroege en hoge middeleeuwen* (unpublished 2013).

Van Meerbeek, W., 'Réécriture van heiligenlevens over Sint-Trudo als literaire strategie, 784-1093', in: *Trajecta* 24 (2015) 209-241.

Meijns, B., *Aken of Jeruzalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van kanonikale instellingen in vlaanderen tot circa 1155* (Leuven 2000).

Melville, G., 'Aspekte zum Vergleich von Krisen und Reformen in mitterlalterlichen klöstern und Orden, in: *Mittelalterlichen Orden und Klöster im Vergleich* (Berlin 2007) 139-160.

Melville, G., *The world of medieval monasticism. Its history and forms of life* (Athens 2016).

Melville, G., 'Inside and outside. Some considerations about cloistral boundaries in the central middle ages', in: B. Meijns and S. vanderPutten eds., *Ecclesia in medio nationis: reflections on the study of monasticism in the central middle ages* (Louvain 2011) 167-182.

Melville, G., 'Regeln, *Consuetudines*-Texte-Statuten. Positionen für eine Typologie des normativen Schrifttums religiöser Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter', in: C. Ardena and G. Melville eds., *Regulae-consuetudines-Statuta. Studi sulle fonti degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del medioevo* (Münster 2005) 5-38.

Miller, M., *Clothing the clergy. Virtue and power in Medieval Europe c. 800-1200* (Ithaca 2014).

Mostert, M., 'Kennisoverdracht in het klooster. Over de plaats van lezen en schrijven in de vroegmiddeleeuwse monastieke opvoeding', in: R.E.V. Stuip and C. Vellekoop eds., *Scholing in de middeleeuwen* (Hilversum 1995) 87-126.

Mostert, M., 'Orality, non-written communication and monastic studies', in: S. Vanderputten ed., *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication (Western Europe, 10-13th centuries)* (Turnhout 2011) 367-388.

Patzold, S., *Konflikte im Kloster. Studien zu Auseinandersetzungen in monastischen Gemeinschaften des ottonisch-salischen Reichs* (Husum, 2000).

Preaux, J.G., 'Rodulfe de Saint-Trond et les principes de la critique historique', in: *Latomus* 5 (1946) 141-153.

Prelog, J., 'Rudolf de Saint-Trond, historian', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7 (München 2003) 1086.

Van Renswoude, I., 'De keizer krijgt de tijd. Liturgische tijd en politieke geschiedenis in de kroniek van Lobbes', in: *Madoc* (2003) 244-253.

Rosenwein, B.H., T. Head and S. Farmer, 'Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach', in: *Speculum*, 66:4 (1991) 764-796.

Schmidt, H.J., 'Vogtei', in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (Munich 1997) 1811-1814.

Schulenburg, J.T., 'Gender, celibacy, and proscriptions of sacred space: symbol and practice', in: M. Frassetto ed., *Medieval purity and piety* (New York 1998) 353-376.

Sellner, H., *Klöster zwischen Krise und correctio. Monastische "Reformen" im hochmittelalterlichen Flandern* (Göttingen 2016).

Sellner, H., 'Les communautés religieuses du Moyen Âge central et la recherche des réformes monastiques en Allemagne', in: B. Meijns, S. vanderPutten eds., *Ecclesia in medio nationis. Reflections on the Study of Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (Louvain 2011) 151-65.

Semmler, J., *Die Klosterreform von Siegburg: ihre Ausbreitung und ihr Reformprogramm im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Bonn 1959).

Shahar, S., *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: Winter Clothes Us in Shadow and Pain* (London 2004).

Sheinhorn, P., 'Introduction' in *The Middle Ages Series: The Book of Sainte Foy* (Pennsylvania 1971) 1-33.

Signori, G., 'Generationskonflikte im Kloster. Gedanken zum Mit- und Nebeneinander von Jung und Alt in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenkonventen.', in: S. Heusinger and A. Kehnel eds., *Generations in the Cloister: Youth and Age in Medieval Religious Life/ Generationen im Kloster: Jugend und Alter in der mittelalterlichen vita religiosa* (Mannheim 2008).

Sonntag, J., *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften. Symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit* (Berlin 2008).

Sonntag, J., 'Speisen des Himmels. Essgewohnheiten und ihre biblischen Konzeptionalisierungen im christlichen Kloster des Hochmittelalters zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit', in *Saeculum* 60:2 (2010) 259-276.

Stiennon, J., 'Cluny et Saint-Trond au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in: *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états/ Standen en landen 8: Problèmes Liégeois d'histoire médiévale*, (Louvain 1955) 55-88.

Tombeur, P., 'Les citations bibliques dans la chronique de Raoul de Saint-Trond', in: *Latomus* 20 (1961) 510-523.

Tombeur, P., 'Introduction', in: Rudolph of St. Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium I-VII accedunt epistolae*, CCCM 257 (GaT), ed. P. Tombeur (Turnhout 2013) I-L.

Tombeur, P., 'Introduction', in: Giselbert of St. Trond and Rudolph of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium VIII-XIII. Liber IX opus intextum Rodulfi Trudonensis*, CCCM 257A (Tournai 2013).

Vanderputten, S., M. Gypen and V. Lambert, 'Gesta abbatum Trudonensium (continuatio tertia), 'www.narrative-sources', [http://www.narrative-sources.be/naso\\_link\\_en.php?link=427](http://www.narrative-sources.be/naso_link_en.php?link=427), checked on 11-06-2017.

Vanderputten, S., 'Monastic reform, abbatial leadership and the instrumentation of cluniac discipline in the early twelfth-century low countries' in: *Revue Mabillon Revue Internationale d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* 23 (2012) 41-65.

Vanderputten, S., *Monastic Reform as a Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca 2013).

Vanderputten, S., *Reform, conflict, and the shaping of corporate identities. Collected studies on Benedictine monasticism 1050-1150* (Berlin 2013).

Werner, M., *Der Lütticher Raum in Frökarolingischer Zeit* (Göttingen 1980).

Zewierski, W., *Verba volant, scripta manent; Limits of speech, power of silence and logic of practice in some monastic conflicts of the high middle ages*, in: S. Vanderputten ed. *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication* (Turnhout 2011) 23-48.

## Appendix

After the introduction, Rudolph divides his history in seven books. In Book I, Rudolph discusses the monasteries history up until the death of Adelardus II in 1082. The book does not contain much politics, instead most space is used to write about the life of Guntram, who was abbot between 1034 and 1055.

Book II begins with the announcement that from now on troubles followed each other in St Trond. After relating the death of Adelardus II, Rudolph turns to the decision of the bishops of Liège and Metz, to instate Lanzo as the new abbot of St. Trond. The monks opposed this decision and most of them were consequently exiled from the abbey.

Book III starts when Lanzo is the new abbot of St. Trond. Shortly after this, the consequences of the Investiture Controversy start to be felt in St. Trond. Luipo, an exiled monk from St. Trond exploits this situation to his benefit and is named abbot by the bishop of Liège and the emperor. He marched on the monastery under guidance of the Gerard Wassenberg. The rest of the book narrates the battle between Lanzo and Luipo who fight over the abbacy of St. Trond. During this struggle the monastery is destroyed by armed forces in 1085. Although Lanzo eventually is allowed to remain abbot, he realises that he lacked the necessary support of his monks and amongst the *familia* of St. Trond. Book III ends when Lanzo illicitly sells off property of St. Trond and goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1086.<sup>278</sup>

Book IV ends with the deaths of Gerardus the Provost and Luipo in 1093. In earlier paragraphs, Rudolph writes how Herman the Bald, a monk of noble heritage, is named the candidate for the abbacy by the bishop of Metz and how he fights for the abbacy against Luipo and how he dies in 1091.<sup>279</sup>

In Book V, Herman the Younger, who was a nephew of Herman the Bald, is appointed as abbot by the bishop of Metz in 1093, against to the wishes of the monks. They complain to the bishop of Liège, and with success, because Herman the Younger is excommunicated by the bishop. Upon his excommunication, Herman seeks the support of Duke Henry of Limburg. With armed forces they move into St. Trond, but the monks vow to refrain from religious exercise until Herman has left the monastery. Herman does so when count Arnold van Loon comes to the aid of St. Trond. At this point, there is no abbot in St. Trond. Rudolph writes that the church of Liège took pity on St. Trond and started to look out for a suitable candidate for

---

<sup>278</sup> GaT, III, 29-42

<sup>279</sup> GaT, IV, 43-52.

the abbacy. They come up with Theoderic, a monk of St. Peter in Ghent, who had lived in St. Trond in his youth. After three letters by the Churches of Liège and Cologne Theoderic reluctantly accepted the position in 1099.<sup>280</sup>

Book VI has two subjects. First, Rudolph writes about the measures that Theoderic took to improve the situation in the monastery. By doing so, Rudolph in part also writes about his own endeavours in St. Trond, because Rudolph served as prior under Theoderic. The second part of book VI narrates the struggles between the protectors of St. Trond, Theoderic and Herman, and their respective followers amongst the monks. Near the end of book VI Rudolph narrates a personal victory, because he successfully introduced the customs of Cluny in St. Trond in 1107. Also in 1107, Theoderic died. Upon his death, Herman the Younger immediately returns to the monastery to renew his claim on the abbacy of St. Trond.<sup>281</sup>

Book VII has only one subject. The whole book is dedicated to Rudolph's struggle to become the abbot of St. Trond. Rudolph discusses at length how he travelled back and forth to Metz and to Liège, complete with anecdotes on summer mosquitoes, obtrusive house wives and details on how to build a sleeping place on the side of standing horse. The book ends in Liège, where Herman the Younger and Rudolph appear before the emperor in a public hearing. The Emperor chooses the side of Rudolph and after this Herman the Younger is no longer a serious contender to Rudolph's abbacy of St. Trond. Rudolph ends book VII with the remark that he does not want to write about his own abbacy, but that he wanted another monk to write about Rudolph's abbacy.<sup>282</sup>

Like I discussed above, Book VIII and X-XIII were written by an anonymous monk, who very well may have been Gislebertus. Book VIII narrates the first years of Rudolph's abbacy and focusses on Rudolph's reform program.<sup>283</sup> After Rudolph's letter in Book IX, the continuator elaborates on this letter in Book X, writing about Rudolph's efforts to protect the property of St. Trond and his quarrels with Giselbert of Duras. In Book XI the aforementioned conflict between Frederines and Alexandrines is narrated. As a consequence Rudolph was forced to leave the abbey in 1121.<sup>284</sup>

Book XII picks up the story in 1123 when Rudolph returned to St. Trond. Book XII contains the famous story of a weavers carnival ship that came to St. Trond in 1132.<sup>285</sup> The

---

<sup>280</sup> GaT, V, 53-58.

<sup>281</sup> GaT, VI, 59-79.

<sup>282</sup> GaT, VII, 80-96.

<sup>283</sup> GaT, VIII, 3-18.

<sup>284</sup> GaT, XI, 54-67.

<sup>285</sup> GaT, XII, 77-81.

continuator vividly tells how the monks were shocked by the behaviour of St. Trond's villagers who, danced 'half-naked' around the ship.<sup>286</sup>

In Book XIII, the continuator wraps up his narrative by elaborating on the list of possessions of St. Trond made up in 870 by the delegation from Metz in Book I. According to the continuator, this list was drawn up at a time of great wealth and it was not specific enough. The GaTc therefore ended with an extensive listing of the possessions of the abbey, the prebend of the monks and the income that the altars of their church provided. 'It will not come as a surprise that the prebend of the monastery became less, because we lost so many possessions', is the regrettable conclusion drawn by the first continuator at the end of his story.<sup>287</sup>

---

<sup>286</sup> Concerning the weaver's ship, see: P. Bonenfant, 'L'épisode de la nef des tissérands de 1135', in: *Mélanges Félix Rousseau. Etudes sur l'histoire de Pays Mosan au Moyen Age* (Brussel 1958) 99-109.

<sup>287</sup> GaT, XIII, 91: 'Quapropter tantis incommoditatibus, tantis defectibus simul concurrentibus, nemo miretur si intus sit prebenda attenuata, cum exterius sit substantia sic, et multo amplius quam dixerim extenuata'.



	Period	Abbots	Important dates and events
Book I	999-1082	- Adelardus I (999-1034) - Guntram (1034-1055) - Adelardus II (1055-1082)	1072 - Death of Bishop Adalbero of Metz. His death resulted in a more troubled relationship with the Bishopric of Metz.
Book II	1082-1085	- Lanzo (1082-1085)	1085 - Church of St. Trond burns down while Lanzo is abbot
Book III	1085 - 1086	- Luipo (1085) - Lanzo (1086)	1085 - destruction of St. Trond during fighting between supporters of Lanzo and Luipo  1086 - Lanzo sells property of the monastery, abdicates and departs on a pilgrimage
Book IV	1086-1093	- Herman the Bald (1086-1091) - Luipo (1091-1093)	11th august 1091 - Herman the Bald deposed from office. Luipo becomes abbot on the date of the translation of the relics of Trudo and Eucherius
Book V	1093-1099	- Herman the Younger (1093-1099)	
Book VI	1099-1107	- Theoderic (1099-1107)	1103 - Rudolph appointed prior  1st of March 1107 - Customs of Cluny introduced in St. Trond  26th April 1107 - Theoderic dies
Book VII	1107-1108	- Sedisvacation. Herman the Younger and Rudolph both struggle to become the new abbot  - Rudolph (1108-1138)	August 1107 - Monks of St. Trond plead against Herman the Younger in Metz  December 1107 - Herman the Younger and Rudolph appear before Emperor Henry IV  January 1108 - The Bishop of Metz chooses Rudolph as the new abbot