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978-1-107-00281-4 - The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, C.744–C.900

Janneke Raaijmakers

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Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought

THE MAKING OF THE MONASTIC
COMMUNITY OF FULDA, c.744–c.900

The monastic community of Fulda was one of the most powerful institutions in early medieval Europe. This book traces the development of the community from its foundation in the 740s over one and a half centuries, a period richly documented by a variety of texts and archaeological remains. These sources reveal how Fulda's success forced the monks to rethink their goals and the ways in which they sought to achieve them. Its close connection to the Carolingian royal court also makes Fulda a fascinating case study of how local events influenced life in the palace, and vice versa. The importance of Fulda and the rich array of sources associated with it have long been recognised, but this is the first full study, bringing together history, religion, architectural history and archaeology. The result is a vivid picture of life in this monastery and also in early medieval religious communities in general.

JANNEKE RAAIJMAKERS is a lecturer in Medieval History at the Universiteit Utrecht.

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For Jaap-Hein

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PREFACE

This book is the result of a research project on monasteries and religious transformation in the early Middle Ages, sponsored by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), with a special focus on identity formation in the monastery of Fulda. This special interest was born from my Ph.D. project, which I completed at the University of Amsterdam, which also dealt with the monks of Fulda and their uses of the past. My gratitude goes to both NWO and the University of Amsterdam for financing the research, which made it possible to write this book, and to my colleagues there who made it a pleasant experience, in particular my roommates Erik Goosmann, Floor Meijer, Maarten Ternede and Vincent Kuitenbrouwer.

One of the reasons that motivated me to continue my work on Fulda after completing my Ph.D. was the commentary of Bernd Goebel, who advised me to incorporate Fulda's cartulary in my analysis of the monks' attempts to create a group identity. I am grateful to him for this suggestion and his other comments, and to the Förderkreis of the Theologische Fakultät in Fulda, of which he is a member, for awarding me the Josef-Leinweber-Preis, which was a great stimulus to continue my work on Fulda. I am also indebted to Barbara Rosenwein, who read the whole thesis meticulously and gave useful comments and suggestions, and who suggested I treat Fulda's past in a chronological order, instead of focusing on certain themes as I had done in my thesis. Her advice, among other incentives, stimulated me to incorporate new material. I also thank Thomas Noble, another careful reader, who encouraged me to integrate my analysis of the monastery's architecture more fully into the narrative and to include the second half of the ninth century, instead of ending the book with the abbacy of Hrabanus Maurus (822–842). Moreover, together with the Onderzoeksschool Mediëvistiek that funded my travel expenses, he made it possible for me to spend a couple of months as a postdoctoral

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research associate at the Medieval Institute at Notre Dame. I thank him and the other members of the Institute for their warm welcome and fruitful discussions, among others Paul Cobb, Anne Lester, Scott Bruce and Caroline Goodson. Scott Bruce was so kind as to read most of the chapters of this book, giving suggestions on how to correct my English and the chapter's contents. Caroline Goodson came to the rescue when I was in need of a good survey of the monastery's physical development and drew Figure 3 for me. I am very grateful to them both.

To the following people I am indebted for sharing their knowledge and (unpublished) writings, enlightening me in fields outside my discipline and/or discussing the themes and subjects that underlie this book: Julia Smith, Karl Heidecker, Mary Garrison, Lex Bosman, Albrecht Diem, Richard Corradini, Frans Theuws, Els Rose, Louk Meijer, Julian Hendrix, Max Diesenberger, Gerda Heydemann, Hans Hummer, Christopher Zwanzig, James Palmer, John Clay and Peter Hoppenbrouwers. I greatly benefited from the discussions of the *Texts and Identities* meetings in Vienna, Cambridge and Wassenaar and the *T&I* sessions at the IMC in Leeds, and thank the participants for their useful suggestions and inspiring contributions.

I thank Guy Geltner, John Ackerman, Erik Goosmann and Annika Rulkens for reading parts of the book and preventing me from small and big mistakes. Annika was, moreover, a great help with tidying up my bibliography, the footnotes of the first chapters and checking references. Jan van Doren helped me with the index, and Dorine van Espelo with correcting the proofs, for which I am very grateful. I am much obliged to Rosamond McKitterick, who has carefully gone through the whole manuscript and whose comments improved both its contents and writing. I thank the staff of Cambridge University Press and Out of House Publishing for their patience and help with finalising the manuscript. The errors, omissions and 'Dutchisms' that remain are entirely my own responsibility.

I thank the staff of the Hessische Landesbibliothek and the library of the Theologische Fakultät in Fulda, the Hessisches Staatsarchiv in Marburg, the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Trinity College library in Cambridge, the Vatican Library in Rome and the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht for their assistance during my visits and their kindness in providing me with microfilms, CDs and photographs. I thank Helmut Reimitz for making it possible to consult Vienna, ÖNB, Cvp 460. The cover picture for the book was supplied by the Vatican Library in Rome. I am very grateful to Florike van Egmond and David McKitterick for their generous help with the illustrations. I also thank Eva Krause, who kindly gave permission to use her drawing of the Ratger basilica (Figure 4 in this book), and

Preface

the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht for granting me permission to use an image from Brouwer's *Fuldensium antiquitatum* (Figure 7).

I had already finished the manuscript when the volume *Kirche und Schrift: Hrabanus Maurus in Fulda* (2010) was published, which included the article 'Sturmi oder Bonifatius' of Gereon Becht-Jördens. I was able to incorporate some of his remarks, though others need further processing. I will leave this to another time. I had, however, heard his lecture during the *Hrabanus Maurus* symposium in Fulda in October 2006, which forms the basis of his article. It inspired me to understand the altar programme in Fulda's abbey church as a reflection of a monastic self-image, in which Eastern and Western traditions of monasticism and the importance of Sturmi and Boniface for Fulda were brought together (see Chapter 5).

Some of the material in this book has been published before, though in different forms and contexts. I have elaborated on Hrabanus' churches and relic translations in an article on 'sacred landscapes' published in *Millenium*, in the lecture I presented in Fulda in June 2006, published in the Hrabanus volume mentioned above, and in an article about the role of matter in Christian devotion, which has been published in another Hrabanus volume, this one edited by P. Depreux, S. Lebecq, M. J.-L. Perrin and O. Szerwiniak (2011). Material from the last chapter was published as part of an article on memory and identity in the first *Texts and Identities* volume (2006).

I once read the preface of somebody who thanked his children for keeping him sane. At that time I liked the remark, but did not fully appreciate its significance. Now I do. Keeping me sane is precisely what Aafke and Magnus have done for me. They were born in the same period in which I was writing this book, extending it and making it more worthwhile. I thank my friends and family for their loving support, in particular my mother.

I would like to single out three people for special thanks, for without them I would not have got this far. Mayke de Jong has been involved from the start and has been very generous in her support. She supervised my thesis and has been there for me throughout the whole process of writing this book, reading every chapter and providing me with wise counsel. So has Irene van Renswoude. She has been an unfailing support and wonderful friend, while going through a similar process, writing her own book. Reading her work was immensely inspiring, as were her comments on my writings. Lastly, I want to thank Jaap-Hein Vrugink, who has not only read and commented upon every page, but whose trust and love was a steady force guiding me throughout the whole process. To him I dedicate this book.

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A NOTE ON ANNOTATION, CITATION AND TRANSLATION

For reasons of space, I have used short titles in the footnotes. For the full titles I refer the reader to the bibliography. Titles of sources and literature that I use frequently I have abbreviated. They can be found in the list of used abbreviations. The articles on Fulda's charters and cartulary that Edmund Stengel published in the *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* and the *Archiv für Diplomatik* under the headings Fuldensia I, II, III and IV have later been collected and published in *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda*. For my references I have used this edition. Translations of texts from the Vulgate come from the Douay-Rheims Bible, in the version revised by Richard Challoner. When translations are not my own, I indicate this in the footnotes.

ABBREVIATIONS

799 <i>Kunst und Kultur</i>	C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), 799 <i>Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn</i> , 3 vols. (Mainz, 1999)
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. J. Bollandus et. al. (Antwerp/Brussels, 1643–)
AfD	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i>
AF	<i>Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7 (Hanover, 1891)
AFa	<i>Annales Fuldenses antiquissimi</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7 (Hanover, 1891)
AMK	<i>Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte</i>
ARF	<i>Annales regni Francorum unde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hanover, 1895)
AUGRF	E. E. Stengel, <i>Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda</i> , VFG 37 (Fulda, 1960)
BAV	Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana
Candidus, <i>Vita Aegil</i>	Candidus, <i>Vita Aegil</i> , ed. G. Becht-Jördens, <i>Vita Aegil abbatis Fuldensis a Candido ad Modestum edita prosa et versibus. Ein opus geminum des IX. Jahrhunderts. Einleitung und kritische Edition</i> (Marburg 1994) I: prose; II: poem
CCM	<i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> , ed. K. Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963–)

List of abbreviations

CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1952–)
CDF	<i>Codex diplomaticus Fuldenis</i> , ed. Ernst Dronke (Kassel, 1850)
CLA	E. A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> , 11 vols. plus supplement (Oxford, 1935–71)
CLb	<i>Chronicon Laurissense breve</i> , ed. F. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, <i>Neues Archiv</i> 36 (1911), pp. 15–39
Clm	Codices latini monacenses
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
Eigil, <i>Vita Sturmi</i>	Eigil, <i>Vita Sturmi</i> , ed. P. Engelbert, <i>Die Vita Sturmi des Eigils von Fulda. Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition</i> VHKHW 29 (Marburg 1968)
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
FGbl	<i>Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter</i>
FGM	Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters
FHSS	Fuldaer Hochschulschriften
FrSt	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
FSt	Fuldaer Studien
FW	Fulda Werk = K. Schmid et. al. (ed.), <i>Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter</i> , 3 vols., MMS 8 (Munich, 1978)
Gugel, <i>Handschriften</i> , I and II	K. Gugel, <i>Welche erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Handschriften dürfen der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda zugerechnet werden?</i> Teil I: <i>Die Handschriften</i> ; Teil II: <i>Die Fragmenten aus Handschriften</i> , FHSS 23a and b (Frankfurt am Main, 1995 and 1996)

List of abbreviations

<i>HJL</i>	<i>Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte</i>
HL	Hessische Landesbibliothek
Hussong, 'Fulda', I and II	U. Hussong, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda bis zur Jahrtausendwende', <i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i> 31 (1985), 1–225 and 'Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda bis zur Jahrtausendwende. Zweiter Teil', <i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i> 32 (1986), 129–304
<i>Kloster Fulda</i>	G. Schrimpf (ed.), <i>Das Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen. Kultur – Politik – Wirtschaft</i> , FSt 7 (Fulda, 1996)
<i>LdM</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , 10 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, [1977]–1999), in <i>Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias – Lexikon des Mittelalters Online</i> < http://www.brepolis.net/bme >
<i>LP</i>	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> , eds. L. Duchense, J. Bayet and C. Vogel, <i>Le liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–1957)
<i>LTK</i>	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , eds. M. Buchberger, W. Kasper and K. Baumgartner, 11 vols., 3 edn (Freibourg, 1993–2001)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum Francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1883–97)
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia, Legum Sectio III, Concilia: II</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906–9); <i>III</i> , ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984); <i>IV</i> , ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1998)
<i>DD</i>	<i>Diplomata</i> (based on MGH abbreviations. See bibliography for full details)
<i>Kar. I</i>	Pippin, Carloman and Charlemagne
<i>LG</i>	Louis the German
<i>LY</i>	Louis the Younger
<i>CIII</i>	Charles III the Fat
<i>LC</i>	Louis the Child
<i>Arn</i>	Arnulf of Carinthia

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CI	Conrad I
HI	Henry I
Epp.	<i>Epistolae</i> , 8 vols. (Hanover, 1887–1939)
Poet. lat.	<i>Poetae latini aevi Carolini</i> , eds. E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols. (Hanover, 1881–99)
SRG	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> , 63 vols. (Hanover, 1871–1987)
SRM	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> , eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 7 vols. (Hanover, 1885–1920)
SS	<i>Scriptores in-folio</i> , 30 vols. (Hanover, 1824–1924)
MGM	Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MMS	Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften
NCMH, vol. II	R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>The New Cambridge Medieval History II: c. 700–c. 900</i> (Cambridge, 1995)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne 221 vols. (Paris, 1841–64)
QAGADF	Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda
Rudolf, <i>Miracula</i>	Rudolf of Fulda, <i>Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum</i> , MGH SS 15 (Hanover, 1887), pp. 328–41
RB	<i>Regula Benedicti</i> , eds. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, <i>La règle de Saint Benoît</i> , SC 181–6 (Paris, 1971–1972)
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (1942–)
Settimane	Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo (1953–)
SL	<i>Supplex Libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus</i> , (a. 812 and 816/7), ed. J. Semmler, CCM 1, pp. 319–27
TAF	<i>Traditiones et antiquitates Fuldenses</i> , ed. E. F. J. Dronke (Fulda, 1844)
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TRW	The Transformation of the Roman World
Typologie	Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental

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<i>UBF</i>	<i>Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda</i> I, ed. Edmund E. Stengel, VHKHW 10 (Sigmaringen, 1958)
<i>URH</i>	<i>Urkundenbuch der Reichsabtei Hersfeld</i> I, ed. H. Weirich, VHKHW 19 (Marburg, 1936)
VF	Vorträge und Forschungen
VFG	Veröffentlichungen der Fuldaer Geschichtsvereins
VHKH	Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hessen
VHKHW	Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck
VMPIG	Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte