Beyond Mission:
Willibrord as a Political Actor between Early Medieval Ireland, Britain and Merovingian Francia (690–739)

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

2022

Michel Summer

Trinity College Dublin

School of Histories and Humanities

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

_____

Summary

The thesis examines the activity of the Northumbrian cleric Willibrord (658–739) on the continent between 690 and 739. Willibrord's arrival in the Frankish kingdom in 690 and his consecration as archbishop of the Frisians in Rome in 695 have long been perceived as important events in the history of early medieval Europe. However, this assessment was primarily based on the notion of Willibrord as the first 'Anglo-Saxon' missionary on the continent who initiated the alliance between the papacy and the early Carolingians. The thesis detaches Willibrord's activity from this teleological framework and analyses the development of his network in Francia, where he founded the monastery of Echternach in 697/8. The thesis argues that his integration into the ecclesiastical and political landscape between Utrecht and Trier cannot have resulted from his alliance with the early Carolingians only, who had not yet asserted themselves as the dominant family in Francia in 690. Furthermore, the traditional division of the sources into clear-cut categories such as 'Anglo-Saxon', 'Irish' and 'Frankish' fails to capture the extent of Willibrord's horizon, which reached from Ireland to Rome. Most of the sources for Willibrord's career between 690 and 739 concern his activity *within* the borders of the Frankish kingdom, yet few studies have so far focused on the question of Willibrord's role on the continent beyond his missionary activity.

The first chapter examines the most important hagiographical sources as well as the earliest charters from Echternach. I argue that the accounts of Bede and Alcuin have been combined by modern scholars in order to develop the notion of Willibrord as a representative of both the *Angli* of Northumbria and the early Carolingians. This framework has subsequently provided the foundation for the interpretation of the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*. However, by approaching the *Liber aureus* from the perspective of the hagiography, the context of the manuscript's compilation in the late twelfth-century is ignored. By disentangling the different stages of their transmission and interpretation, the charters reveal that the composition of Willibrord's network in Francia was much more complex than Bede and Alcuin's influential portrayals suggest.

The second chapter analyses Willibrord's network from yet another perspective, that of the contemporary *Calendar*. The martyrological entries in the *Calendar*, written at Echternach, do not only reflect the extent of the monastic community's horizon, but their compilation also indicates that the scribes' perspective shifted from the Insular world to the area between Utrecht and Trier after *c.* 700. The second part of the chapter further contextualises the entries in the *Calendar*. It can be shown that Willibrord's circle commemorated its links with Ireland and Northumbria at Echternach. At the same time, Willibrord extended his network to the

surrounding dioceses of Cologne, Tongeren-Maastricht and Trier. The *Calendar* suggests that the adoption of traditions from his field of activity allowed Willibrord to integrate himself into the ecclesiastical landscape of north-eastern Francia. At the same time, he extended his network beyond Echternach and participated in the development of new ecclesiastical structures in Thuringia and in Alsace.

The final chapter reconsiders Willibrord's relationship with the family of Pippin II. The previous chapters have demonstrated that the development of Willibrord's network on the continent was a more dynamic process than the notion of the missionary in the service of the early Carolingians implies. The third chapter shows that the consecration as archbishop of the Frisians was not part of a coherent 'Carolingian' strategy. Rather, the consecration allowed Willibrord to adapt himself to the situation he encountered in the border region between Francia and south-western Frisia. The conflict between Pippin, his son Charles Martel and the Frisian leader Radbod was embedded in the political conflicts within the Frankish kingdom rather than in a context of military conquest and enforced Christianisation. The chapter suggests that, throughout his time on the continent, the early Carolingians repeatedly sought Willibrord's support. Their relationship was thus neither fixed nor predetermined; it was based on Willibrord's position as a political actor in Francia and his ability to combine the spiritual and economic resources of the Merovingian elite, especially in times of political conflict.

The thesis places Willibrord at the intersection of the ecclesiastical and political networks which existed between Ireland, Britain, the Frankish kingdom and Rome in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Therefore, the thesis provides an important example of the complex role played by Insular clerics on the continent in the late Merovingian period.

Acknowledgements

This thesis came out of a chance meeting with my supervisor, Immo Warntjes, in Freiburg in February 2017. The completion of the project would not have been possible without Dr Warntjes' constant support throughout the past four years, and I would like to thank him for all his advice and guidance. I am very grateful to the Luxembourg National Research Fund for the generous funding of my PhD. I was fortunate to receive the AFR Individual scholarship for a period of four years, which enabled me to undertake the PhD in the first place and to successfully complete the thesis. I also have to thank Carlo Duprel and Gilles Genot, who kindly assisted me with the application for the scholarship in 2017. I also owe a significant debt of gratitude to Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, who supported the project from the very beginning and on whose scholarship this thesis very much relied.

Throughout the PhD, I have greatly benefitted from the kindness, generosity and knowledge of my colleagues in the Medieval History Research Centre and beyond. I am grateful to Catherine Bromhead, Donncdha Caroll, Lynn Kilgallon, Daryl Rooney, Niall Ó Súilleabháin, Christian Schweizer, Judith ter Horst and Tobit Loevenich for all their help. I am also indebted to Stephan Bruhn, Carlo Cedro, Christian Dengg, Alexander Kelleher, Sihong Lin, Brendan Meighan and Rike Szill, who have proofread large parts of the thesis and saved me from many errors. Likewise, Laury Sarti has helped me on many occasions, and I owe my first scholarly publication to her support – *villmols merci*!

I would also like to express my gratitude to Pierre Kauthen, Dermot Mulligan and the members of the Willibrordus-Bauverein for all their support throughout the past four years. Furthermore, I am thankful to Jip Barreveld, Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, Susanne Brather-Walter, Isabelle Deflers, Jürgen Dendorfer, Cornel Dora, Jean Ehret, Hubert Fehr, Colin Ireland, Monique Kieffer, Steffen Krieb, Máirín MacCarron, Rosamond McKitterick, Charles Mériaux, Nancy Netzer, Han Nijdam, Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, Klaus Oschema, James T. Palmer, Hérold Pettiau, Daniel Schumacher, Joanna Story, Frans Theuws, Steven Vanderputten, Théophile Walin, Dominik Waßenhoven, Niamh Wycherley, the staff of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in Munich and the staff of the TCD Library.

A large part of this thesis was written during the COVID-19 pandemic. I could not have completed the thesis during these challenging times without the support of my family and friends. Above all, I want to thank my parents for all their help during the past ten years. Bennet, Christian, Daniel, Felix, Holger, Laurent, Lucas, Marc, Roman-Tassilo, Yannick and Svenia all contributed to the completion of the project. This thesis is dedicated to Diana, without whose patience, love and support it would not have been written.

Table of Contents

Declaration ii

Summary iii

Acknowledgements v

Abbreviations viii

Introduction 1

State of Research 5

New Perspectives in Recent Scholarship 17

Research Question 24

Sources and Methodology 27

1. Willibrord as a Political Actor: The Hagiographical Narrative Versus the Charter Evidence 32

1.1 The Depiction of Willibrord's Network in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Alcuin's Prose *Vita Willibrordi* 33

1.1.1 Early Life in Northumbria and Ireland 33

1.1.2 The Mission to Frisia 39

1.1.3 Willibrord's Relationship with Pippin II 47

1.1.4 Beyond Utrecht and Rome 57

1.2 The Charters of the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*: Implications and Limitations 60

1.2.1 The Compilation of the *Liber aureus*: Theoderic's *Chronicon* (1191) 61

1.2.2 Camille Wampach's Edition (1929–30) 68

1.2.3 The Identity of the *abbatissa* Irmina 74

1.2.4 Donors and Networks: Beyond the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* 87

2. Between *Hibernia* and *Francia*: Willibrord's Ecclesiastical Network 95

2.1 Intersections: The Martyrological Entries in Willibrord's *Calendar* 96

2.1.1 The Date and Compilation of the *Calendar* 97

2.1.2 Establishing an Interpretative Framework for the *Calendar* 104

2.2 Foundations: Willibrord's Ecclesiastical Horizon Around 700 119

2.2.1 Ripon, Rath Melsigi and Iona 120

2.2.2 Péronne, Nivelles and Rome 138

2.3 Connections: The Development of Willibrord's Network, *c.* 690–728 149

2.3.1 Adaption: The Dioceses of Trier, Cologne and Tongeren-Maastricht 149

2.3.2 Expansion: Chelles, Thuringia, Strasbourg 162

3. 'Vassal' or 'Political Player'? The Relationship Between Willibrord and the Family of Pippin II 180

3.1 A 'Momentous Decision'? The Establishment of the See of Utrecht 182

3.1.1 Willibrord as Archbishop 184

3.1.2 The Mission to Frisia in its Political Context, 690–714 192

3.2 Willibrord Between Frisia and Francia, *c.* 706–26 210

3.2.1 Missionary Outposts and Carolingian *Eigenklöster*? Echternach and Susteren 211

3.2.2 Reassessing Willibrord's Role in the 'Pippinid Succession Crisis' 220

Conclusions 229

Bibliography 233

Primary sources 233

Secondary sources 239

Abbreviations

AASS	Acta sanctorum
Alcuin, *VW*	Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose), ed. and trans. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii. Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003), 34–75.
Bede, *HE*	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, eds and trans. Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 2–577.
Calendar	Paris, BnF, lat. 10837, fols 34^{v}–40^{r}.
CLA	Elias A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols (Oxford et al., 1934–71).
Continuationes Fredegarii	*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continationibus*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 168–193.
Fredegar, *Chronicae*	*Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continationibus*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 18–168.
LHF	*Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 215–328.
Liber aureus	Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 71.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
AA	Auctores antiquissimi.
DD	Diplomata.
Epp.	Epistolae.
LL	Leges.
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum.
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi.
SS	Scriptores.

Wampach, *Quellenband*	*Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des* liber aureus Epternacensis *(698-1222) I.2: Quellenband*, ed. Camille Wampach (Luxembourg, 1930).

Introduction

In the year 728, a short note was added to the margin of fol. 39^{v} of the manuscript which is now referred to as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 10837:

> *In nomine Domini, Clemens Uuillibrordus anno sexcentessimo nonagessimo ab Incarnatione Christi ueniebat ultra mare in Francea, et in Dei nomine sexcentessimo nonagessimo quinto ab Incarnatione Domini quamuis indignus fuit ordinatus in Romae episcopus ab apostolico uiro domno Sergio papa. Nunc uero in Dei nomine agens annum septengentessimum uigessimum octauum ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi in Dei nomine feliciter.*[1]

The note commemorates the arrival of *Clemens Uuillibrordus*, today known as Willibrord, in *Francea*, the kingdom of the Franks, in 690 as well as his consecration as (arch)bishop in Rome by Pope Sergius I (687–701) in 695.[2] The short text was probably written by none other than Willibrord himself, aged seventy, at his monastery at Echternach (modern Luxembourg).[3] Despite its briefness, the note shows that Willibrord's life encompassed at least three stages: the indication *ultra mare* ('from across the sea') refers to his arrival from Ireland. Born in Northumbria in 658, Willibrord spent twelve years at the monastery of Rath Melsigi (modern Clonmelsh, County Carlow) between 678 and 690 before he left for the continent. After two visits to Rome and his consecration as *archiepiscopus* of the *gens* of the Frisians in 695, he founded the monastery of Echternach in 697/8, where he died in 739.[4]

Willibrord's itinerary is reflected in the variety of his modern portrayals: he is today venerated as the second patron saint of Luxembourg. In the course of last century, he has been referred to as the 'Apostle of the Frisians' and 'of the Netherlands',[5] the 'English'

---

[1] Paris, BnF, lat. 10837, fol. 39^{v} (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z/f81.item) [accessed: 30 August 2021]; *CLA* 5, 606a (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/975) [accessed: 30 August 2021]: 'In the name of the Lord, Clement Willibrord, in the year 690 from the incarnation of Christ, came to Francia from across the sea; and, in the name of God, in the year 695 from the incarnation of the Lord, he, though unworthy, was ordained bishop in Rome by the Apostolic man, Lord Sergius the Pope; but now, in the name of the Lord, he lives happily in the name of God through the year 728 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ'. For the transcription of the note see *The Calendar of St Willibrord from MS Paris Lat. 10837: A Facsimile with Transcription, Introduction, and Notes*, ed. Henry A. Wilson (London, 1918), 13; for the translation see Yitzhak Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord and Echternach', in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 187–198: 187; on the manuscript and the *Calendar*, which contains the note, see chapter 2.1.

[2] On Willibrord's name see David R. Howlett, 'Wilbrord's autobiographical note and the "Versus Sybillae de iudicio Dei"', *Peritia*, 20 (2008), 154–64: 158–9; on his consecration, where he received the Roman name Clemens, see chapter 1.1.3.

[3] The attribution of the note to Willibrord's own hand has recently been defended by Joanna E. Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the letters of Pope Honorius I on the genesis of the archbishopric of York', *The English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), 783–818: 798, n. 70.

[4] On Rath Melsigi see below, 17; on the date and place of Willibrord's death see below, 29; on the foundation of Echternach see chapter 1.2.

[5] Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1898–1911), 1.447; Gabriël H. Verbist, *Saint Willibrord: Apôtre des Pays-Bas et fondateur d'Echternach* (Bruges, 1939).

counterpart of Columbanus of Luxeuil (d. 615),[6] the 'first great Anglo-Saxon',[7] 'Ireland's first ambassador to Europe' and a 'true European'.[8] The enumeration shows that Willibrord's 'place in history' (to use an expression by the German historian Wilhelm Levison) has been shaped by the overlapping of different national discourses – from Ireland to Luxembourg – across the past two centuries.[9] At the same time, his wide-ranging activity between the Insular world, Francia and Rome has allowed for his characterisation as a 'European' figure. Both the national and the international dimensions of the modern image of Willibrord are connected through the focus on his missionary activity in Frisia.[10] In modern scholarship, Willibrord has been primarily embedded in the overriding framework of the Christianisation of Europe between the fall of Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and the formation of the Carolingian Empire in the late eighth century. The spread and consolidation of Christianity beyond the borders of the former Western Roman Empire has long been perceived as the most important societal change which took place during this period.[11] Within this development, Willibrord's mission to the continent has been, above all, analysed with regard to the impact of Insular clerics on the development of Christianity in the Frankish kingdom and its border regions.[12]

The traditional emphasis on Willibrord's Insular background and his role as a missionary in Frisia is in stark contradiction to the marginal note in the *Calendar*, which states that Willibrord came 'across the sea to Francia'. Echternach was founded in the heart of Austrasia, the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom, close to the former Roman imperial residence of Trier and far away from the non-Christian regions of Frisia and Saxony.[13]

---

[6] Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1943* (Oxford, 1946), 320.

[7] Camille Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord: Der erste große Angelsachse* (unpublished work, ed. posthumously by Jean Pastoret; Echternach, 1971).

[8] Dermot Mulligan, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Pierre Kauthen, *Re-Discovering St. Willibrord: Patron Saint of Luxembourg, First Apostle of the Netherlands and his County Carlow Connection* (Carlow, 2018), 11–2. The last two quotes go back to Mary McAleese, the former President of Ireland (1997–2011), who visited Echternach in 2009; on Willibrord's portrayal in modern scholarship between the late nineteenth and early twenty-first centuries see Jean Schroeder, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', *Hémecht*, 31.3 (1979), 339–52; Paul Spang, 'Saint Willibrord et l'abbaye d'Echternach dans l'historiographie luxembourgeoise', *Hémecht*, 42 (1990), 171–83; Eugène Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', in Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod (eds), *Missions and Missionaries* (Woodbridge, 2000), 16–31; Hérold Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action: Une historiographie entre ancrage local et perspectives nationales et internationales (début 19^{e}–début 21^{e} siècle)', *Hémecht*, 66 (2014), 317–36.

[9] See Wilhelm Levison, 'St. Willibrord and his place in history', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 314–29 [Originally published in *The Durham University Journal*, 32 (1940), 23–41].

[10] See Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 317–9; on Frisia see chapter 3.1.2.

[11] See Roy Flechner and Maíre Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Introduction', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 1–8: 1.

[12] On the term 'mission' see below, 19.

[13] Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler, *Die Anfänge der Abtei Echternach: Von der Villa Epternacus zum frühmittelalterlichen Wallfahrtszentrum* (Luxembourg, 1996), 8–16; Michel Polfer, 'Christentum zwischen

Historians have long debated the question of how the two 'sides' of Willibrord's career were connected.[14] Less attention has been paid to Willibrord's position in Francia beyond the foundation of Echternach. Outside of Frisia, his network stretched from the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta to Thuringia.[15] This dimension of his activity is primarily documented through donations of property by Frankish landowners to the bishop or to the churches and monasteries under his authority.[16] These contacts have often been perceived as an extension only of his missionary activity, which he established during his travels between his episcopal see at Utrecht and his 'retreat' at Echternach.[17] However, the question of how Willibrord was able to attract the support of Christian landowners across Austrasia within a decade of his arrival, is partially left unanswered. The speed with which he integrated himself into the local ecclesiastical structures and the fact that he secured his position in the long term, cannot be explained solely on the basis of his missionary activity.[18]

The aim of the thesis is to shift the perspective on Willibrord from the Frisian mission to the establishment of his network in north-eastern Francia. By focusing on the areas outside of Frisia, the potential arises to perceive Willibrord's activity *in Francea* as a fundamental component of his continental career. I argue that the development of Willibrord's network was a complex process which was not *a priori* determined by his affiliation to certain political factions such as the early Carolingians.[19] In this context, his roles as (arch)bishop, missionary and abbot did not pose an obstacle to his activity. On the contrary, the movement between local and supra-regional networks, between the periphery and the centre of the Frankish kingdom and between different levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy allowed Willibrord to adapt himself to the complex political and religious landscape which he encountered on the continent. Taking Willibrord as its main example, the thesis seeks to highlight the complex role played by Insular clerics in the Frankish kingdom around 700,

---

Maas und Mosel von den Ursprüngen bis zum Ende der Merowingerzeit', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 9–27: 10–21; on Austrasia see Fabienne Cardot, *L'espace et le pouvoir: Étude sur l'Austrasie mérovingienne* (Paris, 1987), 181–200.

[14] Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 26–31.

[15] See chapter 2.3.

[16] See chapter 1.2.

[17] See John M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988); 185; Anton G. Weiler, *Willibrords missie: Christendom en cultuur in de zevende en achtste eeuw. Met een vertaling van de vornaamste literaire bronnen* (Hilversum, 1989), 141; Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 23–4.

[18] See Rosamond McKitterick, 'England and the Continent', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II,* c. *700–c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), 64–84: 69–70.

[19] The ancestors of Charlemagne (d. 814) are referred to as 'Pippinids', 'Arnulfings' or 'early Carolingians' in modern scholarship. I use 'Pippinids' to denote the members of the family from Pippin I (d. 640) to Pippin II (d. 714), including his sons Grimoald and Drogo and his grandson Arnulf, and 'Carolingians' to refer to the line of Charles Martel (d. 741). In rare cases, I use 'early Carolingians' to encompass all of Charlemagne's ancestors from Pippin II to Pippin III (d. 751).

which extended beyond their missionary activity.

Between 690 and 739, significant changes took place within the Frankish kingdom. When Willibrord was consecrated archbishop of the Frisian *gens*, Pippin 'II' (d. 714), the great-grandfather of Charlemagne (d. 814), had only recently won the position of *maior domus* ('mayor of the palace'), which he exercised under the Merovingian king.[20] In 739, the throne was vacant, as Pippin's heirs ruled both Neustria and Austrasia without appointing a new king between 737 and 743. Twelve years after Willibrord's death, Pippin 'III' (d. 768) deposed the last Merovingian and became the first Carolingian king.[21] The modern image of Willibrord is fundamentally shaped by the historiographical narrative of the transition from the Merovingians to the Carolingians and of the role played by Insular churchmen in this development. This narrative must, therefore, be considered first in order to establish the framework for a reassessment of Willibrord's network in Francia.

[20] Eugen Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich* (Stuttgart, 1988; fifth edition Stuttgart, 2006), 185–90; Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martell* (London, 2000), 28–30. By the end of the seventh century, the mayors of the palace were the supreme royal officials in the Frankish kingdom.
[21] Andreas Fischer, *Karl Martell: Der Beginn karolingischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, 2012), 167–76.

State of Research

Any attempt to provide an overview of the historiography on Willibrord is not only faced with a long tradition of scholarship but also with a multitude of different national approaches to the topic. Through his manifold cultural connections and his veneration on the continent since the Middle Ages,[22] Willibrord has been embedded in narratives of the medieval past in the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg since the nineteenth century. In each case, the perception of Willibrord was shaped by different political, religious and cultural discourses which were closely linked to the development of national identities following the Belgian Revolution (1830) and the partition of Luxembourg in 1839 which resulted in the formation of new independent states by the end of the century.[23] Due to the limited scope of the present study, the different national historiographies on Willibrord before the early twentieth century cannot be discussed in detail here, especially with regard to the confessional disputes between Catholics and Protestants which informed his commemoration in the Netherlands and in Belgium even before the nineteenth century.[24] While these debates partially extended into the second half of the twentieth century,[25] the different national discourses were superposed by the scholarship of British and German historians after 1900. This is not to say that English and German studies on the topic were free from confessional and nationalistic polemic. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, a consensus slowly developed according to which Willibrord and, above all, his West Saxon contemporary Boniface (d. 754) were champions of a new missionary strategy on the continent, devoted to Rome.[26]

The following section focuses on the creation of the overarching image of Willibrord as the representant of a new 'Anglo-Roman' missionary movement supported by the early

[22] Henri Trauffler, 'Zur Entstehung der Wallfahrt nach Echternach', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 525–39.

[23] Marnix Beyen and Benoît Majerus, 'Weak and strong nations in the Low Countries: national historiography and its "others" in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds), *The Contested Nation: Nation, Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke, 2008), 282–310: 283–5; Michel Pauly, *Geschichte Luxemburgs* (Munich, 2011), 66–76.

[24] See Xander van Eck, 'Dreaming of an eternally Catholic Utrecht during Protestant rule: Jan van Bijlert's "Holy Trinity with Sts. Willibrord and Boniface"', *Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 30.1/2 (2003), 19–33; Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 322–9.

[25] See Eugène Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords in Toxandrien: Ablauf, Ergebnisse und Voraussetzungen einer langjährigen Diskussion', *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 76.2 (1996), 101–27.

[26] See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1.419–47; Theodor Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954; second edition Darmstadt, 1972), 1–2; Matthias Pape, 'Das Bonifatius-Gedenkjahr 1954 im allgemeinpolitischen und gesamtkirchlichen Kontext', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 375–410: 386–90; Katherine Cross, 'Barbarians at the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon art, race and religion', in Ján Elsner (ed.), *Faith in Late Antiquity: Histories of Art and Religion From India to Ireland* (pre-publication version; Cambridge, 2020), 396–433: 16–8.

Carolingians. Yet even with these limitations in mind, an exhaustive overview cannot be provided, as the research on Willibrord touches on many still debated subjects, such as the relationship between the Irish and the Northumbrian Churches, the development of monasticism in Merovingian Francia and the establishment of the links between the papacy and the Frankish Church. As will be argued below, the discrepancy between a fragmentary corpus of sources for Willibrord's life and the complexity which these sources reflect, created a tendency among scholars to place Willibrord in a larger historiographical narrative about the Christianisation of northwest Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Before the twentieth century, most studies on Willibrord were situated at the intersection of the authors' personal piety and an interest in the local dimension of the saint's activity. In Luxembourg, the historiography was dominated by scholars with a connection to Echternach, but there was yet no tendency to place Willibrord's activity on the continent in a larger context which extended beyond the Christianisation of Frisia and the foundation of the monastery. The early studies by the priest and teacher Jean Engling (1801–88) and the botanist, pharmacist and historian Johann Brimmeyr (1799–1876) already drew on a wide range of sources, including archaeology and the earliest charters from Echternach.[27] Their focus, however, was primarily on Willibrord as an individual and heroic figure. What is more, the outlines of his biography still closely followed the three major hagiographical sources on which the reconstruction of Willibrord's life rests: Bede's (d. 735) *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731), Alcuin's (d. 804) two *Vitae Willibrordi* (c. 796) and Thiofrid of Echternach's (d. 1110) two *Vitae Willibrordi* (1104/5).[28]

It is important to note that the study of other sources for Willibrord's continental activity, such as the earliest Echternach charters and the manuscripts of the medieval scriptorium, was impeded by the fate of the monastery during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802). Between 1794 and 1797, the basilica and the library were plundered, and the monastic community was dissolved. In the course of the following decades, the basilica fell

[27] Jean Engling, *Apostolat des heiligen Willibrord im Lande der Luxemburger durch Geschichte und Tradition aufgefasst* (Luxembourg, 1863); Johann P. Brimmeyr, *Geschichte der Stadt und der Abtei Echternach*, 2 vols (Echternach, 1921–3). Brimmeyr died shortly after the completion of his work in 1876. The manuscript was only published between 1921 and 1923 in two volumes; Schroeder, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', 341; Spang, 'Saint Willibrord et l'abbaye d'Echternach', 175–6; 'Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 320–5.

[28] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, eds and trans. Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 2–577; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose), ed. and trans. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii. Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003), 34–75; Alcuin, *De vita sancti Willibrordi episcopi* (verse), ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 1 (Berlin, 1881), 207–20; Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (prose), ed. Albert Poncelet, AASS, Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 459–83; Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (verse), *ibid.*, 483–500; see Engling, *Apostolat des heiligen Willibrord*, 94–8; Brimmeyr, *Geschichte der Stadt und der Abtei*, 1.144–94. The works of these three medieval authors and their impact on modern scholarship will be further discussed below, see pp. 27–31.

into ruin. The remains of the manuscript collection were dispersed across several European libraries, with the most important items gathered at Paris, Gotha and the newly established National Library of Luxembourg. The restauration of the basilica began in 1861 with the foundation of the Willibrordus-Bauverein and was continued in various stages until 1939.[29]

The rebuilding of the basilica at the end of the nineteenth century coincided with the publication of the editions of two of the most important sources for Willibrord's life, namely Alcuin's and Thiofrid's *Vitae*.[30] The earliest Echternach charters were likewise edited for the first time at the end of the nineteenth, although their authenticity was still disputed.[31] Yet it was, above all, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* which provided the framework for most studies on Willibrord in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[32] Bede placed the mission to Frisia in the wider context of the Christianisation of the *gens Anglorum*, which forms the central thread of his work. In the *Historia*, Willibrord's role is embedded in a carefully structured narrative: Bede depicts the departure of the *Angli* from Rath Melsigi in 690 as the consequence of their conversion through the Roman mission initiated by Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) at the end of the sixth century. In Bede's work, Willibrord's network is thus characterised by its adherence to the Roman see and its missionary zeal.[33]

The influence of the *Historia* on studies on Willibrord did not only result from the fact that Bede provided a contemporary, linear and condensed account of the saint's life, but also because the main components of his work could be adapted to different national perspectives on the Christianisation of early medieval Europe. The arrival of Willibrord and Boniface was long perceived as a watershed in the history of medieval Christianity, which was marked by fragmentation and decline after the fall of Western Roman Empire in the fifth

---

[29] Richard M. Staud and Joseph Reuter, *Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Echternach* (Luxembourg, 1952), 61–81; Emile Seiler, 'Die Auflösung der Abtei und die Zerstreuung der Klosterbibliothek', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 283–306: 296–306.

[30] See note 28 above. Albert Poncelet edited the verse and prose *Vitae* of Alcuin and Thiofrid for the *Acta Sanctorum* (414–500). To this list can be added the edition of Alcuin's prose and verse *Vitae* by Wilhelm Wattenbach, the compilation of Echternach sources by Ludwig Weiland and the edition of Alcuin's prose *Vita* by Wilhelm Levison: Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose and verse), ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Monumenta Alcuiniana* [= *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, 6, ed. Philipp Jaffé] (Berlin, 1873), 1–79; *Monumenta Epternacensia*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 11–72. Weiland's edition only contains excerpts from Thiofrid's prose *Vita*; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis* (prose), ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 7 (Hannover, 1920), 81–141; see also Schroeder, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', 341–3.

[31] *Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH DD, 1 (Hannover, 1872), 173–7. Pertz's distrust was, above all, based on the claim by the compilers of the *Liber aureus Epternacensis* that Abbess Irmina of Oeren, who donated her property to Willibrord for the foundation of Echternach, was a daughter of King Dagobert I (d. 639). On Irmina see chapter 1.2; the earliest charters are also included in Weiland's edition, see the note above.

[32] See, for example, Friedrich W. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1846–8), 1.517–25; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1.431–47.

[33] James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World: 690–900* (Turnhout, 2009), 46; see chapter 1.1.

century according to the master narrative of the nineteenth century.[34] Through their dedication to the authority of the pope and the establishment of new ecclesiastical structures in the border regions of the Frankish kingdom, the 'Anglo-Saxon missions' allegedly gave a new momentum to the formation of Christian Europe on the eve of the Carolingian era. The developments of the seventh century, including the impact of the Irish Columbanus, were not ignored, yet they were perceived as less successful and durable, not least because their assessment was connected to the negative portrayals of the last Merovingian kings as ineffective rulers, their bishops as decadent magnates and the Irish missionaries as less 'organised'. In contrast, the label of 'progress' could be attached to the efforts of Willibrord and his successors who received the support of both the pope and the ascending Carolingians.[35]

By framing the Christianisation of Frisia, Saxony, Bavaria and Thuringia as defining stages of the formation of Carolingian Europe, figures like Willibrord and Boniface could be integrated into different national historiographies, as their respective epithets 'Apostle of the Frisians' and 'of the Germans' demonstrate.[36] The focus on the supra-regional link between the missionaries and Rome did not prevent nationalistic readings of their activity. Such interpretations were especially advanced by scholars who assumed an ethnic affiliation between the missionaries and the 'Germanic' *gentes* on the continent. In Britain and in Ireland, the anachronistic division between a 'Celtic' and a 'Anglo-Saxon' Church furthered the transfer of modern nationalistic sentiments to the early Middle Ages and the artificial division of ecclesiastical networks into separate 'Irish' and 'English' movements.[37] An

[34] See Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity. AD 200–1000* (Oxford, 2003; tenth anniversary revisied edition Oxford, 2013), 4–13; on the image of Boniface in modern scholarship see Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Introduction', in Ephraim Emerton (trans.), *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940; second edition with Thomas F. X. Noble, New York, 2000), vii–xxxv: xxvii–xxxiv; Siegfried Weichlein, 'Bonifatius als politischer Heiliger im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in Michael Imhof and Gregor K. Stasch (eds), *Bonifatius: Vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen* (Petersberg, 2004), 219–34; Rudolf Schieffer, 'Bonifatius-Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 363–73; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 9–21.

[35] See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1.431–6; Franz Flaskamp, *Die Anfänge friesischen und sächsischen Christentums* (Hildesheim, 1929), 10–12; Josef Jung-Diefenbach, *Die Friesenbekehrung bis zum Martertode des hl. Bonifatius* (Mödling, 1931), 30–5; Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Bruxelles, 1937; this edition Paris, 2021), 183–200; Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943; third edition Oxford, 1971), 165–71; Daniel König, 'Wilhelm Levison und die Missionsgeschichte im Spiegel der Hagiographie', in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 33–53: 35–6; Ian N. Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the continent in the seventh century: part I', *Peritia*, 26 (2015), 171–98: 171–82.

[36] See Engling, *Apostolat des heiligen* Willibrord, 15–6: '[Das Wirken des hl. Willibrord] machte Echternach zur Wiege und zum Ausgangspunkte der Luxemburger Kultur'; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 447; Verbist, *Saint Willibrord*, 220.

[37] See Arthur Hassal (ed.), *Germany in the Earlier Middle Ages, 476–1250 by William Stubbs, D.D., Formerly Bishop of Oxford, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford* (London, 1908), 22–5; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 111: 'Unlike later missionaries of Germanic stock [Augustine of Canterbury]

extreme case in point, displaying a racist and colonialist approach, is the work of the British theologian Alexander Grieve (1874–1952), who characterised Willibrord as 'English in the strict sense of the term' and argued that the activity of Boniface recalled the 'spirit of adventure' to 'which our colonial empire owes so much'.[38] According to Grieve, it was the 'racial link that helped to draw Willibrord to the 'fair-haired and blue-eyed' Frisians. The Merovingian kings, in turn, were allegedly 'decadents, physical and mental nullities' and the collapse of the Frankish kingdom was only prevented by the Pippinids.[39]

Although such radical aberrations did not shape the research on Willibrord in the long term, studies in the early twentieth century still focused on the Christianisation of Frisia. At the same time, the local commemoration of Willibrord in the Netherlands and in Luxembourg was already superseded by the notion that Boniface was the more successful and influential figure of the two.[40] A turning point in the assessment of Willibrord's role was the period between 1939 and 1953.[41] The historiographical reorientation which took place in these years is associated with two names in particular: the German historian Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947) and the Luxembourgish priest and historian Camille Wampach (1884–1958). On the one hand, their perception of Willibrord was shaped by their personal biographies (which briefly overlapped), the rise of Nazism in Germany and the rebuilding process after the Second World War. On the other hand, their approaches differed from each other in some important respects.

Yitzhak Hen has argued that 'whether we like it or not, Willibrord as we know and understand him today is, to a greater extent, the creation of Wilhelm Levison'.[42] For Levison, the year 1939 marked a profound break in his life: as a Jew, he had been forced to resign from the University of Bonn in 1935. Four years later, he found refuge at the University of Durham. His own fate as an exile in Willibrord's home region probably contributed to Levison's sympathy for the *peregrinus*.[43] Levison had already worked on sources related to Willibrord as an assistant of Bruno Krusch (1857–1940) for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.[44] However, he had only written two short articles before 1939 in which he briefly

was attempting the conversion of a people whose culture he did not understand'; Cross, 'Barbarians at the British Museum', 6–10.

[38] Alexander Grieve, *Willibrord: Missionary in the Netherlands, 691–739* (London, 1923), 7, 14, 93.

[39] *Ibid.*, 28–9.

[40] See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1.447; Jung-Diefenbach, *Die Friesenbekehrung*, 106.

[41] Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 325–9.

[42] Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 197.

[43] *Ibid.*, 193–4, 197; on Willibrord's depiction as a *peregrinus* ('ascetic exile') see chapter 1.1.1.

[44] Klaus Herbers, 'Hagiographie: Auswertungsmöglichkeiten seit Wilhelm Levison', in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 17–32: 18; see note 31 above.

elaborated on some of the lesser known sources connected to Willibrord.[45] In 1940, he published two articles in which he provided both an overview of the primary sources for Willibrord's life and a first assessment of his 'place in history'.[46] The most influential account was included in the collection of the lectures, published in 1946, which Levison had originally given at the University of Oxford in 1943.[47] In contrast to previous studies, Levison attributed a much greater role to Willibrord which extended beyond the Christianisation of Frisia and the foundation of Echternach: 'Willibrord was to England what Columbanus had been to Ireland. He inaugurated a century of English spiritual influence on the Continent […]'.[48]

Levison's depiction of Willibrord was embedded in an innovative picture which he painted of the relation between the Insular world and the continent in the seventh and eighth centuries. His significant contribution to the scholarly discourse was that he analysed the cultural, economic and religious exchange between the two regions outside of a purely 'missionary' framework, which also included a less positivist reading of hagiographical texts and a reliance on a wider ranges of sources.[49] With regard to Willibrord, two elements of Levison's account were especially influential: Firstly, he argued that Willibrord's decision to approach the pope upon his arrival was 'momentous'.[50] Before the 'Anglo-Saxon mission',[51] the authority and the influence of the pope north of the Alps was allegedly insignificant. By consecrating Willibrord as *arch*bishop of the Frisians, however, the establishment of the see of Utrecht marked the introduction of a new ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Frankish kingdom, sanctioned by Rome.[52] This dedication to Rome resulted from the awareness of the missionaries that the *Angli* had been first converted by clerics sent from Rome during the time of Pope Gregory the Great. According to Levison, the adherence to Rome, which shaped the further progress of the European Middle Ages, was the specific contribution of

[45] Wilhelm Levison, 'A propos du calendrier de S. Willibrord'; *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 342–6 [Originally published in *Revue Bénédictine*, 50 (1938), 37–41]; *idem*, 'Willibrordiana', *ibid.*, 330–41 [Originally published in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 33 (1908), 517–30]; Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 193–4.

[46] Wilhelm Levison, 'Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Willibrord', in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940), 51–65.; *idem*, 'St. Willibrord and his place in history', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 314–329 [Originally published in *The Durham University Journal*, 32 (1940), 23–41].

[47] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 45–69.

[48] *Ibid.*, 60. In the article, the sentence continued with '[…] which contributed considerably to the foundations of the middle ages of the West' (320).

[49] McKitterick, 'England and the Continent', 65–6; Herbers, 'Hagiographie', 20–7; König, 'Wilhelm Levison und die Missionsgeschichte', 41–5.

[50] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 57.

[51] Levison uses the terms 'English' and 'Anglo-Saxon' interchangeably, see *ibid.*, 53, 92.

[52] *Ibid.*, 57–9.

the ‘English Church’ to the formation of a shared Christian European culture.[53]

However, the relationship between Willibrord and Pope Sergius I alone was not what made the Frisian mission a ground-breaking event in Levison’s eyes. The second aspect of Willibrord’s career which Levison highlighted was his relationship with the early Carolingians. Both Bede and Alcuin attributed a decisive role to Pippin II in the plan to send Willibrord to Rome for his consecration.[54] For Levison, this was the first ‘co-operation of a Carolingian and a Pope, a co-operation which was to mark an epoch in the history of the West’.[55] Levison furthermore argued that the progress of the Frisian mission depended to a great extent on the military and political backing which Willibrord received from Pippin and his son Charles Martel (d. 741).[56] Willibrord’s activity thus coincided with the ‘recovery of the Frankish state’ which culminated in the formation of the Carolingian Empire under Charlemagne.[57] At the same time, Levison’s anticipation of the Carolingian ‘Renaissance’[58] and the creation of new archbishoprics in the Frankish kingdom after 742 caused him to attenuate his assessment of Willibrord’s continental career, not least because the see of Utrecht remained vacant after his death in 739. Ultimately, Willibrord ‘only made a start’ in the ‘missionary field’ in contrast to Boniface in Levison’s opinion.[59]

In 1940, Levison was not isolated with regard to his interest in Willibrord. He wrote one of his two 1940 articles for the collected volume which celebrated the 1200th anniversary of the saint’s death in 739 in Luxembourg.[60] The commemoration of the event in 1939 took place under the growing threat of a German aggression against the young state.[61] In this context, the Treaty of London (1839), which initiated the formation of the modern Luxembourgish state, was romanticised as the beginning of the country’s independence.[62] Although the collected volume also included contributions from German, Dutch and Belgian historians, the festivities at Echternach were embedded in the discourse of national liberty

[53] Levison, ‘St. Willibrord’, 323–9; *idem*, *England and the Continent*, 4, 18–22; see Janet Nelson, ‘England and the Continent in the eighth century’, in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 113–21: 121.
[54] See chapter 1.1.3.
[55] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 59.
[56] *Ibid.*, 63–4.
[57] *Ibid.*, 50, 108–31; see Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 219–23, 235–8.
[58] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 83. The term is put under quotation marks in Levison’s text.
[59] *Ibid.*, 63–9.
[60] Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940); 1939 also saw the publication of Gabriël Verbist’s biography *Saint Willibrord: Apôtre des Pays-Bas et fondateur d’Echternach*; for a short overview of the works on Willibrord published in the Netherlands and in Belgium in 1939 see Regnerus R. Post, ‘S. Willibrord en Noord en Zuid: Eenige kantteekenigen bii de jubileumliteratuur’, *Nederlandse Historiebladen,* 3 (1940/1), 1–14: 1.
[61] Pettiau, ‘Willibrord et son action’, 327–8.
[62] Pauly, *Geschichte Luxemburgs*, 66–72, 93.

and solidified the image of Willibrord as a 'Luxembourgish' saint.[63] In the preface of the commemorative volume, Joseph Philippe, the Bishop of Luxembourg (1935–56), locates Willibrord's main activity outside of Frisia, in the area between the Rhine and the Moselle, and depicts the foundation of Echternach as the crowning achievement of his career. His 'historical significance', however, resulted from his *Romtreue* according to Philippe: his loyalty to the papacy provided stability in a time of 'political insecurity'.[64]

The overall tenor of the articles recalls Levison's *England and the Continent*: the alliance between Willibrord, the Pippinids and the papacy marked the transition from the so-called 'Dark Ages' of the Merovingians to the Carolingian era and determined the course of the European Middle Ages.[65] In his contribution on the primary sources for Willibrord's life, Levison did not only focus on the hagiography but also stressed the significance of the *Calendar* and the charters of the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*.[66] Both sources had been edited (again) between 1918 and 1930.[67] The most influential edition of the charters was published by Camille Wampach in two volumes between 1929 and 1930.[68] Although Wampach pursued an international scholarly career, his work on the *Liber aureus* was ultimately rooted in his patriotism.[69] 1939 also marked the completion of the restoration of the Echternach basilica which had begun in 1861. Only five years later, on 26 December 1944, the building was blasted by German troops. After the liberation of Luxembourg, the reconstruction lasted until

[63] See the introduction to the commemorative booklet *St. Willibrord: Echternach 739–1939* that was published (in three languages) on 17 June 1939: 'Wann de Letzeburger, niewt der Freihét vu sengem Land an der gro'sser Tre'schtermamm, op én Hélegtom stolz ass, dann op Iechternach an d'Grâf vum hélege Willibrord […]. Der Patriotismus des Luxemburgers ist nicht nur im Herzen, sondern vor allem auch in der Seele und im Glauben verankert'.

[64] Joseph Philippe, 'Geleitwort', in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940).

[65] See, for example, Jean-Pierre Kirsch, 'Papst Sergius I. (687–701): Der Konsekrator des Hl. Willibrord', in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940), 1–17: 16–7; Camille Wampach, 'Willibrord: Seine Umwelt und Mitwelt. Sein Lebenswerk', *ibid.*, 18–50: 38–40; Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 327.

[66] Levison, 'Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Willibrord', 52–6.

[67] *Oorkondenboek van het sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, eds Samuel Muller and Arie C. Bouman, 5 vols (Utrecht, 1920), 1.1–30, nos 1–38; for the edition of the *Calendar* see note 1 above; for an early interpretation of the charters and the *Calendar* see Jung-Diefenbach, *Die Friesenbekehrung*, 70–80; 90–4.

[68] *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des* liber aureus Epternacensis *(698–1222)*, ed. Camille Wampach, 2 vols (Luxembourg, 1929–30). The edition was based on his dissertation which he completed in 1915 in Berlin under Michael Tangl (1861–1921). The edition was dedicated to Tangl and Levison, among others, and the latter had also proofread Wampach's work. Wampach was employed as a lecturer at the University of Bonn in 1931 and was promoted to professor shortly after Levison had been forced to resign from his post in 1935. Note that Wampach intended to add further volumes to the series, which is why the two volumes are numbered I.1 and I.2. However, his subsequent studies were later published in the form of *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der altluxemburgischen Territorien*, ed. Camille Wampach, 10 vols (Luxembourg, 1935–55); see *idem*, *Quellenband*, ix–xv; Schroeder, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', 343–5.

[69] On Wampach's edition see chapter 1.2; on his biography see Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord: Der erste große Angelsachse*, 6–7.

1953.[70] In the same year, Wampach published his biography of Willibrord (which remains unsurpassed in size).[71] He lauded the reconstruction of the basilica as an unparalleled tribute to the 'greatness and significance' of the 'holy apostle'.[72] The biography itself contains only few explicit references to the Second World War, but in a short text (published posthumously), Wampach characterises the Allied troops, which arrived in Luxembourg in 1944, as the 'victorious sons of the first great Anglo-Saxon' Willibrord. According to Wampach, the liberation of the continent was the second time the 'Anglo-Saxons' (*das Angelsachsentum*) saved European civilisation: the first time was in the eighth century.[73]

Whereas Levison stressed the supra-regional dimension of Willibrord's activity, Wampach approached the topic from the perspective of regional history. His most influential contribution to the topic was not the biography but the edition of the Echternach charters. As will be further discussed below, Wampach used the charters to elaborate on the notion that Willibrord's career was determined by his relationship with the early Carolingians. By adding the most important donors, including the Abbess Irmina of Oeren, on whose property Echternach was founded, to the Carolingian family tree, Wampach was able to integrate the history of the monastery (and Luxembourg) into Levison's overarching narrative about the formation of Carolingian Europe.[74]

Although Levison and Wampach each chose a different perspective on the subject, both still defined Willibrord on the basis of his 'Anglo-Roman' background, that is, as a pupil of Wilfrid of York (d. 710), devoted to the Catholic reckoning of Easter and to the Rule of St Benedict.[75] Levison's and Wampach's interpretations followed a clear dichotomy between the 'Irish' and the 'Anglo-Saxon' missions. In *England and the Continent*, Levison did not repeat his assessment of an earlier article according to which the activity of the Irish represented 'only an episode' (albeit 'an important one') in the history of the 'occident',

---

[70] Staud/Reuter, *Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler*, 80–9; Pauly, *Geschichte Luxemburgs*, 106; Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 327–8. The dedication of the basilica in its current form was officially celebrated as the conclusion of the national rebuilding process in Luxembourg. 1953 also marked another occasion for the commemoration of Willibrord in the Netherlands, as the 100th anniversary of the restoration of the Catholic see of Utrecht was celebrated. In the same year Gabriël Verbist published his second biography *A l'aube des Pays-Bas: Saint Willibrord* (Bruxelles, 1953).

[71] Camille Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord: Sein Leben und Lebenswerk* (Luxembourg, 1953).

[72] *Ibid.*, 401: 'Nichts aber könnte der Größe und Bedeutung des heiligen Apostels, der dem Lande Luxemburg und den Niederlanden das Gepräge gegeben hat, mehr dartun als der herrliche Neubau der Willibrordus-Basilika zu Echternach […]'.

[73] Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord: Der erste große Angelsachse*, 9–11, 32: 'In Dankbarkeit, den siegreichen Söhnen des Ersten Großen Angelsachsen'.

[74] See chapter 1.2.

[75] On the different reckonings of Easter and Willibrord's stance see Immo Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottonianus* of AD 689: a computistical formulary written for Willibrord's Frisian mission', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 173–212: 186–91; see also chapter 2.2.1; on the Rule of St Benedict see Steven Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms: Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West* (Oldenbourg, 2020), 24–30.

which fell short of the significance of the 'Anglo-Saxons' because of their lack of 'organisation'.[76] Yet he retained the notion that the 'missionary efforts of the Frankish Church were small' before the eighth century, as the 'proprietary churches' founded under Irish influence led to the disintegration of the diocesan structure.[77] Willibrord's time in Ireland is only touched upon, whereas Levison credits him with the foundation of an 'English colony' on the continent.[78] Wampach, in turn, separated Willibrord from the 'Irish movement' (*iro-schottische Bewegung*) in the preface of his biography.[79] In 1950, a congress in Luxueil-les-Bains commemorated the 1400th anniversary of Columbanus' birth and the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman (1886–1963) connected the idea of a united Europe with Columbanus' wide-ranging activity.[80] Wampach, in contrast, stressed that Willibrord did not belong to this tradition but to the 'Anglo-Roman' represented by Pope Gregory the Great and Wilfrid.[81]

The contrast between Wampach's and Schuman's positions shows that the ideal of a common Christian European culture could be perceived as both an 'Irish' and 'Anglo-Saxon' legacy. Although Levison left the confessional disputes of the nineteenth century behind him, his account preserved the 'Anglo-Roman' bias of Catholic historians such as Albert Hauck (1845–1918).[82] As Levison's influence was perpetuated by Wampach and, above all, by his pupil Theodor Schieffer (1910–92), the focus of modern scholarship remained on the arrival of Boniface and the rise of Carolingians as the decisive stages of European history in the eighth century.[83] Levison's and Wampach's interest in Willibrord was not just academic but also personal in nature. Their appreciation of the Northumbrian was built on (what they perceived as) Willibrord's greatest achievements, namely the contribution of the 'English' to the formation of a shared European Christian culture and the foundation of Echternach, respectively. With the publication of Theodor Schieffer's monograph, however, Willibrord returned to his marginalised position as the 'precursor' of Boniface in the narrative about the

[76] Wilhelm Levison, 'Die Iren und die fränkische Kirche', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 247–63: 251, 263: 'An geschichtlicher Bedeutung steht die Wirksamkeit der Iren, an den Folgen gemessen, ohne Zweifel hinter der der Angelsachsen zurück und stellt in der allgemeinen Geschichte des Abendlandes doch nur eine Episode dar […]' [Originally published in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 109 (1912), 1-22].
[77] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 46, 48; on the notion of the 'proprietary church' see note 128 below.
[78] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 55, 61.
[79] Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 10.
[80] Alexander O'Hara, 'Introduction: Columbanus and Europe', in Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 2018), 3–18: 3–4.
[81] Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 10: 'Daß [Willibrord] aber nicht als Vertreter dieser [iroschottischen] Richtung anzusprechen ist, tut sein erster Werdegang und sein Zusammenhang mit den größten Vertretern der angelsächsisch-römischen Richtung dar'.
[82] See note 5 above.
[83] See Theodor Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954; second edition Darmstadt, 1972), 2, 86, 98, 273; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 11–2.

formation of Carolingian Europe. Schieffer concluded that Willibrord's decision to go to Rome was 'not revolutionary' and stressed the link that existed between the Frankish Church and Rome in the seventh century. [84] At the same time, he characterised the development of medieval Europe before Boniface's arrival as 'unfinished'; only Boniface's activity and the rise of the Carolingians initiated the birth of a 'unified medieval culture'.[85]

Levison's and Schieffer's views on the historical context of Willibrord's activity created the fundament for subsequent studies on the subject.[86] It can be argued that the long-term impact of their works resulted from the fact that they allowed for a wide range of portrayals of Willibrord: on the one hand, the 'European' dimension of his biography could be stressed in the post-war period; on the other hand, the 'Anglo-Roman' perspective still conformed to the various Luxembourgish, Dutch, Belgian, German and English commemorations of the saint.[87] Although Levison stressed that 'important gaps' remain with regard to our knowledge of Willibrord, the connection which Levison established between Willibrord's arrival, his consecration in Rome and the rise of the Carolingians created a coherent, clear-cut and compelling narrative.[88] It is indicative of the impression which Levison's work made on the field that no biography of Willibrord has been published in English since the 1960s.[89] Nevertheless, the historiography on the topic has evolved significantly since the publication of *England and the Continent*. The 1250th anniversary of

---

[84] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 57; Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 98–9.

[85] Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 10: 'Dem Zeitalter um 700 haftet somit, vom Blickpunkt des Mittelalters her gesehen, etwas Unfertiges, noch Werdendes an. […] Eine Selbstverständlichkeit […] war es noch keineswegs, daß aus diesen vielfältigen Elementen eine neue, die mittelalterliche Einheitskultur erwachsen würde; diese Wendung verdankt die abendländische Geschichte erst dem Werk der Karolinger und nicht zuletzt einem Bonifatius'; Wolfgang H. Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Bistums Utrecht: Franken und Friesen 690–734', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 35 (1971), 107–151: 150–1: 'Aber der Mann, der die fränkische Kirche dann wirklich in eine enge Verbindung mit Rom geführt hat, war nicht der offenbar nachgiebige, zu Verständnis, Anpassung und Ausgleich bereite Willibrord, sondern sein aus viel härterem Holze geschnitzter, prinzipienstrenger Schüler und Nachfolger Bonifatius'.

[86] For the enduring influence of Levison and Schieffer's positions see note 125 below.

[87] See, for example, the introduction of the catalogue of the *Exposition Saint-Willibrord* (Echternach, 1958), 7: 'Sa fondation de prédilection, l'Abbaye bénédictine d'Echternach, a pris rang parmi les grands centres culturels du moyen-âge. […] [L]'exposition est l'incomparable illustration de l'influence civilisatrice et artistique que l'Abbaye a exercée sur une grande partie de l'Europe occidentale'; see also Georges Kiesel, 'Dem Landesapostel die Treue wahren', *Luxemburger Wort*, 5 November (1994): '[…] [A]llein schon durch sein Sterben und seine selbstgewählte Grablege in Echternach hat Willibrord, gewissermaßen "der Europäer" *avant la lettre*, genuine Heimatrechte in unserem geliebten kleinen Land erworben'.

[88] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 54.

[89] See Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 189–90; most monographs on Willibrord that appeared in the second half of the twentieth century were published by Dutch scholars. The one that has been most received internationally is Anton Weiler's *Willibrords missie*. I was not able to consult Petrus C. Boeren, *Sint Willibrord apostel van Brabant* (Tilburg, 1939); Gordon Huelin, *Saint Willibrord and His Society* (London, 1960); Eugène Honée, *Willibrord, asceet en geloofsverkondiger: de lijn van zijn leven en de structur van zijn levenswerk* (Zoetermeer, 1995) and Anton ten Klooster, Arnold Smeets and Peter-Ben Smits (eds), *Willibrord door de eeuwen: Botsende culturen en wisselende perspectieven op de apostel van de lage landen* (Heeswijk-Dinther, 2018). Also, I could not study the recent monograph by Rainer Neu, *Willibrord und die Christianisierung Europas im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2021) in depth, as it was released shortly before the submission of the thesis. I thank the author for sending me a copy of his work.

Willibrord's death in 1989 and the 1300th anniversary of the foundation of Echternach in 1998 led to the publication of four collected volumes that reflected the state of research as it had developed since the 1960s.[90] These reassessments concern Willibrord himself less than the wider context of his activity. The following brief overview will focus on three aspects: the notion of a unified 'Anglo-Saxon mission', his relationship with the early Carolingians and his characterisation as a 'political actor' in Francia.

[90] Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989); Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990); Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999); Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (Ve–IXe siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000); see also Rolf H. Bremmer, 'Von der Geschichte zum Mythos: Willibrord mit angelsächsischen und friesischen Augen gesehen', *Hémecht*, 45.2 (1993), 125–46: 125–6; Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 19–25; Pettiau, 'Willibrord et son action', 329–33.

For Levison, Willibrord still represented the 'English missionary' *par excellence*. Subsequent studies, in contrast, highlighted the significance of his twelve-year stay at Rath Melsigi. The reassessment of Willibrord's 'Anglo-Roman' orientation was embedded in a growing in interest in history of early medieval Ireland which developed on the continent in the late 1970s.[91] According to Bede, Willibrord stayed with the Northumbrian Ecgberct (d. 729), who had settled at the monastery of *Rathmelsigi* in the second half of the seventh century.[92] Several identifications of the site have been proposed, the most likely being located in the townland of Garryhundon near the modern town of Carlow.[93] However, Bede's brief account remains the main source for the existence of Rath Melsigi and it has so far not been possible to firmly establish the political context of the monastery's foundation and its relationship with the surrounding kingdoms and ecclesiastical centres.[94]

Significantly, the most important evidence for Willibrord's link with Ireland does not come for the island itself but from Echternach and its associated manuscripts, which include a set of Old Irish glosses, among other things. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has repeatedly located the scribal tradition which lies behind many of the earliest Echternach manuscripts in Ireland, which has led to an extensive (mostly palaeographical) debate about the monastery's 'cultural' background.[95] Even though there is only a very limited number of sources for Willibrord's time in Ireland, his positioning in the 'triangle' between Ireland, Britain and the Frankish kingdom[96] allowed for a wider perspective on his network both in chronological and in geographical terms.[97] The question has, for example, been raised whether Willibrord's

---

[91] See Heinz Löwe, *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982); Arnold Angenendt, '"Er war der erste": Willibrords historische Stellung', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 13–34: 14–5, 18–20, 29.

[92] Bede, *HE*, 3.27, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 312, 480); on Ecgberct see chapter 1.1.

[93] See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach manuscripts', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 17–49: 23–4 [With an appendix by Thomas Fanning, 'Some field monuments in the townlands of Garryhundon and Clonmelsh, Co Carlow', 43–9]; Mulligan/Ó Cróinín/Kauthen, *Re-Discovering St. Willibrord*, 8–27.

[94] See Colin Ireland, 'Where was King Aldfrith of Northumbria educated? An exploration of seventh-century insular learning', *Traditio*, 70 (2015), 29–74: 59–63.

[95] See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The Old Irish and Old English glosses in Echternach manuscripts (with an appendix on Old Breton glosses)', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 85–101; *idem*, 'Willibrord und die frühe angelsächsische Missionierung Kontinentaleuropas', in Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker and Wolfgang Walter (eds), *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 1 (Petersberg, 2013), 239–49, and chapter 2.1.

[96] See Friedrich Prinz, 'Von der Bekehrung der Angelsachsen bis zu ihrer Missionstätigkeit im Frankenreich', in *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare*, 2 (Spoleto, 1986), 701–34: 732; James Campbell, 'The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission = Ireland and Christendom* (Stuttgart, 1987), 332–46: 343; Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 252.

[97] See Jean Schroeder, 'Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Echternach und England/Irland im Frühmittelalter', *Hémecht*, 31.3 (1979), 363–89: 367–74; Michael Richter, 'Der irische Hintergrund der angelsächsischen

arrival in Austrasia was connected to the earlier activity of Irish missionaries in the same region.[98] One of the most fundamental reassessments of his network was formulated by the Dutch scholar Augustin van Berkum, who questioned Willibrord's close relationship with Wilfrid of York. Van Berkum characterised Willibrord as an exile and missionary bishop in the 'Irish' tradition rather than as a representative of the 'Anglo-Roman' and Benedictine movement personified by Boniface.[99]

As will be further discussed below, van Berkum's approach is problematic for several reasons, not least because he ultimately retained the traditional dichotomy between an 'Irish' and an 'Anglo-Saxon/English' missionary movement.[100] Nevertheless, the detachment of Willibrord from a network centred on Wilfrid and Boniface has contributed to a more complex picture of the intellectual milieu within which the arrivals from Rath Melsigi operated on the continent; the notion of Echternach as a purely 'Benedictine' environment has been discarded in favour of an approach which highlights the variation in liturgical practices, monastic rules and ecclesiastical traditions which existed in Ireland, Northumbria and Francia around 700.[101] The integration of a wide range of sources in recent scholarship, including penitentials, computistical texts and liturgical manuscripts, has accelerated the deconstruction of the concept of a unified 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'English' mission.[102]

Mission', in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), 120–37: 126–7; *idem*, 'The young Willibrord', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 25–30: 29; Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 26; Paul Fouracre, 'Britain, Ireland, and Europe, c. 550–c. 750', in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Ireland and Europe, c. 550–c. 1100* (Oxford, 2009), 126–42: 132–6.

[98] See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Merovingian politics and insular calligraphy: the historical background to the Book of Durrow and related manuscripts', in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500–1200: Proceedings of a Conference at University College Cork. 31 October–3 November 1985* (Dublin, 1987), 40–3; Matthias Werner, 'Iren und Angelsachsen in Mitteldeutschland: Zur vorbonifatianischen Mission in Hessen und Thüringen', in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), 1.239–318: 296; Wood, 'The Irish in England: part I', 184–6; see also chapters 2.2–3.

[99] See Augustin van Berkum, 'Willibrord en Wilfried: Een onderzoek naar hun wederzijdse betrekkingen', *Sacris Erudiri*, 23 (1978), 347–417; for French and German summaries of the article see *idem*, 'Réflexions sur la physionomie spirituelle de S. Willibrord et de ses compagnons', *Echternacher Studien/Études Epternaciennes*, 2 (1982), 7–18; Jean Schroeder, 'Echternach in Forschung und Literatur: Besprechung und Hinweise', *ibid.*, 87–115: 87–90.

[100] See p. 24 below.

[101] See Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 20; Franz Felten, 'Die Bedeutung der "Benediktiner" im frühmittelalterlichen Rheinland', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 56 (1992), 21–58: 30; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'A tale of two rules: Benedict and Columbanus', in Martin Browne and Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh (eds), *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, 2005), 11–24; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 12–4; Ian N. Wood, 'Reform and the Merovingian church', in Rob Meens et al. (eds), *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester, 2016), 95-111: 95–8; Vanderputten, *Medieval Monasticisms*, 31–9.

[102] See, for example, Yitzhak Hen, 'The early liturgy of Echternach', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 53–64: 57–64; Rob Meens, 'Christentum und Heidentum aus der Sicht Willibrords? Überlegungen zum "Paenitentiale Oxoniense II"', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 415–28; Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottonianus*',186–91.

As mentioned above, the turn in scholarship around the middle of the twentieth century was accompanied by a new approach to hagiographical texts. In contrast to the positivist approach of the nineteenth century, which sought to differentiate between 'historical' and 'fictional' material, scholars now focused on the context in which saints' lives were compiled, on the intention of their authors and the competition between different cults in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the case of the 'Anglo-Saxon' missions, this led to a greater degree of differentiation between the networks to which individuals such as Wilfrid, Willibrord and Boniface belonged. The activity of Insular clerics in Francia encompassed many groups of various size and origin, whose aims and strategies did not always overlap.[103] This is reflected, above all, in the relationship between Willibrord and Boniface; based on an alternative reading of the evidence, they can be portrayed as local rivals in Frisia and Thuringia rather than as representatives of a coordinated 'English' mission.[104]

The (partial) removal of one of the main pillars of Levison's and Wampach's position is directly tied to a more general revaluation of the concept of 'mission'. The term 'mission' itself is an early modern concept which has no direct equivalent in early medieval terminology.[105] As will be discussed in chapter 1, the term that Bede used to define Willibrord's activity in Frisia is *praedicatio* ('preaching').[106] The preaching of the Gospel, however, formed only one part of a wide spectrum of actions connected to pastoral care and the establishment of an ecclesiastical infrastructure.[107] In contrast, studies on religious change in early medieval Europe were often embedded in a colonialist framework before the middle of the twentieth century, as the example of Alexander Grieve shows. The process which led to the adoption of Christianity in Frisia, for example, was depicted as a 'clash of cultures', in which small groups of religious experts faced the 'uncivilised' *gentes* beyond the borders of the Frankish kingdom.[108] This notion has been almost completely replaced by a more nuanced understanding of the process of 'Christianisation'. Recent studies have primarily highlighted two aspects: the limitation of modern historians' understanding of 'paganism', which depends on the definitions of medieval Christian authors, and the non-

[103] See Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 171–6; Herbers, 'Hagiographie', 20–7; James T. Palmer, 'Martyrdom and the rise of missionary hagiography in the late Merovingian world', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 157–80: 160–3.
[104] See chapters 1.1.1 and 2.3.2; for an early interpretation of Willibrord and Boniface as rivals see Franz Flaskamp, 'Willibrord-Clemens und Wynfrith-Bonifatius', *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. 754–1954* (Fulda, 1954; second edition, Fulda, 1954), 157–72.
[105] Ian N. Wood, 'What is a mission?', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 135–56: 135–6.
[106] See chapter 1.1.1.
[107] Wood, 'What is a mission?', 146–53.
[108] See Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 201–6.

linear nature of the processes which led to religious change.[109]

The latter aspect is especially important with regard to Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians: as discussed above, it has long been assumed that his activity in Frisia was only made possible by Pippin II's victory against the Frisian leader Radbod and that the success of his mission depended on the mayor of the palace's backing.[110] Willibrord and his companions allegedly followed a 'top down' approach which consisted in achieving the conversion of the local ruler. Ultimately, the conversion of the elite triggered that of the remaining population.[111] The traditional model, which was informed by the later wars of Charlemagne against the Saxons to some extent, thus defined the interplay between military conquest, political power and religious coercion as the precondition of Christianisation.[112]

But this approach follows a narrow and anachronistic definition of Christianisation: the social and cultural transformations which accompany the long-term change in religious beliefs are reduced to the establishment of an ecclesiastical infrastructure. However, Christian life in early medieval Europe before the ninth century was not marked by uniformity and even less by a common conception of what constituted 'the' Church. It is, therefore, difficult to determine what constituted a 'successful' conversion from a modern perspective. Authors of hagiographical texts, on whose testimonies historians primary depend, often reduced the conversion of non-Christians to a linear sequence of preaching, persuasion and baptism. The agency of the converted, the options available to them and the negotiation which preceded the baptism are rarely addressed. Finally, the most prominent examples of the 'top down' approach only represent a small selection of those contexts in which religious change took place. Also, in many cases such as Ireland, Scandinavia and even Northumbria, the adoption of Christianity appears to have taken place without any

[109] James T. Palmer, 'Defining paganism in the Carolingian world', *Early Medieval Europe*, 15 (2007), 402–25: 403–10; Chris Wickham, 'The comparative method and early medieval religious conversion', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 13–37.

[110] For the persistence of this view see, for example, Richard A. Gerberding, '716: a crucial year for Charles Martell', in Jörg Jarnut (ed.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 205–16: 209; David Parsons, 'Willibrord's "Frisian" mission and the early churches of Utrecht', in Jane Awkes and Susan Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), 136–49: 138; Joanna E. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot, 2003), 44–50; Palmer, 'Defining paganism', 402; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 10; Lutz E. von Padberg, 'Verbreitung des Wortes: Willibrord und Bonifatius', in Alfried Wieczorek and Gerfried Sitar (eds), *Benedikt und die Welt der frühen Klöster* (Regensburg, 2012), 47–55: 50; see also chapter 3.1.

[111] See Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1998), 28–32, 81–2, 88.

[112] See Marios J. Costambeys, Matthew J. Innes and Simon McLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), 71–6; Ingrid Rembold, 'The Christian message and the laity: the *Heliand* in post-conquest Saxony', in Nancy Edwards, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Roy Flechner (eds), *Transforming Landscapes of Belief in the Early Medieval Insular World and Beyond: Converting the Isles 2* (Turnhout, 2017), 175-206: 199–200.

large-scale military interventions.[113]

By moving between Frisia and Francia, Willibrord did not cross a fixed border between a 'pagan' and a Christian society. The modern notion of Frisia as a peripheral region to an expanding 'Carolingian' realm is to a large extent shaped by sources which were written after 730 and under the impression of the military campaigns led by Charles Martel's heirs. While the inhabitants of Frisia are almost exclusively depicted as uniform 'other' in Frankish chronicles and hagiographical texts, a careful reading of the sources and the inclusion of archaeological sources has revealed a more complex picture.[114] In the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta played a crucial role in the trade and communication networks which existed between Ireland, Britain and the Frankish kingdom. The integration of Frisia into the 'North Sea economy' probably had a greater impact on the itineraries of Insular clerics than the alleged 'ethnic' affiliation between the *Angli* and the Frisians.[115] What is more, the relationship between the Frisian leader Radbod and the Frankish elite was not one of constant confrontation: on the contrary, Radbod was temporarily allied to the both the Austrasian and the Neustrian Franks despite his religious stance. Significantly, this close interconnection between the south-western part of Frisia and northern Francia is most apparent in the period between *c.* 690 and 720.[116] Thus, for the greater part of Willibrord's time on the continent, missionary activity in Frisia was not accompanied by military conquest nor by the forceful implementation of religious change.[117]

This observation also forces us to reconsider the position of the early Carolingians both within Willibrord's network and within the political context of the Frankish kingdom. In contrast to the traditional notion that the 'rise' of the Carolingians and the progress of Willibrord's mission went hand in hand, recent studies have stressed that the sources do not

---

[113] See Matthew J. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley. 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000), 37–8; Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005), 223–30; Bruno Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes de l'Europe: Conversion et liberté dans les royaumes barbares, V^e–VIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2005), 10–5 ; Flechner/Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Introduction', 2–7; Wickham, 'The comparative method', 19–20.

[114] See Richard Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and Merovingians: otherness in the early Carolingian world', in Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven M. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 155–72: 156–9.

[115] See Jörg Drauschke, 'The search for central places in the Merovingian kingdom', in Babette Ludowici (ed.), *Trade and Communication Networks of the First Millennium AD in the Northern Part of Central Europe: Central Places, Beach Markets, Landing Places and Trading Centres* (Stuttgart, 2010), 26–48: 40–3; Christopher Ferguson, 'Re-evaluating early medieval Northumbrian contacts and the "coastal highway"', in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kings and Communities, AD 450-1100* (Turnhout, 2011), 283–99: 295–7; Christopher P. Loveluck and Aidan O'Sullivan, 'Travel, transport and communication to and from Ireland c. 400-1100: an archeological perspective', in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 19-37: 21–31.

[116] For a recent overview see Ian N. Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm (eds), *Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 203–22: 210–5.

[117] See chapter 3.1.

allow for the reconstruction of a consistent 'missionary policy' in the case of Pippin II and Charles Martel. Although both Willibrord and Boniface were in close contact with the mayors of the palace, the support which they received was neither systematic nor was it exclusively directed towards mission.[118] Again, most of the evidence for Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians derives from his activity *in* Francia. Here, the ancestors of Charlemagne appear as one of many groups which were in involved in the foundation of monasteries, the donation of landed property to clerics and the sanctification of those who were affiliated to the respective family. Since the 1960s, historians have highlighted the role which monasteries played in the generation of both economic *and* spiritual capital for the most powerful families in the Frankish kingdom. The establishment of monasteries could, therefore, trigger conflicts for influence over the respective foundations. This is especially apparent in northern Francia, where the number of new foundations increased significantly in the second half of the seventh century.[119]

The study of these conflicts, in turn, has led to a reassessment of the alleged dominance of the Pippinids after the battle of Tertry in 687. The victory of Pippin against his Neustrian rivals is no longer perceived as the decisive turning point in the political history of the Frankish kingdom which paved the way for the Carolingian *coup d'état* in 751. The assertion of Pippin's family is now perceived as a much more gradual process. The consolidation of early Carolingian power is now dated to the period after Charles Martel's victory in the Frankish civil war in 718, but neither did this increase in power remain unopposed nor was the deposition of the Merovingians in 751 its inevitable endpoint.[120]

---

[118] See Timothy Reuter, '"Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik" im Zeitalter Karl Martells: Begriffe und Wirklichkeit', in Jörg Jarnut (ed.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 35–59: 43–50; Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Karl Martell und die Heiligen: Kirchenpolitik und Maiordomat im Spiegel der spätmerowingischen Hagiographie', *ibid.*, 101–18: 114–6; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martell*, 130; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 156–60.

[119] For an influential formulation of this idea see Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung. 4. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1965; second edition Munich, 1988), 489–96; see also Ian N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751* (London, 1994), 194; Paul Fouracre, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints', in James D. Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 143–65: 156–64; Stéphane Lebecq, 'The role of monasteries in the systems of production and exchange of the Frankish world between the seventh and the beginning of the ninth centuries', in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 121–48: 129–147; Costambeys/Innes/McLean, *The Carolingian World*, 130; on the number of monasteries in northern Francia in the seventh century see Hartmut Atsma, 'Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 62.168 (1976), 163–87; Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 8.

[120] See, for example, Paul Fouracre, 'Observations on the outgrowth of Pippinid influence in the *regnum Francorum* after the battle of Tertry (687–715), *Medieval Prosopography*, 5.2 (1984), 1–31: 3–14; *idem*, 'The long shadow of the Merovingians', in Joanna E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 5–21: 10–19; Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009; this edition London, 2010), 128–9; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 40–2; Erik Goosmann, 'Carolingian kingship, apostolic authority and imperial recognition: Pippin the Short's *Italienpolitik* and the quest for royal

Ultimately, Willibrord has not only been detached from the framework of the 'Anglo-Saxon missions' but also from a purely 'Carolingian' context. The question has even been raised whether figures like Columbanus, Willibrord and Boniface should be referred to as 'missionaries' at all, as they spent most of their careers within the borders of the Frankish kingdom.[121] In contrast to a common hagiographical motif, the churches and monasteries which they founded were not located in peripheral or deserted areas but close to other ecclesiastical or political centres such as the residence of the Merovingian king, the seat of the local bishop or aristocratic estates.[122] From the 1990s onwards, scholars have increasingly referred to Willibrord as a 'political agent' or 'player' and stressed his ability to cooperate with different groups besides the Pippinids, such as the landholders situated in the valley of the Meuse, the Trier area and Thuringia who donated their property to Echternach.[123] What is more, Willibrord's activity has been placed in the context of a larger social transformation which took place between the late seventh and early eighth centuries in north-eastern Francia, as the Echternach charters reflect the emergence of new settlement patterns.[124]

---

legitimacy', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages*: *The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 329–46: 345; Mischa Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung: Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich, 2019; fifth edition Munich, 2020), 899–902, 912–4; for a contrary view regarding the political potential of the late Merovingians see Theo Kölzer, 'Die letzten Merowingerkönige: *rois fainéants*?', in Matthias Becher and Jörg Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 33–60.

[121] See Yitzhak Hen, '*Milites Christi utriusque sexus*: gender and the politics of conversion in the circle of Boniface', *Revue bénédictine*, 109 (1999), 17–31: 17–9; Honée, 'St Willibrord in recent historiography', 23–4; Stefan Esders, *'Nationes quam plures conquiri*: Amandus of Maastricht, compulsory baptism and "Christian universal mission" in seventh-century Gaul', in Jamie Kreiner and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honor of Peter Brown* (Turnhout, 2016), 269–307: 278–82; Wood, 'What is a mission?', 141.

[122] See Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge, 2014), 11–8; Sébastien Bully and Jean-Michel Picard, '*Mensa in deserto*: reconciling Jonas' *Life of Columbanus* with recent archaeological discoveries at Annegray and Luxeuil', in Nancy Edwards, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Roy Flechner (eds), *Transforming Landscapes of Belief in the Early Medieval Insular World and Beyond: Converting the Isles 2* (Turnhout, 2017), 119–43: 129–36.

[123] See Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 271–3; Marios J. Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community on the northern Frankish frontier 690–726', *Early Medieval Europe*, 3.1 (1994), 39–62: 39–42; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 81–2; Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 195; Costambeys/Innes/McLean, *The Carolingian World*, 101–2; *contra* Costambeys: Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, Paul N. Noomen and Bert Thissen, 'Der Niederländische Fernbesitz der Abtei Echternach im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 203–28: 206; Frans Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations: aristocrats and dwellers in the *pagus Texandria*. A publication programme', *Medieval and Modern Matters*, 1 (2010), 37–72: 64, n. 57; see also chapters 1.2 and 2.3.

[124] See Paul Fouracre, 'Britain, Ireland, and Europe', 136–8; Frans Theuws, 'Settlement research and the process of manorialization in northern Austrasia', in Stefano Gasparri (ed.), *774: Ipotesi su una Transizione* (Turnhout, 2008), 199–220: 206–20; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 107.

Research Question

The short outline of the historiographical debate shows that a much more complex picture of Willibrord has emerged since the 1950s. The dissolution of the traditional framework has also made a possible synthesis more difficult. In most overviews of the early Middle Ages, Willibrord remains marginalised if not ignored. In the overall narrative of the formation of Carolingian Europe, Willibrord is in many cases still reduced to his position as the precursor of Boniface in Frisia, dependent on the support of the early Carolingians.[125] This shows that parts of the traditional framework have been advanced rather than reconsidered in the second half of the twentieth century.

Firstly, many studies have retained the dichotomy between an 'Irish' and an 'Anglo-Saxon' missionary movement. The reassessment of Willibrord's 'Irish' background and his characterisation as a 'missionary bishop' on the continent was still embedded in the notion that the 'Hiberno-Frankish' groups of the seventh century were less 'organised' and less inclined to establish permanent ecclesiastical structures than the generation of Boniface.[126] The persistence of this teleological perspective is also reflected in the anachronistic assessment of Willibrord's mission as a 'failure' because a Frisian ecclesiastical province was ultimately not realised.[127] Arnold Angenendt's influential 1973 article was based on the assumption that Willibrord was less 'canonical' in spirit than his successors and that the foundation of Echternach as a 'Carolingian' *Eigenkloster* ('proprietary monastery')

[125] See for, example, Alain Dierkens, 'Willibrord und Bonifatius: Die angelsächsischen Missionen und das fränkische Königreich in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 459–65: 462–3; Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, 176; Jörg W. Busch, *Die Herrschaften der Karolinger 714–911* (Munich, 2011), 6–7; Stefan Weinfurter, *Karl der Große: Der heilige Barbar* (Munich, 2013), 63, 70; Nicholas J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013; this edition London, 2015), 221–2; Claudia Benigni, 'La missione anglo-sassone in Frisia del 690: elementi di novità in una storia di incontri', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, 118 (2016), 1–48: 28–46; I thank Carlo Cedro for his translation of the latter article; Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 935; Jean-Michel Picard, 'De Gente Scottorum Monachi: The Irish in Merovingian Settlement Strategy', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), 389–406: 402–3; Francesca Tinti, *Europe and the Anglo-Saxons* (Cambridge, 2021), 29–30; a more nuanced picture is sketched by Janet Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (London, 2019; this edition London, 2020), 38–52.

[126] See John M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), 145–7; Augustin van Berkum, 'De Constituering en Mislukking van de friese Kerkprovincie', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 159–73: 170–1; Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 124–7; Doris Edel, 'The Christianization of medieval Europe: Willibrord', in Doris Edel (ed.), *The Celtic West and Europe. Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin, 2001), 121–36: 132–6 [Originally published as 'De kerstening van het vroegmiddeleeuwse Europa: Willibrord', in René E. V. Stuip and Cees Vellekoop (eds), *Utrecht tussen kerk en staat* (Hilversum, 1991), 31–50].

[127] See Reuter, '"Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik"', 35–43; for the assessment of Willibrord's mission as a 'colossal failure' see Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 197.

contributed to the disintegration of episcopal authority in Austrasia.[128] Secondly, Willibrord's network is still primarily reduced to the early Carolingians. Although Angenendt's suggestion – that Willibrord was a 'vassal' of the mayors of the palace – has been rejected,[129] most studies still follow Wampach's thesis that the majority of Willibrord's supporters in Francia belonged to the Pippinid sphere.[130] Thirdly, it can be argued that the 'acculturation' model, which replaced the 'missionary' model to some extent, retains the notion of a linear development, in which the better 'organised' Carolingian model spread from its 'centre' in Austrasia to the 'periphery' through the foundations of monasteries.[131]

Recently, James Palmer has argued that 'the precise nature of Willibrord's political role [in the period 709–17] is unclear'.[132] Palmer's assessment demonstrates the difficulty to reconcile the various sources and their interpretations with each other. I argue that the problem lies in the attempt to define Willibrord's network according to clear-cut categories such as 'Irish', 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Carolingian'. As the marginal note in the *Calendar* indicates, Willibrord did not characterise himself as an 'outsider' in Francia.[133] The usefulness of the above-mentioned labels to characterise ecclesiastical networks around 700 has thus rightly been called into question, yet no study has so far reassessed Willibrord's network on the basis of three main sources for his continental activity: the hagiography, the

[128] Arnold Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienst der Karolinger', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 175 (1973), 63–111: 66, 84–94, 103–4; see also *idem*, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius: Ihr Verhältnis zu Mönchtum, Bischofsamt und Adel', in Arno Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit* (Sigmaringen, 1974), 251–304: 261; *idem*, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 31–41: 39–41; *idem*, '"Er war der erste"', 18–20; on the problematic notion of the 'proprietary church/monastery' see Steffen Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und den Grenzen der *potestas episcopalis* im Karolingerreich', in Philippe Depreux, François Bougard and Régine le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces: mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e au XI^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2007), 225–45: 225–31; see also chapter 3.2.

[129] Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienst der Karolinger', 79: 'Dann aber stellt sich die weitere Frage […], ob das Verhältnis Willibrords zu den Hausmeiern nicht bereits als eine Form des gehobenen Vasallendienstes anzusehen ist […]'; see Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 122.

[130] See chapter 1.2.

[131] The 'acculturation' model, influenced by anthropological studies, was especially adopted by Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 16–7, 25–7. Weiler, however, retained the idea that Frisian 'paganism' was essentially a 'Germanic' cultural phenomenon and that the 'cult' was controlled by the king and the aristocracy; see also Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Le rôle de l'aristocratie dans la Christianisation du nord-est de la Gaule', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 62.168 (1976), 45–73: 70–2 ; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 22–3, 46–7, 128–9; *idem*, 'The long shadow of the Merovingians', 17–8; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 115; Bert Groenewoudt, Roy van Beek and Michel Groothedde, 'Christianisation and the afterlife of pagan open-air cult sites: evidence from the northern Frankish frontier', *Medieval and Modern Matters*, 5 (2014), 1–28: 19.

[132] Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 107.

[133] In contrast to Miriam A. Jones, 'A chosen missionary people? Willibrord, Boniface, and the election of the *Angli*', *Medieval Worlds,* 3 (2016), 98–115: 102, I do not believe that the marginal note in the Calendar explicitly refers to Willibrord's 'homeland'. The neutral expression *ultra mare* rather demonstrates that the differentiation between Ireland and Northumbria was not of primary importance to the scribe.

charters of the *Liber aureus* and the *Calendar*.[134] The thesis examines the benefit of the concept of the political actor for our understanding of Willibrord's activity on the continent. In this context, the designation 'political actor' refers to his potential to create *intersections* between different ecclesiastical and political networks.[135] Ultimately, the aim of the thesis is to understand Willibrord's successful integration into the fabric of late Merovingian society beyond the mission to Frisia.

[134] See Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 30; Wood, 'The Irish in England: part I', 186; James T. Palmer, 'Review of *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identitiy, Culture and Religion*, eds. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder', *The Mediæval Journal*, 7.1 (2018), 168–71: 170–1.

[135] See Fox, *Power and Religion*, 17. With regard to the early Middle Ages, 'political' and 'religious' are not separable categories. The notion of the political actor should be understood as an additional dimension of Willibrord's activity which extends beyond the traditional portrayal of him as a missionary; it does not serve to downplay the religious dimension of his career. On the contrary, his ability to attract the support of different groups within Merovingian society suggests that the religious significance of his activity overrode political constellations.

Sources and Methodology

It can be argued that we are ultimately confronted with several 'Willibrords'; this plurality does not only result from the variety in sources but also from the different national approaches to the subject. The challenge thus lies in disentangling the different – medieval *and* modern – perspectives on Willibrord. The thesis seeks to highlight the fragmentary nature of the sources as well as potential contradictions between them.[136] By contrasting rather than harmonising the sources with each other, the various contexts into which Willibrord's activity extended can be discerned, including the transfer of landed property, the commemoration of saints and the establishment of supra-regional contacts between Utrecht and Rome. However, the aim of the present study is not to depict Willibrord as an individual heroic figure, but to demonstrate that his position on the continent relied on the interplay between different networks.

The persistence of the traditional perspective on Willibrord's network raises the question of the available sources for its reconstruction. Most recent monographs on Willibrord follow a similar structure: a survey of the history of Ireland and Britain in the early Middle Ages, which set outs the significance of the 'Anglo-Saxon missions' for the formation of Carolingian Europe, is followed by a relatively short account of Willibrord's continental career.[137] To narrate the former part, scholars have mostly relied on Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*, whereas the latter part depends to a large extent on the charters of the *Liber aureus*. The *Calendar*, in turn, takes an intermediary position, as the martyrological entries connect the Insular world with the ecclesiastical traditions of the continent.[138] In contrast to Boniface, no trace of Willibrord's correspondence survived.[139] The historians' perspective is, therefore, shaped by a small number of sources which were not only created in different chronological and geographical contexts, but whose authors also pursued different aims in the compilation of their work. As mentioned above, recent studies have relied on a greater variety of sources to contextualise Willibrord's activity. With regard to his network, however, the four sources mentioned above represent the cornerstones of most modern accounts. As the first two chapters present an in-depth analysis of Bede's *Historia*, Alcuin's *Vita*, the *Liber aureus* and the *Calendar*, the following overview will only briefly introduce the context of their composition.

---

[136] See especially chapter 1.2.
[137] See Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 17–198; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 29–88; Neu, *Willibrord und die Christianisierung Europas*, 18–52.
[138] See chapter 2.1.
[139] See Levison, 'Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Willibrord', 56; on the letters of Boniface see Noble, 'Introduction', xxxiv–xxxv.

The earliest narrative of Willibrord's career is included in Book Five of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of the Northumbrian monk Bede. The work is dedicated to King Ceolwulf of Northumbria (729–37), who was temporarily deposed in 731. The same year is usually regarded as the date of the completion of the *Historia*, although Bede probably revised his work on several occasions before his death in 735.[140] According to his own preface, Bede's aim was to provide the king with a history of the deeds of the 'illustrious men of our own *gens*'.[141] Bede's notion of a unified 'English' *gens*, which extended beyond the *Angli* of Northumbria, was probably less coherent than previously assumed.[142] With regard to Willibrord, his outlook was decidedly 'Northumbrian'. This is not only reflected in his focus on the Northumbrians Ecgberct and Willibrord, who allegedly extended the missionary zeal of the *Angli* to the continent, but also in the origin of his source material.[143] Bede named among his main informants Bishop Acca of Hexham (d. 740). According to Bede, Acca met with Willibrord on the continent in 703.[144] Furthermore, an important source for Bede was Abbot Albinus (d. 733/4) of Ss Peter and Paul's in Canterbury. His intermediary, the priest Nothhelm, provided Bede with copies of several papal letters after his return from Rome.[145] Bede also had access to the account of Willibrord's consecration in Rome which was recorded in the collection of papal biographies known as the *Liber pontificalis*. Bede already included Willibrord's consecration in his *De temporum ratione* of 725.[146] However, the chronology of Bede's sources and the fact that he refers to the year 731 in his narration of the Frisian mission, suggest that he compiled his material on Willibrord relatively late in his career, over forty years after the latter's departure from Ireland.[147]

An even greater chronological gap lies between Bede and the two *Vitae* of Willibrord composed by the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin (d. 804). Alcuin wrote two *Lives*, one in prose

---

[140] The number of studies on Bede's work has become insurmountable. For recent overviews see, for example, Nicholas J. Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, 2006), 40–52; Alan T. Thacker, 'Bede and history', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 170–90: 171–8; Richard Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent in Bede's Ecclesiastical History: Methodology and Sources* (London, 2018), 1–15.

[141] Bede, *HE*, *praefatio* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 2): […] *satisque studium tuae sinceritatis amplector, quo non solum audiendis scripturae sanctae uerbis aurem sedulus accommodas uerum etiam noscendis priorum gestis siue dictis, et maxime nostrae gentis uirorum inlustrium, curam uigilanter inpendis*.

[142] See Michael Richter, 'Bede's *Angli*: Angles or English?', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 99–114: 113–4; Ian N. Wood, 'Who are the Philistines? Bede's reading of Old Testament peoples', in Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 172–87: 185–7.

[143] See chapter 1.1.

[144] See chapters 1.1.1 and 2.2.1.

[145] Bede, *HE*, *praefatio* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 4).

[146] *Liber pontificalis*, 16, ed. Louis Duchesne, *Le* Liber pontificalis*: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92), 1.376; Bede, *Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66], ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA, 13 (Berlin, 1898), 316; on the *Liber pontificalis* see Rosamond McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The* Liber pontificalis (Cambridge, 2020), 1–37.

[147] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486); see chapters 1.1.2 and 2.2.1.

and one in verse form, for Beornrad, Abbot of Echternach and Archbishop of Sens (785/6–97).[148] The *Vitae* were probably completed in 796, after Alcuin had left the court of Charlemagne to become abbot of St Martin's in Tours.[149] Although the precise link is unclear, Alcuin and Beornrad appear have been related to Willibrord.[150] The *Vitae* were thus shaped by the commemoration of the saint which had developed at Echternach since his death in 739.[151] Although Alcuin relied on Bede's *Historia*, he developed a more schematic portrayal of Willibrord as a saint which is built around miracle stories. At the same time, the *Vitae* were also embedded in the political context of their composition. It has long been noted that the *Vitae* reacted to the Carolingians campaigns against the Saxons and the Avars.[152] Alcuin was especially concerned with the conversion of population beyond the borders of the Frankish kingdom and used the example of Willibrord to promote a model of Christinisation built on persuasion rather than coercion.[153]

Alcuin also provided the first chronological indication regarding the date of Willibrord's birth: according to the *Vitae*, he left for Frisia in his thirty-third year. Combined with the information of the marginal note in the *Calendar*, Willibrord's birth can be placed in the year 658.[154] The year of his death, however, is only recorded in the third major hagiographical work, the two *Vitae* composed in 1104/5 by Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (1081–1110).[155] Thiofrid closely followed Alcuin's model, which included the composition of a prose and verse text, and his *Vitae* have generally been regarded as having little relevance for the reconstruction of Willibrord's biography.[156] Besides the notable claim that an Irish life of Willibrord had preceded Alcuin's work, the significance of Thiofrid's prose *Vita* lies

---

[148] Marios Costambeys, 'Beornred', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60150; print edition 2004, this edition 2004) [accessed: 25.09.2021].

[149] See Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 127–35; Hans-Joachim Reischmann, *Willibrord: Apostel der Friesen. Seine Vita nach Alkuin und Thiofrid* (Sigmaringendorf, 1989), 11–26; Ian N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe. 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001), 85–90; Kate Rambridge, 'Alcuin's narratives of evangelism: "The Life of St Willibrord" and the Northumbrian hagiographical tradition', in Martin Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe. AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2003), 371–81: 378–81; Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin*, xi–lv.

[150] See chapter 1.1.1.

[151] See Henri Trauffler, 'Zur Entstehung der Wallfahrt nach Echternach', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 525–39: 526–9.

[152] See Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 73–6.

[153] Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 85–90; Rambridge, 'Alcuin's narratives of evangelism', 378–81; see chapter 1.1.4.

[154] Alcuin, *VW*, 5 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 44); Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 159.

[155] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 24 (ed. Poncelet, 474); Alcuin, *VW*, 24 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 66), records the 6 November as the date of Willibrord's death. However, the contemporary copy of the Hieronymian *Martyrology*, with which the *Calendar* is bound together, contains a marginal note (fol. 28^v) which dates his death to 7 November, the traditional feast day; on Thiofrid see Willibrord Lampen, *Thiofrid von Echternach: Eine philologisch-historische Studie* (Breslau, 1920), 1–5, and chapter 1.2.1; on the manuscript of the *Calendar* see chapter 2.1.

[156] See Reischmann, *Willibrord*, 93–103.

in the fact that it contains the earliest reference to the Merovingian charters in the archive of the monastery. The depiction of Willibrord in the early eleventh century thus allows us to contextualise the compilation of the *Liber aureus* (1191 x 1231) which includes the only copies of the charters.[157] Together with the martyrological entries in the *Calendar*, which were compiled between *c.* 703 and 728 at Echternach, the charters contain the only continental traces of Willibrord's network which predate the middle of the eighth century.[158]

Between Bede and Thiofrid, there are of course further stages in which Willibrord was commemorated. The hagiography produced by the circle of Boniface and his successors on the continent represents a prominent example. Like Alcuin's *Vitae*, these texts (to which can be added one of Boniface's letter about the see of Utrecht) reflect the adoption of Willibrord's memory in the Carolingian period.[159] Significantly, this process took place in the Frankish kingdom rather than in Britain or Ireland. Although Willibrord did not enjoy the prominence of Boniface, whose death was recorded in the Carolingian annals, our understanding of the political context of his career is shaped by a small number of sources which are mostly pro-Carolingian in their outlook.[160] Thus, the notion of Pippin II's domination over the Frankish kingdom and the 'conquest' of Frisia in the early eighth century depends on the perspective of texts which were composed within the inner circle of the Carolingian dynasty, such as the so-called *Annales Mettenses Priores* (*c.* 805/6) and the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar* (compiled in several stages between 727 and 768). Their one-sided view on the events before 751 is only balanced by a few texts, the Neustrian *Liber Historiae Francorum* (*c.* 727) being the most prominent example.[161] The analysis of Willibrord's activity in Francia must, therefore, carefully contrast the fragmentary material from his lifetime with the historical framework developed by later sources.

---

[157] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 24 (ed. Poncelet, 475).
[158] See chapters 1.2 and 2.1.
[159] See James T. Palmer, 'Beyond Frankish authority? Frisia and Saxony between the Anglo-Saxons and Carolingians', in Hans Sauer and Joanna E. Story (eds), *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent* (Tempe, 2011), 139–62: 158–61; on Boniface's letter see chapter 3.1.1.
[160] See chapter 1.1.2.
[161] *Annales Mettenses Priores*, ed. Bernhard von Simson, MGH SRG, 10 (Hannover, 1905), 1–98; *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continationibus*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 168–193; *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. *idem*, *ibid.*, 215–328; on the *AMP* see Wilhelm Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 474–83 [Originally published in *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann* (Berlin, 1933), 9–21]; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik* (Bonn, 1958), 9–68; Yitzhak Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew J. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 175–90; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 35–6; on the *Continuations* see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 257–9, Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 39–41; on the *LHF* see Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987), 146–72; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 79–87; for a general overview see Fouracre, 'The long shadow of the Merovingians', 10–19; Innes/Costambeys/McLean, *The Carolingian World*, 19–21.

As the historiographical overview has shown, previous analyses of Willibrord's network have often anticipated the rise of the Carolingian dynasty and the ecclesiastical developments during Boniface's career. To avoid this fixation on Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians, the thesis follows a different structure: it focuses on the sources on which the traditional interpretation rests, that is, Bede's *Historia*, Alcuin's prose *Vita*, the *Liber aureus* and the *Calendar*.

The first chapter contrasts the evidence of the charters with the depiction of Willibrord's network in the works of Bede and Alcuin. The chapter argues that the charters, if detached from the hagiography, allow us to perceive the integration of Willibrord into Merovingian society as a gradual and dynamic process which included other groups besides the Pippinids. The second chapter reassesses the ecclesiastical horizon reflected in the *Calendar*. The analysis of the martyrological entries suggests that the commemoration of saints from his field of activity allowed Willibrord to establish a connection between his foundation at Echternach and the surrounding dioceses. Finally, the third chapter reassesses the position of the early Carolingians within Willibrord's network. This part is intentionally kept shorter and focuses on the period before Charles Martel's victory in the Frankish civil war in 718. Thereby, Willibrord's interaction with Pippin's family is not depicted as the inevitable outcome of his activity in Francia. Rather, I argue that Willibrord attracted the support of the early Carolingians because of his ability to create intersections between different ecclesiastical and political networks in Francia.

1. Willibrord as a Political Actor: The Hagiographical Narrative Versus the Charter Evidence

The fragmentary nature of the sources related to Willibrord is best illustrated by the fact that the three most important sources for the reconstruction of his activity on the continent belong to three different geographical and chronological contexts. Although a Northumbrian himself, Alcuin composed his *Vitae Willibrordi* in Francia during the reign of Charlemagne, over sixty years after the completion of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Of the earliest charters from Echternach, in turn, only fragments survive, collected in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as part of the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*. In order to analyse the development of Willibrord's network between 690 and 739, the foundations of the traditional master narrative need to be considered first. Despite the fact that the three sources mentioned above differ from each other with regard to their perspective, aim and compilation, they have traditionally been combined to retrace Willibrord's career as a missionary in the service of the early Carolingians and to link the foundation of Echternach to the family of Pippin II.

The following chapter first analyses how Bede and Alcuin's accounts shaped the image of Willibrord in modern scholarship. The second part analyses to what extent the charter evidence diverges from the hagiographical narrative and how this discrepancy impacts our understanding of Willibrord's network.

1.1 The Depiction of Willibrord's Network in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Alcuin's Prose *Vita Willibrordi*

In their depiction of Willibrord's career, Bede and Alcuin chose a similar structure: they both focused on his life before his departure from Ireland, his missionary activity in Frisia, his relationship with Pippin II and his consecration in Rome. A major structural difference between the two texts is Alcuin's addition of several chapters on the miracles which Willibrord allegedly performed.[162] Yet Bede's and Alcuin's approaches also differ from each other with regard to the emphasis they placed on the various episodes of Willibrord's life and the individuals they included in each segment.

1.1.1 Early Life in Northumbria and Ireland

The difference between Bede and Alcuin's characterisation of Willibrord first becomes apparent in the depiction of his early life. Bede did not comment on Willibrord's career prior to his stay with Ecgberct of Rath Melsigi in Ireland. While Willibrord's first appearance in the *Historia ecclesiastica* takes place in Book Three and is set on the continent,[163] Bede included the majority of his material on Willibrord in Book Five.[164] The position of the two chapters on Willibrord is significant: Bede placed his career in the wider context of the life of Ecgberct, to whom he attributed a central role in the overall narrative of the *Historia.* Ecgberct's role is first foreshadowed in Book Three, which culminates in Bede's account of the Synod of Whitby (664): Ecgberct is introduced as *reuerentissimus et sanctissimus pater et sacerdos* ('the greatly revered and holy father and priest'). Although he was *de natione Anglorum*, he lived in Ireland as an exile for Christ before he left for Iona in 716. There, he convinced the monastic community the adopt the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter.[165] In a later chapter, Bede adds that Ecgberct formed part of a larger group of *Angli* who left their homeland to study and to adopt an ascetic lifestyle in Ireland around the middle of the seventh century. Ecgberct, who settled at the monastery of Rath Melsigi, allegedly belonged to those who were of noble birth.[166]

In Book Five, Willibrord's departure for Frisia is directly tied to Bede's narrative

[162] Alcuin, *VW*, 14–22 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54–64). On the structure of the prose *Vita* see Reischmann, *Willibrord,* 26–42.
[163] Bede, *HE*, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252–4).
[164] *Ibid.*, 5.10–11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480–7).
[165] *Ibid.*, 3.4 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 224; trans. *ibid.*, 225).
[166] Bede, *HE*, 3.27 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 312); see Michael Richter, *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999), 144–6; Higham, *(Re)Reading Bede*, 121; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart: The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon Royal Exile in the Sith and Seventh Centuries* (Cambridge, 2007), 5–7, 18–21. Ecgberct was probably from Northumbria.

about Ecgberct. Bede's introduction of Ecgberct includes the story of how the monastic community of Rath Melsigi was decimated by the plague in 664.[167] Ecgberct swore never to return to Britain and to lead an austere religious life if God spared him from the plague.[168] Ecgberct later decided to convert those *nationes* on the continent from whom the *Angli* and the *Saxones* in Britain apparently descended. If this proved impossible, he hoped to travel to the 'shrines of the apostles and martyrs' in Rome.[169] Before he could embark on his voyage, however, an unnamed monk from the community of Rath Melsigi told Ecgberct of a vision in which Boisil of Melrose (d. *c.* 660/1) had appeared to him.[170] Boisil urged the monk to hold Ecgberct off his journey, since it was God's will that he should 'give instructions in the monasteries of Columba' instead.[171] Ultimately, after he had twice ignored Boisil's message and his ship had been destroyed by a storm, Ecgberct decided to abandon his plan and to send one of his companions (*de sociis eius*), another exile (*peregrinus*) in Ireland named Wictberct, to Frisia in his stead. Bede relates that Wictberct stayed in Frisia for two years but was unable to convert the Frisians and their 'King' Radbod, which is why he finally returned to Ireland.[172]

Only after Wictberct's return did Ecgberct finally chose Willibrord for the task of preaching to the *gentes* on the continent.[173] Within the narrative framework of the *Historia*, Ecgberct's abandonment of his journey to the continent is of crucial importance, as it enabled him to fulfil a more significant task: by departing for Iona instead of Frisia, Ecgberct acted in accordance with divine providence and initiated the community of Iona's acceptance of the Catholic reckoning of Easter.[174] By including Boisil's admonition regarding the *Columbae monasteria*, Bede took up the thread he had established in Book Three when he introduced Ecgberct as the champion of the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter. At the same time,

---

[167] On the outbreak of the plague in Britain and Ireland see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland: 400-1200* (first edition London, 1995; second edition Abingdon, 2017), 126.
[168] Bede, *HE*, 3.27 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 312–4).
[169] *Ibid.*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 474–6; trans. *ibid.*, 477); on the 'Germanic' *nationes* mentioned by Bede see chapter 1.1.2.
[170] Bede, *HE*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 476–8); on Boisil see *ibid.*, 4.27 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 432) and chapter 2.2.1.
[171] Bede, *HE*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 476–8; trans. *ibid.*, 479): *Dei enim uoluntatis est, ut ad Columbae monasteria magis docenda pergat*.
[172] *Ibid.*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 478–80); Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 182; on Radbod's political status see chapter 3.1.2.
[173] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480): *Vt autem uidit uir Domini Ecgberct, quia nec ipse ad praedicandum gentibus uenire permittebatur, retentus ob aliam sanctae ecclesiae utilitatem, de qua oraculo fuerat praemonitus, nec Uictberct illas deueniens in partes quicquam proficiebat, temtauit adhuc in opus Verbi mittere uiros sanctos et industrios, in quibus eximius Uilbrord presbyteri gradu et merito praefulgebat*.
[174] Bede, *HE*, 5.22 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 554): *Mira autem diuinae dispensatio prousionis erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in pascha transiuit de hoc mundo ad Patrem, uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari solebat*; see also Knut Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 28 (1994), 172–95: 175.

Bede anticipated the conclusion of the entire *Historia*: the antepenultimate chapter – the last chapter which refers to events before the time of the work's completion in 731 – describes how the community of Iona adapted the Dionysiac Easter through Ecgberct's teaching after 716.[175] At the end of the chapter, Bede presents Ecgberct's death in Iona on Easter Day 729, which was now celebrated according to the Dionysiac reckoning, as the fulfilment of divine providence.[176] Ecgberct thus appears as a central actor in the overall narrative of the *Historia*, through whom Bede was able to highlight the role played by the *Angli* within salvation history as a whole.[177]

Consequently, Willibrord's role in Book Five is shaped by his affiliation to Ecgberct's community. Bede modelled Willibrord's qualities in accordance with the traits he assigned to Ecgberct. Above all, Bede portrayed Ecgberct as an outstanding teacher and accentuated his ability to instruct others, which was derived from his excellent learning.[178] Willibrord is likewise introduced as 'outstandingly eminent as a priest both in rank and merit', although Bede did not specifically state that Willibrord was educated by Ecgberct.[179] Both in the *Historia* as well as in *De temporum ratione* of 725, Ecgberct and Willibrord form part of a small group of clerics, kings and queens distinguished by Bede for their spiritual qualities and their achievements. Significantly, all of these personages were either from Northumbria or connected to the kingdom.[180] In addition, Ecgberct and Willibrord stand out from this list as they are the only two clerics whom Bede introduces as *peregrini* in the *Historia*.[181] Their characterisation as exiles for Christ in Ireland anticipates their later departures to Frisia and Iona, respectively.[182] It is important to note that Bede did not distinguish between Ecgberct's

---

[175] See David P. Kirby, 'Cuthbert, Boisil of Melrose and the Northumbrian priest Ecgberht: some historical and hagiographical connections', in Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinseas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 48–53: 51–3.

[176] Bede, *HE*, 5.22 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 554); see also *ibid.*, 5.24 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 566); Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart*, 20–1. Ecgberct's death was included in a contemporary entry in the Irish annals, whose compilation originated in Iona. Also, the obit for *Macflathei* (Old Irish: 'son of a lord' or 'king') in the Carolingian *Annales Laureshamenses*, s.a. 729, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 24, probably refers to him.

[177] Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 173–6; Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, 175–6; see also Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History: A.D. 550–800. Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), 313; Wood, 'Who are the Philistines?',186.

[178] Bede, *HE*, 3.4 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 224); *ibid.*, 3.27 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 314); *ibid.*, 4.3 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 344); *ibid.*, 5.22 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 552–4).

[179] *Ibid.*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480; trans. *ibid.*, 481): […] *in quibus eximius Uilbrord presbyteri gradu et merito praefulgebat*.

[180] Bede, *Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 316, 319); Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486); Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, 118–21. Willibrord is one of the few individuals whom Bede describes as 'venerable' (*vir venerabilis*) in both works; see also Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 252.

[181] Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, 120–1.

[182] Bede, *HE*, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252): *Sed et in Hibernia cum presbyter adhuc peregrinam pro aeterna patria duceret uitam* […]; on the motif of *peregrinatio* see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 59–76; Elva Johnston, 'Exiles from the edge? The Irish context of *peregrinatio*', in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 38–52.

and Willibrord's undertakings as two different forms of religious teaching. Although Ecgberct targeted a Christian community and Willibrord the inhabitants of Frisia, Bede used a similar terminology to describe their activity.[183] In Ecgberct's case, Bede states that he chose Willibrord and his companions 'to preach' (*ad praedicandum*) on the continent and when he came to Iona in 716, he 'corrected' the community of Iona (*per quem fuerant correcti*).[184] In contrast to the *Brettones* and the Irish monks in Iona (*monachi Scotticae nationis*), the *populus Anglorum* was 'fully instructed in the rules of Catholic belief' (*in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis*). While Bede did not conceal the contribution of the monastic community of Iona to the spread of Christianity in Northumbria, he nonetheless established a hierarchy based on the quality of belief among the three *gentes*. Both the monks of Iona and the *Brettones* adhered to erroneous customs. The *Brettones*, however, never attempted to instruct the *Angli* in the Christian faith and thus never learned the 'rule of Catholic faith' in contrast to the monks of Iona. Therefore, only the latter were able to reach a 'more perfect way of life' (*ad perfectam uiuendi normam perueniret*) through Ecgberct's efforts.[185]

Similarly, Willibrord 'preached the Word of faith' (*uerbum fidei praedicans*) in Frisia and corrected the 'errors' of the local communities he encountered.[186] Bede described both undertakings as outward in their objective and he used the same terminology of *praedicatio* and religious *correctio* to characterise them. From Bede's point of view, Willibrord's activity was firmly embedded in the greater impact that the *Angli* had on the development of Christianity in the territories around them. At the same time, Willibrord's appearance in the *Historia* is more episodic in comparison with Ecgberct and (with one exception) limited to Book Five. In the two chapters which follow the failure of Ecgberct's original plan, Bede focuses on Willibrord's activity in Frisia but remains silent regarding his previous career. By closely linking Ecgberct's decision to stay in Ireland with Willibrord's departure for the continent, Bede depicted the latter undertaking as a separate continuation of Ecgberct's

[183] Compare the description in Bede, *HE*, 5. 9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 476) of Ecgberct's attempt to 'deliver some [of the *nationes* in *Germania*] from Satan' (*siquos forte ex illis ereptos Satanae ad Christum transferre ualeret ad Christum transferre ualerat*) with the entry in the *Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 316) for Willibrord's consecration in Rome (*in qua usque hodie pro aeterna patrie peregrinus [est enim de Brittania gentis Anglorum] innumera cottidie diabolo detrimenta et Christianiae fidei facit augmenta*).

[184] Bede, *HE*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480); *ibid.*, 5.22 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 554). In the latter chapter, Bede refers to Iona's contribution to the spread of Christianity in Northumbria by stating that the monks of Iona sent Aidan *ad praedicationem gentis Anglorum*; see also Lawrence T. Martin, 'Bede and preaching', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 156–69: 158–60.

[185] Bede, *HE*, 5.22 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 554; trans. *ibid.*, 555); for Bede's portrayal of the British and the Irish see Clare E. Stancliffe, 'British and Irish contexts', in Scott Degregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 69–83: 69–74.

[186] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486). The terminology is the same for Wictberct and for the Hewalds and Suidberct, who joined Willibrord on the continent.

activity. Willibrord's work in Frisia ultimately complemented Ecgberct's in Iona. Through a compact account of Willibrord's years on the continent, Bede firmly embedded the mission to Frisia within the framework of Ecgberct's biography, which spans three of the five books of the *Historia*. At the same time, Willibrord's career is clearly subordinated to Ecgberct's with regard to the narrative structure of the work.[187] Thereby, Ecgberct emerges as the central figure in Willibrord's network prior to his departure from Ireland.[188]

Bede's emphasis on Ecgberct stands out if the *Historia* is compared to Alcuin's prose *Vita Willibrordi*. Early in the text, Alcuin introduces Ecgberct and Wictberct as Willibrord's teachers at Rath Melsigi and states that Willibrord's decision to leave Ripon for Ireland was, above all, influenced by the reputation of their learning and by Willibrord's desire to imitate their existence as religious exiles.[189] However, Alcuin did not suggest that Ecgberct initiated the mission to Frisia.[190] Alcuin limited Ecgberct's influence to the sphere of learning, while he linked Willibrord's personal decision to go to Frisia to the prophetic vision that his mother experienced in night of his birth. By referencing the Gospel of Luke, Alcuin suggested that Willibrord, like John the Baptist, was already sanctified in his mother's womb and that God foresaw his birth for the salvation of many.[191]

In the *Vita*, Ecgberct's role as the agent of divine providence is transferred to Willibrord's family.[192] Rather than to address biographical details, the introductory chapters on Willibrord's parents establish his sainthood.[193] Willibrord is characterised through a short exposition of his father's religious career in the first chapter. According to Alcuin, Wilgils led a pious life in Northumbria. After he had renounced his possessions, he first adopted a monastic lifestyle and later became a hermit, though he maintained a close relationship with the king and the aristocracy.[194] In the first sentence of the *Vita*, Alcuin already refers to the vision experienced by Willibrord's mother in the night of his birth by stating that Wilgils and his (unnamed) wife's devotion to Christ was later revealed by signs. Alcuin underlines that both Willibrord's birth and his parents' marriage was brought about by divine providence.[195] In addition, the last chapter of the *Vita* is dedicated to the memory of the *felix pater* Wilgils

[187] Higham, *(Re)Reading Bede*, 142.
[188] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 318.
[189] Alcuin, *VW*, 4 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 42–4); see also Alcuin, *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 191–2: l. 1007–32; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 183–5.
[190] See Paul Dräger, *Alcuini Vita sancti Willibrordi – Alkuin. Das Leben des heiligen Willibrord* (Trier, 2008), 111. Ecgberct's and Willibrord's activities are likewise disconnected in the *Versus de patribus*.
[191] Alcuin, *VW*, 2 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 40); compare the description of the mother's vision to Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*, 1.2, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 64–108: 66–7.
[192] See Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 183–4.
[193] Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin*, 343–6.
[194] Alcuin, *VW*, 1 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 38). Note that, in contrast to Bede's view that Willibrord belonged to the *gens Anglorum*, Alcuin stated that Wilgils was *de genere Saxo*.
[195] *Ibid.*, 1–2 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 38–40).

and closes with a reference to the Book of Deuteronomy, again denoting Willibrord's birth as a benediction.[196]

Alcuin's focus on Willibrord's parents was not only founded on hagiographical conventions. In the *praefatio* and the first chapter of the *Vita*, Alcuin stresses the fact that the *cellula* in Northumbria, in which Wilgils was buried, passed into his keeping *per successiones legitimas*.[197] In the first chapter, Alcuin likewise addresses Beornrad, Abbot of Echternach and Archbishop of Sens, as an *heres dignissimus* ('most exalted heir') of Willibrord.[198] While Bede narrated Willibrord's life through his relation to Ecgberct, Alcuin embedded his subject's biography in the personal ties that existed between Willibrord's family, the community of Echternach led by Beornrad and the descendants of Wilgils in Northumbria.[199] As the three groups are linked in the *praefatio*, the first and the last chapter of the *Vita*, the family relations which existed between the saint and the contemporary readers of the *Vita* appear as a central thread of the work. This relation was also spiritual in character, as the different addressees were connected through their succession in the ecclesiastical office and the *memoria* of the saint.[200]

Although Alcuin elaborated on the Northumbrian origin of Willibrord's family, he only touched upon Willibrord's education at the monastery of Ripon. The members of the community of Ripon remain anonymous in the *Vita*, as Alcuin merely mentions that the saint was entrusted to the 'brothers' as a child and subsequently focuses on Willibrord's personal talent as a pupil. When Willibrord departed for Ireland, he apparently did so with the approval of 'his abbot and the brothers'.[201] Here, Alcuin's silence on Willibrord's early network stands in stark contrast to Stephen's indication in his *Vita Wilfridi* (712 x 714) that Willibrord was brought up at Ripon and Wilfrid of York's spiritual 'son'.[202] Alcuin cut the ramifications of Willibrord's early network back in order to link the saint's achievements directly to his immediate family. While Willibrord allegedly took the decision to set out from

[196] Alcuin, *VW*, 31 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 70–2); Alcuin also added an elegy on Wilgils to the metrical *Vita*, 33 (ed. Dümmler, 218); on Wilgils' obit in the *Calendar* see chapter 2.1.1.
[197] See also Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 120, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp., 4 (Berlin, 1895), 174–5. Alcuin announced the completion of the two *Vitae* (prose and verse) in a letter to Beornrad.
[198] Alcuin, *VW*, *praefatio* (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, xlix–l); Alcuin, *VW*, 1 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 38). The term *heres* is also used by Alcuin in *VW*, 31 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 74) to describe the relationship between Wilgils and Willibrord.
[199] See Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 97–8.
[200] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Heilige und Familie: Studien zur Bedeutung familiengebundener Aspekte in Viten des Verwandten- und Schülerkreises um Willibrord, Bonifatius und Liudger* (doctoral thesis, 1981; second edition Mainz, 1997), 170–3; Reischmann, *Willibrord*, 20–2; see also Thiofrid, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, 29 (ed. Poncelet, 477).
[201] Alcuin, *VW*, 3–4 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 40–4).
[202] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 26, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927; this edition Cambridge, 1985), 52.
.

Ireland on his own, his choice was as a consequence of God's benediction of Wilgils' family. The extent to which the *Vita* was shaped by the motif of family relations stands out if Willibrord's depiction in Alcuin's poem *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* (before 804) is considered. Here, the focus is enlarged to the Northumbrian Church and Willibrord appears as only one of the many clerics lauded by Alcuin. In contrast to the *Vita*, Willibrord is again placed within a wider network of religious activity between Ireland, Britain and Francia.[203] By contrasting Bede's depiction of Willibrord's early network in Britain and Ireland with that of Alcuin, two different portrayals of Willibrord emerge. Both portrayals need to be approached as selective and biased constructions, shaped by the scope, audience and central message of the two works.

1.1.2 The Mission to Frisia

Bede's and Alcuin's narrative strategies also informed their depiction of the mission to Frisia. According to both sources, Willibrord left Ireland with a small group of companions. In the *Historia*, Willibrord was one of twelve *viri sancti et industrii* ('holy and industrious men') selected by Ecgberct.[204] Bede did not elaborate on the members of the group[205] but identified several other individuals who either stayed with Willibrord in Frisia or pursued a separate enterprise on the continent: Wictberct, the Hewalds (two priests distinguished by the colour of their hair), Tilmon and Suidberct. While Bede assigned Wictberct to Ecgberct's circle, Wictberct's decision to go to Frisia was apparently not directly influenced by Ecgberct. Rather, Wictberct's departure is depicted as an independent plan, which fits Bede's emphasis on his hermitical lifestyle.[206] At the same time, the short insertion of his attempt to preach to the Frisians stresses Ecgberct's foresight in the following chapter: despite his knowledge of Wictberct's limited success, Ecgberct chose Willibrord, who was ultimately successful.

Bede's account of the Hewalds' martyrdom and Suidberct's career likewise complement the focus on Ecgberct's original plan. According to a much-debated passage, the *nationes* whom Ecgberct wished to preach to in *Germania* included the Frisians, the *Rugini*, the Danes, the Huns, the 'Old Saxons' (*Antiqui Saxones*) and the *Boructuari* next to

[203] Alcuin, *Versus de patribus*, l. 1007–42 (ed. Dümmler, 191–2).
[204] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480); on the significance of the number twelve in early medieval saints' lives see Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 92–3; Wood, 'What is a mission?', 142–3, who appears to ignore Bede's reference to Willibrord's eleven companions.
[205] See Georgius N. M. Bis, 'De twaalf gezellen van Sint Willibrord', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 128–49.
[206] Bede, *HE*, 5.9–10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 478–80).

many other groups, as it was known that the *Angli* and *Saxones* in Britain 'derived their origin from them'.[207] Bede's 'list' and its implication for the reconstruction of an 'universal' missionary ideal within Willibrord's circle cannot be discussed in detail here.[208] For the present study, the passage is significant because it reflects Bede's narrative choices in his depiction of Willibrord's network. Of the six *nationes* mentioned in chapter nine of Book Five, three are also included in the following two chapters: Willibrord set out for Frisia, the Hewalds went to the 'Old Saxons' (apparently following the example of Willibrord's group) and Suidberct approached the *Boructuari*.[209] The Hewalds, who were *de natione Anglorum*, tried to approach the local *satrapa* but were violently murdered by the inhabitants of the village when they discovered that the missionaries wished to convert their leader.[210] Suidberct, on the other hand, had to retreat from the territory of the *Boructuari* after it had been invaded by the Saxons.[211]

Bede inserted these episodes into two separate passages, the one on the Hewalds being twice as long as the one on Suidberct.[212] Both parts are embedded in the continuous

---

[207] Bede, *HE*, 5.9 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 476; trans. *ibid.*, 477): *Quarum in Germania plurimas nouerat esse nationes, a quibus Angli uel Saxones, qui nunc Brittaniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a uicina gente Brettonum corrupte Garmani nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqui Saxones, Boructuari*. On the identification of the different groups see Wolfgang H. Fritze, 'Slaven und Avaren im angelsächsischen Missionsprogramm: II. Bedas Rugini und Willibrords Dänenmission', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 32.2 (1965), 231–51; *idem*, 'Slaven und Avaren im angelsächsischen Missionsprogramm: III. Bedas Hunni und die Entstehung der angelsächsischen Missionsvölkerliste von 703/04', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 33.2 (1965), 358–72; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 174–80. The *Boructuari* have been located in the area between the rivers Ruhr and Lippe in modern Germany and thus between the 'Old Saxons' and the Franks. The *Hunni* probably referred to the Avars in Pannonia, whereas the localisation of the *Rugini* remains uncertain. Wolfgang Fritze argued that the name designated the 'Slavic' inhabitants of the island of Rügen in modern Germany; see also Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 46–8; Tinti, *Europe and the Anglo-Saxons*, 29–30.

[208] Wolfgang H. Fritze, 'Universalis gentium confessio: Formeln, Träger und Wege universalmissionarischen Denkens im 7. Jahrhundert', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 3 (1969), 78–130: 77–80, 106–23, argues that the 'list' reflects the expansion of the 'Anglo-Saxon' Church's missionary horizon to those *gentes* who did not speak a Germanic language. Willibrord's circle was apparently one of the first to adapt the 'universal' missionary approach promoted by the papacy. The 'list' did not originate from Ecgberct himself, but Bede learned of the attempt to convert the different *nationes* via Willibrord's network. For a critique of Fritze's notion of a 'universal' missionary ideal see Esders, *'Nationes quam plures conquiri'*, 201–29.

[209] See Fritze, 'Slaven und Avaren im angelsächsischen Missionsprogramm: II', 240; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 176–7. It should be noted that Willibrord's alleged mission to Denmark is only mentioned by Alcuin (see chapter 1.1.4). The thesis that Bede's 'list' was informed by Willibrord's activity on the continent fails to explain why Bede made no mention of a journey to Denmark in the *Historia*.

[210] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480–2); on the term *satrapa* see Knut Schäferdiek, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald: Der erste Versuch einer Sachsenmission', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 146 (1996), 9–24: 10, n. 3.

[211] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 484–6; see also *ibid.*, 485, n. 4); see Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 100; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 193–4; James T. Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 231–42: 237–8. According to Bede, Suidberct first arrived in Frisia with Willibrord and only left for the *Boructuari* after his consecration as bishop, which was performed by Wilfrid in Britain. The consecration is traditionally dated to 692/3, based on Bede's statement that Suidberct approached Wilfrid because Berhtwald (d. 731) had not yet returned from his own consecration as archbishop of Canterbury in Rome. Knut Schäferdiek, in contrast, has argued that Suidberct's activity in Frisia already took place in the 680s.

[212] Schäferdiek, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald', 11. Bede probably had access to an early *passio* which

narration of Willibrord's activity on the continent and follow a similar structure: an attempt to preach outside of Frisia is followed by the failure of the respective enterprise. Both passages furthermore close with a reference to Pippin II. Pippin translated the Hewalds' bodies to Cologne, after they had been recovered from the river by their companions, while he gave Suidberct land on an island in the Rhine for the establishment of the monastery of Kaiserswerth at the request of his wife Plectrude.[213]

Bede's inclusion of the Hewalds and Suidberct should not simply be understood as an attempt to elaborate on Willibrord's personal network. Bede did not directly associate the Hewalds and Suidberct with the community of Rath Melsigi.[214] Yet, by including them in the chapters on Willibrord, Bede reinforced the impression of continuity between Ecgberct's initial plan and its later impact on the continent through the missions led by members of the *gens Anglorum*. Among those missionaries from Britain and Ireland who arrived on the continent at the end of the seventh century, the Hewalds and Suidberct were among the earliest whose *memoria* was transferred back to the Insular world before 731.[215] By including two recent hagiographical traditions in his work, Bede was able to cover two *nationes* included in Ecgberct's original plan which Willibrord's mission did not reach. In the *Historia*, Willibrord, the Hewalds and Suidberct are clearly assigned to one *gens* each, and Bede seems to have been cautious not to depict different enterprises as overlapping or even conflicting with each other. The brief mention of Tilmon, a former soldier of noble birth who became a monk, as one of the Hewalds' companions indicates that the two martyrs were part of a larger group of clerics. Yet Bede did not elaborate on the other members of the group, whose primary function in the narrative is the recovery of the Hewalds' bodies. [216] In addition, Bede's indication that Suidberct travelled to Britain to be consecrated by Wilfrid after the group's arrival in Frisia contrasts with Bede's silence on the relationship between Willibrord and Wilfrid at Ripon.[217]

---

commemorated the Hewalds' martyrdom.

[213] See chapter 2.3.1.

[214] See Schäferdiek, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald', 13–4. In the ninth-century version of Bede's *Martyrology*, the Hewalds are assigned to Willibrord's group. The text of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, however, suggests that the Hewalds left Ireland independently from Willibrord. Bede introduces Suidberct as one of the *fratres* who were in Frisia at the time of Willibrord's first journey to Rome; on Bede's *Martyrology* see Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 247–8.

[215] See chapter 2.1.1. The Hewalds and Suidberct were both commemorated in Willibrord's *Calendar* before *c.* 730. Given the concordance between the *Calendar* and their prominent inclusion in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, the thesis that Willibrord's circle was the main source of transmission of their commemoration appears plausible. At the same time, it remains doubtful that Bede's 'list' was likewise informed by Willibrord's circle and that he received the information as early as 703, when Wilfrid and Acca stayed with Willibrord on the continent, as Wolfgang Fritze argued (see note 208 above). Suidberct died in 713 and the *Calendar* provides the earliest evidence for his commemoration.

[216] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 482); Schäferdiek, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald', 18.

[217] See below, 42–5.

Bede foregrounded relations selectively and in accordance with the main theme of the respective chapters. In the two chapters discussed here, he presents the missions to the 'Old Saxons' and the *Boructuari* as ramifications of Ecgberct's initiative. Bede subordinated his material on the Hewalds and Suidberct to the Frisian mission, just as he inserted Willibrord's activity into the overall framework of the Ecgberct's career. While only Willibrord was ultimately successful, Bede nonetheless depicted the Hewalds' and Suidberct's attempts as promising and stressed that neither of them was met with hostility only: the Saxon leader, whom the Hewalds wanted to see, apparently wished to receive them and Suidberct was able to 'teach the Word of truth' to some of the *Boructuari* before the 'Old Saxons' invaded their territory.[218]

Alcuin's account of the beginning of the Frisian mission, in contrast, highlights Willibrord's personal agency: according to the *Vita*, Willibrord selected his companions himself.[219] As mentioned above, Willibrord's decision to leave for Frisia is not linked to Ecgberct nor are any other clerics (except for Pope Sergius I) mentioned in the retelling of Willibrord's career after 690. A trace of the traditions which Bede incorporated in his work can be detected in Alcuin's statement that 'some' (*aliqui*) of Willibrord's companions died as martyrs on the continent, but compared with the *Historia*, Willibrord now appears as the leader of the mission. Alcuin introduces the departure for Frisia with a reference to the passages in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew in which Christ sent out his disciples to spread his message.[220] Alcuin thus developed a more individualistic portrait of their saint for the community of Echternach in which he foregrounds Willibrord's own religious impetus and his dedication to Christ's message.[221]

A common element in Bede and Alcuin's texts is the notion that the Christianisation of the Frisian *gens* was Willibrord's personal achievement.[222] By portraying Willibrord as the foremost missionary in Frisia, both authors marginalised two other prominent clerics who were active in Frisia both before and at the same time as Willibrord: Wilfrid and Boniface. Wilfrid overwintered in Frisia during his second journey to Rome in 678. In the

[218] Bede, *HE*, 5.10–11 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 480–6); Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 232–3; see also Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 27 (ed. Colgrave, 52–4). The favourable attitude of the *satrapa* towards the Hewalds is similar to Stephen's portrayal of the Frisian leader Aldgisl by whom Wilfrid was apparently received during his stay in Frisia in the winter of 678/9. The comparison between Bede and Stephen shows that encounters between missionaries and 'pagan' groups or leaders in saints' *Lives* were not necessarily intended to present a 'historical' panorama of missionary activity on the continent. Rather, these episodes were carefully selected by the respective author to reinforce the text's hagiographical message.
[219] Alcuin, *VW*, 5 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 44). In contrast to Bede's statement that the entire group consisted of twelve members, Alcuin records that Willibrord was accompanied by twelve other clerics.
[220] Rambridge, 'Alcuin's narratives of evangelism', 373.
[221] *Ibid.*, 379.
[222] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (ed. Colgrave-Mynors, 486); Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54).

same year, Wilfrid had been deposed as the bishop of York by King Ecgfrith of Northumbria (d. 685) and Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (d. 690). Faced with the loss of his see, Wilfrid's aim was to appeal to the pope. While Stephen in his *Life* of Wilfrid suggests that it was the bishop's choice to travel to Rome via the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta, the wider context of the episode shows that Wilfrid was trying to avoid the route via the Frankish *Teilreich* of Neustria. Through his involvement in return of the Merovingian prince Dagobert (II, d. 679) to the throne of Austrasia, Wilfrid had provoked the enmity of the Neustrian mayor of the palace Ebroin (d. *c.* 680/1), whose followers had already intercepted and mistreated another bishop whom they mistook for Wilfrid.[223]

Stephen wrote over thirty years after Wilfrid's stay in Frisia. The *Vita Wilfridi* has traditionally been interpreted as a piece of straightforward ecclesiastical propaganda, commissioned by the 'Wilfridian' party at Ripon to defend their bishop's controversial legacy against the allegations raised against him by his Northumbrian rivals, namely the community of Lindisfarne, in the early eighth century.[224] In contrast, Richard Sowerby has recently shown that the commissioners of the *Vita*, the Bishops Acca and Tatberht, were also concerned with the question of legitimate episcopal succession. Wilfrid's death in 710 revealed tensions among his own followers and the aim of the *Vita* was to 'convince Wilfrid's old followers about the claims which they [Acca and Tatberht] now advanced'.[225]

In this context, Wilfrid's stay in Frisia played a significant role: according to Stephen, he was honourably received by the Frisian 'King' Aldgisl, who refused to surrender his guest to Ebroin in exchange for a bushel of gold.[226] The fact that even the 'pagan' Aldgisl kept his word served as a reminder to the audience of the *Vita* that disobedience and the breaking of promises could have devastating consequences. Stephen used the Frisian episode to elaborate on the importance of friendship and honour within Wilfrid's community.[227] At the same time, the long-term impact of Wilfrid's short stay on the Christianisation of Frisia was not central to Stephen's narrative. What mattered to Stephen was that Wilfrid 'first laid the foundation of the faith' in Frisia and that Willibrord, his 'son', was still building on his achievement in the second decade of the eighth century.[228]

---

[223] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 24–7 (ed. Colgrave, 48–54); on Dagobert II see chapter 2.2.2.
[224] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 258–96.
[225] Richard Sowerby, 'The heirs of bishop Wilfrid: succession and presumption in Anglo-Saxon England', *English Historical Review*, 571 (2019), 1377–1404: 1393.
[226] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 27 (ed. Colgrave, 52–4); on Aldgisl see chapter 3.1.2.
[227] See Wolfert S. van Egmond, 'Radbod van de Friezen, een aristocraat in de periferie', *Millenium*, 19 (2005), 24–43: 35–6; Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 232–6; Sowerby, 'The heirs of bishop Wilfrid', 1392.
[228] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 26, (ed. Colgrave, 52; trans. *ibid.*, 53): […] *et primum ibi secundum apostolum fundamentum fidei posuit, quod adhuc superaedificat filius eius, Inhripis nutritus, gratia Dei Wilbrordus episcopus, multo labore desudans, cuius merces manet in aeternum.*

In the *Historia*, Bede also refers to Wilfrid's stay in Frisia partially follows Stephen's phrasing. Bede, however, asserts that Willibrord *completed* what Wilfrid had first begun. In the chapter which concludes the treatment of Willibrord's stay in Frisia, Bede likewise first follows Stephen's text but then highlights the conclusion of Willibrord's labours.[229] Bede did not only modify Stephen's statement that Willibrord was still building on Wilfrid's efforts, but he also added that the Frisians were *nova Dei plebs* ('God's new people').[230] This formulation is absent from the *Vita Wilfridi* and contains an echo of the chapters on Ecgberct. A comparison between Stephen and Bede's treatment of Wilfrid's short stay in Frisia demonstrates that both authors employed their knowledge of Northumbrian activity in Frisia very selectively to set their protagonists apart. Stephen's mention of Willibrord highlights the latter's spiritual and personal affiliation to Wilfrid; Willibrord's inclusion thus fits Stephen's attempt to re-establish the bonds between Wilfrid and the various communities affiliated to him after his long entanglement in political and ecclesiastical conflicts.[231]

Ultimately, Willibrord and Wilfrid appear more disconnected in the *Historia* than in the *Vita Wilfridi*. But does this imply that Willibrord's 'background was not Ripon, but Ireland' and that Wilfrid should be 'stripped of his bond to Willibrord'?[232] The problem with this approach is that it ignores the structuring of the *Historia*. The position of the chapters on Ecgberct, Willibrord and Wilfrid and the characterisation of their relation reflect the choices made by Bede during the compilation of his work rather than the composition of Willibrord's personal network. Bede did not move Wilfrid's stay in Frisia to the end of Book Five because he wished to 'discard' him. Rather, Bede wanted to preserve the unity of the chapters on Ecgberct. By moving Wilfrid to a separate chapter, Bede was able accentuate the significance of Willibrord's work in Frisia.[233] In addition, Bede's portrayal of Wilfrid at the end of the *Historia* is entirely positive; Bede not only passes over the controversial aspects of his career but emphasises Wilfrid's many achievements, including the first attempt to convert the Frisians.[234] Similarly, the fact that Bede did not elaborate on the link between

[229] Bede, *HE*, 5.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 552): […] *praedicabat eis Christum, et multa eorum milia uerbo ueritatis instituens, a peccatorum suorum sordibus fonte Saluatoris abluit, et quod postmodum Uilbrord reuerentissimus Christi pontifex in magna deuotione conpleuit, ipse primus ibi opus euangelicum coepit*; Bede, *HE*, V.11 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 486): *Ipse autem Uilbrord, cognomento Clemens, adhuc superest, longa3 iam uenerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum, et post multiplices militiae caelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans*.
[230] *Ibid.*
[231] Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 241–2; see also Bremmer, 'Von der Geschichte zum Mythos', 126.
[232] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 317–8.
[233] Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 236–7.
[234] Bede, *HE*, 5.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 517–30); Gabriele Isenberg, *Die Würdigung Wilfrieds von York in der* Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum *Bedas und der* Vita Wilfridi *des Eddius* (unpublished doctoral thesis; Münster, 1978), 44–58; Nicholas J. Higham, 'Wilfrid and Bede's *Historia*', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 54–66: 64; Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 241–2.

Willibrord and Wilfrid in his account of their meeting on the continent in 703 cannot be taken as evidence for alienation between the two bishops.[235] The focus of the respective chapters was on the relics of King Oswald of Northumbria (d. 642), of which Willibrord related a story to his visitors. On the contrary, the episode, apparently told to Bede by Bishop Acca, suggests that Willibrord and Wilfrid were still in contact with each other in the early eighth century.[236]

Alcuin's inclusion of Wilfrid in his work likewise demonstrates that Bede's *Historia* and the *Vita Willibrordi* do not offer an 'objective' impression of Willibrord's network. In the *Vita*, Alcuin does not mention Wilfrid at all, but he included an extensive and glorifying eulogy on the bishop in the *Versus de patribus*. Alcuin retained the notion that Wilfrid had only begun the conversion of the Frisians, whereas Willibrord ultimately accomplished it.[237] This idea, in turn, conforms with the perspective of the *Vita Willibrordi*, in which Alcuin, by referencing the Old Testament, expresses the belief that Willibrord fulfilled the divine prophecy and completed his work of 'evangelisation' after the conquest of Frisia by Charles Martel.[238]

Bede and Alcuin adjusted their portrayals of Wilfrid in order to foreground Willibrord's achievements on the continent. In contrast, both authors completely ignored Boniface. Boniface first arrived in Frisia in 716 but, according to Willibald's (d. 787) *Vita* (c. 754–68), he left again in the same year because of the conflict between Charles Martel and Radbod.[239] After Radbod's death in 719, he returned to Frisia and stayed for three years, during which he worked alongside Willibrord, but he ultimately declined Willibrord's offer to become his assistant bishop.[240] By 731, Bede could thus have been informed not only about Boniface's activity in Frisia but also about his interaction with Willibrord, yet there is no trace of Boniface in the entire *Historia*. Bede not only selected his material very carefully, but his sources were also limited, especially those which concerned events outside of Northumbria.[241] Boniface was from Wessex and did not belong to the network of Ecgberct. The link between Boniface and Willibrord probably developed through different intermediaries, such as Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury (d. 731) and Abbess Adela of

[235] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 317; Paul Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 186–9: 197–8.
[236] See chapter 2.2.1.
[237] Alcuin, *Versus de patribus*, l. 577–644 (ed. Dümmler, 182–4); Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 236–7.
[238] Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54); see chapter 1.1.3.
[239] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 6–8); on the *Vita Bonifatii* see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 29. The *Vita* was written in Mainz and dedicated to Boniface's pupils Archbishop Lull (d. 786) and Bishop Megingoz of Würzburg (d. 783).
[240] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 5 (ed. Levison, 23–6).
[241] See Richter, 'Der irische Hintergrund', 132; Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission* 216.

Pfalzel. Significantly, Boniface and Willibrord's networks partially overlapped at the beginning of Boniface's continental career but he ultimately shifted his attention to different areas of the Frankish kingdom before returning to Frisia in 754, where he was killed.[242]

The evidence for the relation between Willibrord and Boniface rests largely on the hagiography produced by Boniface's own circle, and Willibald's depiction of Willibrord's activity in Frisia differs considerably from Bede and Alcuin's accounts. Firstly, Willibald does not mention Willibrord in the context of Boniface's first journey to Frisia in 716, and there is no indication in the *Vita Bonifatii* that his departure from Kent was linked to Willibrord's mission.[243] It has often been argued that Willibrord retreated to Echternach as early as 714, when the Frankish civil war broke out and Radbod allegedly dispelled the priests and destroyed the churches under Frankish control, yet this hypothesis is built on the testimony of the *Vita Bonifatii* only.[244] What is more, the account of Boniface's first journey to Frisia is embedded in Willibald's overarching glorification of Boniface as a martyr. Willibald stresses that Boniface took the decision to leave his homeland on his own and that his resolution was ultimately brought about by divine providence.[245] In the same chapter, Willibald also foreshadows Boniface's martyrdom in Frisia in 754, a fate which Willibald describes as the crowning achievement of his determination to 'minister the Word of God' to the Frisians.[246] By omitting Willibrord's activity in Frisia prior to 719, Willibald foregrounded Boniface's individual fate as a martyr in the same region. The nature of Boniface's death, which was recorded in the Carolingian annals, added momentum to his commemoration in the second half of the eight century among subsequent generations of churchmen in Utrecht, Bremen and Münster.[247]

The emergence of new cults in the wake of the Carolingian expansion into Frisia and Saxony in the late eighth and early ninth centuries led to the development of competing versions of the Christianisation in Frisia, in which Willibrord did not always retain the relevance attributed to him by Bede and Alcuin.[248] In his narration of Boniface's second

---

[242] See Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 161; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 180; Rosamond McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: personal connections and local influences', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Frankish Kings and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), 1–40: 8–27; James T. Palmer, 'Boniface's missionary circles and networks', in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), 46–67: 51–2; Barbara Yorke, 'Boniface's West Saxon Background', in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), 27–45; on Adela see chapters 1.2.3 and 2.1.1; on Berhtwald see chapter 3.1.1.
[243] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 15).
[244] *Ibid.* (ed. Levison, 17).
[245] *Ibid.* (ed. Levison, 15).
[246] *Ibid.* (ed. Levison, 17; trans. Talbot, 118).
[247] *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 754 (ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 6 (Hannover, 1895), 12; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 87–8.
[248] See Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 86–8.

journey to Frisia in 719, Willibald states that many areas had not yet been visited by missionaries and that Boniface played an important part in the reestablishment of Christianity after Radbod's persecutions. Willibrord and his companions, on other hand, are only introduced as preaching in Frisia at the same time. Although Willibald emphasises Willibrord's superior rank as archbishop, he does not attribute any pre-eminence to Willibrord as the foremost missionary to the Frisians.[249] According to the *Vita*, Boniface parted ways with Willibrord because of his obedience towards the pope, who had instructed him to convert the *gentes* of *Germania*. Willibald thus portrayed Boniface's activity in Frisia as an undertaking that was both independent of and equivalent to Willibrord's mission.[250]

Alcuin, in turn, based his *Vita* on the model provided by Bede. His portrayal of Willibrord reflects his concern over the Carolingian strategy of Christianisation in Saxony and among the Avars.[251] Martyrdom, in contrast to baptism and religious education, was not central to the ideal which Alcuin wished to convey to his audience at Echternach and to his addressee, Abbot Beornrad, who was himself involved in the conversion of the Saxons.[252] This was probably not the only reason why the Bonifatian tradition was not adopted for the *Vita Willibrordi*: by the end of the eighth century, Boniface's cult had grown in popularity among the Carolingian dynasty. In addition, new hagiographical traditions were developed by Boniface's pupils which depicted the martyr as Willibrord's direct successor as bishop of Utrecht. Alcuin, in contrast, by drawing on the tradition of Bede, reconnected Willibrord with the establishment of the see of Utrecht and with the ancestors of Charlemagne.[253] Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians is a central motif in both the *Historia* and the *Vita*. However, Bede and Alcuin each pursued different goals in elaborating on this aspect of Willibrord's career.

1.1.3 Willibrord's Relationship with Pippin II

While Bede and Alcuin diverged from each other with regard to the depiction of Willibrord's early network, they singled out Pippin II as the main supporter of the arrivals from Rath Melsigi in 690. Both authors claimed that the group approached the mayor of the palace first and credited Pippin with the support of Willibrord's mission *ab initio* and with the decision

[249] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 23–4).
[250] *Ibid.* (ed. Levison, 25).
[251] See Alcuin's letter to Archbishop Arn of Salzburg (d. 821), dated to 796: Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 107 (ed. Dümmler, 153–4).
[252] Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (Oxford, 2014), 136–7.
[253] Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 85–8; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 82–3; on Boniface and the see of Utrecht see chapter 3.1.1.

to send him to Rome for his consecration as archbishop of the Frisians.[254] At first glance, the *Historia* and the *Vita* appear to confirm the traditional master narrative: Willibrord's network on the continent reflected the seminal alliance between his mission, Pippinid power and papal authority.

A closer look at both texts reveals significant divergences between the two versions. According to the *Historia*, Willibrord and his companions first arrived in Frisia but then immediately decided to approach Pippin, the *dux Francorum* ('leader of the Franks'), who had just conquered *Fresia citerior* and expelled 'King' Radbod. Pippin dispatched the newcomers to preach (*misit ad praedicandum*) in the same territory under his protection.[255] The next chapter, preceded by the account of the Hewalds' martyrdom, begins with Willibrord's decision to travel to Rome to receive Pope Sergius I's permission to begin his 'work of evangelisation' (*opus euangelizandi*) and to obtain relics for the churches he wished to build in Frisia. This passage is followed by a short outline of Suidberct's biography, whom the remaining clerics in Frisia chose as their bishop in Willibrord's absence. The same chapter closes with Willibrord's second journey to Rome, where he was consecrated 'archbishop of the *gens* of the Frisians' (*Fresonum genti archiepiscopus*) and received the name of Clemens on 22 November 696 in the church of St Cecilia according to Bede.[256] His dating contradicts the testimony of the *Calendar*: firstly, the marginal note of 728 indicates that the consecration took place in 695. Secondly, another marginal note places the event under 21 November. Scholars now generally agree that the consecration took place on Sunday, 21 November 695, the eve of the feast day of St Cecilia and two days before the feast day of St Clement, in the church of St Cecilia in Trastevere.[257] Bede states that his second journey to Rome was undertaken at Pippin's request; upon Willibrord's return, Pippin gave him the *castellum* of Utrecht as his episcopal see. Bede's account of Willibrord's career

[254] Alcuin, *VW*, 6 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 46); Bede, *HE*, 5.10–1 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 480, 486); on Pippin's title see Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 185–90. At the beginning of the 680s, Pippin held the position of *dux* in Austrasia. At this time, the Austrasian Franks did not have their own mayor of the palace. Pippin took the title of mayor of the palace around 689/90, shortly after the battle of Tertry (687). His authority as mayor extended to both Neustria and Austrasia. Before 701, his son Grimoald (d. 714) became mayor of the palace in Neustria, while Pippin remained in Austrasia but stopped carrying the title of *maior domus*. Instead, the sources refer to his position as either *princeps* or (in Bede's and Alcuin's case) *dux*; see also chapter 3.2.1.

[255] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480); on *Frisia citerior* see chapter 3.1.2.

[256] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 484–6); see Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 220. This first journey to Rome has usually been dated to 692, given that Suidberct was consecrated in Willibrord's absence between 692 and 693; on the name Clemens see Levison, 'Willibrordiana', 339–41; on the title of archbishop see chapter 3.1.1.

[257] Fol. 39^{v}; Levison, MGH SRM, 7.122, n. 2; *idem*, 'St. Willibrord and his place in history', 319; Jean Schroeder, 'Willibrord und Rom: Zu den beiden Papstbesuchen des Apostels der Friesen', *Hémecht*, 37.1 (1985), 5–13: 11, n. 32; Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottianus*', 192–3, n. 62; see also Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2006), 1, 30.

ends with the note that he had appointed other auxiliary bishops (*antistites*) and that he was still alive, 'having been thirty-six years a bishop'.[258]

Alcuin considerably modified Bede's version: according to the *Vita*, the travellers reached Utrecht first but decided to make for Francia and to approach Pippin when they were confronted with the fact that Radbod and the Frisians still adhered to their pagan customs. In contrast to Bede, Alcuin claimed that Pippin initially retained the newcomers within the borders of the Frankish kingdom.[259] The following chapters offer a conflated version of the two journeys to Rome. Alcuin omitted the first visit to the Roman see and added Willibrord's request for relics to the account of the consecration, which he moved from the church of St Cecilia to the superior basilica of St Peter without indicating the exact date. Another significant addition is Willibrord's receipt of the pallium, which Bede did not mention.[260] As in the *Historia*, Pippin is credited with the initiation of the consecration,[261] but the establishment of the see at Utrecht is moved to a later chapter and to the time *after* Pippin's death in 714.[262] In the following chapters, Alcuin gradually shifts the focus to Frisia. Pippin allegedly directed Willibrord to the 'northern parts of his realm' (*in borealibus regni sui partibus*), but Alcuin attributed the decision to venture beyond the territory of the Franks and to confront Radbod to Willibrord himself.[263] In a further extension of the *Vita*'s geographical scope, Alcuin describes a journey to the court of the Danish 'King' Ongendus and the missionaries' return via the island of *Fositesland*, named after the pagan god *Fosita* which the inhabitants allegedly worshipped. Two additional chapters relate Willibrord's second confrontation with Radbod, whom the clerics had enraged through their slaughtering of the sacred cattle on *Fositesland*, and his return to Pippin's territory.[264]

Alcuin's narrative reaches its first climax with the chapter on the establishment of the see at Utrecht. According to the *Vita*, Willibrord's appointment as bishop of Utrecht

---

[258] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486). Bede suggests that other clerics joined Willibrord's group after 690, although he does not identify them.
[259] Alcuin, *VW*, 5 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 44–6).
[260] *Ibid.*, 7 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 46–8); Levison, MGH SRM, 7.122, n. 2; see chapter 3.1.1.
[261] Alcuin, *VW*, 6 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 46); Reischmann, *Willibrord*, 127, n. 57; David A. E. Pelteret, 'Diplomatic elements in Willibrord's autobiography', *Peritia*, 22/23 (2011/2), 1–14: 9. Willibrord allegedly first rejected Pippin's request out of humility but he gave in to the 'unanimity of all' (*omnium unanimitate*) and to divine providence (*Dei dispensatione*). The topos of humility represents an addition by Alcuin, but Bede points out that Pippin sent Willibrord to Rome with *omnium consensu* (here referring to the original members of Willibrord's group). The topos of humility is also reflected in the marginal note in the *Calendar*, in which Willibrord is referred to as *indignus*.
[262] Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54).
[263] *Ibid.*, 8–9 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 48–50); see also Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes*, 449–50; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 82. Alcuin's use of *regnum* to describe Pippin's area of influence around 695 is anachronistic and reflects the author's attempt to predate the Carolingian's dominion to the late seventh century.
[264] Alcuin, *VW*, 9–11 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 48–52); on *Fositesland*, usually identified as Heligoland in the North Sea, see note 300 below.

followed Pippin's death and Charles Martel's victory over Radbod. Alcuin claimed that Charles succeeded Pippin directly, added Frisia to the paternal *imperium* ('dominion') and gave the fort of Utrecht to Willibrord as his episcopal base. From there, Willibrord began to 'cleanse', through baptism, the *gens* 'conquered by the sword'.[265] This chapter effectively concludes the 'historical' part of the *Vita*, while the passage on Willibrord's death is flanked by two longer sections on the miracles he performed during his lifetime (chapters 14–22) and on those miracles that allegedly took place at his tomb (chapters 25–30). Added to the first section is Alcuin's claim that Willibrord baptised Charles' son Pippin (III, d. 768).[266]

The *Historia* and the *Vita* offer two different depictions of Willibrord's 'Carolingian' network: in Bede's version, Willibrord interacts with Pippin II only. His wife Plectrude is merely mentioned as a supporter of Suidberct's group. Alcuin, in contrast, also referred to Willibrord's relationship with Charles Martel and his son but remained silent on the missions of the Hewalds and Suidberct. Is it possible to reconcile both accounts with each other? Alcuin's distortion of the chronology of the establishment of the see of Utrecht has caused historians to prefer Bede's version.[267] Knut Schäferdiek has argued that Alcuin's text possessed no distinct value as a source for the reconstruction of the beginning of the Frisian mission. Alcuin modified the account of the *Historia* in such a way that enhanced Willibrord's agency as the supposed initiator of the mission and concealed the political crisis between Pippin's death and the assertion of Charles Martel. In contrast, Bede's account allegedly demonstrates that Willibrord's group targeted Francia from the outset. The decision to approach Pippin directly did not result from Willibrord's personal choice but from Ecgberct's new 'strategy'. After Wictberct's failure, the community at Rath Melsigi observed the political situation on the continent and, after hearing of Pippin's victory over Radbod, decided to place their second attempt under the protection of the mayor of the palace. Alcuin's report about Willibrord's to Denmark appears to support Schäferdiek's hypothesis that Willibrord closely followed Ecgberct's initial plan, which included the conversion of the *Danai*. Willibrord's subsequent retreat to Francia shows that his network ultimately centred on Pippin and that his mission depended on the mayor's influence and goodwill.[268]

---

[265] Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54): *Contigit autem Pippinum ducem Francorum diem obire et filium eius Carolum regno patris potiri. Qui multas gentes sceptris adiecit Francorum inter quas etiam cum triumphi gloriam Fresia, deuicto Rabbodo, paterno superaddidit imperio. In qua tunc gente sanctus Willibrordus positus est praedicator sedisque episcopalis in Traiecto castello delegatus est. Qui maiori euangelizandi occasione accepta nuper gladio adquisitam gentem sacro baptismate abluere conatus est*; on the meaning and translation of *imperium* and *gens* see Sophia Moesch, *Augustine and the Art of Ruling in the Carolingian Imperial Period: Political Discourse in Alcuin of York and Hincmar of Rheims* (London, 2019), 102.

[266] Alcuin, *VW*, 23 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 64–6); on Pippin III's baptism see chapter 3.2.2.

[267] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 114–5, 132–9, who nevertheless believes the account of Willibrord's arrival in Utrecht in 690 to be credible; see also chapter 3.1.2.

[268] See Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 182–7.

Schäferdiek's argument reflects the construction of a 'composite' narrative, based on the assumption that Bede's and Alcuin's accounts confirm each other. However, Schäferdiek's assumptions are inconsistent with each other. Firstly, he denies the *Quellenwert* of the *Vita* but simultaneously relies on it to construct his hypothesis. The selective combination of passages from both texts blurs the differentiation between Bede and Alcuin's respective agenda with regard to their depiction of Willibrord's relationship with Pippin.

Contrary to Schäferdiek's assumption, Willibrord's primary destination according to Bede was Frisia and not Francia.[269] Significantly, Bede's testimony is contradicted by the earlier marginal note in the *Calendar*, which records that Willibrord arrived *in Francea* in 690.[270] Ultimately, the arrival in Frisia conforms to the structure established in the previous chapter of the *Historia*, in which Bede details Ecgberct's plan. After their arrival, the mayor sent the newcomers to preach in Frisia with his permission and supported them with *imperialis auctoritas* ('imperial authority') so that they could proceed unmolested.[271] Bede's characterisation of Pippin as *dux* rather than king has been linked to his good knowledge of the political situation which Willibrord encountered in Francia. By singling out Pippin, Bede apparently offered a truthful depiction of the distribution of power after the battle of Tertry in 687.[272] But to what extent was Bede's depiction of Pippin informed by his own agenda? Can the *Historia* be used to reconstruct Ecgberct's and Willibrord's motives *in 690* – or have modern scholars interpretated Bede on the basis of their own assumptions about the domination of the Pippinids in Francia after 687?[273]

When Bede completed the *Historia* in 731, Charles Martel's position as mayor of the palace was much stronger than his father's had been before him (although it was not unchallenged).[274] Yet Bede makes no mention of Charles Martel or any other Frankish political actor in the chapters on Willibrord. The inclusion of the Hewalds' martyrdom and Suidberct's death in 713 suggests that Bede gained much of his information on Pippin not through an account of Willibrord's mission but through a hagiographical tradition that had

---

[269] Bede, *HE*, V.10 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 480): *Qui cum illo aduenissent (erant autem numero duodecim), diuertentes ad Pippinum ducem Francorum, gratanter ab illo suscepti sunt.* In the first part of the sentence, *illo* refers to Wictberct's stay in Frisia in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the opening sentence of the following chapter (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 484) suggests that the group had arrived in Frisia before they received Pippin's permission to preach there: *Primis sane temporibus aduentus eorum in Fresiam, mox ut conperiit Uilbrord datam sibi a principe licentiam ibidem praedicandi, accelerauit uenire Romam*.

[270] Wilson, *The Calendar*, vi–vii; see also chapter 3.2.2.

[271] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480). Colgrave and Mynors (481) translate *imperiali auctoritate* with 'royal authority', but this interpretation would contradict the assumption that Bede accurately represented Pippin's position as mayor or *dux*; see Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 18.

[272] See Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 38–40.

[273] See Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes,* 448–50.

[274] See chapter 3.2.2.

originally developed in the Cologne area, Pippin and Plectrude's power base.[275] Both promoted the commemoration of the Hewalds and the foundation of Suidberct's monastery. It can be argued that Bede's focus on Pippin resulted from his knowledge of the mayor's support for the missionaries whose biographies formed a central thread of the last part of the *Historia*. Bede presented Pippin's behaviour towards Willibrord's group as exemplary and portrayed him as an ideal secular ruler, whose actions complemented Ecgberct's plan.

In this context, Bede's use of the adjective *imperialis* to describe Pippin's authority is noteworthy. In the *Historia*, Bede uses the term *imperium* repeatedly to refer to the power exercised by political leaders other than the Roman emperors. The term is, for example, applied to the realm of King Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616) in the context of the arrival of Augustine's (d. 604 x 609) group from Rome in 597.[276] According to Bede, Æthelberht was the third king of the *gens Anglorum* who ruled (*imperavit*) over the provinces south of the Humber and the borders adjacent to it, but he was the first of these kings to 'enter the kingdom of heaven'.[277] In the following chapters, *imperium* is predominantly used in relation to kings of Northumbria: after Rædwald of East Anglia (d. *c.* 624), Edwin (d. 633), Oswald, Oswiu (d. 670) and Ecgfrith all held the *imperium* over different parts of Britain according to Bede.[278] In Book One of the *Historia*, Æthelberht's primary role is that of the supporter of Pope Gregory I's initiative and Augustine's mission. Through his exposition of Augustine's arrival in Kent, Bede reflected on the role played by the king in the expansion of Christianity among the *gens Anglorum*: Augustine and his companions were allowed to reside in Canterbury, which was the *metropolis* of Æthelberht's *imperium*. The king promised the newcomers that they would not be harmed and gave them the permission (*licentia*) to preach.[279]

The next chapter briefly relates how Æthelberht himself accepted baptism and Augustine's episcopal see was established at Canterbury.[280] Bede then copied several letters from Pope Gregory to Augustine and Æthelberht.[281] In his letter to the king, Gregory incites him 'to extend the Christian faith among the people who are subject to you', to 'increase your righteous zeal for their conversion', to 'suppress the worship of idols', to 'overthrow

[275] See chapter 2.3.1.
[276] Bede, *HE*, 1.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 72).
[277] *Ibid.*, 2.5 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 148; trans. *ibid.*, 149).
[278] *Ibid.* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 148); see also *ibid.*, 4.12 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 370); James Campbell (ed.) with Eric John and Patrick Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1982), 73; Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission*, 36–8, argues that Bede's notion of Æthelberht's power was based on later sources.
[279] Bede, *HE*, 1.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 74); Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent*, 55, stresses that this passage probably reflects Bede's own expectations about the king's behaviour and that his knowledge about the course of events was limited.
[280] Bede, *HE*, 1.26 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 76–8).
[281] On Bede's knowledge of the letter see Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent*, 204–5; see also chapter 3.1.1.

their buildings and shrines' and to 'strengthen the morals of your subjects by outstanding purity of life, by exhorting them, terrifying, enticing, and correcting them, and by showing them an example of good works'.[282] The historical example, to which Æthelberht should aspire, was Emperor Constantine I (d. 337). But, in order to 'surpass' his predecessors 'in praise and merit', Æthelberht needed to follow the advice of Augustine, who acted as Gregory's intermediary between the king and God. In Bede's copy of the letter, Gregory exhorts Æthelberht to fully support his emissary in order to partake in the God's kingdom.[283]

The parallels between Gregory's letter and Bede's description of Willibrord's reception by Pippin are striking. Like Æthelberht, Pippin is introduced as exercising authority beyond the borders of his 'realm'. The measures undertaken by Pippin to support Willibrord mirror the relation between Æthelberht and Augustine: Willibrord received the permission to preach, the mayor's protection and a base for the establishment of his episcopal see. In addition, Willibrord's personal strategy matched the instructions formulated by Gregory in his letter to Æthelberht: Willibrord and his companions 'converted many in a short time from idolatry to faith in Christ', 'recalling many from their error', and replaced the idols with churches.[284] Bede introduced Pippin as the *de facto* ruler of the Frankish kingdom, but does this imply that Ecgberct or Willibrord had a similar notion of the mayor's position? Bede was familiar with the title of *maior domus* and apparently understood the relation of power between the mayor and the king, yet he chose to single out Pippin.[285]

At the same time, Bede did not suggest that Pippin's position influenced Ecgberct's plan to send Willibrord to Frisia. To argue that Willibrord's relationship with the mayor followed Ecgberct's (or even Pippin's) plan, is to fill in the gaps in Bede's text on the basis of the traditional master narrative about the 'rise' of the Carolingians after the battle of Tertry. Likewise, the marginal note in the *Calendar* does not prove that Willibrord's arrival in Francia was linked to Pippin. Rather, the note is a reminder that, in order to understand the extent of Willibrord's early network, the analysis needs to be expanded beyond the Pippinids and the conquest of Frisia.

In 731, Bede's aim was to embed his sources on Ecgberct, Willibrord, the Hewalds

---

[282] Bede, *HE,* 1.32 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 112; trans. *ibid.*, 113): […] *Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina; zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conuersione multiplica; idolorum cultus insequere; fanorum aedificia euerte; subditorum mores ex magna uitae munditia exhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, corrigendo et boni operis exempla monstrando aedifica, ut illum retributorem inuenias in caelo, cuius nomen atque cognitionem dilataueris in terra.*

[283] *Ibid.* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 112; trans. *ibid.*, 113).

[284] *Ibid.*, 5.10–11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480–6; trans. *ibid.*, 481, 487).

[285] See *ibid.*, 4.1 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 330). Here, Bede refers to the *maior domus regiae* Ebroin; in 3.19 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 276), Bede uses the late antique term *patricius* to describe Erchinoald's position; in contrast, Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 25 (ed. Colgrave, 50), introduces Ebroin as *dux*; I thank Sihong Lin for pointing these passages out to me.

and Suidberct in a coherent narrative rather than to truthfully depict the political situation in Francia forty years earlier. The comparison with the chapters on Æthelberht of Kent suggests that Pippin's role was likewise adapted to the overall framework of the *Historia*. By depicting the cooperation between Willibrord and Pippin as exemplary, Bede added further weight to the importance of Ecgberct as initiator of the Frisian mission. Pippin's readiness to assist the arrivals from Ireland highlights the long-term success of Ecgberct's plan, whereas Bede potentially modelled Willibrord's strategy on the instructions given to Augustine by Pope Gregory. With the arrival of the missionaries in Frisia, the conversion of the *gens Anglorum* came full circle from Bede's point of view, as the *Angli* themselves now set out to preach to the *gentes* on the continent.

The focus on Pippin does, therefore, not sever Bede's thread based on the life of Ecgberct. By placing Pippin in a prominent position within Willibrord's network and establishing him as an intermediary between the missionaries and the pope, Bede maintained the progression of Ecgberct's original plan: the two other traditions which he chose to include not only share the connection to Willibrord's group but also the support the Hewalds and Suidberct received from Pippin and Plectrude. At the same time, Bede only placed emphasis on Pippin as an individual (though exemplary) leader but not on his family. The conflict between the Pippinids and Radbod is reduced to a vague note, whereas the Frankish civil war and the ascension of Charles Martel are not mentioned.[286] Furthermore, there is no trace of Willibrord's alleged journey to Denmark. Ultimately, the analysis shows that Ecgberct's initiative and the relationship between Willibrord and the Pippinids are not connected in the same measure if the *Historia* and Alcuin's *Vita* are considered separately.

Whereas Bede subordinated Pippin's role in the *Historia* to Ecgberct's actions, Alcuin inverted the relationship between Ecgberct, Willibrord and the mayor of the palace: in the *Vita*, the driving force behind the Christianisation of Frisia are not *Angli* but the Carolingian dynasty. Alcuin passed over Bede's emphasis on Ecgberct in order to reconcile Willibrord's career with the political domination of the Carolingians during his own lifetime. The *Vita* opens with the prediction that Wilgils' child would be born for 'the salvation of many' (*in plurimorum genitus salutem religiosis parentibus natus esse dinoscitur*).[287] Alcuin subsequently intertwines this thread with the fortunes of Pippin's family: throughout the *Vita*, Willibrord's interaction with Pippin and Charles Martel is linked to the motif of divine providence.[288] According to the *Historia*, Willibrord took the decision to travel to Rome on

[286] See chapter 3.
[287] Alcuin, *VW*, 2 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 40).
[288] *Ibid.*, 5, 6, 13, 23 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 44–6, 54, 64–6).

his own; the second time, he was sent by Pippin.[289] By coalescing the two separate accounts, Alcuin highlighted Pippin's foresight which led him to dispatch Willibrord to Rome for his consecration. Pippin's plan itself was an expression of God's providence.[290]

The link between the fortunes of Pippin's family and Willibrord is further enlarged in chapter 13, the last part of the 'historical' section of the *Vita*. As mentioned above, Alcuin dated the establishment of the see of Utrecht to the period after 714. He pursued more than one agenda with this chronological shift.[291] Firstly, Alcuin strengthened the connection between Willibrord and Utrecht. Secondly, Alcuin conflated Charles Martel's rise to power, his victory over Radbod and the completion of Willibrord's labours. The concurrence of these three developments led to the fulfilment of the prophecy connected to Willibrord's birth: the entire *populus* of the Frisians was illuminated with the light of the Gospel.[292] At the same time, Charles Martel is attributed with the possession of *imperium* ('supreme power'). In comparison with Bede's use of the term to describe Pippin's position, *imperium* carries a different connotation in the *Vita*. Bede did not suggest that Pippin subjected the entire *gens* of the Frisians to his authority, nor did he refer to Pippin's sphere of influence as *regnum*. In the *Historia*, the conflict between Pippin and Radbod still appears as a regional conflict rather than a full-blown military conquest launched by the Frankish side.[293]

In contrast, Alcuin's use of *imperium* was shaped by Charlemagne's reign at the end of the eighth century and reflects the superiority which Alcuin attributed to the Carolingian dynasty.[294] The chapter on the baptism of Pippin III closes the section on the miracles performed by Willibrord. According to Alcuin, Willibrord foretold that the child would become greater than all the leaders (*duces*) of the Franks before him. Alcuin adds that the truth of Willibrord's words was proven in his own time: the entire *populus* of the Franks, now led by Charlemagne, knew how his father had expanded the borders of the empire (*imperium*), propagated Christianity in his realm and overseen the defence of the Church among the foreign *gentes*.[295] Here, Alcuin models his depiction of the conquest of Frisia, which was not yet achieved by the time of Charles Martel's ascension,[296] on the campaigns of Charlemagne. The period after Pippin II's death is portrayed as the gradual expansion of

[289] Bede, *HE*, V.11 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 484–6).
[290] Alcuin, *VW*, 6 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 46).
[291] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Bistums Utrecht', 132–9.
[292] Alcuin, *VW*, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54).
[293] See chapter 3.1.2.
[294] Moesch, *Augustine and the Art of Ruling,* 103.
[295] Alcuin, *VW*, 23 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 66): *Scit namque omnis populus quibus nobilissimus uictor celebrator triumphis uel quantum terminos nostri dilatauit imperii uel quam deuote christianam in regno suo propagauit religionem uel quid pro defensione sanctae Dei ecclesiae apud extraneas exercuit gentes*.
[296] See chapter 3.2.2.

early Carolingian power over the adjacent *gentes*, leading up to the dynasty's domination during Alcuin's lifetime. Alcuin thus needed to adapt Bede's account to the military and ecclesiastical situation during Charlemagne's reign. As the *Vita* provided him with the opportunity to outline his concept of an ideal religious policy towards the territories conquered by the Franks and to stress the necessity of baptism and religious education to ensure the successful establishment of the Christian faith, Alcuin needed to move Willibrord's appointment as bishop of Utrecht to the period after Charles Martel's conquest of south-western Frisia. By streamlining his account in such a way, Alcuin harmonised the progression of Willibrord's arrival, Charles Martel's victory and the successful conversion of the Frisians.[297]

In addition, Alcuin's preoccupation with the conversion of the *gentes* on the borders of the Carolingian realm probably informed his inclusion of Willibrord's stay in Denmark.[298] The description of Willibrord's encounter with the 'very savage' Ongendus remains brief and vague, although Alcuin noted that the saint took thirty Danish boys back with him to Francia, who he baptised and instructed in the Christian faith.[299] The episode thus appears as a deliberate attempt by Alcuin to extend Willibrord's field of activity and to elaborate on effective strategies of conversion. It seems very unlikely that the journey to Denmark in the *Vita* echoes an authentic tradition which reached back to Ecgberct's tine.[300] If any connection between Bede's 'list' and Alcuin's account existed, it is more plausible that Alcuin decided to integrate the reference to the *Danai* in the *Historia* into his *Life*, as they blended into the 'Carolingian' horizon of his version of Willibrord's life.

The inclusion of the Danes in the *Vita* is a reminder that Bede and Alcuin each pursued different agendas in their works. Ultimately, the analysis shows that the reconstruction of Ecgberct's 'strategy' by modern scholars is based on a selective combination of both sources. The overriding importance attributed to Ecgberct by Bede is exchanged with a 'Carolingian' framework in the *Vita*. The role allegedly played by Ecgberct is the result of Bede's narrative choices as much as Willibrord's relationship with Charles Martel and Pippin III is shaped by Alcuin's intention to promote his saint's *memoria* during

[297] Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 84–9; Rambridge, 'Alcuin's narratives of evangelism', 371–3; Story, *Carolingian Connections*, 50–1.
[298] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, no. 6 (ed. Dümmler, 31).
[299] Alcuin, *VW*, 9 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 50).
[300] See Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 84–92; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 34–5; Palmer, 'Defining paganism', 409; *idem*, *Anglo-Saxons*, 138–9. The names of *Fositesland* and the god *Fosita* probably reflect elements of a genuine tradition which Alcuin incorporated into the *Vita*, but the connection to Willibrord (and Radbod) appears to have been purely legendary. Willibrord's stay on the island is remembered in Bishop Altfrid of Münster's (839–49) *Vita Liudgeri*, 22, ed. Wilhelm Diekamp, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri* (Münster, 1881), 25–7.

the reign of Charlemagne. Both authors narrowed Willibrord's network down to a small number of political and ecclesiastical actors whose inclusion supported the overall framework of their work. This limitation of Willibrord's network is also continued with regard to the geographical extent of his activity.

1.1.4 Beyond Utrecht and Rome

The traditional image of Willibrord as a supporter of the Pippinids is not only based on Bede and Alcuin's accounts of the mission to Frisia but, above all, on the charter evidence for the monasteries of Echternach and Susteren. The charters recorded in the *Liber aureus* even demonstrate that Willibrord's activity extended as far as Thuringia.[301] It is, therefore, striking that Willibrord's activity in Francia is almost passed over in both the *Historia* and the *Vita*.[302] The only places on the continent mentioned by Bede in relation to Willibrord are Utrecht and Rome. Although he specified that Willibrord built churches and founded several monasteries, this passage relates to Frisia and not to Austrasia.[303] Similarly, Bede placed the meeting between Wilfrid, Acca and Willibrord in Frisia rather than Francia.[304] On the one hand, the focus on Utrecht and Rome as the main stations of Willibrord's itinerary conforms to Bede's interest in the establishment of a see under papal authority as the main achievement of the Frisian mission. On the other hand, the complete lack of references to Francia raises the question of how much Bede knew about the development of Willibrord's career after 695/6. In his account of the life of the Irish cleric Fursa (d. *c.* 649) life, Bede indicates that he had access to the *Vita* of the saint and briefly elaborates on the foundation of the monastery of Péronne in Francia and the miracles performed at Fursa's tomb.[305] Similarly, Bede mentioned the foundation of Kaiserswerth and the support of Plectrude and Pippin for Suidberct. Of course, Willibrord was still alive in 731 and his tomb had not yet become a site of pilgrimage. However, it appears that with regard to the foundation of Péronne and Kaiserswerth, Bede had access to sources which were unavailable to him in the case of Echternach.

The significance of Willibrord's tomb at Echternach as a source of miracles and

[301] On the charters for Echternach see chapter 1.2; on Thuringia see chapter 2.3.2; on Susteren see chapter 3.2.1.
[302] A possible exception is Bede's reference to *beneficia* distributed by Pippin II in *HE*, 5.10 (eds. Colgrave/Mynors, 480). However, the passage indicates that the receivers of the *beneficia* were not Willibrord's companions but those Frisians who decided to convert to the Christian faith.
[303] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 486).
[304] See chapter 2.2.1.
[305] Bede, *HE*, 3.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 276); on Fursa see chapter 2.2.2.

'rallying point' for his commemoration by the monastic community is highlighted in Alcuin's *Vita*.[306] Alcuin, however, only refers to the foundation of the monastery by Willibrord in passing.[307] Neither Irmina of Oeren nor Pippin or Plectrude are mentioned, but Alcuin underlined the fact that Willibrord's successors possessed the saint's inheritance through the piety of the kings.[308] Again, Alcuin was more concerned with the creation of a link between the saint and the contemporary audience of the *Vita* than with the 'historical' origins of Echternach. At the same time, the *Vita* contains more traces of Willibrord's activity in Francia than the *Historia*. At the beginning of his mission, Willibrord apparently set out to preach, build churches and establish religious communities in the towns and villages of the northern part of Pippin's 'realm'.[309] In a later chapter, Alcuin indicates that, after his return from Denmark to Francia, many began to donate their property to Willibrord, which he used to build churches and to install priests.[310] Two chapters on miracles are also set in Francia: one chapter concerns the outbreak of the plague in a nunnery in Trier and the healing of the inhabitants by Willibrord. The monastery in question has often been identified as Oeren, yet Alcuin did neither specify its name nor did he mention Irmina.[311] The other example, however, provides a direct correlation between the *Liber aureus* and the *Vita*: the miracle is set near the monastery of Susteren north of Maastricht, which Willibrord wished to visit. As he tried to pass through the field of a wealthy landowner, he was intercepted by the guardian of the field who insulted the traveller. The guardian, unwilling to repent his sacrilege, died the next day.[312] The monastery of Susteren was founded in 714 by Pippin and Plectrude and donated to Willibrord and remained connected to the see of Utrecht in Alcuin's lifetime.[313]

Alcuin, however, did not insert the reference to Susteren in order to elaborate on Willibrord's role as a landowner in Francia or to highlight the network of donors who supported him. Rather, the places mentioned in the *Vita* serve as 'backdrops' for the miracles on which the second part of the text focuses. The chapters on Frisia likewise contain traces of a deeper knowledge of the environment in which Willibrord worked, but this knowledge was integrated into the hagiographical framework of the work.[314] Alcuin, for example, also related an attack against Willibrord by the guardian of a 'pagan' idol near the *villa* of

[306] Alcuin, *VW*, 24–5, 28–30 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 66–8, 70–2); von Padberg, *Heilige und Familie*, 168–78.
[307] *Ibid.*, 21, 24 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 62, 66).
[308] *Ibid.*, 21 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 62).
[309] *Ibid.*, 8 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 62).
[310] *Ibid.*,12 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 52–4).
[311] *Ibid.*, 21 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 62–4).
[312] *Ibid.*, 15 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 56).
[313] See chapter 3.2.1.
[314] See, for example, Alcuin, *VW*, 16 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 56–8).

Walichrum (Walcheren in the modern Dutch province of Zeeland).[315] There is no evidence in the text that Willibrord owned property there, yet the island became a centre of his veneration in the following centuries.[316] Ultimately, the traditions on which Alcuin based his account are blurred by their adaptation to the hagiographical form.

In summary, Bede and Alcuin offer a 'macro perspective' on Willibrord's activity on the continent. Both authors each sought to develop a coherent portrayal of Willibrord's life which recapitulates his main achievements. The mission to Frisia and the consecration in Rome formed the central thread around which Bede and Alcuin structured their accounts. In contrast, Willibrord's network in Francia and the local dimension of his activity are more or less passed over in the *Historia* and the *Vita*. The reconstruction of this aspect of his career relies on the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*.

[315] Alcuin, *VW*, 14 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 54–6).
[316] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 36 (ed. Poncelet, 481–3); Bijsterveld/Noomen/Thissen, 'Der Niederländische Fernbesitz', 219–20. Before 1101, Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (1081–1110) intervened in a local dispute on the island of Walcheren according to his own account in the *Vita Willibrordi*.

1.2 The Charters of the *Liber aureus Epternacensis*: Implications and Limitations

The *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Vita Willibrordi* represent the two pillars on which the reconstruction of Willibrord's network and his activity on the continent rests. Despite the differences between both narratives, Bede and Alcuin agree with each other with regard to three aspects: Firstly, the primary contact and main political supporter of Willibrord was the family of Pippin II. Secondly, the geographical focus of his mission was Frisia. Thirdly, the progress of the mission closely followed the conflict between the Pippinid mayors of the palace and Radbod. In addition, Bede and Alcuin both stressed the importance of the see of Utrecht above any other ecclesiastical centre. Taken together, the *Historia* and the *Vita* offer a 'missionary' narrative of Willibrord's life, in which the success of his career on the continent depended on the support of Pippin and Charles Martel.

The challenge is to compare the hagiography to other sources that offer a different perspective on Willibrord's network. In this context, the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus Epternacensis* represent the most significant corpus of information on Willibrord's activity outside of Frisia.[317] Compiled at Echternach between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the *Liber aureus* does not only differ from the hagiography in terms of genre and form but also in purpose and perspective. As will be analysed below, the collection of the charters was embedded in the political struggle between the monastic community of Echternach and the archbishop of Trier. In contrast to Bede and Alcuin, the compilers of the *Liber aureus* approached Willibrord's legacy from the perspective of Echternach's history and the traditions which had developed in over four centuries. The fact that the charters are integrated into the overarching narrative of the *Liber aureus* complicates the matter considerably, as the charters cannot be interpreted in isolation. It is, therefore, crucial that

[317] *Liber aureus Epternacensis*, Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 71. (https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/ufb_cbu_00011822) [accessed: 30.09.2021]. To the medieval manuscript, which consists of 15 *quaterniones*, were added three *quaterniones* after the thirteenth century: one at the beginning and two at the end. The folios of the medieval manuscript were numbered by a later hand which included the added *quaternio* at the beginning. Thus, fol. 4^{r} marks the beginning of the medieval manuscript. In the following, references to the foliation of the *Liber aureus* follow the numbering in the manuscript itself, which was also used by Wampach in his edition. In the digitised version, the numbering of the folios includes a number of flyleaves before the added *quaternio*. Fol. 4^{r}, therefore, corresponds to fol. 7^{r} in the digitised version. For the structure of the manuscript see Wampach, *Textband*, 67–79; Claudia Hopf (ed.), *Die abendländischen Handschriften der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha: Bestandsverzeichnis, 1. Großformatige Pergamenthandschriften Memb. I* (Gotha, 1994), 53–4; Thomas Falmagne and Luc Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften bis zum Jahr 1628 in den Beständen der Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg sowie der Archives diocésaines de Luxembourg, der Archives nationales, der Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal und des Grand Séminaire de Luxembourg,* 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 2009), 1.19, 1.27; in the following, the numbering of the charters follows Wampach, *Quellenband*; for the sake of clarity, the names in the charters are rendered according to Wampach's edition and in their Latin form (spelling variants are indicated in the footnotes), except for the names of the early Carolingians, the bishops Basin and Liutwin of Trier, the *dux* Heden and the prior owners of Susteren, Alberic and Haderic.

the analysis of the charters is preceded firstly by an examination of the compilation of the *Liber aureus* and secondly by a discussion of Camille Wampach's seminal two-volume edition, published between 1929 and 1930. The first part of the chapter established how historians have combined Bede's and Alcuin's texts to create a coherent narrative of Willibrord's career. The second part argues that the *Liber aureus* has played a significant role in the extension and consolidation of the traditional master narrative. At the latest since the publication of Wampach's edition, the charters have primarily been treated as an *addition* to the hagiography by scholars. Instead of approaching the *Liber aureus* as a complex source with a specific narrative purpose, a tendency has developed among historians to place the additional information gathered from the charters – on the churches and monasteries founded by Willibrord, the families who supported him, and the regions in which he was active – within the hagiographical framework. Thus, many of the donors mentioned in the charters were added to the Carolingian family tree and Echternach characterised as a Carolingian *Eigenkloster*. As Wampach tried to harmonise the narrative of the *Liber aureus*, the content of the charters and the outlook of the hagiography, the three layers not only intertwined but appeared to confirm each other.

In contrast, the aim of the following analysis is to point out the *limitations* of the interpretation of the *Liber aureus* and to avoid the scholarly reflex to reconcile the charters with the hagiography. What would our understanding of Willibrord's network be if only the *Liber aureus* had survived? Only if these limitations are stressed can the potential of the *Liber aureus* for the reconstruction of Willibrord's network be assessed and its information be compared with the hagiographical evidence.

1.2.1 The Compilation of the Liber aureus*: Theoderic's* Chronicon *(1191)*

Although historians have traditionally referred to the *Liber aureus* as a 'cartulary', Ingrid Heidrich has argued that the compilation should be first and foremost considered as a historiographical text, that is, an attempt to place the foundation of Echternach in the history of the Carolingian Empire and to connect the monastery to the ruling dynasty of the

Staufer.[318] The *Liber aureus* consists of two parts.[319] The first part, the *Chronicon* of the monk Theoderic, was written in 1191 at the request of Abbot Gottfried II (1181–1210) and is itself divided into two books.[320] The first book begins with a prologue, which includes a list of Echternach's abbots, followed by a history of the Frankish kingdom up to the time of Willibrord's arrival.[321] Theoderic starts the second book with a chronology of the rulers from Pippin II to Emperor Henry VI (1191–7), and then announces that he will now turn to the foundation of Echternach and the *testamenta* for the property collected by the monastery from the death of Willibrord until the introduction of the canons in the ninth century.[322] With the exception of a forgery attributed to Charles Martel,[323] the charters dated to Willibrord's lifetime are all included in the following part of the *Chronicon*, which opens with a copy of the *Life* of Abbess Irmina of Oeren, originally composed by Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (1081–1110) for the nuns of Oeren before 1081.[324] On the following folios, Theoderic inserted the testament and four charters by the *abbatissa* Irmina.[325] The remaining charters are only recorded after the Irmina section (starting with two charters by Pippin and Plectrude) and accompanied by further historiographical notes.[326]

The *Chronicon* breaks off on folio 43^{v} with the summary of a donation dated to 726.[327] On the following folio, a second (unknown) scribe took up Theoderic's work. The *Liber aureus* was completed in or shortly after 1222, the date of the most recent charter added to the original text under Abbot Barthelemy (*c.* 1210–31).[328] The second scribe again

[318] Ingrid Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger für das Kloster Echternach', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 455–6; Wampach, *Textband*, 91–4; Michel Margue, 'Libertas Ecclesiae: Das Kloster im Spannungsfeld zwischen Adelsherrschaft und Reichsfreiheit aus der Sicht der Echternacher Quellen (8.–12. Jahrhundert)', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 243; see also Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 77; on the term *liber aureus* see Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen, 1993), 215–6, 246–7.

[319] Hopf, *Die abendländischen Handschriften der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha,* 53–4; Falmagne/Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, 1.19, 1.27.

[320] *Liber aureus*, fols 4^{r}–43^{v}. The *Chronicon* is only partially edited as Theoderic of Echternach, *Chronicon Epternacense*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 39–64; on Theoderic's authorship see Wampach, *Textband*, 80–90. The date is mentioned in the prologue (fol. 5^{v}; ed. Weiland, 39).

[321] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 4^{r}–20^{v}; ed. Weiland, 38–47); Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 255; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 76–7.

[322] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 21^{r}–22^{v}; ed. Weiland, 47–8); on the canons see Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 234–5.

[323] *Liber aureus*, fols 44^{v}–45^{r}; Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 41, 98–102; *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, no. 32, ed. Ingrid Heidrich, MGH DD maiorum domus regiae e stirpe Arnulforum (Hannover, 2011), 71–2.

[324] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 23^{r}–25^{r}; ed. Weiland, 48–50); Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sanctae Irminae*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 48–50; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 50–1. Theoderic left out the prologue which mentions Thiofrid's authorship.

[325] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 25^{r}–28^{v}; ed. Weiland, 50–53); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 3, 4, 6, 9, 10.

[326] *Ibid*. (*Liber aureus*, fols 29^{r}–43^{v}; ed. Weiland, 53–64).

[327] *Ibid*. (*Liber aureus*, fol. 43^{r}; ed. Weiland, 64); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 35, 80–1.

[328] Wampach, *Textband*, 70–2; see also Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 78.

recorded two donations by Arnulf, Pippin II's grandson, and one donation by Charles Martel that had already been included in the *Chronicon*.[329] As mentioned above, the anonymous scribe also included a forgery of a donation by Charles Martel before moving to the time of Pippin III and his successors.[330]

The *Chronicon* thus remains the main source for the property donated to Willibrord and the churches under his guardianship during his lifetime. As will be further discussed below, Camille Wampach lists 41 charters for the period between 690 and 739 in his edition, nine of which he reconstructed from internal evidence in the *Chronicon*, the *Liber aureus* and Thiofrid's *Lives* of Irmina of Oeren and Willibrord (1104/5). Of the other 33 charters, nine are only recorded in the form of short summaries in the *Chronicon*, while the forgery attributed to Charles Martel forms part of the second part of the *Liber aureus*. The *Chronicon* thus includes complete (or nearly complete) copies of only 23 of the 41 charters listed by Wampach.[331] Both Theoderic and the second scribe did not copy their material scrupulously and made changes to the texts or adapted the spelling of places to their own usage.[332] It thus appears that Theoderic did not have access anymore to a complete collection of charters from the early eighth century. Wampach suggested that the monastery's archive was still in a respectable state at the end of the twelfth century and mainly blamed the 'unreliability' of the second scribe for any gaps in the latter part of the *Liber aureus*.[333]

Subsequent scholars have argued that most of the Merovingian charters were already lost by the twelfth century and that the scribes relied on earlier summaries or archival notes.[334] Evidence also suggests that, even though charters from Willibrord's lifetime could survive into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, their later readers were not necessarily able to decipher the Merovingian script: in his prose *Vita Willibrordi* (1104/5), Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach himself states that he still had access to original charters but that he was unable

[329] Arnulf (1): *Liber aureus*, fol. 44; Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 25, 60–3; Arnulf (2): fol. 44^{v}; Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 29, 70–1; Charles Martel: fol. 44; Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 27, 65–8; on the duplications see Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 465–7.

[330] The first charter attributed to Pippin III is a forgery: *Liber aureus*, fol. 45^{v}; Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 42, 102–4; *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, no. 36, 32.

[331] See the table on pp. 93–4.

[332] See Engelbert Mühlbacher, 'Urkundenfälschung in Echternach', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 21 (1900), 353–4; Wampach, *Textband*, 100–5; Heidrich, 'Die frühen Urkunden', 456–7. Likewise, the characterisation of Willibrord as *sanctus* in some of the charters must be considered as a later interpolation. The charters in which Willibrord is referred to as *sanctus* during his lifetime are: Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 1, 2, (5), 6 , (7), 9, 10, 11, (12), 16, 19, 20, 21, 28, (22), 28, 29, 41. In the case of nos 5, 7, 12 and 22, Wampach reconstructed the title from the respective summary.

[333] Wampach, *Textband*, 99.

[334] Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 457–8; Olaf Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar und die Folgen: Der vierhundertjährige Weg historischer Erinnerungsbilder von Reims nach Trier* (Berlin, 2010), 137–40; see also Wampach, *Textband*, 98–103; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 20.

to read all of them.[335] Thiofrid also composed a *Life* of Irmina of Oeren (before 1081). In both works, Thiofrid expanded his hagiographical material with references to donations made to Willibrord and Echternach, yet his approach suggests that he already relied on summaries rather than original charters at the end of the eleventh century.[336] Thiofrid's *Lives* contain the earliest evidence of the charters from Willibrord's lifetime. Both texts were later used by Theoderic during the compilation of the *Chronicon*. At the same time, Theoderic left out donations that are mentioned by Thiofrid.[337] Since Theoderic knew and used Thiofrid's writings, it seems improbable that the reason for this discrepancy was another loss of material between the two authors' lifetimes.[338] Rather, Theoderic's selective use of Thiofrid's material is a first indication that he pursued a particular goal with the compilation of the *Chronicon*.

In this context, it is important to consider the *Chronicon* as an independent work within the *Liber aureus*. While the second scribe continued Theoderic's approach, that is, the combination of notes on the history of the monastery and the recording of charters, he did so in a less systematic way; after the *Chronicon*, most of the donations were not recorded in chronological order, the historiographic notes became sparser and documents whose existence is known from other sources were left out. The second scribe received scathing criticism by Wampach, who valued Theoderic's skills much higher than those of his successor.[339] At the same time, as Wampach himself admitted (while immediately defending Theoderic), the author of the *Chronicon* was also involved in the forgery of documents.[340] What is more, it must be assumed that the number of charters does not represent the total available to Theoderic, nor does the *Chronicon* reflect the extent of the monastery's archive.[341] It is noticeable that Wampach repeatedly blamed the second scribe for the disordered state of the latter part of the *Liber aureus*, even though Theoderic himself did not follow a chronological pattern. The impression of Theoderic's 'planmäßige[s] Vorgehen', lauded by Wampach,[342] is created by the elaborate structure of the *Chronicon*. Yet this very fact suggests that both Theoderic and the second scribe pursued the same method: it was not their aim to reproduce the monastery's archive in its entirety for consultation only. The

[335] Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, 12, ed. Albert Poncelet, AASS, Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 468: […] *et plura alia, quae consulto praetereo propter barbara et hominum et locorum vocabula*.
[336] Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 139–40.
[337] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 101–2.
[338] Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 137–40; see also Falmagne/Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, 1.118–22.
[339] Wampach, *Textband*, 96: 'Das Unternehmen war zu groß für seinen beschränkten Kopf'.
[340] See *ibid.*, 104–6; Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 456–7.
[341] Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 457.
[342] See Wampach, *Textband*, 97.

donations were carefully selected to fit the overall narrative of the work.[343] In contrast to Wampach's suggestion, this is even more apparent in the case of Theoderic than in the case of the second scribe. Theoderic's approach was more systematic *because* he wanted to create a coherent narrative which fitted the political agenda of the monastic community.

Theoderic probably abandoned his work on the *Chronicon* because of an ensuing conflict between the monastic community at Echternach and the archbishop of Trier, John I (1189-1212).[344] Although it remained unfinished, the *Chronicon* played an important role in the following crisis of the monastery and its use by Abbot Gottfried's community in the dispute sheds light on the political background of the compilation of the *Liber aureus*. In 1192, Archbishop John tried to incorporate the monastery of Echternach into his jurisdiction. In exchange for the castle of Nassau, Emperor Henry VI initially agreed to give over the monastery to the archbishop.[345] From the perspective of the Echternach community, the process would have meant the loss of their *libertas ecclesiae*, that is their direct subordination under the authority of the emperor, which guaranteed the protection of the monastery against the influence of external parties. By the end of the twelfth century, the monastery's chroniclers depicted Echternach's history as a continuous struggle of its community against the alienation of property, economic decline, and the corruption of ecclesiastical standards allegedly caused by the intrusion of lay abbots and canons appointed from outside of the community.[346] This perspective followed the main concerns of the 'reform' of the tenth century, which, in the case of Echternach, was introduced under the guidance of the Ottonians and the clergy from St Maximin in Trier.[347]

A charter from 973, issued in the name of Emperor Otto I (962-73) but probably written by a monk from Echternach and copied into the *Liber aureus*, indicates that Count Sigfried (d. 998) was instructed to 'renew' (*innovare*) the religious life of the monastery. The charter first introduces the claim that the introduction of canons under Carloman (d. 876) saw the 'destruction' of the monastic community, thus the need for the restoration of the monastic life in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict. The charter also records that Otto gave the *fratres* from Echternach the possibility to elect their abbot and states that the

[343] See Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 264–8; Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 466, contradicts Wampach regarding the alleged 'unreliability' of the second scribe.
[344] *Monumenta Epternacensia*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 17; Mühlbacher, 'Urkundenfälschung', 353; Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 248; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 78; Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 243.
[345] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 215, 360–82. The reconstruction of the conflict relies almost entirely on the account by the monks of Echternach in the *Liber aureus*.
[346] Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 230. The terms *Reichsfreiheit* and *Reichsunmittelbarkeit*, traditionally used in German scholarship to translate *libertas ecclesiae*, are not contemporary.
[347] *Ibid.*, 238–41.

monastery and the monks' possessions will remain under the emperor's and his successors' *defensione*.[348] The three main aspects highlighted by the charter – the adherence to the Rule of St Benedict, the community's right to freely elect their abbot, and the monastery's protection by the emperor – were cornerstones of Otto's policy, which allowed him to extend his control over the monasteries in his *regnum* against the influence of the local aristocracy. In the following centuries, the Echternach community continued to advocate these 'reform' ideals, thereby consolidating the narrative of the damaging influence of lay and non-regular abbots and the introduction of the canons.[349] It has been shown that the negative perception of the period between the late Carolingians and the Ottonian 'reform', which scholars of Echternach's history have long followed, is largely a product of the (more abundant) sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[350] While the sources for the previous centuries are much sparser, there is no evidence that the monastery suffered a significant economic, cultural or institutional decline before 973 (nor that earlier generations of Echternach chroniclers perceived their situation in such terms).[351]

Recent studies have stressed that most of the developments, about which later writers complained, were less clear-cut and more continuous in nature than the sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggest. Rather, the two significant political events of 973 and 1192 respectively led to the production of new historical narratives in response to the monastery's impending change of status. This does not mean that the alienation of property or the struggle for political control over the monastery were merely literary motifs, since lay abbots retained much influence even after 973 in their function as reeves, and the monastery's property continued to be given away to the vassals of the local counts, but these concerns were nevertheless part of *contemporary* debates about the status of the monastery. As the example of Theoderic shows, the discourse of the *libertas ecclesiae* shaped the production of historical narratives at Echternach in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with significant consequences for the narration of the monastery's foundation.[352]

By the time John I attempted to extend his control over Echternach, work on the *Liber aureus* had already begun under Abbot Gottfried. It has been suggested that Theoderic turned

[348] Wampach, *Quellenband,* no. 173, 270–3; Ingrid Heidrich, 'Die kirchlichen Stiftungen der frühen Karolinger in der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit und unter Otto I.', in Rudolf Schieffer (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regnum Francorum: Referate beim Wissenschaftlichen Colloquium zum 75. Geburtstag von Eugen Ewig am 28. Mai 1988* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 131–47: 141.
[349] Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 243–5; see also Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 72–4.
[350] See Wampach, *Textband*, 85–7, 266–92; Staudt, *Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler*, 23; Heidrich, 'Die kirchlichen Stiftungen', 141–2.
[351] Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 20.
[352] Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 262; Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 238–45; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 135.

away from the *Chronicon* to compose another work, the so-called *Libellus de libertate Epternacensi*, which was later copied into the *Liber aureus* by the second scribe. The *Libellus* contains a letter, addressed to Emperor Henry VI, in which the scribe argues for the independence of Echternach from Trier based on its close ties to the kings and emperors since the time of Pippin II.[353] The efforts undertaken by Abbot Gottfried's community in 1192 were ultimately crowned with success: in the same year, Henry VI refrained from exchanging Echternach for the castle of Nassau and confirmed the monastery's *libertas*.[354] Theoderic's role in the conflict between Echternach and Trier shows that the compilation of the *Liber aureus* anticipated the arguments that were brought forward in the *Libellus*.[355]

In his address to the emperor, Theoderic bases his plea on the material assembled in the *Chronicon*, which he partly copied. As shown by Wampach, Theoderic focused on two aspects to argue for Echternach's *libertas* both in the *Chronicon* and the *Libellus*: Firstly, he places the foundation of the monastery into a wider historical framework that centred on the succession of the royal dynasties from the Merovingians to the Staufer.[356] Theoderic highlights the genealogical connection between Pippin II and Henry VI, thereby appealing to the emperor for his protection of the monastery. According to Theoderic, Pippin and his successors had always protected Echternach's *libertas* and the many *testamenta* collected in the monastery's archive testified to the extent of Echternach's property, which had now been disintegrated through the actions of *ambitiosi homines*.[357] In turn, the community at Echternach were committed to the persevation of the emperor's genealogy and to his dynasty's *memoria*, as Theoderic exemplifies by including the list of rulers recorded in the *Chronicon*.[358] Secondly, Theoderic stresses the fact that Echternach's status a monastery under royal protection had already been confirmed in Willibrord's time, as proven by the charters of Pippin and Plectrude recorded in the *Chronicon*.[359]

While the community under Gottfried ultimately used the *Chronicon* to argue for their monastery's position in the specific situation of 1192, its compilation shows that the concept of the *Liber aureus* was rooted in the political and ecclesiastical developments of

[353] Theoderic of Echternach, *Libellus de libertate Epternacensi propugnata* (*Liber aureus*, fols 111^{r}–120^{r}; ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 [Hannover, 1874], 64–72); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 215, 260–82.
[354] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 216, 382–4.
[355] Wampach, *Textband*, 82; Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 243.
[356] Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 251–3.
[357] Theoderic, *Libellus* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 117^{r}; ed. Weiland, 69); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 215, 373.
[358] Theoderic, *Libellus* (*Liber aureus*, fols 114^{v}–116^{v}; ed. Weiland, 67–9); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 215, 370–2; Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 255–9.
[359] Theoderic, *Libellus* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 114^{v}; ed. Weiland, 67–8); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 215, 368–9. Here, Theoderic partially quotes Thiofrid's *Vita Willibrordi*, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473); see also Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 29^{r}; ed. Weiland, 53); Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 253–5.

the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[360] Theoderic's narrative of Echternach's history was based on earlier sources which had consolidated the community's perception of their monastery's status as an institution protected by the kings and emperors since the days of Pippin II.[361] Elements of this discourse, which first became tangible with the charter of 973, were incorporated into the lists of abbots that were produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which Theoderic in turn copied into his work to remind his readers of Echternach's *antiquitas*.[362] It is significant that concerns about the (contemporary and earlier) loss and alienation of property were first expressed in texts written between the late eleventh and early twelfth and became apparent in the writings of Thiofrid, on whose writings Theoderic relied. As abbot, Thiofrid repeatedly advocated the restitution of Echternach's property. Like Theoderic, he addressed the Emperor, in this case Henry IV (1084–1106), in a letter in *c.* 1101 regarding his monastery's property in *Hollant*.[363] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the interest of Echternach's community in the history of their foundation is thus directly connected to the discourse about their own ecclesiastical *libertas* and their connection to the ruling dynasty.

In 1191, Theoderic built on an established narrative of Echternach's status as a 'royal' monastery which influenced his selection and presentation of the charters in the *Chronicon*. Therefore, any interpretation of the Merovingian material recorded in the *Liber aureus* needs to consider the implications and limitations arising from the context of its compilation.

1.2.2 Camille Wampach's Edition (1929–30)

If Thiofrid's and Theoderic's works represent two overlying phases in the textual tradition of the charters from Echternach, then Wampach's edition must be considered as an additional layer that separates the modern historian from the early medieval sources. Wampach's edition has not only become the standard reference for scholars since its publication in 1929–30 but most subsequent studies of the *Liber aureus* have also relied on Wampach's order, his dating, and his interpretation of the material contained within the manuscript. In his edition, Wampach complied with the conventions of the late nineteenth century.[364] Following the 'chronological principle' of 'similar editions', it was thus 'self-evident' for him that the order

[360] Margue, 'Libertas ecclesiae', 244–5; see also Wampach, 80–90.
[361] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473).
[362] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 5; ed. Weiland, 38–9); Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 77.
[363] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 200, 328–30; see also Wampach, no. 201, 330–2; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 57; on the mention of Walcheren in Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* see chapter 1.1.4.
[364] Wampach, *Quellenband*, x–xii. Wampach studied diplomatic with the Austrian scholar Michael Tangl (1861–1921), among others.

of the charters in his edition would not follow the order of the manuscript.[365] Wampach's methodology did not only require him to restructure the content of the *Liber aureus* but also to fill the gaps that were left by its authors. His survey of the medieval sources for Echternach revealed that the compilers of the *Liber aureus* did not include all of material available to them.[366] Wampach's aim, however, was to lay the foundation for 'a cohesive historical study' of Echternach's monastic and economical history.[367] This would explain his repeated complaints about the second scribe's alleged inability to assiduously copy the content of the monastic archive.[368] Wampach tried to rectify these gaps by adding those sources about Echternach to his collection which are not recorded in the *Liber aureus*.[369]

The changes made to the structure of the *Liber aureus* in the edition are thus twofold: Firstly, the (largely) non-chronological order of the charters was replaced by a linear arrangement. Secondly, the scope of the diplomatic material was expanded beyond the content of the manuscript. In the case of Theoderic's *Chronicon*, this has significant implications for the study of the earliest charters. While the second's scribe method might have been less sophisticated, Theoderic pursued a clear political goal, embedded in an elaborate narrative structure. This means that both the order and the gaps in the *Chronicon* – the two aspects modified by Wampach – were intentional and crucial for the conception of the *Liber aureus*.

As mentioned above, Theoderic did not simply list the donations in chronological order but arranged his material according to thematic blocks. The second book of the *Chronicon* opens with the list of rulers and the copy of Thiofrid's *Vita Irminae*. In the following part, the donations of the *abbatissa* Irmina are recorded first,[370] followed by Pippin II's and Plectrude's two charters for Echternach.[371] The next passage contains five summaries of donations, before the remaining charters fill the last part of the *Chronicon* until it breaks off on folio 43.[372] Only in the latter part, starting on folio 33, did Theoderic adopt a more linear chronology. By dissolving Theoderic's framework, Wampach had to rearrange most of the first half of Book Two of the *Chronicon* in order to obtain a chronological

[365] Wampach, *Quellenband*, x: 'Das chronologische Prinzip ist nach Art gleicher Editionen auch in der vorliegenden Sammlung maßgebend gewesen: daß ich mich darum nicht an die Seitenfolge des *liber aureus* anlehnen durfte, ist bei der Art der Redaktion des Echternacher Copialbuchs selbstverständlich gewesen'.
[366] Wampach, *Texband*, 98–99.
[367] Wampach, *Quellenband*, 109–10.
[368] *Ibid.*, 103.
[369] *Ibid.*, x. The additions included charters as well as other documents (like papal letters).
[370] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 25^{r}–29^{r}; ed. Weiland, 50–3); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 3, 4, 6, 9, 10.
[371] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 29^{v}–30^{v}; ed. Weiland, 53–5); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14, 15.
[372] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 31^{v}–32^{r}; ed. Weiland, 55); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 1, 2, 5, 7, 12.

structure.[373] A comparison between the manuscript and the edition shows that Wampach especially inverted the position of the earliest charters by Irmina, Pippin and Plectrude. Whereas Theoderic clearly separated these donations from the rest,[374] they are encircled by the charters of other landowners in the edition. The first charters in the edition (nos 1, 2) are only recorded on folio 31 and thus after the first section focusing on Irmina, Pippin, and Plectrude. In the case of Irmina's charters (nos 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10), Wampach not only separated them from each other but also inverted the position of Irmina's first donation for Echternach (no. 3 but recorded on fols 26^{r}-27^{r}) and her testament (no. 4 but recorded on fols 25^{r}-26^{r}).

Furthermore, the number of charters in the edition is the result of a complex editing process. Wampach lists 41 charters for the period between 690 and 739.[375] It would, however, be misleading to state that Wampach reconstructed 41 *charters*, as this number is based on the addition of material that is not recorded in the manuscript and the reconstruction of donations that are only cross-referenced in other charters or summaries in *Liber aureus*. To a reader who only consults the edition, Wampach's numbering suggests that the *Chronicon* contains a larger number of charters than Theoderic actually copied. At first view, the structure of the edition conceals the extent to which the information regrouped by Wampach is dispersed throughout the entire manuscript of the *Liber aureus* and embedded within the historiographical narrative.

As mentioned above, nine of the 41 charters in the edition are only recorded in the form of short summaries in the *Chronicon*.[376] Of these nine summaries, Theoderic grouped five together; these *regesta* immediately follow the two blocks centred on Irmina, Pippin, and Plectrude.[377] In nine further cases, Wampach reconstructed the donations either from Thiofrid's *Life* of Willibrord or from internal evidence contained in the *Liber aureus*. Thus, Wampach reconstructed one charter from a reference in the *Vita*.[378] Another donation in his list is based on the summary in the *Chronicon* of an exchange between Willibrord and Abbess Anastasia of Oeren.[379] The other seven cases are taken from the second part of the *Liber aureus*.[380] Next to the forgery attributed to Charles Martel, the second scribe included one charter and a text traditionally referred to as Willibrord's 'testament'.[381] The authenticity of

[373] See the table on pp. 93–4.
[374] See chapter 1.2.3.
[375] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 1–41.
[376] *Ibid.*, nos 1, 2, 5, 7, 12, 19, 29, 32, 40; Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 458, n. 10, ignores no. 12.
[377] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 1, 2, 5, 7, 12.
[378] *Ibid.*, no. 13; Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473).
[379] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 18 is based on no. 19.
[380] *Ibid.*, nos 23, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41.
[381] *Liber aureus,* fols 81^{r}–82^{v}; see Albert Poncelet, 'Le "testament" de S. Willibrord', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25 (1906), 163–76.

both texts has long been debated, but Wampach incorporated them into his list as he believed the donations mentioned in the texts to be authentic.[382] He also reconstructed one donation from the charter and three donations from the 'testament' which are not mentioned in the *Chronicon*.[383] Ultimately, of the first 41 charters in the edition, 32 are mentioned by Theoderic in the *Chronicon* and 23 survive as (mostly) complete copies in the first part of the *Liber aureus*. Of the 32 donations mentioned by Theoderic, at least 13 are also mentioned in summarised form by Thiofrid in his *Lives* of Irmina of Oeren and Willibrord.[384]

Wampach's edition is the result of a complex reconstruction in which different layers of the medieval textual tradition – from Thiofrid, to Theoderic and finally to the second scribe of the *Liber aureus* – are interlinked. Wampach's intention was to harmonise the fragmentary evidence scattered across the records of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries; he therefore needed to insert his additions into the chronological framework provided by the manuscript. As a result, Wampach's dating is quite vague: some donations could only be placed within the period between 692/3 and 739.[385] What is more, the inclusion of those donations that Wampach reconstructed from the internal evidence of Thiofrid's *Vita Willibrordi* and the *Liber aureus* is solely based on his assumption that the respective charter must have existed.[386]

Nevertheless, Wampach's edition remains the standard reference for the study of the earliest charters from Echternach. To the present day, his interpretation and his assessment of the charters' authenticity have never been fundamentally questioned. Two major debates were only held in the Netherlands, Belgium and later Germany. The first point of contention

---

[382] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 23, 39.

[383] *Ibid.*, no. 23 represents the charter recorded on fol. 81^{r} of the *Liber aureus*. The donation by Wachardus to Willibrord (no. 22) is based on it. This donation is also mentioned by Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 12 (ed. Poncelet, 468). Wampach's no. 39 represents the entire 'testament', while nos 36, 37, and 38 are extracted from it. Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 12 (ed. Poncelet, 468), also mentions nos 37 and 38.

[384] In the *Vita Irminae*, 6 (ed. Weiland, 49): nos 4, 6; in the *Vita Willibrordi*, 12 (ed. Poncelet, 467–8): nos 4, 6, 11, 14, a combination of 16 and 20, 21, 24, 31, 34, 37, 38; in the *Vita Willibrordi*, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473): no. 13. In chapter 12 of the *Vita Willibrordi*, Thiofrid also mentions the same donation by Charles Martel on which the forgery in the second part of the *Liber aureus* (no. 41) is based, but his summary includes a different object of donation. See Wampach, *Quellenband*, 99–101; Wampach (*ibid.*, 17–20) argues that Thiofrid also mentions no. 3, but this is refuted by Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 149. In contrast, Schneider (131–68) argues that both chapter 6 of the *Vita Irminae* and chapter 12 of the *Vita Willibrordi* refer to nos 4 and 6. The question of whether Thiofrid also mentions no. 1 (as argued by Wampach, *Quellenband*, 15–6) depends on the interpretation of no. 34, on which see chapter 2.2.2. See also Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 455–8, n. 3, 10, 11, whose lists are partially imprecise; see the table on pp. 93–4.

[385] The charters were originally dated according to the regnal years of the Merovingian kings. A detailed discussion of the dating (and authenticity) of each charter would go beyond the scope of this study. At the same time, the dates of the reigns of the Merovingian kings have been reassessed to some extent since the publication of Wampach's edition, see Margarete Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie der Merowinger im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert', *Francia*, 25.1 (1998), 177–230. In the following, the dates indicated are those by Wampach, except where they conflict with Weidemann's chronology; see also *Oorkondenboek van Noord-Brabant tot 1312: I. De Meierij van 's-Hertogenbosch (met de Heerlijkheid Gemert). Eerste stuk (690–1294)*, ed. Henricus P. H. Camps ('s-Gravenhage, 1979), 1–30.

[386] See, for example, Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 18.

was Wampach's dating of the earliest charter, which refers to a donation to Willibrord in Antwerp, to 692/3. In the second half of twentieth century, Dutch and Belgian scholars argued over Willibrord's earliest station on the continent and whether his missionary activity also encompassed the northern part of modern Belgium.[387] The second debate was held in Germany between the historians Eduard Hlawitschka (b. 1928) and Matthias Werner (b. 1942) concerning the supposed relation between Irmina of Oeren and Plectrude.[388]

Still, the fundaments of Wampach's argument have remained both intact and influential throughout the twentieth century. Wampach was more optimistic about the authenticity of most charters in the *Chronicon* than some of his predecessors in the nineteenth century and, since the publication of the edition, the prevailing consensus is that most of the evidence, though manipulated by Theoderic, was copied from Merovingian originals. Even in those cases where the charter received its form in later centuries, such as Willibrord's 'testament', later scholars have not doubted Wampach's judgement that the recorded donations were nonetheless historic.[389] One notable exception to this consensus is the work by Olaf Schneider on Irmina of Oeren, which will be discussed in the following section.

Despite its artificial character, Wampach's edition clearly indicates the original position of the charter or the source of his reconstruction. Additionally, the context of and the motivation behind the compilation of the *Liber aureus* are discussed in detail in the first volume. It should, therefore, not be assumed that Wampach was unaware of Theoderic's method and that his edition ignores the intention of the *Liber aureus*. Wampach was well aware that Theoderic, like his predecessors, sought to glorify Echternach's history and its position within the ecclesiastical landscape of his time. Nevertheless, the project of the edition was infused with a strong patriotic sentiment. To Wampach, the *Liber aureus* was – despite all its 'faults' and 'arbitrariness' – a work 'beyond praise'.[390] It allegedly testified to the 'great cultural progress' that was made in his native region during the early Middle Ages,[391] and Wampach expressed satisfaction at the thought that he 'advanced the research on the homeland and its neighbouring regions'.[392] With the publication of the edition, Echternach received the recognition in historical studies that was appropriate to its 'great

[387] Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 103–10; see chapter 1.2.4.
[388] See chapter 1.2.3.
[389] See Schroeder, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', 341; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 139; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 26–7; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 112–47; Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 40; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 43; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 129–30; Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 57; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 41–50.
[390] Wampach, *Textband*, 106.
[391] *Ibid.*, 108.
[392] Wampach, *Quellenband*, xiv.

past',[393] and Luxembourg was placed within the 'glorious history' of the Holy Roman Empire.[394] Ultimately, Wampach was inclined to follow Theoderic's underlying narrative about Echternach's origins as an important Carolingian foundation.[395] With his edition, Wampach thus tried to reinforce the historiographical narrative of the *Liber aureus* to some extent – by expanding the available data in the manuscript and by putting it into a coherent form.

For Wampach, the reason why Echternach allegedly became an outpost of religious and cultural progress at the end of the Merovingian period, was its foundation in the wake of the 'Anglo-Saxon' missions. Through reform, Willibrord and Boniface apparently achieved what the *Scotti* had failed to do in the seventh century: to 'rouse the masses' from the 'dull apathy' of the 'failed' Merovingian Church. All of this was recorded by the 'great Anglo-Saxon historian' Bede.[396] Here, Wampach connected his interpretation of the *Liber aureus* with the hagiography: while Bede and Alcuin established the historical significance of Willibrord's arrival, the *Liber aureus* seemed to confirm their accounts from an institutional point of view. By combining the narratives of Bede and Alcuin with the evidence of the charters, Wampach was able to depict to the foundation of Echternach as the convergence of the religious impetus of the 'Anglo-Saxon' Church on the continent and the support of the early Carolingians for Willibrord.

From this perspective, the charters in the *Liber aureus* partially overlap with the hagiography, but there also significant differences. A short overview of the donations shows that the *Liber aureus* reveals a more complex picture of Willibrord's network. Next to the Pippinids, the *Chronicon* records the names of many other landowners with whom Willibrord was in contact, most of whom are otherwise unknown. Geographically, the majority of the donations does not concern property in Frisia but in Austrasia. Finally, the sequence of the donations cannot simply be conformed to the chronology of the military conflict between Pippin, Charles Martel and Radbod.[397] In his edition, Wampach needed to integrate these discrepancies into the framework provided by the hagiography in order to maintain a coherent narrative. Thus, he looked for possible relations between the donors recorded in the *Liber aureus*, above all the *abbatissa* Irmina, and the family of Pippin II.[398] In order to explain the preponderance of regions in the *Chronicon* that are not mentioned in the hagiography, for example the *pagus* Toxandria and Thuringia, Wampach characterised

[393] Wampach, *Textband*, 110.
[394] Wampach, *Quellenband*, xv.
[395] See Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi,* 24, who emphasises Wampach's 'lokalpatriotische Übertreibungen'.
[396] Wampach, *Quellenband*, xvi.
[397] See the table on pp. 93–4.
[398] Wampach, *Textband*, 113–41.

them as areas of influence of the Pippinids, or he assumed relations between the local donors and Pippin's family.[399]

For the present study, this means that *three* layers need to be disentangled and distinguished from each other in the analysis of Willibrord's network: Firstly, the position of the charters within the narrative of the *Liber aureus*; secondly, Wampach's reordering and interpretation of the charters; thirdly, possible analogies and discrepancies between the charters and the early medieval hagiography. Wampach's edition represents a consolidation of these three layers in the form of a coherent narrative in which Willibrord's network correlates with the extent of early Carolingian power. The following analysis, in contrast, considers inconsistencies rather than parallels between the different layers of traditions. To what extent does the evidence of the *Liber aureus* deviate from the traditional historiographical narrative and how does the analysis of the charters impact our understanding of Willibrord's network on the continent?

1.2.3 The Identity of the abbatissa *Irmina*

The significance of the *Chronicon* results from the fact that Theoderic recorded the names of over 150 persons in his copies of the earliest charters, Willibrord excluded. These can be (roughly) divided into four groups: landholders and their relatives, witnesses, scribes, and finally both free and unfree tenants who were attached to the property of certain donors.[400] The first and the second group partially overlap, as some donors reappear as witnesses in other charters.[401] The prosopographical information that can be gathered from the charters, however, is limited by the fact that in the majority of the cases, only the name of the person is recorded. What is more, there is little consistency in the spelling of names and in the

[399] Wampach, *Textband*, 123; on Toxandria see chapter 1.2.4.
[400] Dependants are mentioned by name in Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 3, 4, 31. Most of the charters refer to both *mancipia* and *casata* (or *casatas*). *Mancipia* are usually characterised as tenants who lived in separate dwellings on the landowner's estate. One estate could comprise several *casata*, that is, single farmsteads or small households. *Mancipia*, however, could designate both free and unfree tenants. Unfree tenants (*servi*) are only mentioned in one case (no. 31). Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 51–5, argues that the prominent use of *casata* in the charters relating to Toxandria reflects the developments of new forms of dependencies in this region, as the significance of the term shifted from the household to the individual family and its obligations. On the general terminology see Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 128, 139; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), 259–62, 560; Jean-Pierre Devroey, *Puissants et misérables : Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs. VI^{e}–IX^{e} siècles* (Bruxelles, 2006), 287–95, 304–15; Theuws, 'Settlement research', 212–4; to the four groups can be added the names of individuals who were not the main issuers of a charter but who are mentioned as holding or having held land in areas where Willibrord and/or the churches under his authority received donations: Irmintrudis (nos 6, 19), Engela (no. 10), Folcobertus (no. 10), Mummolittus (no. 10), Theotarius (no. 14), Theodardus (no. 14), Alberic (no. 24), Haderic (no. 24), Firminus (no. 34), Amandus of Maastricht (nos 34, 35).
[401] Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 43–7.

attribution of political titles. Thus, further information on, for example, the political position, individual relations, or the geographical origin of the respective person remain unknown but for a small part of the overall sample.[402] Finally, the majority of the names that appear in the early charters are only recorded in the *Liber aureus*. To this list can be added the names recorded in the two charters by Charles Martel to Willibrord's church and monastery in Utrecht.[403] But apart from the family of Pippin II, only a few individuals such as the Thuringian *dux* Heden and Abbess Anastasia of Oeren are clearly identifiable in early medieval sources.[404]

Despite the fragmentary nature of the material assembled in the *Chronicon*, the discrepancy between the charters and the hagiography is striking: the charters allow for the reconstruction of a considerable number of landowners situated across the Frankish kingdom who supported Willibrord next to the early Carolingians. Yet no reference is made to them in either the *Historia ecclesiastica* or Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*.[405] The reconstruction of Willibrord's network on the basis of the *Liber aureus* thus primarily relies on Theoderic's and Thiofrid's later narratives. Their most significant addition is the role played by Abbess Irmina of Oeren in the foundation of Echternach in 697/8. Irmina's charters occupy a prominent position in the *Chronicon* and of all the donors associated with Willibrord (besides Pippin and Plectrude), Irmina has received the most attention by historians.[406]

The focus on Irmina in modern scholarship results from the fact that she has become the decisive building stone in the (re)construction of the so-called *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*. The term was first coined by the German historian Eduard Hlawitschka.[407] It denotes a powerful Austrasian family, situated on the Lower Rhine, in the Moselle area and in Alsace, to which both Irmina of Oeren and Plectrude apparently belonged.[408] The reconstruction of the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* relies almost entirely on the charters of the *Liber aureus*. In his studies, Wampach elaborated on the prior assumption, developed by the historian Anton Halbedel,[409] that Plectrude was the daughter of Irmina of Oeren and Hugobert, a Merovingian noble. Wampach likewise identified Adela (d. after 732/3), the foundress of

[402] See chapter 1.2.4.
[403] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, nos 12, 13 (ed. Heidrich, 28–32).
[404] On Heden see chapter 2.3.2; on Anastasia see Theresia Zimmer, *Das Kloster St. Irminen-Oeren in Trier von seinen Anfängen bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Trier, 1956) [Originally published in *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete*, 23 (1954/5), 5-180], 45–8.
[405] See chapter 1.1.4.
[406] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 26–32.
[407] Hlawitschka, Eduard, 'Zur landschaftlichen Herkunft der Karolinger', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 27 (1962), 1–17; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 27.
[408] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 25–34.
[409] Anton Halbedel, *Fränkische Studien* (Berlin, 1915), 11–38.

the monastery of Pfalzel near Trier (*c.* 690 x 713), as one of Irmina's daughters.[410] Following Wampach, Eduard Hlawitschka furthermore added Bertrada 'the elder' (d. 721), the foundress of the monastery of Prüm in the Eifel, to the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*.[411] Bertrada's granddaughter of the same name married Pippin III in 744.[412]

The reconstruction of the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* had a profound impact on Carolingian studies.[413] According to the influential version formulated by Hlawitschka, the marriage of Pippin and Plectrude at the end of the seventh century set the foundation for the rise of the Carolingian dynasty. Until this day, one of the major debates in Carolingian studies concerns the reasons for the Pippinids' rapid political recovery after Grimoald I's (d. *c.* 657/9) failed 'coup' in the 650s. Hlawitschka argued that, by marrying Plectrude, Pippin was able to forge an alliance with one of the leading Austrasian families and to extend his influence into the area between the Lower Rhine and northern Alsace.[414]

Irmina's relationship with Willibrord seemed to further prove the traditional master narrative: the charters in the *Liber aureus* reflect the cooperation between Willibrord, the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* and the Pippinids in the foundation of Echternach, which became an important Carolingian *Eigenkloster*. The early history of Echternach could thus be embedded in the formation of the Carolingian Empire.[415] The earliest charters of Pippin and Plectrude for Echternach are dated to 706.[416] If Irmina of Oeren was the mother Plectrude, Pippin's family would already have been involved in the foundation of Echternach almost a decade earlier; not only does the monastery appear as a 'Carolingian' foundation from the start but Willibrord's network in Francia was apparently built on the Pippinids and their allies from the beginning of his continental career.[417] Thus, the case of Irmina not only offers the

[410] Wampach, *Textband*, 113–41.
[411] Hlawitschka, 'Zur landschaftlichen Herkunft', 6–14.
[412] Nelson, King and Emperor, 61.
[413] For the lasting impact of this narrative see Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 124–8; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 316; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 44–5; Dieter Hägermann, *Karl der Große: Herrscher des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 2000; second edition Munich, 2003), 50; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 91–3; Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, 196–7; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 155; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 38–50; Picard, 'De Gente Scottorum Monachi', 403.
[414] Eduard Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen des Aufstiegs der Karolinger: Beschäftigung mit zwei Büchern von Matthias Werner', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 49 (1985), 6–11, 32–41. Hlawitschka likewise added the following donors mentioned in the *Chronicon* to the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*: Gerelindis (no. 5), Hadericus (no. 7), Theotarius and Theodardus (no. 14), Irmintrudis (no. 19), Alberic and Haderic (no. 24). Irmintrudis is the only individual for which the respective charter explicitly mentions a relationship with Irmina (*consobrina*); on the potential relationship between Theotarius, Theodardus and Irmina see chapter 2.3.2; on the relationship between Alberic and Irmina see chapter 3.2.1; the most extensive criticism of Hlawitschka's work was formulated by Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, to which Hlawitschka replied in the above-mentioned article. Since then, the debate has ebbed off; on Grimoald I see chapter 2.2.2.
[415] See Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 59–61.
[416] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (Liber aureus, fols 29^{v}–31^{r}; ed. Weiland, 53–5); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14, 15.
[417] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 200–1; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 113–9; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 42–5.

potential to reassess the extent and the development of Willibrord's network on the continent but it also reflects the complexity of the *Liber aureus* as a source. The reconstruction of Irmina's identity represents a first starting point to separate the evidence of the charters from the traditional framework based on Bede and Alcuin, and to dissect the different layers of the textual tradition that scholars merged in the first half of the twentieth century.

Significantly, the earliest reference to an abbess of Oeren named Irmina dates to late the eleventh century and the composition of Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach's *Vita Irminae*. The monastery of Oeren (now situated in the modern city of Trier) was probably founded around the middle of the seventh century under Bishop Numerianus (*c.* 647–before 697/8).[418] Yet apart from Thiofrid's work, only the revised version (B) of the anonymous *Gesta Treverorum*, finished around 1132, names *Modesta*, *Yrmina*, *Anastasia* and *Basilissa* as the first abbesses of Oeren.[419] Although the *Gesta* were probably compiled on the basis of earlier traditions, the sources of the seventh and eighth centuries do not mention an abbess of Oeren named Irmina.[420] The silence on Irmina is aggravated by the fact that the names of Modesta and Anastasia are recorded in contemporary texts: the former in the *De Virtutibus Geretrudis* (*c.* 690 x 700), written at Nivelles, the latter in Willibrord's *Calendar*.[421] In addition, the summary in the *Chronicon* of an exchange between Willibrord and Anastasia in 710 clearly refers to her as *abbatissa puellarum in Horreo* ('abbess of the nuns in Oeren').[422] On the basis of the latter summary, Irmina's death has been dated to *c.* 709. According to the first charter by Pippin and Plectrude for Echternach, she was still alive in 706.[423] Theoderic of Echternach, however, dates her death to 700 in the *Chronicon*.[424]

In addition to the lack of early medieval sources, Irmina is never referred to as abbess *of Oeren* in the charters.[425] Thiofrid's *Life* of Irmina thus also represents the earliest evidence

[418] According to the traditional view, Oeren was founded under King Dagobert I (623–39) and Bishop Modoald (*c.* 614/20–647). See Eugen Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich: Civitas, Stadt, Bistum* (Trier, 1954), 117–20; Zimmer, *Das Kloster St. Irminen-Oeren in* Trier, 13–20; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 187–90; Matthias Werner, 'Zu den Anfängen des Klosters St. Irminen-Oeren in Trier', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 42 (1978), 38; Anton, 'Klosterwesen und Adel', 102–4.

[419] *Gesta Treverorum*, 24, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 8 (Hannover, 1848), 160.

[420] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 36–7.

[421] *De Virtutibus quae Facta sunt Post Dicessum Beate Geretrudis Abbatisse*, 2, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 465–6; on the *Virtutes* see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 303; on Modesta see Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, 119–20; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 187–90; Werner, 'Zu den Anfängen', 2. According to the *Virtutes*, Modesta visited Nivelles while Abbess Gertrude was still alive. Gertrude's death has traditionally been dated to either 653 or 659. The *Virtutes*, therefore, suggest that Oeren was founded in the 650s at the latest; on the entry for Anastasia in the *Calendar* see chapter 2.1.1.

[422] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 35^{r}; ed. Weiland, 58); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 19.

[423] See, Zimmer, *Das Kloster St. Irminen-Oeren*, 37; Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 13–4, n. 35; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 37–9.

[424] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 29^{r}; ed. Weiland, 53).

[425] The titles attributed to Irmina in the charters are *in Christo Deo sacrata abbatissa* (no. 3), *in Christo nomine Deo sacrata acsi indigna gratia Domini abbatissa* (no. 4)*, abbatissa* (no. 6) and *in Christo Deo sacrata abbatissa* (nos 9, 10); Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 36–7.

for the connection between Irmina *of Oeren* and Willibrord.[426] Although Irmina's charters were all issued in Trier according to the copies in the *Chronicon*, she is not connected to a specific foundation.[427] Theoderic, however, clearly identifies her as the abbess of Oeren in his historiographical narrative into which he embedded the charters in 1191. As discussed above, two of Theoderic's sources were the *Lives* of Irmina of Oeren and Willibrord written by Thiofrid. Thiofrid composed his *Vita Irminae* at the request of the nuns of Oeren. Between the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, the community of Oeren had started to venerate an Irmina as the monastery's patron and Thiofrid's *Life* elaborated on this tradition.[428] By the eleventh century, however, Irmina was not only venerated as the monastery's founder but also as a daughter of King Dagobert I (623–39) by the nuns of Oeren.[429] Both of these traditions only developed after the tenth century and extended the notion that Oeren was originally a 'royal' foundation.[430]

How did Thiofrid establish a connection between Irmina of Oeren and the foundation of Echternach in the late eleventh century? As mentioned before, the name Irmina does not appear in Bede's and Alcuin's texts. However, in chapter 21 of the *Vita Willibrordi*, which Thiofrid closely followed to compose his own *Life* of Willibrord, Alcuin relates how the saint fended off a plague in a nunnery in Trier.[431] While the abbess remains unnamed in Alcuin's *Vita*, Thiofrid identified her as Irmina of Oeren.[432] Olaf Schneider has suggested that the miracle probably inspired Thiofrid to combine his knowledge of the contemporary cult of Irmina of Oeren with the references to the *abbatissa* Irmina which he had encountered in his monastery's archive.[433] Matthias Werner, who wrote an in-depth analysis of the evidence relating to Irmina of Oeren almost fifty years after Wampach, concluded that there is 'no doubt' that the later tradition of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the earliest charters from Echternach relate to the same person, and most historians have followed his assessment.[434] At the same time, the gap of almost 400 and 500 years, respectively, between the foundation of Echternach and the composition of the *Vita Irminae* and the *Chronicon*

[426] See Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 250–1; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 178–80.
[427] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 27; ed. Weiland, 51–2); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 6. This charter does not indicate the place of issuing, but the presence of Bishop Basin of Trier (d. 705) among the witnesses suggests that the location was Trier.
[428] Werner, 'Zu den Anfängen', 13–8.
[429] The notion that Irmina was Dagobert's daughter is shared by the *Gesta Treverorum*, 24 (ed. Waitz, 160).
[430] Werner, 'Zu den Anfängen', 13–8; see also Wampach, *Textband*, 114–6.
[431] Alcuin, *VW*, 21 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 62–4).
[432] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 20 (ed. Poncelet, 471–2). Interestingly, Thiofrid stresses that Willibrord's eminence was based on his mission to Frisia and not on his relationship with Irmina, including an impertinent remark probably directly to the nuns of Oeren (*ut fatuae virgines ociosae ac verbosae ganniunt*).
[433] See Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 131–2.
[434] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 36-49; Henri Trauffler, 'Die Gründung des Klosters', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 47–52: 51.

raises the question of Thiofrid's and Theoderic's motivation behind the association between the patron of Oeren and Willibrord. How does the inclusion of Irmina of Oeren relate to the discourse about Echternach's foundation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? A comparison between Thiofrid's works and the *Chronicon* suggests that the depiction of her involvement in the foundation of Echternach was not part of a static, early medieval tradition. Rather, this narrative was reshaped between the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Echternach.[435]

In his *Life*, Thiofrid states that while Irmina of Oeren donated her inherited share of the *fiscus* of Echternach to Willibrord, the latter built the first church and established the monastic community by himself.[436] In contrast, Theoderic enlarged the role played by Irmina of Oeren by stringing Thiofrid's *Life* and the charters of the *abbatissa* Irmina together at the beginning of Book Two of the *Chronicon*. Although he copied Thiofrid's text, Theoderic enlarged the abbess' involvement and suggested that Echternach was a joint foundation by Irmina, Pippin, Plectrude, and Willibrord.[437] Wampach's edition is especially misleading in this regard, since his arrangement of the charters does not point to the existence of an Irmina section within the *Chronicon*. Historians who have followed the narrative of the *Liber aureus* have suggested that Irmina of Oeren was the driving force behind the foundation of Echternach and that Willibrord only played a minor role in it.[438] In contrast, the fact that Theoderic ascribed such a prominent position to Irmina of Oeren in the *Chronicon* is an indication that her involvement in the foundation of Echternach was an integral part of the composition of his work.

The first two texts in the Irmina section of the *Chronicon* are the most crucial (and the most problematic) in this context. Her testament,[439] which is dated to the 1 December 697/8, is followed by a donation from 1 November 697/8. (Wampach, therefore, inverted

---

[435] See Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 249–54.

[436] Thiofrid, *Vita Irminae*, 5 (ed. Weiland, 49): *Huic sanctissimo viro* [Willibrord] *beata virgo* [Irmina] *dedit medietatem fisci Epternacensis cum omnibus suis appendiciis. Nam alteram contulit ei Pippinus et Plectrudis coniunx sua, nobilissimi ducis Hugoberti filia, sicut demonstrabimus postea cum ipsorum describemus testamenta. Qui construxit ibi aecclesiam et imposuit viros qui vitam exercerent monachicam*.

[437] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 31^{v}; ed. Weiland, 55): *Ipse quippe anno ordinationis suae tercio monasterium. Epternacense inchoavit et, cooperantibus sicut dictum est Irmina, Pippino et Plectrude aliisque quam plurimis nobilibus, feliciter consummavit*; see also Theoderic's announcement at the beginning of Book Two (*Liber aureus*, fols. 21^{r}–22^{v}; ed. Weiland, 47–8), that he will now turn to Irmina, Pippin and Willibrord: *et in hoc secundo libello ab Irmina et Pippino immo ab ipso sancto Willibrordo incipientes*; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 136.

[438] See Anton, 'Klosterwesen und Adel', 119–20.

[439] See Nonn, Ulrich, 'Merowingische Testamente', in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 506. Like Willibrord's 'testament', the document in question (no. 3) is not a 'testament' in the strict sense of the word, although it is referred to as *testamentum* in the *Liber aureus*. Rather, the text describes a donation but incorporates formulas of Merovingian testaments.

their position in his edition.) Both documents were issued in Trier according to the dating clause.[440] The charter has traditionally been understood as a specification of the later testament because both documents concern Irmina's donation of her property at Echternach.[441] There are, however, significant differences between both texts: according to the testament, Irmina donated her inherited property in the *villa Epternacus* to the *basilica*, of which Willibrord was the custodian (*rector et gubernator*) and which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, Mary, the Apostles Peter and Paul as well as other saints. Her property also encompassed a number of appendices, including a vineyard and its owner, in the vicinity of Echternach; these were given to the monastery and the *loca sanctorum* at Echternach. In addition, the charter also mentions eleven freedmen by name, who were not included in the donation but were required to donate one pound of beeswax annually to the monastery. Finally, the short list of witnesses includes the names of two bishops of Trier, Basin (d. 705) and Liutwin (d. *c.* 717/23).[442]

In contrast, the November charter mentions *two* churches and one monastery, which Irmina supposedly built herself with the consent of the sisters of her (unnamed) monastery to care for the 'foreign brothers' (*monachi peregrini*) and the poor. While the testament concerns the donation of property at Echternach to the *already established* church and monastery, the charter suggests that Irmina donated two churches and an adjacent monastery directly to Willibrord.[443] Irmina's role as the foundress of the monastery is thus greatly expanded.[444] Furthermore, the charter not only lists the bishops Basin and Liutwin as witnesses but also as initiators of Irmina's decision to donate her property in Echternach to Willibrord. The contradictions between the two texts has long puzzled historians.[445] Olaf

[440] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 25^{v}–27^{r}; ed. Weiland, 50–2); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 3, 4.
[441] Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 149; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 95, interpretates the November charter as a separate confirmation of the foundation of the monastery which the testament already postulates.
[442] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 25^{r}–26^{r}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 4: *Idcirco dono a die presenti pro remedio animae meae vel pro mercedis meae augmento in aeterna beatitudine vel retributione ad basilicam quae est in nomine sanctae Trinitatis vel in honore sanctae Mariae genitricis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi vel beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli seu caeterorum sanctorum in villa nostra Epternaco constructa, sita super fluvium Sura, ubi dominus et pater noster in Christo Willibrordus episcous rector et gubernator esse videtur, donatumque esse volo, hoc est in ipsa villa Epternacon, quantumque ibidem ex successione paterna vel materna michi obvenit ad integrum* […] *cum appenditiis vel omnibus adiacentiis suis* […]; on the identification of the property outside of Echternach see Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 76–9.
[443] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 26^{r}–27^{r}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 3: *Dum ab omnibus non habetur, quod ego, inspirante misericordia Christi, pro consilio virorum apostolicorum partum nostrorum, domni Basini et domni Leotwini episcoporum seu et pro consensu sororum nostrarum Christo servientium que nobiscum sunt congregatae, basilicas in nomine sanctae Trinitatis vel in honore gloriosissimae virginis Mariae* […] *seu et beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli vel ceterorum sanctorum in villa mea propria quae vocatur Epternacus* […] *seu et monasteriolum ibidem ad monachos perigrinos conversandum vel pauperes ibidem alimoniam petendum pro divino respectu vel pro animae meae remedio construxi* […]. *Idcirco dono vobis* [*Domino sancto ac venerabili in Christo patri Willibrordo episcopo*] *donatumque esse volo memoratas basilicas sanctorum ad gubernandum vel dominandum* […].
[444] Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 148–53.
[445] See Trauffler, 'Die Gründung des Klosters', 48–51.

Schneider has recently suggested that the November charter was forged by Theoderic on the basis of the authentic testament and that it became the model for subsequent interpolations of the early medieval evidence related to Irmina before its insertion into the *Chronicon*.[446] Schneider has gone as far as to suggest that the title *abbatissa* was a further interpolation made by Theoderic or his successor, and that in the original charters, Irmina was not referred to as *abbatissa* but as *Deo sacrata* ('consecrated women').[447] While Schneider is probably right to doubt the authenticity of the November charter, the latter hypothesis appears extreme; despite the legendary addition made to Irmina's biography in the tenth and eleventh centuries, her connection to Oeren must have been based on an older source. The appearance of the name Irmina in both the earliest Echternach charters and the tradition developed at Oeren must be regarded as more than a coincidence. What is more, the charters suggest a direct connection between Irmina and Trier.[448] Nevertheless, Schneider's analysis highlights the transformation of Irmina's role in the foundation of Echternach between Thiofrid's *Vita* and Theoderic's *Chronicon*.

As mentioned above, the main differences between the November charter and the testament concern the construction of the monastery and the involvement of the bishops Basin and Liutwin. In the testament, their names only appear among the witnesses. In both the charter and the testament, however, they are mentioned as *episcopus*. This is striking, as it suggests that both occupied the see of Trier at the same time.[449] In contrast, Thiofrid's *Life* of Liutwin (1072–8), written for the community of Mettlach, reports that Liutwin only succeeded Basin after his death in 705.[450] Theoderic thus not only turned Irmina into the

[446] Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 137–82, whose arguments cannot be reproduced in detail here, also doubts the authenticity of Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 6, 9 and 10. He concludes that the donation of the *villa Montis* (in the northern Eifel) in 699 (no. 6) originally formed part of the testament (no. 3). The first part of no. 6, according to which Irmina donated items, vessels and clothing to the monastery and the *loca sanctorum* at Echternach, again identifies the abbess as the foundress of the monastery (in contrast to the testament and Thiofrid's *Vita Irminae*). No. 9 was apparently forged by Theoderic on the basis of several other texts to secure the possession of the *villa Staneheim* (Steinheim near Echternach), whereas no. 10 (which also states that Irmina built Echternach herself) was interpolated in order to turn to Irmina into the donor (instead of Engela) of a vineyard in Trier in 704.

[447] *Ibid.*, 147–53, points out that in the testament (no. 3), Irmina refers to herself as *in Christe nomine Deo sacrata acsi indigna gratia Domini abbatissa*. In the other charters (nos 4, 6, 9, 10), this designation is reduced to either *in Christo Deo sacrata abbatissa* or to *abbatissa*. Schneider assumes that the original testament only contained the designation *Deo sacrata*. After Thiofrid had established the connection between the Irmina mentioned in the charters and the abbess of Oeren, Theoderic and his successor interpolated the charters by adding the title *abbatissa* in order to straighten the evidence.

[448] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 36–7.

[449] See Scholz, *Die Merowinger*, 235. At the Synod of Chalon-sur-Saône (647 x 653), it was decreed that two bishops cannot simultaneously occupy the same see; see also Levison, *England and the Continent*, 65–6.

[450] Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Liutwini*, 8, ed. Willibrord Lampen, 'Thiofrid van Echternach en zijn Vita s. Liutwini', *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica*, 3.6 (1936), 24–5; on the *Vita* see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 58–9; for an influential reconstruction of Liutwin's family and its relationship with the early Carolingians see Eugen Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', in Matthias Becher, Theo Kölzer and Ulrich Nonn (eds), *Eugen Ewig: Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1974–2007)*, 2 (Ostfildern,

foundress of Echternach in the charter, he also suggested that the establishment of the monastery was supported by *two* bishops of Trier. In his *Life* of Willibrord, Thiofrid already stated that Willibrord withdrew Echternach from the influence of the bishopric of Trier by placing the monastery under the protection of the Pippinids, yet he did so without referring to Basin and Liutwin.[451] It thus appears likely that Theoderic interpolated the title *episcopus* into both the charter and the testament next to Liutwin's name. During Echternach's struggle for its *libertas ecclesiae* in the 1190s, both documents would have provided the advocates of Echternach's independence with a historical argument that not one, but two bishops of Trier conjointly supported a foundation by Willibrord that was both independent of their bishopric and placed under the protection of Pippin's family. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that another of Irmina's charters lists Liutwin as priest (*presbiter*) among the witnesses; this title probably represents the form as it appeared in the Merovingian original.[452]

Ultimately, the additions made to the November charter – the consent of the nuns, the direct involvement of Basin and Liutwin – conform to both the twelfth-century image of Irmina and to Theoderic's version of Echternach's foundation in the *Chronicon*. The charter also contains the notable indication that Irmina donated Echternach to Willibrord in return for the support he had provided to her monastery.[453] The passage appears to refer to Irmina's (unnamed) monastery rather than to Echternach. Here, Theoderic probably tried to integrate Alcuin's story about Willibrord's expulsion of the plague from the nunnery in Trier, which Thiofrid identified as Oeren, into the earliest charters. The passage about the *monachi peregrini*, on the other hand, was probably taken from Pippin's and Plectrude's charter for the monastery of Susteren.[454]

In contrast to the November charter, both the testament's form and content appear authentic.[455] The content of the testament corresponds to the extracts which Thiofrid inserted into his *Lives* of Irmina and Willibrord. In the *Vita Irminae*, Thiofrid merely indicates that

---

2009), 189–219 [Originally published in *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. 754-1954* (Fulda, 1954), 412–40].

[451] Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 22 (ed. Poncelet, 473): […] *neque longinquae suae sedi Traiectensi voluit esse in rebus materialibus subditum, sed rata concessione ac firma testamenti conscriptione et astipulatione tradidit in ius et mundiburdium regum et imperatorum in ordine sibi legali iure succedentium*.

[452] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 27^{r}; ed Weiland, 52); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 9: *Leodouinus presbiter*; see Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 152–3, 159–60.

[453] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 26^{r}–27^{r}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 3: […] *ut dum sanctitas et dilectio vestra erga me vel monasterium meum assidue agitur* […].

[454] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 36^{v}–37^{r}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 24; see Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 150–1.

[455] See Nonn, 'Merowingische Testamente', 506; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 141–8; Edward James, 'Elite women in the Merovingian period', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), 240, 248.

the abbess donated her property at Echternach to Willibrord but does not characterise her as the initial foundress of the church or the monastery.[456] The authenticity of the testament is furthermore supported by the list of the names of the eleven freedmen; such a passage would have made sense only in a contemporary context but not in a later forgery.[457] Finally, the archaeological excavations which took place in Echternach in the second half of the twentieth century led to the discovery of only one early medieval church and its adjacent monastery.[458] What does Irmina's testament reveal about Willibrord's network? Even if the passage about Willibrord's alleged support for Irmina's monastery in the November charter is considered to be a later interpolation, the donation of her portion of the *villa Epternacus* in 697/8 must have resulted from a prior connection between Willibrord and the abbess.[459] What is more, the consent of Bishop Basin suggests that Willibrord had already established a good relationship with the ecclesiastical elite of Trier before the monastery's foundation.[460] The link between Basin and Echternach is reflected in the bishop's commemoration the *Calendar*, whereas the names of Liutwin and Irmina do not appear in the manuscript.[461]

Was the connection between Irmina and Willibrord, and thus the foundation of Echternach, initiated via the Pippinids? The thesis of the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* relies on the assumption that Irmina of Oeren was the mother of Plectrude. The evidence, however, is largely onomastic in nature. The central passage from the *Liber aureus* on which the entire construct of the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* rests, only encompasses three lines: after the Irmina section and the two charters by Pippin and Plectrude for Echternach, Theoderic inserted the summaries of five donations which took place between 692/3 and 704. According to the last summary, Willibrord received the inheritance of a certain *Ymena*, who donated her property together with her daughters *Attala* and *Crodelindis* in 704.[462] Following Wampach, Hlawitschka identified *Ymena* as Irmina of Oeren and *Attala* as Adela of Pfalzel.[463]

---

[456] Thiofrid, *Vita Irminae*, 6 (ed. Weiland, 49).
[457] See Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 141.
[458] See Jean Krier and Robert Wagner, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Willibrordus-Klosters in Echternach', *Hémecht*, 37 (1985), 15–51; Jean Krier, 'Echternach und das Kloster des heiligen Willibrord', in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 466–78; *idem*, 'Von Epternus zu Willibrord: Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Abtei Echternach aus archäologischer Sicht', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 29–46; Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler, *Die Anfänge der Abtei Echternach: Von der Villa Epternacus zum frühmittelalterlichen Wallfahrtszentrum* (Luxembourg, 1996), 16–24; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 61–2, n. 135, suggests that the mention of *basilicas* in the November charter should be considered as a *plurale tantum*.
[459] On the question whether Irmina or Willibrord founded the monastery see Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 69–74,
[460] See chapter 2.3.1.
[461] See chapter 2.1.1.
[462] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 32[r]); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 12: *Anno X Childeberti regis Ymena, Deo sacrata, et Attala atque Crodelindis, filiae ipsius, dederunt viro Dei* [*sancto Willibrordo*] *portionem suam in villa Cabriaco et in villa Bedelinga, quae eis a parentibus suis provenit*.
[463] See Wampach, *Textband*, 125–8; Hlawitschka, 'Zur landschaftlichen Herkunft', 8–9.

Wampach's and Hlawitschka's arguments are based on two pieces of evidence. Firstly, one of the two *villae* donated by *Ymena* was situated in *Bedelinga*. Irmina's testament and charter for Echternach, in turn, list *Baidalingo* as one of the appendices that belonged to her portion of the *villa Epternacus*.[464] Secondly, the testament of Adela of Pfalzel, dated to 732/3 according to a copy of the eleventh century, mentions her sister *Regentrudis* alongside Plectrude.[465] Despite the fact that only the former is clearly identified as Adela's sister, historians have combined both sources to suggest that Adela and Plectrude were daughters of Irmina of Oeren.[466]

The speculative identification of *Ymena* as Irmina of Oeren, which is not supported by any additional evidence in the *Liber aureus*, shows how earlier studies of the charters were driven by genealogical interests and the motivation to reconstruct Echternach's 'Carolingian' origin. A reassessment of the compilation of the *Chronicon* shows that Theoderic enlarged Irmina's connection to Echternach at the expense of Plectrude. In the *Liber aureus*, the new conception of Irmina is not only reflected in the narrative and the structure of the work but also in the decoration. Theoderic planned to insert figures on two pages but did not complete the drawings himself, probably because he abandoned the *Chronicon* in 1192. The figures were added in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries: folio 25^{v} shows a drawing of Irmina of Oeren (with crown and nimbus) and Willibrord. Both figures are holding a charter which serves as the frame for the copy of Irmina's testament. On folio 29^{v}, the charters issued by Pippin and Plectrude are likewise introduced with a drawing, yet it depicts Pippin and Irmina of Oeren holding the monastery of Echternach in their hands. Although the drawings were added later, the layout was prepared by Theoderic and it appears likely that the selection of the figures reflect his original plan. The addition of Irmina of Oeren, whom Theoderic identified as the daughter of Dagobert I, to the founding

[464] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 25^{v}–27^{r}; ed. Weiland, 50–2); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 3, 4; on the identification of the location see Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 112–8.

[465] *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der altluxemburgischen Territorien*, ed. Camille Wampach (Luxembourg, 1935), no. 19, 1.25: *Similiter dono ad prefatum monasterium villas meas que sunt Botbergis, Beslanc, quas ego a dulcissima germana mea Regentrudi dati precio comparavi et ei ex legitima hereditate et de genitore suo Dagoberto quondam legibus obvenit et ipsa germana mea Regentrudis vel missi sui contra Plectrudem in partem recuperent* […]; on Adela's testament see also chapter 3.2.1.

[466] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 27, 99–120, 207–13, who has shown that the evidence is insufficient to identify *Ymena* as Irmina; Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 19–26, defends the reconstruction of the relation; see also Anton 'Klosterwesen und Adel', 122; Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 166–7, points to another detail: if *Ymena* and Irmina were the same person, why did Theoderic insert the donation by *Ymena* after the Irmina section and the passage referring to her death? Schneider suggests that Theoderic did not identify *Ymena* as Irmina, otherwise he would have highlighted the connection between the summary and the other charters.

circle of Echternach reinforced the notion that the monastery had already been connected to the Frankish kings before the ascension of Pippin III to the throne in 751.[467]

Thiofrid's and Theoderic's 'rehabilitation' of Irmina of Oeren stands in stark contrast to her disappearance from the sources after 706, the year in which the Pippinids placed the monastery under their authority. Matthias Werner has argued that the memory of Irmina's involvement in the monastery's foundation was suppressed soon after Pippin and Plectrude had become its new benefactors. Irmina's displacement must have resulted from a conflict between her family and the Pippinids; consequently, the abrupt rupture of her commemoration at Echternach proves that Irmina and Plectrude belonged to competing groups rather than to the same family.[468] In contrast to the traditional hypothesis, Werner's thesis offers the potential to perceive the development of Willibrord's network as a dynamic process, which encompassed different ecclesiastical and political actors. Hlawitschka defended his position against Werner by arguing that Irmina could have died before 706 and that she had already passed on her entire property to Plectrude before her death. Thus, Willibrord did not abandon his former benefactor but immediately sought the support of her family after her death.[469]

Hlawitschka's arguments, however, still fail to explain why there is no further trace of Irmina's relationship with Willibrord before the composition of Thiofrid's *Vita Irminae* at the end of the eleventh century. The fact that neither Thiofrid nor Theoderic identified Irmina as Plectrude's mother is not surprising: by the eleventh century, she was commemorated as a *beata virgo*.[470] Wampach and Hlawitschka rightly stressed that the charters do not characterise her in this way and tried to reconstruct her relationship with Hugobert, Plectrude's father.[471] Their approach reveals the discrepancy between modern scholarship on the *Liber aureus* and the intention of its medieval compilers. In the *Chronicon*, Theoderic tried to establish a firmer connection between Irmina of Oeren, Willibrord, Pippin and Plectrude. The connection suggested by Theoderic, however, was not one of common descent but of political cooperation between Willibrord, the ecclesiastical elite of Trier and the ancestors of Charlemagne.

The analysis of *Chronicon* has shown that before the eleventh century, the monks of Echternach did not possess any tradition that linked an abbess of Oeren named Irmina back

[467] Georges Kiesel, *Der heilige Willibrord im Zeugnis der bildenden Kunst: Ikonographie des Apostels der Niederlande. Mit Beiträgen zu seiner Kultgeschichte* (Luxembourg, 1969), 124; Sauer, *Fundatio und memoria*, 249, 252–63.
[468] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 73–4.
[469] See Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 13–4, 31–5.
[470] Thiofrid, *Vita Irminae*, 6 (ed. Weiland, 49).
[471] See Wampach, *Textband*, 124–8; Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 15–9.

to Willibrord's time. Rather, Thiofrid and Theoderic each crafted the figure of Irmina according to their own needs. The structure of the *Chronicon* suggests that it was Theoderic's aim to attribute a *new* role to Irmina of Oeren within Echternach's history. The 'rediscovery' of Irmina of Oeren by Thiofrid allowed him and his successors to make sense of the early medieval records that were still preserved in the monastery's archive and to arrange the fragmentary evidence into a coherent narrative. Thereby, they did not 'rediscover' the link between Irmina of Oeren and the early Carolingians: they needed to create this link because none had previously existed.

By studying the origins of Echternach in the narrow context of the rise of the Carolingians, historians have ultimately adopted the outlook of the *Liber aureus* because it seemed to confirm their assumptions about the political context of Willibrord's mission. What has often been overlooked, is the fact that the foundation of Echternach only appears as a 'Carolingian' project in the *Chronicon* because of Theoderic's carefully constructed framework. To consolidate his fragmentary sources, he needed to anticipate Pippin's and Plectrude's connection to Irmina and Echternach, thereby enlarging the significance of the charters for Echternach's *libertas ecclesiae*. Theoderic achieved this through a selection of the diplomatic material, a thematic order and a leitmotif. By disentangling the evidence for Irmina of Oeren's relationship with Willibrord, from Thiofrid's *Vita* to Wampach's edition, fractures begin to appear in an allegedly consistent narrative: neither is Irmina referred to as abbess of Oeren in the charters, nor do the texts suggest a relation between her and Plectrude, nor can the Pippinids be directly linked to the foundation of Echternach.

The analysis of the *Chronicon* thus leads to the following conclusion: the charters, as they are recorded in the *Liber aureus*, are the result of a multi-layered process of transmission between the late seventh and early thirteenth centuries. Although there is evidence of manipulation and the number of charters does not reflect the original extent of the Merovingian material, the texts do nonetheless preserve authentic traces of Willibrord's network. Irmina's example, in turn, suggests that this network was less focused on the Pippinids in the early years of Willibrord's continental activity than has been previously assumed. The aim of the following chapter is to contextualise Irmina's charters by briefly comparing her donations to the others mentioned in the *Chronicon*. The chapter does not attempt to provide a fully analysis of the charters but to highlight similar patterns: is there further evidence which suggests that Willibrord relied on a wider network of supporters between Utrecht and Echternach?

1.2.4 Donors and Networks: Beyond the Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe

Only seven (including the forgery attributed to Charles Martel) of the 41 charters listed by Wampach for Willibrord's lifetime were issued by a member of Pippin II's family.[472] As mentioned above, only a small part of the remaining donors can be identified in contemporary sources. Nevertheless, the internal evidence of the charters allows for the reconstruction of possible relations outside of Pippin's immediate circle. Due to the fact that the spelling of names varies throughout the *Chronicon*, it remains in some cases unclear if different name forms refer to the same person.[473]

Previous studies have primarily focused on the donors who were situated in Toxandria, as their charters form an important cluster within the *Chronicon*.[474] In the eighth century, the area referred to as *pagus Texandrie* in the charters formed part of the lower and middle Meuse area.[475] Its centre encompassed the basin of the river Dommel, which connects the modern province of Limburg (Belgium) to that of Noord-Brabant in the Netherlands.[476] The prominence of Toxandria within the Echternach charters is striking, because it suggests that many of Willibrord's supporters were situated in a region that lay outside of the immediate area of influence of the see of Utrecht and of Echternach.[477] What is more, Toxandria appears to have been a 'peripheral' area, sparsely populated and without a major ecclesiastical or political centre. The landscape was dominated by rural settlements of varying shapes, as agriculture was limited to the sandy plateaus between the tributary streams of the river Dommel. Frans Theuws has suggested that the *pagus Texandrie* did not only refer to a geographical area but to a complex network of tenants and magnates, whose identity was shaped by both local and long-distance trade, their mobility within the valley of the Meuse and by their integration into the Austrasian sphere; the terminology employed by

[472] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14, 15, 24, 25, 27, 29, 41; for a detailed analysis of these charters see Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 457–71.
[473] See Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 43.
[474] See Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 120–5; Arnould-Jan A. Bijsterveld, '"Sinte Willibrordus eygen": Het bezit van de abdij van Echternach in Texandrië (Nederland en België), ca. 700-1300', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach. Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 271–3, 286–90; Augustin van Berkum, 'Willibrord, de reizende geloofsverkondiger', *ibid.*, 69–95: 75–88; Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 101–13.
[475] Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 38–40.
[476] *Ibid.*, 48–50; Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld and Lauran Toorians, 'Texandria revisited: in search of a territory lost in time', in Mirjam Kars, Roos van Oosten, Marcus A. Roxburgh and Arno Verhoeven (eds), *Rural Riches and Royal Rags? Studies on Medieval and Modern Archaeology Presented to Frans Theuws* (Zwolle, 2018), 42.
[477] According to Willibrord's 'testament' (no. 39), he transferred his property in Toxandria to Echternach in 726.

the writers of the Echternach charter might, therefore, not reflect the complexity of the settlement patterns and social communities that existed in Toxandria around 700.[478]

At the same time, the use of the designation *pagus Texandrie* in the charters suggests that the scribes understood it as a defined geographical area.[479] Significantly, several charters in the *Chronicon* suggest a relation between the respective donors. Following Wampach, Matthias Werner has identified a cluster of six charters as representing an interrelated group and reconstructed three different families.[480] The cluster concerns the *viri illustres* Aengilbaldus and Aengilbertus, the *consecrata Deo* Bertilindis and the monk (*monachus*) Ansbaldus.[481] In Bertilindis' charter, dated to 710, Wigibaldus and Oadrada are named as her parents.[482] Ansbaldus, in turn, likewise names as his father a certain Wigibaldus.[483] Ansbaldus's name furthermore appears among the witnesses in Bertilindis' charter (*Ansbaldo*) alongside Aengilbertus (*Aengelberto*). In addition, there are several overlaps between the charters and the witness lists of all three individuals. It thus seems probable that Ansbaldus was Bertilindis' brother and that Aengilbaldus and Aengilbertus each belonged to two other families who supported Willibrord in Toxandria. The relationship between Aengilbaldus, Aengilbertus and the family of Ansbaldus and Bertilindis remains unclear; while both Aengilbertus' father and his brother can be identified, only the name of Aengilbaldus' father is recorded in the *Chronicon*.[484]

As in the case of Irmina, Wampach tried to connect the Toxandrian donors to the early Carolingians; through their support for Willibrord, they apparently showed their allegiance to his benefactors, the Pippinids.[485] Considered as a whole, however, the charters do not allow for the reconstruction of a 'Pippinid' network expanding across Toxandria. Marios Costambeys has argued that the Toxandrian families represented a more independent network in the context of Austrasian politics than previously assumed. Not only do the Toxandrian charters stand out against the other charters in the *Liber aureus* through their unique terminology, but the many references to the passing on of inherited property demonstrate that they were not 'newcomers' who only settled in the area in the wake of the

[478] Theuws, 'Settlement research', 199–202, 219; Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 38–42, 48–50.
[479] Bijsterveld/Toorians, 'Texandria revisited', 36.
[480] Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 139–58; Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 11, 16, 17, 20, 21, 28.
[481] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 11 (Aengilbaldus), 17 (Bertilindis), 16, 20 (Aengilbertus), 21, 28 (Ansbaldus). All four donors are also mentioned in Willibrord's 'testament' (no. 39).
[482] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 34^{v}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 17.
[483] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 36^{r}, 39^{v}–40^{r}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 21, 28. In no. 21, the name of Ansbaldus's father is (mis)spelled *Willibaldus*; see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 140, n. 6.
[484] Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 140–8; Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 43–7; Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 117–8.
[485] See Camille Wampach, 'Das Apostolat des hl. Willibrord in den Vorlanden der eigentlichen Frisia: Aktuelle Fragen um dessen räumliche Bestimmung', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 155/56 (1954), 244–56: 247–56; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 157; Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 39–40.

Pippinids' rise to power.[486] The analysis of Irmina's charters has shown that Willibrord was able to secure the support of landowners in Austrasia outside of Pippin's immediate circle before 700. In this context, Bertilindis' charter is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the charter was issued at the monastery of Chelles in Neustria, founded in 658/9 by Queen Balthild (d. *c.* 680).[487] Bertilindis' relations, however, point towards Toxandria and thus Austrasia. The possible relation between Bertilindis and the monk Ansbaldus suggests that donations to Willibrord were not carried out along the political border between Neustria and Austria. Secondly, the three conglomerations of property near the river Dommel that Bertilindis transferred to Willibrord were in two cases handed down to her by her mother: the extent of the inheritance is not specified in the case of *Heopurdum* (Hapert), but the property in *Hoccascaute* (Hoksent) included the *sala et curticle* (the hall or house of the estate's owner),[488] five farmsteads and five tenants with their families. The inheritance in *Hulislaum* (Hulsel) furthermore encompassed a forest.[489] The fact that Bertilindis inherited several farmsteads, their inhabitants and a forest from her mother, shows that Willibrord interacted with religious women of different status who disposed of landed property as well as people across significant distances.[490]

Among the Toxandrian donors, Bertilindis appears as a religious woman of high political status (*illustris femina*).[491] Within the *Chronicon*, one third of all the donors are female.[492] (This number is further increased if *Ymena* is not identified as Irmina.) Excluding Irmina, one is addressed as *abbatissa*, five as *Deo sacrata*, two as *illustris femina* and one as (*illustris*) *matrona*.[493] Although some of these charters are only recorded in summarised form, the donations resemble the pattern found in Bertilindis' charter. Religious women donated their property either to Willibrord or to one of his foundations; this property could

[486] Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 142–5; Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 55–62.
[487] On the connection between Echternach and Chelles see also chapter 2.3.1.
[488] On the *sala* see Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 52; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 128; Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 58.
[489] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fols 34^{v}); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 17; on the identification of the locations see Wampach, *Quellenband*, 46, n. 1–3; Bijsterveld, '"Sinte Willibrordus eygen"', 286.
[490] See Ingrid Heidrich, 'Von Plectrud zu Hildegard: Beobachtungen zum Besitzrecht adliger Frauen im Frankenreich des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts und zur politischen Rolle der Frauen der frühen Karolinger', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 52 (1988), 1–15: 1–3; James, 'Elite women', 238–40; Jean-Pierre Devroey and Nicolas Schroeder, 'Beyond royal estates and monasteries: landownership in the early medieval Ardennes', *Early Medieval Europe*, 20.1 (2012), 54, underline that early medieval charters do not necessarily reflect the situation 'on the ground'. It remains often unclear whether the respective passages represent mere *formulae* or adequate descriptions of a person's property.
[491] See Werner, *Lütticher Raum*, 124–5, 147; Heidrich, 'Von Plectrud zu Hildegard', 5–6.; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 124.
[492] See the table on pp. 93–4.
[493] *Abbatissa*: Anastasia (no. 19); *Deo sacrata*: Bilitrudis (no. 2), Engela (no. 10), Ymena (no. 12), Bertilindis (no. 17), Berta (no. 33); *illustris femina*: Bertilindis (no. 17), Irmintrudis (no. 19); (*illustris*) *matrona*: Plectrude (nos 14, 15, 24).

be of a fragmentary nature, consisting of both inherited and acquired shares, and distributed across a large area between the Lower Rhine, Toxandria and the valley of the Moselle. What is more, the charters reveal that the forms of interaction between landowners in the early eight century were diverse and included exchanges as well purchases. Another donation by the *abbatissa* Irmina to Echternach, dated to 704, is of interest here: the charter states that she donated a vineyard near the walls of Trier to the monastery. Irmina had originally received this property from the *Deo sacrata* Engela. At the same time, the vineyard was surrounded by the property of other landowners: both Folcobertus and the *heredes Mummolitti* ('the heirs of Mummolittus') appear as landowners in the charter.[494] As in the case of the *Deo sacrata Ymena*, who only donated a portion each of two different *villae* to Willibrord, the example of Engela's vineyard shows how fragmentary the patterns of landholding in late Merovingian Francia could be.[495]

The summary of a transaction between Willibrord and Abbess Anastasia of Oeren, dated to 710, records a similar process: Willibrord exchanged two parcels of a vineyard on the Rhine for another vineyard on the Moselle. Willibrord had originally obtained the vineyard on the Rhine from Irmintrudis, who is referred to as an *illustris femina* and the daughter of Pantinus.[496] Another charter of Irmina, dated to 699, mentions a certain *Erminitrude* as her *consobrina*, from whom she had bought the *villa Montis* on the Lower Rhine before she donated it to Echternach.[497] Considering that the father of *Erminitrude* is likewise called Pantinus in Irmina's charter, *Erminitrude* can be identified as the Irmintrudis mentioned above.[498] Willibrord thus relied on pre-existing networks of landowners that not only encompassed the area around Echternach, the Moselle and the Lower Rhine but also the wider area between Utrecht and Echternach. It might, therefore, be no coincide that the property donated by Irmina to Echternach on the Lower Rhine in 699 lay more or less halfway between the monastery and Toxandria, thus creating a connection between these two centres of Willibrord's activity in Francia.[499]

Links between the Moselle area and Toxandria are not only reflected in Willibrord's itinerary: according to the summary of a donation dated to 697/8 (and thus close to the foundation of Echternach), a woman named Gerelindis, daughter of *Odo*, donated a vineyard

[494] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 28); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 10.
[495] See Devroey/Schroeder, 'Beyond royal estates and monasteries:', 42–58.
[496] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 35[r]); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 19; see Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 123.
[497] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 27); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 6; see Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 80.
[498] See Schneider, *Erzbischof Hinkmar*, 154, n. 158.
[499] See Bijsterveld/Noomen/Thissen, 'Der Niederländische Fernbesitz', 205.

(including the vine dresser and his property) on the Moselle to Willibrord.[500] The next summary concerns the donation of property in Toxandria by Hadericus to Willibrord a year later. Hadericus is likewise introduced as a son of *Odo*.[501] It thus seems probable that Hadericus was Gerelindis' brother, although Mattias Werner has rejected this interpretation. Werner's scepticism was primarily aimed at the addition of Gerelindis and Hadericus to the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe* by Halbedel, Wampach and Hlawitschka.[502] This latter argument was based on much more speculative links, which relied on the identification of Adela of Pfalzel as Irmina's sister and of Adela's son Alberic as Hadericus' brother.[503] By removing Irmina from the Carolingian family, the potential arises to consider Gerelindis and Hadericus as part of a more complex network on which Willibrord relied between Toxandria and Echternach. Bertilindis' charter demonstrates that the Toxandrian families who supported Willibrord operated across large distances. If Hadericus was Gerelindis' brother, their family's property stretched from the Moselle to the river Dommel. Instead of trying to force both donors into the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*, it appears more fruitful to consider their family as another group of landowners, situated across Austrasia, who constituted Willibrord's network besides the Pippinids around 700.

At the same time, this brief overview has shown that the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus* offer only a 'snippet' of the relations which Willibrord established in his field of activity on the continent. The Toxandrian charters, for example, mostly concern an elite group of landholders and we must be careful not to perceive them as 'typical' representants of the social communities which existed across Austrasia,[504] not least because of the way in which the *Liber aureus* was compiled. The *Chronicon* offers neither a complete panorama of Willibrord's network nor does it represent an objective list of the property which Echternach acquired in the early eighth century. Nevertheless, the charters give historians a unique insight into Willibrord's interaction with the Christian population in Francia. In contrast to Bede's and Alcuin's 'macro perspective', the *Chronicon* enables us to gain a 'micro perspective' on Willibrord's network. The chapter has shown that the focus of the

[500] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 31ᵛ); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 5.
[501] Theoderic, *Chronicon* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 31ᵛ); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 7; see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 148–9; Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 119–20, Wampach located Hadericus' property in *Rumelacha*, *Datmunda* and *Tadia* in modern Luxembourg and the Eifel, but the entry in the *Calendar* concerning the consecration of a church in *rumleos* supports the identification of *Rumelacha* as Ruimel in the modern Netherlands. *Datmunda* and *Tadia* probably refer to Gemonde and the farmland of Tede, which are in the immediate vicinity of Ruimel; on the entry in the *Calendar* see chapter 2.1.1.
[502] See Wampach, Quellenband, 27; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 296–8; Hlawitschka, 'Zu den Grundlagen', 40–1.
[503] See chapter 3.2.1.
[504] See Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 114–5; Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 48–50.

charters on Austrasia conflicts with the hagiographical portrayal of Willibrord as a missionary in Frisia.

Older studies have tried to reconcile both types of sources. In most cases, the interpretation of the charters has followed the 'missionary' framework established in the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Vita Willibrordi*: the charters were either used to expand the assumption that Willibrord's network was ultimately 'Carolingian', or they were employed in nationalistic debates concerning the geographical extent of Willibrord's 'apostolate'. Thus, in the case of Toxandria, the traditional debate between Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourgish historians revolved around the question of whether Willibrord's missionary activity encompassed the southern Netherlands and northern Belgium next to Frisia.[505] The discussion, however, was built on a narrow understanding of Willibrord's role as a 'missionary' on the continent, which, in turn, was derived from the hagiography. Subsequent studies have shown that the one-dimensional understanding of the term 'mission' among Wampach's generation was unsuitable to understand the support which Willibrord received from already established Christian communities in Francia.[506]

I argue that that potential of the charters for the analysis of Willibrord's network can only be developed if the discrepancies between the *Liber aureus* and the hagiography are emphasised and if the evidence is not smoothened in order to fit Bede's and Alcuin's accounts. The charters do not represent a more 'objective' source than the *Historia* or the *Vita*: they are embedded in a long process of transmission, selection and adaption which took place at Echternach between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, even if the *Chronicon* preserves only fragments of Willibrord's network in Francia, the discrepancies between these fragments and the hagiography raise new questions about Willibrord's role on the continent: not only is Frisia barely mentioned in the charters, the Pippinids are also outweighed by the donations of other landowners who were already established in Willibrord's field of activity before his arrival. Recent studies have suggested that Willibrord worked in different contexts on the continent: in Frisia, he was confronted with the conversion of non-Christian communities, whereas in Toxandria, he helped to further develop the local ecclesiastical local structures.[507]

[505] See Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 101–13.
[506] *Ibid.*, 124–6.
[507] *Ibid.*

Table: the earliest charters in the Liber aureus *and in Wampach's edition (* = possible forgery; ** = forgery). The first and the two last quaterniones were added after the thirteenth century.*

Structure of the *Liber aureus* (Gotha, Memb. I 71)		Folio	Type of copy	No. in Wampach	Donation	Location of the donation	Reference by Thiofrid	Reference in the 'testament' (no. 39)
Notes and writings (17th–20th c.)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q: fols 2v–5v		2v–5v	-	-	-	-	-	-
Addenda (15th c.)								
Q1–Q5: fols 4r–43v	Book I	4r–20v	-	-	-	-	-	-
Theoderic's *Chronicon*	Book II	25	complete	4	Irmina to Echternach (December 697/8)	Trier area	?	-
		26	complete	3	Irmina to Willibrord (November 697/8)	Trier area	x	-
		27	complete	6	Irmina to Willibrord (July 699)	Trier area	x	-
		27	complete	9	Irmina to Willibrord (May 704)	Trier area	-	-
		28	complete	10	Irmina to Willibrord (May 704)	Trier area	-	-
		29	complete	14	Pippin, Plectrude to Echternach (May 706)	Trier area	x	-
		30	complete	15	Pippin, Plectrude to Willibrord (May 706)	Trier area	-	-
		31	summary	1	Rohingus to Willibrord (692/3?)	Antwerp	x	-
		31	summary	2	Gerbertus, Bilitrudis to Willibrord (696)	?	-	-
		31	summary	5	Gerelindis to Willibrord (697/8)	Moselle area	-	-
		31	summary	7	Hadericus to Willibrord (698/9)	Toxandria	-	-
		32	summary	12	Ymena to Willibrord (704)	Eifel	-	-
		-	reconstr.	13	Willibrord places Echternach under protection of the Pippinids [only mentioned by Thiofrid]	-	x	-
		32	complete	8	Heden to Willibrord (May 704)	Thuringia	-	x
		33	complete	11	Aengilbaldus to Willibrord (October 704)	Toxandria	x	
		33	complete	16	Aengilbertus to Willibrord (December 708/9)	Toxandria	x	x
		34	complete	17	Bertilindis to Willibrord (July 710)	Toxandria	-	x
		-	reconstr.	18	Irmintrudis (before 710)	Rhine area	-	-
		35	summary	19	Anastasia of Oeren (exchange, 710)	Moselle area	-	-
		35	complete	20	Aengilbertus to Willibrord (March 712/3)	Toxandria	x	x
		36	complete	21	Ansbaldus to Willibrord (June 712/3)	Toxandria	x	x
		-	reconstr.	22	Wachardus to Willibrord (before 714)	Eifel	x	-
		36	complete	24	Pippin, Plectrude to Susteren (March 714)	Maastricht area	-	-
		38	complete	25	Arnulf to Echternach (715/6)	Echternach area	-	-
		38	complete	26	Heden to Willibrord (April 717)	Thuringia	-	-
		39	complete	27	Charles Martel to Echternach (February 718)	Echternach area	-	-
		39	complete	28	Ansbaldus to Willibrord (October 718)	Toxandria	-	x
		39	summary	29	Arnulf to Echternach (720/1)	Echternach area	-	-

		40	complete	30	Herelaef to church in Bakel (December 721)	Toxandria	-	-
		41	complete	31	Ebroinus to church in Rindern (721/2)	Toxandria	x	-
		42	summary	32	Ebroinus to church in Rindern (721/2)	Toxandria	-	-
		42	complete	33	Berta and son to Echternach (721)	Bitburg area	-	-
		42	summary	40	Raginfridus (exchange, before 739)	-	-	-
		43	complete	34	Rohingus, Bebelina to Willibrord (726)	Antwerp	x	x
		43	complete	35	Rohingus, Bebelina to church in Antwerp (726)	Antwerp area	-	x
Q6–15: fols 44r–125v Second part of the *Liber*		44	-	-	Duplicates of nos 25, 27, 29	-	-	-
		44**	complete	41	Charles Martel to church of *Felison*	Frisia	x (variant)	-
		81*	complete	23	Willibrord to Echternach	Eifel	-	-
		81	complete	39	Willibrord's 'testament' (726) [nos 36, 37, 38 only mentioned here]	-	x	
Q: fols 126r–133v Addenda (16th c.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q: fols 134r–139v Addenda (14–15th c.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

2. Between *Hibernia* and *Francia*: Willibrord's Ecclesiastical Network

So far, little attention has been paid to the question of how Willibrord established and maintained his network in Francia. The charters suggest that this process was much more dynamic than Willibrord's hagiographical portrayal implies. Other aspects are left out: what points of contact existed between Willibrord and the *ingenui Franci* before the donations? If he and the landowners mentioned in the *Chronicon* were not primarily connected through a 'Carolingian' network, which other links could have existed between Rath Melsigi and northern Francia? The foundation of monasteries, the consecration of churches and the collection of relics are highlighted by the charters and the hagiography as integral parts of Willibrord's activity both in Frisia *and* in Francia.

'Mission' was thus not the only factor which allowed Willibrord's integration into the ecclesiastical landscape between Utrecht and Trier. The following chapter, therefore, turns to the reconstruction of Willibrord's ecclesiastical horizon and to a source which offers yet another perspective on his network – the *Calendar*.

2.1 Intersections: The Martyrological Entries in Willibrord's *Calendar*

The significance of the *Calendar* for the reconstruction of Willibrord's ecclesiastical network results from the entries that were added to its pages.[508] As the *Calendar* represents the earliest witness to the genre of early medieval calendars, the notes are still primarily martyrological in character, whereas the computistical material is marginal.[509] The entries, which record feast days, represent a significant addition to the hagiography and the charters of the *Liber aureus*, not least because the central part of the *Calendar* can be securely dated to Willibrord's lifetime (as discussed below). The *Calendar* offers a rare insight into the sanctoral cycle, which formed the basis of the liturgy, and the monastic commemoration practiced at Echternach in the first half of the eighth century.[510] It can be argued that the names recorded in the *Calendar* allow for the (tentative) reconstruction of the 'ecclesiastical topography', that is, the geographical extent of the liturgical reference points within which Echternach's monastic community placed itself. The entries seem to fall into two categories: on the one hand, the inclusion of Irish saints and Northumbrian kings mirrors, according to Peter Brown, 'a wide, northern world held together by the ritual commemoration of saints and dead persons from the distant British Isles'.[511] For Brown, the significance of the *Calendar* results above all from its 'universal' sense of time, which is reflected in the use of AD-dating (in Willibrord's marginal note) and based on a Christian vision of the world that was independent of local traditions and frontiers.[512]

On the other hand, as will be stressed below, the liturgical horizon of Echternach's community was not limited to its ties to the Insular world. In addition to the macro

[508] Paris, BnF, lat. 10837, fols 34^{v}–40^{r} (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z/f81.item) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; *CLA* 5, 606a (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/975) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; for a description of the entire manuscript see Story, 'Bede Willibrord', 797–800. In the following, the notes which refer to BnF, lat. 10837 only indicate the number of the respective folio. References to other manuscripts additionally cite the respective shelf mark. The spelling of the martyrological entries follows Henry Wilson's edition.

[509] Immo Warntjes, 'The origin(s) of the medieval calendar tradition in the Latin West', in Sacha Stern (ed.), *Calendars in the Making: The Origins of Calendars from the Roman Empire to the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2021), 129–87: 134.

[510] See Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform* (Hannover, 1998), 189–92; Hen, 'The early liturgy', 57–9, characterises the liturgy of Willibrord's Echternach as 'Old-Gelasian in practice, with some Eastern, Italian and Irish influences'; see also Eckhard Freise, 'Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria', in Joachim Wollasch and Karl Schmid (eds), *"Memoria": Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1984), 441–577: 514–8; Michele C. Ferrari, 'Schulfragmente: Texte und Glosse im mittelalterlichen Echternach', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 125; Thomas Bauer, 'Heiligenverehrung und Raum: allgemeine Grundlagen und Entwicklung, Methoden der Erforschung am Beispiel des Raumes zwischen Schelde, Maas und Rhein', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 147–188: 150–4.

[511] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 415–6; see Arno Borst (ed.), *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferungs bis ins 12. Jahrhundert* (Hannover, 2001), 1.19.

[512] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 416; see Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 135.

perspective highlighted by Brown, the entries also reveal the monastic community's interest in the commemoration of deceased contemporaries and the saints of their more immediate environment, especially of the dioceses of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht.[513] Besides the feast days of saints, the obits contain names otherwise unknown. These entries were mostly added in the form of marginal notes and in some cases indicate the ecclesiastical rank of the deceased; it seems probable that the scribes had known these individuals personally or that they had been part of the monastic community. Compared to the hagiography and the *Liber aureus*, the *Calendar* falls in between the 'macro-perspective' of Bede and Alcuin and the 'micro-perspective' of the charters. The unique perspective of the *Calendar* allows for the reconstruction of single points of reference which connect Willibrord's early stations in Northumbria and Ireland to his continental career. However, the question of *whose* perspective the entries in the *Calendar* reflect and how they relate to Willibrord's personal network needs to be pondered first.

The first section of the chapter establishes the methodological framework for the subsequent interpretation of the martyrological entries: to what extent does the 'intermediate' perspective of the *Calendar* enhance the reconstruction of Willibrord's ecclesiastical network? In this context, it is important to understand the dating of the *Calendar* and the chronology of its compilation, and to discuss both the previous interpretations of the *Calendar* and the implications of the palaeographical evidence.

2.1.1 The Date and Compilation of the Calendar

To avoid any rash interpretation of the entries in the *Calendar*, their dating needs to be considered first. Most scholars, who have worked on the manuscript since Henry Wilson's edition (1918) agree that the earliest possible date for the composition of the *Calendar* is 702 and that it was written at Echternach.[514] The dating and the localisation of the manuscript's genesis are based on three (overlapping) aspects: Firstly, on the connection between the *Calendar* and the other early manuscripts from Echternach; secondly, on the evidence provided by the other texts with which the *Calendar* was bound together; thirdly,

[513] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 65.

[514] Wilson, *The Calendar*, x, argues that 'the manuscript was most likely written at Echternach'; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 38, concludes that 'the Calendar […] [was] probably not written at Rath Melsigi, but at Echternach or elsewhere, [though] the scribal tradition that lies behind [it] must surely be Irish'; Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der* libri vitae *und Necrologien* (Berlin, 1988), 200, and Augustin van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung in einem kunstvoll gestalteten Gewand: Betrachtungen zum Bücherschatz des hl. Willibrord', *Hémecht* 49.1 (1997), 47–93: 56, likewise assume a continental origin; Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 1.19, states that the manuscript is a copy, written in 705, of a calendar compiled around 680 'in England', but this seems implausible in light of the evidence discussed here; see also Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 134–5.

on the internal evidence of the text itself. In the following, these three aspects are briefly discussed. Although the palaeographical evidence and its previous interpretations are outlined here, the first part of the analysis will not attempt to establish the *Schriftheimat* of the *Calendar* (and the other Echternach manuscripts). As will be shown in more detail below,[515] the traditional debate regarding the 'cultural' background of the Echternach scriptorium ('Irish' or 'Anglo-Saxon/English') is partly unhelpful in assessing the significance of the *Calendar* for the study of Willibrord's ecclesiastical network and is primarily relevant to understand the history of scholarship on the early Insular manuscripts.[516]

Nevertheless, palaeographical studies have been crucial in the reconstruction of the early medieval scriptorium at Echternach, the centrepiece of which is the Echternach Gospels, dated to *c.* 700.[517] The question of which other manuscripts can be attributed to Echternach remained a matter of debate throughout the twentieth century and is still far from closed.[518] Besides the *Calendar* and the copy of the Hieronymian *Martyrology*, with which the *Calendar* was bound together in the eighth century,[519] two other manuscripts have been assigned to the monastery on the Sauer: the Augsburg Gospels (formerly known as Maihingen or Harburg Gospels)[520] and a copy of the *Book of Prophets*.[521] The relationship of both manuscripts to eight-century Echternach is suggested by two names: Laurentius and Virgilius. Three charters in the *Liber aureus*, written between 704 and 718, identify a priest (*presbiter*) named Laurentius as the scribe. In two other charters, dated to 709 and 721/2, the scribe is introduced as the priest Virgilius; a sixth charter features the enigmatic signature

[515] See chapter 2.1.2.
[516] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium d'Echternach aux huitième et neuvième siècles', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 517, goes as far as to argue that in the case of Echternach, one cannot speak of a scriptorium 'au sens strict du terme'.
[517] Paris, BnF, lat. 9389 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948/f1.item.r=latin%209389) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; *CLA* 5, 578 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/942) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; Rosamond McKitterick, 'The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the manuscript evidence', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 423–5; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 6; van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 67–88. While the manuscript was kept at Echternach until the eighteenth century, its origin (Insular or continental) and date are still debated.
[518] For a list of early medieval manuscripts attributed or (possibly) connected to Echternach see Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 4–11.
[519] Fols 2^r–32^v; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad fidem codicum adiectis prolegomenis*, eds Giovanni B. de Rossi and Louis Duchesne, AASS, Nov. 2 (Bruxelles, 1894), 1–156; *CLA* 5, 605 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/974) [accessed: 23 August 2021].
[520] Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek, Cod. I.2.4° 2 (http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvb_mets/viewer.0.6.5.jsp?folder_id=0&dvs=1629745069211~692&pid=7393501&locale=de&usePid1=true&usePid2=true) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; *CLA* 8, 1215 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1694) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 58–9.
[521] Paris, BnF, lat. 9382 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90767290/f130.item) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; *CLA* 5, 577 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/941) [accessed: 23 August 2021].

Laurentius Virgilius.[522] The Augsburg Gospels contain an acrostic, which indicates that the work was dedicated to Laurentius.[523] Although the dedication does not solve the question regarding the identity of the scribe, it corroborates the evidence for a connection between the Augsburg Gospels, the *Calendar* and Echternach: the copy of the Hieronymian *Martyrology*, which was certainly written at Echternach before Willibrord's death and which is closely connected to the *Calendar*, was signed by *Laurentius*.[524] The copy of the *Martyrology*, however, differs in script from the *Calendar* and is thought to be of a slightly later date than the former manuscript.[525] The copy of the *Book of Prophets*, in turn, was partially executed by a scribe called *uergilus*.[526] The script of the latter manuscript closely resembles the script of the *Calendar* and the Augsburg Gospels, but it remains unclear if Virgilius was the scribe of all three manuscripts.[527]

More widely accepted is the suggestion that the *Calendar* and the Augsburg Gospels were written by the same hand, even though the scribe has not been identified.[528] Wilson described the script of the main part of the *Calendar* as an 'insular half-uncial of rounded type', whereas he classified the majority of the additions as (cursive) minuscule.[529] Two

[522] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 8, 17, 28 (Laurentius); nos 16, 31 (Virgilius); no. 32 (*Laurentius Virgilius*).
[523] Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek, Cod. I.2.4° 2, fol. 157^{v}; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 14–5; van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 65–6.
[524] Fol. 32^{v}: *Tuorum domine quorum nomina scribsi sanctorum / eorum queso suffragis miserum leua Laurentium / tuumque idem lector ora*. I thank Carlo Cedro for helping me with the transcription.
[525] Wilson, *The Calendar*, x; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide. Volume 1. Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 234; Levison, *England and the Continent*, 141–2; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 798-800; see also Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 20; Ferrari, 'Schulfragmente', 127; Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 155–6, n. 84; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 427; on the script of the copy of the *Martyrology* see Carl Nordenfalk, 'On the age of the earliest Echternach manuscripts', *Acta archaeologica*, 3 (1932), 61; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 115–6.
[526] Paris, BnF, lat. 9382, fol. 45^{r}; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 28, n. 1, suggests that Virgilius represents the Latin form of the Irish name Fergal.
[527] Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 14–5, assumes that Virgilius wrote both the *Calendar* and the *Augsburg Gospels*; Nancy Netzer, in a list shared in the context of the *Insular Manuscripts: Networks of Knowledge* project in 2019, likewise suggests that both manuscripts were 'probably' written by Virgilius; *contra* this thesis see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 189–202: 199; McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 504–5, stresses that doubts remain regarding the relation between Virgilius, Laurentius and Echternach. She assumes that the names in the charters could have belonged to external scribes, hired by the respective donor. As the interpretation rests on the later copy of the charters, the scripts of the manuscripts and the charters cannot be compared with each other; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 38, n. 72; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 124; van Berkum, 'Glaubenverkündigung', 49–50, and Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 32–3, suggest that both names refer to the same person based on the signature *Laurentius Virgilius*; see also Lawrence Nees, 'The European context of manuscript illumination in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, 600–900', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds), *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), 45–65: 51–4.
[528] Nordenfalk, 'On the age of the earliest Echternach manuscripts', 60; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 28–9; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 5, 115–6.
[529] Wilson, *The Calendar*, xi–xii; for further classifications of the script see *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (eds de Rossi/Duchesne), viii (*Kalendarium, antiqua manu anglo – saxonica descriptum*); Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, 234 ('English semi-uncial and minuscule'); *CLA* 5, 606a ('Anglo-Saxon majuscule'); Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 5–6, 116 ('half-uncial of [Julian Brown's] Phase I'); van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 55 ('irisch-insulare Majuskel').

additions on the August and December pages stand out because they were written in an uncial script.[530] The writing closely resembles one of the hands in the Trier Gospels, another luxurious manuscript which combines Insular and continental influences.[531] Together with the Maaseik (or Maeseyck) Gospels, the Trier Gospels were attributed to the Echternach scriptorium by Nancy Netzer, who dated the Augsburg Gospels to *c.* 704-22, the Trier Gospels to *c.* 720-40 and the Maaseik Gospels 'somewhere in the middle'.[532]

A more precise dating of the *Calendar* has been proposed on the basis of the Easter table with which it was bound together in the eighth century. The table, divided into four stages of composition, constitutes the third main component of the Paris manuscript.[533] In the final binding's order, the *Calendar* is followed by three parts of the Easter table (written in a later script) which cover the cycles of AD 703–721, 722–59 and 769–97. Wilson assumed that the scribe who compiled this table also wrote the earliest layer of the *Calendar*.[534] However, this part of the table does not constitute the earliest element in the manuscript: following the cycle of 769–97, a single leaf was inserted which covers the cycle of AD 684–702. The sheet is written in an Insular minuscule and its script differs from the *Calendar* and the other parts of the Easter table.[535] Although it must remain speculative if this first part had been specifically compiled for Wictberct's journey to Frisia in the 680s and was subsequently taken back to Ireland and given over to Willibrord, the sheet nevertheless predates both Willibrord's departure from Ireland and the foundation of Echternach. Therefore, it can be assumed that the earliest part of the Easter table preserved in the manuscript was written at Rath Melsigi before 690 and formed part of the texts that

It should be noted that Lowe's 'majuscule' generally corresponds to the 'half-' or 'semi-uncial' referred to in other studies. On the distinction between the different categories see Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 34–41; for a critique of the 'Northumbrian' bias which characterised the palaeographical debate before the 1980s see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Pride and prejudice', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 352–62: 360–2; *idem*, 'Rath Melsigi', 17–29.

[530] Fol. 38^{r} (11 August); fol. 40^{r} (8 December) ; McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 503, 507–8, assumes that the two entries in 'Frankish uncial' were added around the middle of the eighth century by the same Frankish scribe who, together with the scribe Thomas, worked on the *Trier Gospels*. Significantly, the two additions concern saints from Trier.

[531] Trier, Dombibliothek 420 (formerly 134 [61]); *CLA* 9, 1364 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1865) [accessed: 23 August 2021]; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 1–3.

[532] Maeseyck, Church of Saint Catherine without number (the link to the digitised version was temporarily broken during the writing of this chapter); *CLA* 10, 1558 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/283); *CLA* 10, 1559 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/284); Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 116; on Willibrord's relationship with the abbesses of Aldeneik see chapter 2.3.1.

[533] See Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 799, fig. 1; Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 134, n. 19.

[534] 703–21: fol. 40^{v}; 722–59: fol. 41; 760–97: fol. 43; Wilson, *The Calendar*, ix.

[535] Fol. 44^{r}; Wilson, *The Calendar*, ix; Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, 234; Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottianus*', 191, n. 57; the script of the prayers that introduce the cycle of AD 760–97 on fol. 43^{r} has been described by McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 427, as 'capital uncial developed at the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow'.

were brought to the continent by Willibrord's circle.[536] The leaf also provides the earliest evidence for the use of a Dionysiac Easter table in the Frankish kingdom.[537]

The transition between the two earliest parts of the Easter table in 702/3 dates to the period when Echternach was still a new foundation. The drafting of a new table for the cycle of AD 703–721 would have marked an appropriate context for the initial composition of the *Calendar* at the monastery.[538] Within the earliest layer of entries detected by Wilson, the obit for Pope Sergius I (8 September 701) represents the earliest datable entry and thus provides another argument for a *terminus post quem* of 701/2 for the compilation of the *Calendar*.[539] With regard to the *terminus ante quem*, the marginal note on fol. 39^{v}, written in 728, has been considered as a likely indicator for the completion of the *Calendar*. The note proves that the manuscript was used by Willibrord (or by a member of his community) when he was still alive in 728.[540] A mark, added to the margin of the Easter table on fol. 40^{v} under the year 717, has been interpreted as an indication of the date of the manuscript's completion, but its specific function remains unclear.[541]

The internal chronology of the entries, however, is more difficult to establish, not least because Wilson did not consult the original manuscript and had to rely on a reproduction.[542] Regarding the main part written in half-uncial, Wilson distinguished between a 'first' and a 'second' hand, noting that there are few variations between them. He classified the minuscule additions as 'other'.[543] Yet, many additions are hardly distinguishable from those of the 'first' and 'second' hands, whereas others almost seem as

---

[536] *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (eds de Rossi and Duchesne), viii; Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 195–8; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 26–31; see also Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, 233–4; Nancy Netzer, 'Willibrord's scriptorium at Echternach and its relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 206–8; *eadem*, *Cultural Interplay*, 5–6; Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottianus*', 183; arguing against Ó Cróinín with regard to the earliest part of the Easter table is McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 506–7: '[U]ne origine northumbrienne pour ce feuillet ou son scribe est tout aussi possible'.

[537] James T. Palmer, 'The adoption of the Dionysian Easter in the Frankish kingdoms (*c*. 670-*c*. 800), *Peritia*, 28 (2017), 135–54: 147–8; Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 168.

[538] See Piper, Ferdinand, *Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafel: Aus der Pariser Urschrift herausgegeben und erläutert. Nebst einer Abhandlung über die lateinischen und griechischen Ostercyklen* (Berlin, 1858), 96–100.

[539] Fol. 38^{v}: *sergii papae rome* (7 September); Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 195.

[540] Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 211; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 798–800; Nordenfalk, 'On the age of the earliest Echternach manuscripts', 59, seems to erroneously refer to 722 as the date of Willibrord's marginal note.

[541] See Wilson, *The Calendar*, x; Nordenfalk, 'On the age of the earliest Echternach manuscripts', 59; *CLA* 5, 606a; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 201, n. 9; there are two further marks of the same type on fols 36^{v} (29 May) and 37^{v} (5 July). While the former indicates the shift of an entry to another date, scholars have not commented on the latter.

[542] Wilson, *The Calendar*, v–vi; Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 37.

[543] Wilson, *The Calendar*, x–xi; see Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 201–4.

if they were made in passing.[544] Some entries of the 'first' hand were corrected by later additions, erased or shifted to different dates.[545] What is more, several entries by the 'second' and 'other' hands respectively were written over the coloured decoration which fills the spaces between the entries of the 'first hand'. In other cases, it seems as though the decoration was drawn over the earlier entries instead, but the differentiation remains difficult.[546] It has so far not been possible to further determine the chronological relation between the different hands. The distinction between Wilson's 'first' and 'second' hand remains especially problematic.[547] Though the details of the palaeographical chronology remain unclear, scholars have generally agreed with Wilson and placed the entries of the 'first hand' in the early phase around 702/3 and the majority of the additions in the period between 703 and 728.[548]

It is important to note that the palaeographical evidence suggests that additions to the earliest layer of the *Calendar* were made continuously and by *different* hands during Willibrord's time on the continent. The establishment of an internal chronology is hindered by the fact that not all of the recorded names can be identified. However, as will be further discussed below, Tthose obits that can be dated show that a substantial part of the entries was written between 702/3 and 710. At the same time, the (coloured) obit for Suidberct of Kaiserswerth, who died in 713, proves that the process of compilation continued, at least

[544] See, for example, the entries for Hildulf of Trier (11 July, fol. 37^{v}) and for *offa presbyteri* (23 July, fol. 37^{v}), as well as the marginal notes for *aman* (21 July, fol. 37^{v}), *cidda* (29 July, fol. 37^{v}), and *haemric* (7 September, fol. 38^{v}).

[545] The entry for St Ambrose (4 April, fol. 36^{r}) was originally written in the line below before it was erased. The entry for St Maximin of Trier (31 May, fol. 36^{v}) was shifted to 29 May through the addition of a line and a mark to indicate the new position. The entry for the Nativity of Mary (16 August, fol. 38^{r}) was partially erased and later restored or substituted. The entry for *timothei et apolinaris* (24 August, fol. 38^{r}) was later erased, as was the entry for *nicandri cassiani et felicissimi* (26 November, 39^{v}). Compare also the two entries for *natale philippi apostoli* (22 April, fol. 36^{r}; 1 May, 36^{v}); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 26, 28, 29, 31, 36–8, 43.

[546] See for example the entries for 8 January, 11 January (fol. 34^{v}), 11 February, 14 February, 15 February, 24 February (35^{r}), 11 March (fol. 35^{v}), 4 April, 14 April, 28 April (fol. 36^{r}), 10 May, 20 May, 24 May, 25 May, 29 May (fol. 36^{v}), 3 June, 15 June, 17 June (37^{r}), 1 July, 2–3 July, 10 July, 11 July 18 July, 20 July (fol. 37^{v}), 6 August, 7 August, 13 August, 14 August, 19 August (fol. 38^{r}), 19 September (fol. 38^{v}), 7 October, 18 October (fol. 39^{r}), 8 December (fol. 40^{r}); see Wilson, *The Calendar*, 27; *The Name of the Saint*, 37–8; it has also been noted by Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 198–9, that the decorative fillers in the *Calendar* are similar to those in the *Book of Durrow* and the *Augsburg Gospels*.

[547] See the entries for King Ecgfrith of Northumbria (24 May, fol. 36^{v}) and for Lambert of Maastricht (17 September, fol. 38^{v}); Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 200–4, tries to further differentiate between the various hands that Wilson classified as 'other', but his analysis was based on Wilson's facsimile only; Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 37, was able to analyse the original manuscript and identifies seven different hands (without further differentiating between them).

[548] Wilson, *The Calendar*, xi; in their edition of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, viii, de Rossi and Duchesne argue for an early date of 702–6; Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, 234, dates the *Calendar* to 703–9; *CLA* 2, xviii, assumes that the 'year of writing falls between 703 and 721'; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 200–4, 201, 211, dates the majority of the entries to the period between 703–709/13; Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 28–9, follows Gerchow; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 10–1; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 5; Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 32–3, dates both the *Calendar* and the copy of the *Martyrology* to *c.* 703–10; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 807.

sporadically, beyond the first decade of the eighth century.[549] Abbess Anastasia of Oeren, who is commemorated by a marginal note on the December page, died after 710, as she exchanged property with Willibrord in that year according to the *Liber aureus*.[550] Further evidence suggests that the *Calendar* remained in use after 728: to the manuscript were added (at least) eight dry glosses, which were first noted by Bernard Bischoff. One dry gloss records the death of Charles Martel; it must, therefore, have been written in or after 741.[551] However, it seems that no significant additions were made after 728. Willibrord's death and the translation of his body are not recorded in the *Calendar* but added to the Hieronymian *Martyrology*. This could be a further indication that no additions, except for the dry glosses, were made to the *Calendar* after 728.[552]

To summarise, the palaeographical and textual evidence suggests that the *Calendar* was mainly compiled during the first decade of the eighth century at Echternach; most of the additions were made before 728. Although the greater significance for the reconstruction of Willibrord's biography can be attributed to Bede's and Alcuin's accounts, the *Calendar* represents the contemporary source with the closest link to Willibrord. The martyrological entries emanated from his immediate environment; in contrast to the charters of the *Liber aureus*, the manuscript survives in its original form. At the same time, the palaeographical evidence shows that the *Calendar* was not produced by a single scribe at a specific point in time. This has implications for the analysis of the entries, which will be discussed below. This step, however, requires a prior outline of the entries themselves. Furthermore, the previous interpretations of the entries are considered, which primarily focus on two different

[549] Fol. 35^{v}: *suidberht aepiscopi* (1 March); *Annales Sancti Amandi*, s.a. 713, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6: *depositio Subdoberto episcopo in mense Martio*; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen Festlandmission', 191–5.

[550] Fol. 40^{r}: *anastasiae abbatissae* (9 December).

[551] Fol. 39^{r}: *carlus regis* (15 October); Bernhard Bischoff, 'Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 54 (1937), 177, describes the script of the glosses as 'altertümliche Mischung von Unziale und insularer Majuskel'; the sources propose two dates, either 15 or 22 October 741, for Charles Martel's death. The *Annales s. Amandi* (s. a. 741; ed. Pertz, 10) accord with the *Calendar*: *Karlus dux Francorum mortuus est Idibus Octobris*; see Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 185 and Nelson, *Life and Emperor*, 58; Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 39–40, suggests that the dry glosses were all added at the beginning of the eighth century but ignores that the entry for Charles Martel correlates with the date of his death in the annals; see also Wilhelm Levison, 'Á propos du calendrier de S. Willibrord'; *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 342–6. [Originally published in *Revue Bénédictine*, 50 (1938), 37–41.], and chapter 3.2.2.

[552] Fol. 28^{v}; Ferrari, 'Schulfragmente', 125, stresses that the continuation of the Easter table during the second half of the eighth century 'wäre natürlich nicht geschehen, wenn der Codex nach der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts ausgedient hätte'. The note relating to Willibrord's *translatio* suggests that, after 739, the manuscript turned into a 'Denkmal des nunmehr als Hausheiliger verehrten Klostergründers'. Ferrari, however, assumes that the marginal note on fol. 39^{v} was added after Willibrord's death; based on her suggestion that the dry glosses were added before *c.* 720, Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 39–42, does not observe any significant signs of usage (besides the marginal note) after the first decade of the eighth century. She assumes that the *Calendar* and the *Martyrology* fell out of usage after the translation of Willibrord's body (before 757) but raises the possibility that some pages continued to be read or venerated as relics near the tomb before the combination of both texts by the 790s at the latest; on the translation see Staudt, *Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler*, 17–9.

aspects: the *Calendar* as a reflection of Willibrord's Insular background on the one hand, and the *Calendar* as a 'private' document of limited scope on the other.

2.1.2 Establishing an Interpretative Framework for the Calendar

The martyrological entries are characterised by their diversity and encompass both antique and early medieval traditions from the Churches of Ireland, Britain, former Roman Gaul and Italy.[553] In light of the complex evidence, which still awaits a new, detailed analysis that further develops Wilson's observations, the present study cannot provide an extensive examination of all the names recorded in the *Calendar* nor of the significance of the Hieronymian *Martyrology* for their transmission.[554] Instead, the focus lies on Willibrord's ecclesiastical network, which he established and developed during his lifetime. Attention is primarily given to those entries which concern persons whose biographies or veneration overlapped (geographically and chronologically) with his career. To avoid a premature classification of the entries according to 'Irish', 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Frankish' channels of influence, the following overview, first of all, differentiates between 'supra-regional' and 'local' entries. The evidence highlighted here will be subsequently discussed in greater detail in chapters 2.2 and 2.3.

The first category includes saints and kings from the Insular world (primarily from Ireland and Northumbria), whose commemoration originated outside of Willibrord's environment on the continent, where the *Calendar* was written. The entries for Patrick (d. 5th c.?), Brigid (d. 6th c.?) and Columba of Iona (d. 597), whose name is spelled *columcillae*, provide the closest link to Willibrord's time in Ireland; these entries belong to the earliest layer according to Wilson.[555] The names of Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (d. 687) and Oethelwald of Farne (d. 699/700), in contrast, point towards Northumbria; the latter name is directly associated with Ripon.[556] Wilson assigned both entries to the 'first' hand but observed that Oethelwald's name must be a later addition as it was written over the coloured decoration.[557] The earliest additions also include an entry for Paulinus of York (d. 644). Although the scribe identified him as 'bishop in Kent', his inclusion is probably linked to his role in the establishment of Christianity in Northumbria. The addition of Abbess Hild of Whitby (d.

[553] See Hen, 'The early liturgy', 54–7.
[554] See Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 189–92.
[555] Fol. 35r: *brigidae uirginis* (1 February); fol. 35v: *sancti patrici espicopi in scotia* (17 March); fol. 37r: *sancti columcillae* (9 June); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 32.
[556] Fol. 35v: *sancti cuthberti episcopi* (20 March); fol. 36r: *Oedilualdi monachi* (21 April); according to Bede, *HE*, V.1 (ed. Colgrave/Mynors, 454–6), Oethelwald died twelve years after Cuthbert.
[557] Wilson, *The Calendar*, 27; see Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 37–8.

680) by a later hand belongs to the same context.[558] Four Northumbrian kings, predominantly from the Deiran line, are commemorated: Edwin (d. 633), Oswald (d. 642) Oswine (d. 651) and Ecgfrith (d. 685). Only Oswald's name, however, belongs to the earliest layer of the entries.[559] Nevertheless, the number of secular rules is striking in comparison with other early medieval calendars, all the more because the *Calendar* provides the earliest evidence for a monastic commemoration of Oswine and Ecgfrith.[560] The remaining entries of the first category reflect the existence of more complex, overlapping networks, which cannot be classified into separate 'Irish' and 'Northumbrian' influences respectively. For example, the inclusion of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) and Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (668–90) suggests a common veneration for the two churchmen among the communities of both Ripon and Rath Melsigi.[561] The addition of the names of Aidan of Lindisfarne (d. 651) and Chad of Lastingham (d. 672) by a later hand reflects the dense ecclesiastical networks which existed between Ireland and Northumbria in the seventh century and which shaped Willibrord's own career.[562] At this point, it should be recalled that Oswald was commemorated in Ireland by the time of Willibrord's stay at Rath Melsigi.[563]

In this context, two other entries might be significant, but the identification is more problematic: Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has suggested that the addition for *cynifrid*, interpreted by Wilson as the obit a 'contemporary otherwise unknown', refers to Cynifrith, the brother of Ceolfrith, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow from 688 to his death in 716.[564] The anonymous *Life* of Ceolfrith, written before Bede's *Historia abbatum* (*c.* 716) between 699 and 705, states that Cynifrith settled in Ireland and died there during the plague of 664 – a fact which Bede omitted.[565] Ó Cróinín, therefore, concluded that Cynifrith was a member of the community of Rath Melsigi and that his inclusion possibly reflects his commemoration within Ecgberct's and subsequently Willibrord's circle.[566] Here, the entry *natale eota* under 2 June (likewise added by a later hand) could be relevant; Wilson excluded the possibility that the name referred to Eata of Hexham (d. *c.* 686), because his feast day is traditionally

[558] Fol. 39^{r}: *paulini episcopi in cantia* (14 October); fol. 39^{v}: *hildae abbatissae* (17 November); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 41–2; see chapter 2.2.1.
[559] Fol. 39^{r}: *aeduini regis* (13 October); fol. 38^{r}: *osualdi regis* (5 August); fol. 38^{r}: *osuini regis* (19 August); fol. 36^{v}: *ecfridi regis* (20 May); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 30; 36–8, 41; Levison, *England and the Continent*, 272.
[560] See Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 203–7, who misses the entries for Oswald and Cuthbert.
[561] Fol. 35^{v}: *sancti grigori rome* (12 March); fol. 38^{v}: *theodori aepiscopi* (19 September). The former entry was written by the 'first' hand, the latter represents a later addition according to Wilson, *The Calendar*, 23–4, 40; see chapter 2.2.2.
[562] *sancti aedani aepiscopi* (31 August; fol. 38^{r}); *caedda aepiscopi* (2 March; 35^{v}); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 23, 38.
[563] See chapter 2.2.1.
[564] Fol. 38^{v}: *cynifrid* (17 September); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 40.
[565] *Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, 2–3, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), 1.388–9; Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 13–17, *ibid.*, 1.376–82.
[566] Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 31–2.

celebrated on 26 October. At the same time, he noted that the use of *natale* for the obit of an unknown contemporary was unusual.[567] What is more, when Eata was abbot of Melrose, Boisil was a prior there.[568] As discussed in chapter 1.1, Boisil played a crucial part in the initiation of Ecgberct's plan to send Wictberct and Willibrord to Frisia according to Bede. The identification of *eota* with Eata of Hexham would fit in with the inclusion of both Aidan (his teacher) and Cuthbert (his pupil) in the *Calendar* and represent a further link between Ripon and Rath Melsigi.[569] Finally, the addition of Gildas' (d. 570?) name needs to be mentioned. Although he was active in Britain, his work exerted a strong influence on the Irish Church in early seventh century, as exemplified, for example, by the writings of Columbanus (d. 615) and Cummian.[570]

So far, the entries discussed here all provide a connection to Northumbria and/or Ireland, although the intersections rather than the differences between the ecclesiastical traditions stand out. It is uncertain if the names of four *presbyteri* refer to former members of Willibrord's community or to the contacts that were maintained between Echternach and the Insular world after its foundation.[571] In any case, these entries highlight the dual commemoration of regional and supra-regional links. This is equally the case with regard to the names of Wilgils (Willibrord's father), Suidberct, Pope Sergius I and the Hewalds, which all fall in between the two categories: one the one hand, they reflect the effort by the monastic community to maintain their abbot's wider networks which he had established before the foundation of Echternach. On the other hand, the entries also point towards the conscious development of distinctive traditions after the foundation of the monastery 697/8, which were shaped around Willibrord's biography.[572]

There is a significant correlation between the names recorded in the *Calendar*, which refer

[567] Fol. 37^{r}: *natale eota* (2 June); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 31; see also Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 206.
[568] Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, 6, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life. Texts, Translations and Notes* (Cambridge, 1940), 171–4.
[569] Clare E. Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the polarity between pastor and solitary', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 21–44: 30; Michael Lapidge, 'Eata', in Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes and Donald Scragg (eds), *The Wiley Blackwell Encylopedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Chichester, 1999; second edition Chichester, 2014), 161. Eata was briefly involved in the foundation of Ripon; Colin Ireland, 'Boisil: an Irishman hidden in the works of Bede', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 400–3, argues that Boisil himself came from Ireland.
[570] Fol. 24^{v}: *et gildae sapientis* (29 January); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 20; Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 1.518; Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), 208–9.
[571] Fol. 35^{r}: *uilfridi presbyteri* (17 February); *suidredi presbyteri* (19 February); fol. 37^{v}: *bertuini presbyteri* (11 July); *offa presbyteri* (23 July) Wilson, *The Calendar*, 22, 34–5.
[572] Fol. 34^{v}: *uilgisli abbatis* (30 January); fol. 39^{r}: *natale sanctorum martyrum heuualdi et heualdi* (4 October). The entry was written by two scribes: the addition *et heuwaldi* was made by a hand different from the original, probably to avoid the impression that only one of the two martyrs was commemorated; Wilson, *The Calendar*, 41; Schäferdiek, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald', 14. Note that Bede dated the Hewalds' martyrdom to 3 October (HE, 5.10 [eds Colgrave/Mynors, 482]); on Wilgils, Suidberct and the Hewalds see chapter 1.1.2.

to Northumbria and Ireland, and the early stations of Willibrord's career. This pattern is further discernible when the 'local' entries are considered, which refer to saints from Austrasia, specifically from Willibrord's main field of activity between Utrecht and Trier. The earliest layer detected by Wilson encompasses Echternach's immediate environment: the traditions of the diocese of Trier are represented by the Bishops Valerius (d. 302), Maximin (d. *c.* 346) and his successor Paulinus (d. 358).[573] The relation to Trier is expanded by several additions: the entries for Bishop Basin (d. 705) and the *chorepiscopus* ('assistant bishop') Hildulf (d. 707?) as well as Abbess Anastasia of Oeren reinforce the contemporary angle of the *Calendar*.[574] The entries for the Bishop Eucharius (d. *c.* 250) and Gauricus, a pupil of Bishop Magneric (*c.* 561–87) and later bishop of Cambrai – the two only additions written in an uncial script – expand this pattern.[575] The dry glosses furthermore include an entry for St Goar, who allegedly settled as a hermit in the Rhine area in the sixth century.[576]

The inclusion of Bishop Amandus of Maastricht (d. *c.* 676/9) by the 'first' hand extends the perspective of the *Calendar* to the valley of the Meuse. The entry fits in with the donations which Willibrord received in Antwerp.[577] Two early additions (according to Wilson) for the Bishops Servatius (d. *c.* 384) and Lambert (d. 703/5) stress Echternach's relation to the diocese of Tongeren-Maastricht.[578] Scholars have also noted the addition of the words *aodberto hecco* on fol. 44^{v} (on the reverse of the first part of the Easter table); Adalbert was the name of Willibrord's first successor as abbot of Echternach (739–775/7); it seems unlikely though that the abbot was the same person as Adalbert of Egmond, who, according to a later tradition, was one of Willibrord's original companions.[579] Finally, the

[573] Fol. 34^{v}: *treveris natale ualeri episcopi* (29 January); fol. 36^{v}: *natale sancti maximini treueris* (31 May); fol. 38^{r}: *paulini episcopi treueris* (31 August); see also Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottianus*', 202, n. 91.
[574] Fol. 35^{v}: *basini aepiscopi* (4 March); fol. 37v: *hildulfi episcopi* (11 July); on Basin and Anastasia see chapter 1.2.3; on Hildulf see Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, 132; Monique Goullet, 'Les saints du diocèse de Toul (SHG VI)', in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 11–90: 69; Bertram Resmini, *Das Erzbistum Trier 13: Die Benediktinerabtei St. Maximin von Trier* (Berlin, 2016), 1022, 1025–7.
[575] Fol. 40r: *natale sancti euchari* (8 December); fol. 38^{r}: *depositio sancti gaurici episcopi* (11 August); see McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 507–8.
[576] Fol. 37^{v}: *sancti goaris* (6 July); see Léon Levillain and Charles Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date de la bataille dite de Poitiers', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 99 (1938), 243–67: 252–3; Levison 'Á propos du calendrier de S. Willibrord', 342; Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, 88–9; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 303; Friedrich Pfeiffer, 'Mission zwischen Maas und Rhein in Spätantike und beginnendem Mittelalter (ca. 300 bis 600): Die Rolle der Bischöfe am Beispiel Trier', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 191–213: 207–8.
[577] Fol. 35^{r}: *sancti amandi* (6 February); see chapter 2.2.2.
[578] Fol. 36^{v}: *sancti seruati* (13 May); fol. 38^{v}: *sancti landberichti episcopi* (17 September); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 40; on Servatius see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 228, 249; Frans Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power in the early Middle Ages', in Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2001), 155–217: 160–72; on Lambert see chapter 2.3.1.
[579] See Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 35; Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, 17; see chapter 3.1.2.

'local' entries include additions (each by the same hand) on the May page which refer to the dedication of two churches. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has argued that the entry *dedicatio bassilicae sanctae mariae in uaedritlaeum* should be placed in an Irish context, but Matthias Werner convincingly suggested that the churches were located in Toxandria, specifically in Ruimel and Waalre, as both place names can be linked to the corresponding charters in the *Liber aureus*.[580] If the dating formula of the later copy is to be trusted, then the dedication of the church in Waalre took place in or shortly after 704, and the additions cannot have been made much later.[581]

The short overview suggests that the 'local' and the 'supra-regional' entries follow a similar pattern: the analysis reveals a cluster of names which are associated with the dioceses of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht. Thus, the geographical focus of the entries correlates with the radius of Willibrord's activity in Austrasia. Taken together, it seems as if the *Calendar* directly reflects Willibrord's personal network between Ireland, Northumbria and the Frankish kingdom. A closer look at the outline above, however, shows that the list of names contains several significant 'gaps': the names of Ecgberct of Rath Melsigi, Wilfrid of York, Irmina of Oeren and Pippin II – the central nodes of Willibrord's network according to the hagiography and the *Liber aureus* – are all absent from the *Calendar*.[582] Different explanations have been brought forward to explain the omissions: it has been argued that the original part of the *Calendar* was completed before Wilfrid's death in 710.[583] The silence on Irmina of Oeren has been linked to her supposed alienation from Willibrord after he had placed Echternach under the protection of Pippin and Plectrude in 706.[584] Ecgberct died in 729 and thus after the established date for the completion of the *Calendar*. In Wilfrid's case, however, the entry for Suidberct disproves the chronological argument, unless it is assumed – against the palaeographical evidence – that the addition of Suidberct's name was made

[580] Fol. 36^{v}: *dedicatio bassilicae sanctae mariae in uaedritlaeum* (26 May); fol. 36^{v}: *dedicatio bassilicae sancti pauli in rumleos* (29 May); Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 7, 11; see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 152–3; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 33–5; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 39–40; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 141; van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 55.

[581] The charter for Ruimel dates to 698/9, the one for Waalre to October 704. As the two locations are only *c.* 30 km apart, Willibrord was probably able to visit both churches during the same journey. Both charters mention a *villa* in each location, but there is no reference to a church. A charter by the monk Ansbaldus (no. 21), however, was issued in 712/3 in Waalre, which might imply the existence of a nearby ecclesiastical centre.

[582] It should be noted that none of the donors mentioned in the *Liber aureus*, except for the Abbess Anastasia of Oeren, are commemorated in the *Calendar*.

[583] See Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 30–1; *idem*, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 195; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 201; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 427. Wilfrid's name is also absent from the Echternach copy of the Hieronymian *Martyrology*, a fact which Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 144, passes over in her discussion of the relations between Echternach and Northumbria.

[584] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 97–8; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 209; Arnold Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini: Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters* (München, 1972), 232, n. 8, does not consider the omission of Irmina's name as a clear sign of a conflict between her and Willibrord; on the omission of Bishop Liutwin of Trier see Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', 192–3, n. 19.

much later than his death in 713.

It would be unproductive to discuss the problem of the missing names in detail. The focus of previous studies on this issue resembles the approach to the *Liber aureus*: like the charters, the *Calendar* has been perceived as a 'complementary' source only to the hagiography. Analyses of the martyrological entries were based on the premise that the *Calendar* reflected Willibrord's network as it appears in Bede's and Alcuin's texts. So far, few studies have approached the *Calendar* as an independent source which offers an additional, distinctive perspective on Willibrord's network. Such an approach requires a positive interpretation of the entries, which does not dwell on the alleged 'omissions' – a term which carries the presumption that certain names *should* have been included. The crux of the matter is the expectation of modern scholars that the *Calendar* represents, firstly, a reflection of Willibrord's Insular (often 'English') background and that, secondly, it was compiled with the intent of capturing (intentionally or not) his *personal* network.[585] The first argument is related to the debate about the palaeographical classification of the manuscript, the second argument to the use of the *Calendar* by the monastic community. Both aspects need to be briefly addressed at this point.

The *Calendar* is one of the few early manuscripts from Echternach to which a (more or less) precise date can be assigned; thus, it occupies a prominent role in the debate about the development of Insular scriptoria in the seventh and eighth centuries, their localisation and the chronology of Insular palaeography in general. Previous studies were embedded within the history of the missions from the Insular world to the Continent; a major point of contention was the interdependence between 'Irish', 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Frankish' influences and the significance of each group's contribution to the production of manuscripts, the foundation of monasteries and the establishment of ecclesiastical structures both in the Insular world and in the Frankish kingdom.[586] It should be stressed that the palaeographical assignment of the different manuscripts to Insular scriptoria is not problematic in itself; on the contrary, the palaeographical studies of the Echternach manuscripts have contributed to the understanding of the foundation of the monastery, its networks and the intellectual background of Willibrord's career in a significant way.[587] The problem lies in the fact that the palaeographical interpretation served as the basis for the

[585] Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 36.
[586] See Brown, Michelle P., 'The Lindisfarne scriptorium from the late seventh to the early ninth century', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 151–64: 152; Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 189.
[587] See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The original Lindisfarne gospels?', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds), *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), 1–15: 15.

subsequent, holistic analysis of the foundation of Echternach, the composition of its community and the extent of Willibrord's network.[588]

Thus, Wilson stated that the *Calendar* showed 'English "symptoms", which are easily discernible alike in its script and its contents'.[589] Subsequent analyses of the manuscript were marked by the attempt to assign it (and the other Echternach manuscripts) to either an 'Irish' or an 'Northumbrian' background.[590] With regard to the 'English/Northumbrian' position, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has shown that the palaeographical interpretation was itself based on the *a priori* assumption that Willibrord's mission and the foundation of Echternach were an 'English' undertaking; a circular argument was thus established.[591] But despite the fact that Ó Cróinín made a plausible case for the significance of Rath Melsigi as the intellectual background for the genesis of the manuscript (and the scribal tradition of the other early manuscripts from Echternach), the alleged opposition between 'English' and 'Irish' elements in the *Calendar* remained manifest in later studies.[592]

---

[588] Ferrari, 'Schulfragmente', 127: 'Die Lokalisierung der frühen Handschriften aus der Echternacher Bibliothek ist sowieso schwierig und hat zu endlosen und nicht immer sehr nützlichen Diskussionen Anlaß gegeben'; see also McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 513.

[589] Wilson, *The Calendar*, vi (see also xiv, for a similar comment on the origin of the Hieronymian *Martyrology*); *CLA* 2, xviii: 'If [the student] wants examples of authentic English performance he must go to the Lindisfarne Gospels […] and the Codex Epternacensis, to St. Willibrord's Calendar and Martyrology […] There he will find criteria for Northumbrian calligraphy'.

[590] See Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 22–42; Levillain and Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date', 250, n. 3; Angenendt, *Monachi Peregrini*, 232; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 201, n. 9 (*contra* Ó Cróinín); Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 415, describes the script of the *Calendar* as a 'clear Irish script'; see also the rather remarkable commentary by Roy Flechner, *Saint Patrick Retold: The Legend and History of Ireland's Patron Saint* (Princeton, 2019), 208–9, who omits Willibrord's stay in Ireland and connects the entry for St Patrick to Willibrord's 'Anglo-Saxon' origin.

[591] Ó Cróinín, 'Pride and prejudice', 359–62; *idem*, 'Rath Melsigi', 17–21; *idem*, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 192–3; see Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 200.

[592] Ó Cróinín's arguments were partially a riposte to the theory, first penned by Julian Brown and Rupert Bruce-Mitford, that the Durham Gospels and the Echternach Gospels were created by the same scribe from Lindisfarne, whom the authors called the 'Durham-Echternach calligrapher'; see Thomas D. Kendrick, Julian T. Brown, Rupert Bruce-Mitford et al. (eds), *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis* 2 (Olten, 1960), 89–106; in turn, the significance of Rath Melsigi and the 'Irish' context of Willibrord's mission were contested by Michelle P. Brown and Bruce-Mitford; see Brown, 'The Lindisfarne scriptorium', 157–8; Rupert Bruce-Mitford, 'The Durham-Echternach Calligrapher', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 175–88: 177–8, 187–8. Bruce-Mitford's critique, however, shows that the debate reached an impasse: the former strongly criticises Ó Cróinín's use of the term 'prejudice' to refer to Julian Brown's assignment of the most important manuscripts to Northumbria, yet at the same time argues *a priori* that Rath Melsigi was 'essentially [an] Anglo-Saxon' community and that the 'sobriety' and 'discipline' of the ornament of the Echternach Gospels points towards Lindisfarne rather than Ireland; Hen, 'The earliest liturgy', 61, n. 44, argues that the 'Irish element was overemphasised by Ó Cróinín' with regard to the origin of the earliest Echternach manuscripts; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 64, concludes that '[t]he […] calendar also betrays only the faintest interest in the saints of the Celtic Church compared to those of Northumbria and Trier'; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 396, 425–6, is likewise critical towards Ó Cróinín's thesis; an intermediate position was taken by Netzer, 'Willibrord's scriptorium', 203–10; van Berkum, 'Glaubensverkündigung', 82–7; in a later study ('Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 193), Ó Cróinín writes that his 1982 article contained 'too much criticism and too little praise' with regard to Julian Brown's theses. It should also be noted that Ó Cróinín has not argued that the earliest Echternach manuscripts themselves were imported from Ireland but only their script; see *idem*, 'Pride and prejudice', 360; 'Rath Melsigi', 35–6.

Ó Cróinín, in turn, partially pushed the evidence too far by suggesting an Irish background with regard to the church dedications recorded on the May page (as mentioned above).

A second point of the debate concerns the use of the *Calendar* by Willibrord and his community. Wilson not only noted the inclusion of names for which there is no evidence that the respective person's cult was already established in Willibrord's lifetime, such as in the case of the Kings Oswine and Ecgfrith of Northumbria, he also stressed the obscure (and sometimes contradicting) character of certain entries and the complex influences from both the Insular world and the continent that must have guided the compilation. Wilson concluded that the manuscript was 'most probably intended for private and personal use' and 'not a calendar for regulating the order of services in any church'.[593] According to the editor, 'the element of personal interest, of personal veneration for particular saints', based on 'personal association or friendship', inspired the entries in the *Calendar*.[594] Jan Gerchow, on the other hand, argued that Wilson underestimated the significance of the obits for non-saintly, contemporary individuals (such as Oswine and Ecgfrith) and ignored their integration into the community's *memoria*. Thereby, Wilson established the unhelpful dichotomy between a 'private' interest in the obits of persons known to the community on the one hand, and a more institutionalised practice of necrologies on the other, which did not develop until the ninth century.[595] At the same time, Gerchow likewise ascribed a 'personal character' to the manuscript: through the contemporary obits, the Echternach community commemorated those individuals who were connected to Willibrord without clearly distinguishing between established cults and 'ordinary' obits.[596] Gerchow concluded that the *Calendar* represents a 'preliminary stage' in the development of the more systematic necrologies of the ninth century; with regard to Wilfrid's and Ecgberct's omission, he argued that 'completeness' could not be expected with regard to such an early type of commemorative texts. Arno Borst, in turn, maintained that early calendars such as Willibrord's were 'allzusehr auf ihren aktuellen und lokalen, überwiegend kultischen Gesichtskreis beschränkt', revealing a rather negative view of the monastic community's ecclesiastical horizon.[597]

Seen from this perspective, the evidence appears confusing: on the one hand, the *Calendar* commemorated certain kings and clerics from the Insular world before their commemoration became more widely established. This aspect reinforces the argument for

[593] Wilson, *The Calendar*, x.
[594] *Ibid.*, xiv.
[595] See Wilson, *The Calendar*, xiii–xiv; see Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 204-6; Bischoff, 'Über Einritzungen', 177; Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 1.4–5.
[596] Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 206–11.
[597] Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 1.19; see also Ó Cróinín, 'Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?', 201; Palmer, 'The adoption of Dionysian Easter', 138–9.

the ‘personal’ character of the entries and the Insular background of the monastic community, since the selection of the names must have been based on the connections and traditions maintained specifically by Willibrord and his community. On the other hand, the evidence diverges significantly from the depiction of Willibrord’s network in the hagiography and the *Liber aureus*. Furthermore, the panorama of ecclesiastical traditions displayed in the *Calendar* eludes any attempt to narrow the reference points of the monastic community down to Ireland or Northumbria, or even to the Insular world in general. How can the divergences between the entries in the *Calendar* and the other sources be explained without resorting to the assumption that the compilation represents a ‘premature’ type of text that was completed before the death of Willibrord’s most important contacts?

In this context, the application of Peter Brown’s concept of multiple Christian ‘microcosms’ seems to suggest itself: the compilers of the *Calendar* placed their own ‘microcosm’ of Echternach, based on different Insular and continental traditions, within the ‘macrocosm’ of Roman Christianity.[598] Brown noted that the martyrological entries reflect a ‘wide’ world but, at the same time, he characterised it as ‘northern’ and primarily stressed the connection between Echternach and the Insular world.[599] Yet the question of how the Insular and the continental dimension of Willibrord’s network were connected and why they were combined with each other in this specific form, is left unanswered. It can be argued that, by applying Brown’s concept, the interpretation partly reverts to the traditional approach: thus, the *Calendar* is seen as the static reflection of an Insular ‘diaspora’ on the continent, reuniting several different ‘microcosms’ of a limited scope, without covering the entirety of its founder’s network. This approach ignores two of the main features of the *Calendar* that have been highlighted so far in this study: the dynamic character of its compilation and the overlapping of different ecclesiastical traditions in the context of a new foundation *on the continent*. A significant number of the additions were made continuously over a generation by different hands. This means that the entries should be approached as evidence for the *development* of the traditions and the network of the Echternach community. The analysis should foreground the conscious choices made by the scribes over a prolonged period of time and further specify the relation between the establishment of the monastery, the development of Willibrord’s activity in Francia and the genesis of the manuscript.[600]

By drawing the dividing line between Willibrord’s career before 697/8 and the

[598] See Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 378–9.
[599] *Ibid.*, 415–6.
[600] McKitterick, ‘Le scriptorium’, 513–7, observes that the manuscripts associated with Echternach are primarily ‘Continental’ in terms of their contents and distribution and that by the ninth century ‘Echternach n’est pas plus distincitvement insulaire que les fondations comparables à l’est du Rhin’; see also Ó Cróinín, ‘Rath Melsigi’, 39–42; McKitterick, ‘The diffusion’, 404.

foundation of Echternach rather than between the 'Irish', 'Northumbrian' and 'Frankish' stages of his career, the chronology of the entries reveals an emphasis on the monastery's continental network after the initial composition of the *Calendar*. By applying a more general distinction and separating the 'supra-regional' from the 'local' entries, a shift in emphasis to the ecclesiastical networks of Austrasia can be detected. At first sight, there is no difference between the geographical focus of the earliest layer and the additions: continental saints such as Genoveva of Paris (d. 502), Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), Sulpicius of Bourges (d. 591), Valerius and Maximin of Trier, Lupus of Troyes (d. 487) and Remigius of Rheims (d. 533) were included in the original part according to Wilson's analysis,[601] whereas the additions encompass the names of Gildas, Chad of Lastingham, Oswine of Northumbria, Aidan of Lindisfarne, Theodore of Canterbury and Hild of Whitby.

Yet, one difference can be noted: those additions that refer to the Insular world only encompass individuals who died before the foundation of Echternach and the compilation of the *Calendar*. In contrast, if the scribes commemorated a person who died after 702/3, they apparently did so only with regard to names which belonged to Echternach's ecclesiastical horizon on the continent: Suidberct, Anastasia of Oeren, Lambert of Maastricht, Basin and Hildulf of Trier are all connected to the continental stations of Willibrord's career and were venerated in Echternach's neighbouring dioceses. What is more, the number of names which have been identified as members of the monastic community is higher among the additions. Although these individuals cannot be identified with certainty, their inclusion suggests that the scribes used the *Calendar* to expand the monastic *memoria* to their own, more immediate network. The entries relating to the dedication of two churches in Toxandria, another contemporary event that took place after 702/3, also belong to the later layer of additions. The inclusion of Suidberct shows that the 'micro-perspective' of these additions was not simply a matter of chronology, in the sense that other references, especially to Wilfrid and Ecgberct, are missing because most of the additions were written down before 710.

Although the specific sequence of the additions remains unclear, a change in emphasis can be detected with regard to the geographical focus of the later entries. The accentuation of contemporaries from the monastic community's own regional horizon suggests that the practice of writing obits was closely connected to the integration of Echternach into the ecclesiastical networks of Austrasia. The additions do not simply continue the dual focus of the earliest layer on both the Insular world and the continent;

[601] Fol. 34^{v}: *in parisi natale genifeuae uirginis* (3 January); *natale hilari episcopi* (13 January); *natale sulpici episcopi* (27 January); *treveris natale ualeri episcopi* (29 January); fol. 36^{v}: *natale sancti maximini treueris* (31 May); fol. 37^{v}: *natale lupi de trecas* (29 July); fol. 39^{r}: *natale remedi* (1 October). The identification of *sulpicius* as Sulpicius of Bourges is not entirely certain; see Wilson, *The Calendar*, 20.

rather, they reinforce the emphasis of the original part on the dioceses of Trier, Tongeren-Maastricht and, in Suidberct's case, to Cologne.[602] The question can be raised of whether the commemoration of Suidberct and the Hewalds (originally by the first 'hand', but extended by a later scribe) should be assigned to an 'Insular' perspective; if we assume that the names of the unknown *presbyteri* refer to members of Willibrord's own community, then Suidberct is the only 'external' individual commemorated in the *Calendar* with an Insular background who died after 702/3. The commemoration of Suidberct and the Hewalds, however, did not develop in Britain but in Cologne and at Kaiserswerth at the initiative of Pippin II and Plectrude, respectively. Rather than reflecting the alleged 'English' outlook of the community at Echternach, their inclusion fits in with pattern outlined above.[603]

To recapitulate: the reassessment of the chronology of the entries suggests that, soon after 697/8, the scribes began to position their foundation within the surrounding ecclesiastical landscape by adapting the monastic *memoria* to their new environment. The interdependence between the monastery's immediate environment and the continuity of supra-regional connections is likewise reflected in the so-called *Zürich Calendar*, which was probably compiled at Nivelles. If the dating of *c.* 700 is correct, then this manuscript represents the closest comparable case to the *Calendar*.[604] Next to the chronological proximity between the two manuscripts, Nivelles, situated within Willibrord's field of activity between Echternach and Utrecht, was a foundation with strong ties to the Insular world as well as to the Pippinids.[605] Unfortunately, only parts of the *Zürich Calendar* remain, and the inclusion or omission of certain names can thus not be verified.[606] Yet, the surviving entries follow a pattern which is similar to the one detected in the *Calendar*. On the one hand, there is a strong focus on Ireland: both Brigid and Patrick (alongside Gertrude, Nivelles' first abbess) are commemorated, as are the brothers Fursa (d. *c.* 649) and Fóillán (d. 655/6). Significantly, no English kings or clerics are included in the extant entries.[607] On

[602] See chapter 2.3.1.
[603] In this context, the assumption by Hen, 'The earliest liturgy', 57–61, that 'local Frankish saints are under-represented' in contrast to 'Anglo-Saxon and Irish saints', is surprising. The enumeration above shows that the number of Insular saints (even including Suidberct and the Hewalds) is not significantly higher than the number of Continental saints. Although Hen stresses that 'the possibility of Irish influence […] is very important' and that 'Echternach was not an enclave of Anglo-Saxon conservatism, isolated from local influences and tendencies', he argues that the 'abbey opened its gates to some local Frankish influences' only gradually; in contrast, McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 514–5, highlights the rapid integration of Echternach into the ecclesiastical networks of Austrasia, especially of the diocese of Trier, based on the palaeographical evidence.
[604] Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fols 166^{v}–169^{v}; *Sacramentarium Rhenaugensie: Handschrift Rh 30 der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, eds Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr (Freiburg i. d. Schweiz, 1970), 294–9; on the dating see Warntjes; 'The origin(s)', 153–7.
[605] See chapter 2.2.2.
[606] Warntjes; 'The origin(s)', 153. The seven surviving pages cover the period from January to 10 April, and from 28 May to 13 July.
[607] Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fol. 166^{v}: *Dormitio fursei abbatis et fulniani* (16 January; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 295);

the other hand, the focus of the *Zürich Calendar* is not exclusively 'Irish'. As in Willibrord's *Calendar*, the entries reflect an interest in the monastery's history and its immediate ecclesiastical environment: it records the translation of Gertrude's body (d. 659), while the commemoration of Amandus of Maastricht represents an interesting parallel between the two calendars.[608]

Two conclusions have so far been reached: firstly, the entries in the *Calendar* reflect the continuous, though not systematic, interest of the community of Echternach in their own ecclesiastical network during Willibrord's lifetime. Secondly, this network, as far as it can be reconstructed, does not fit in with the narrow reference points offered by the hagiography on the one hand and the palaeographical interpretation on the other. The assessment of previous studies, in which the *Calendar* was primarily understood as a 'private' text, which mirrored Willibrord's Insular background, can be refined: its compilation was a dynamic process which should be understood as a series of independent and individual contributions by different scribes.[609] The present analysis argues that one of the goals of the compilation was the 'localisation' of Echternach within the 'ecclesiastical topography' between Utrecht and Trier. The layer assigned by Wilson to the 'first hand' shows that by 702/3, this 'topography' had already been shaped by Willibrord's connections to Northumbria and Ireland as well as by his two journeys to Rome.[610] The subsequent shift of the emphasis to the links that developed between Echternach and the other dioceses in Austrasia suggests that the monastic community made the conscious effort to bridge the gap between the wider network of Insular saints and the continental context of Willibrord's career after 690. The community's own network was slowly embedded within the familiar 'grid' of ecclesiastical reference points that extended from Ireland to Rome – this process, however, emanated from

---

fol. 167^{r}: *Natale sanctae brigite uirginis* (1 February; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 295); fol. 168^{r}: *Patricii episcopi et sancta(e) geredrude uirginis* (17 March; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 297); Warntjes; 'The origin(s)', 154–7, argues that the absence of Columba of Iona's name is potentially linked to the veneration of Fursa and Fóillán on the one hand, and to the stance on Easter assumed by the Irish members of the Nivelles community on the other. In this context, the name of Pope Gregory the Great (fol. 168^{r}) could have been included in the *Zürich Calendar* because of his veneration as an authority on Dionysiac Easter, rather than because of his role in the Christianisation of Kent as depicted by Bede; on Fursa, Fóillán and Gertrude see chapter 2.2.2.

[608] Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fol. 167^{v}: *Sancti uedasti et sancti amandi* (6 February); *translatio sancta gerdrude in niuialcha* (10 February; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 297); see Warntjes; 'The origin(s)', 156; see chapter 2.2.2.

[609] This point is also stressed by Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 37–9, who concludes that the *Calendar* does neither reflect an 'unspoken communal consensus' nor an 'individual Willibrordian perspective'. However, Lifshitz overemphasises the significance of conflicts within the monastic community. Based on the observation that several names were erased or painted over, and that the *Calendar* was completed in a very short timeframe (before 710), she assumes that the entries were the result of a 'passionate struggle' between different scribes. Yet there is no further evidence for such disagreements within the community. Some of the erasures and interpolations were apparently the result of later corrections. Furthermore, while 713 appears to be the chronological *terminus ante quem* for the majority of the entries, the palaeographical evidence does not suggest that the usage stopped before 728/739. Thus, if the *Calendar* was used over almost a generation, different scribes could have made further changes independently of each other.

[610] See Hen, 'The early liturgy', 57; Palmer, 'The adoption of the Dionysian Easter', 139–40.

a continental point of view.

A brief comparison between the *Calendar* and the copy of Hieronymian *Martyrology*, produced by the scribe Laurentius, highlights the specific local and contemporary character of the additions in the former text. The correspondence between the names recorded in the *Martyrology* and the *Calendar* is small: only the names of Oswald of Northumbria, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne and Oethelwald of Farne are recorded in both texts.[611] At the same time, the number of additions made to the *Martyrology* is generally small. While the text of the *Martyrology* was extended at Echternach, it was apparently not the function of this text to follow the 'local' perspective of the *Calendar*.[612] Assuming that the *presbyter* Laurentius was identical to the scribe of the charters recorded in the *Liber aureus*, then it is surprising that Laurentius – who must have been well informed about Willibrord's continental network – did not include any additional names in his copy of the *Martyrology*. The Echternach exemplar preserved its 'supra-regional' perspective and primarily added saints from the Insular world to the original text.[613]

In contrast to previous studies of the martyrological entries, the present analysis discards the idea that the *Calendar* represents a 'systematic' compilation, which encompasses the entirety of Willibrord's network. The variety of scripts and forms, by which the additions are characterised, suggests that, beyond the 'first hand', the different scribes did not proceed in a coordinated manner. Rather, some of the additions were probably made *ad hoc*. The 'gaps' in the list of names and the singular character of certain additions, such as those regarding the churches in Toxandria, create the impression that the compilation did not follow a consistent 'system'; the extent and the way the available information was recorded seems to have varied from user to user. It seems unlikely that the scribes were guided by the underlying motivation, or even less an institutional agenda, to encompass the entirety of Willibrord's *private* relations. In this context, Wilfrid and Ecgberct were perhaps 'left out' because they belonged to the sphere of supra-regional connections within Willibrord's network which extended to Britain and Ireland. The authors of the later additions did apparently not focus on this dimension of their abbot's network. This must not mean that they omitted Wilfrid and Ecgberct on purpose, nor that Echternach was suddenly cut off from the Insular world. According to Bede's writings, contacts between Willibrord's circle and Northumbria continued after the monastery's foundation. This discrepancy

[611] Fol. 10^{r} (Cuthbert); fol. 12^{v} (Oethelwald); fol. 22^{v} (Oswald); Columbanus' name is included in the copy of the *Martyrolorgy* (fol. 29^{v}: 23 November; eds de Rossi/ Duchesne, 146) but not in the *Calendar*.
[612] Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 15, 34–6. One notable exception is the addition of the otherwise unknown name *frumuald* to the margin of fol. 29^{r}, apparently the only non-saint added to the original text.
[613] *Ibid.*, 141.

between the sources further supports the notion that the scribes of the *Calendar* focused on their continental network after 702/3.[614]

From the perspective of the modern historian, the *Calendar* ultimately appears as an 'incomplete' source. This notion – reinforced by the assertation that the *Calendar* lacks the complexity of later martyrologies and calendars – can be counterbalanced by the observation that the entries reflect the development of Echternach's ecclesiastical network on the continent and not the static 'offprint' of Willibrord's biography as depicted in the narrative sources. As James Palmer has stressed, the introduction of the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter via Echternach and the use of AD-dating in the *Calendar* represent two significant developments which profoundly shaped the intellectual culture of the Frankish kingdom in the first half of the eighth century. The *Calendar* and the corresponding Easter table reflect the innovative potential and dynamic nature of Willibrord's community, which rapidly reunited Insular with Continental learning.[615]

The innovative context, within which the early community operated, implies that the formation of the scriptorium, the establishment of contacts between Echternach and the surrounding dioceses and extension of the monastery's property were long-term processes; these components were not yet fully established at the beginning of the eighth century. The information which reached the community of Echternach in the formative years of its existence, especially regarding events in Ireland and Britain, cannot have been of a consistent nature.[616] The fragmentary character of the entries implies that deaths of individuals with a connection to Echternach were recorded *if* possible, depending on the available knowledge and interest of the respective scribe. At the same time, the compilation of the *Calendar* needs to be placed within the development of the monastic *memoria*; it formed part of the process of negotiation in which the community formed its own identity. Instead of dwelling on the question about the 'omissions', any reassessment of the source should take into consideration the community's agency with regard to the selection of the entries and focus on the development of new ecclesiastical reference points on the continent.

---

[614] *Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, IV.16, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life. Texts, Translations and Notes* (Cambridge, 1940), 59–140: 134; Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 44 (ed. Colgrave, 296); Bede, *HE*, III.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252). This could also explain the abscence of Wictberct's name in the *Calendar*. If Wictberct stayed in Ireland after his return from Frisia, as Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 24–6, assumes, then he would have remained outside of Willibrord's immediate network, in contrast to Suidberct and the Hewalds.

[615] Palmer, 'The adoption of the Dionysian Easter', 147–9; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 424–5; Hen, 'The early liturgy', 61, stresses that the foundation of Echternach took place in an 'experimental age of liturgy' marked by 'creativity' rather than uniformity; McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium', 513, argues that the diversity in script and influences was due to the close contacts between Echternach and the surrounding dioceses (where Insular scribes were also active) and does not constitute convincing evidence that the Echternach community was itself composed of many scribes with distinctive styles.

[616] See Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 21, n. 1.

As in the case of the *Liber aureus*, the interpretation of the *Calendar* must be approached with the limitations posed by the context of its compilation in mind. By adding names to the manuscript, the scribes in Echternach left only traces of their community's network. At the same time, these traces reveal a more complex picture than the hagiography and the charters of the *Chronicon*. The martyrological entries from Willibrord's lifetime combine two layers of ecclesiastical traditions with each other: the first layer points to Ireland and Northumbria, the second to the area between Utrecht and Trier.

Thus, from the moment of its foundation, Echternach represented an *intersection* of different Insular and continental networks and routes of communication, which were used by clerics from Ireland, Britain and across the Frankish kingdom. Whereas the accounts of Bede and Alcuin focus on Willibrord's 'missionary' role in Frisia and the charters of the *Liber aureus* reflect his local network in Austrasia, the *Calendar* provides an invaluable insight into the 'intermediate' grid of ecclesiastical links that existed between Ireland and Rome around 700. Chapter 1 has shown that Willibrord's activity extended into two different contexts in Frisia and in Francia. In contrast, the *Calendar* sheds light on the ecclesiastical links which connected the different stages of Willibrord's career with each other. What is more, the evidence shows that the coordinates of Willibrord's network were less fixed than the hagiographical sources suggest and that they developed during his time on the continent. The rapid integration of Echternach into the ecclesiastical landscape of Austrasia furthermore suggests that the Pippinids were not the only point of connection between Ripon, Rath Melsigi and Echternach.

The aim of the following chapter is to further contextualise the intersections between Ireland, Britain and Francia which are reflected in the *Calendar* and to analyse the development of Willibrord's network beyond the mission to Frisia.

2.2 Foundations: Willibrord's Ecclesiastical Horizon Around 700

The analysis of the *Calendar* has shown that the ecclesiastical network of Willibrord's circle extended from Ireland to Rome. At the same time, this 'grid' is characterised by a subtle chronological divide: up to *c.* 700, the entries reflect the intersection of different traditions from the Insular world and the continent. After the foundation of Echternach, the monastic community's perspective was expanded through the inclusion of clerics from Willibrord's field of activity between Utrecht and Trier. The supra-regional perspective of the *Calendar* before 700 raises the question of what the foundations of his ecclesiastical network were when Willibrord left Ireland in 690; the earliest layer of martyrological entries had already combined a wide range of influences, which encompassed Iona, Ireland, Northumbria and Rome. Thus, a substantial part of the traditions, which Willibrord and his circle chose as the cornerstones of their monastic *memoria*, were already interlinked with each other before the foundation of Echternach. This would not only explain why the integration of Willibrord's community into a continental ecclesiastical horizon progressed so rapidly; it would also explain why most of the entries can hardly be ascribed to different 'cultural' backgrounds and why scholars, driven by the intention to separate 'Irish', 'English' and 'Frankish' elements, have struggled to clearly separate the overlapping influences.

This chapter seeks to further understand the selection of names in the *Calendar* and the development of Willibrord's ecclesiastical horizon before the foundation of Echternach. As shown in chapter 1, Bede reduced Willibrord's Insular network to Ecgberct of Rath Melsigi. Yet Rath Melsigi cannot be viewed in isolation from the 'triangle' which encompassed Iona, Ireland and Northumbria.[617] The first section, therefore, focuses on the commemoration of King Oswald of Northumbria within Willibrord's circle. His name represents the only direct intersection between Bede's depiction of Willibrord in the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Calendar*, and the development of his veneration sheds light on the interconnectedness of the early stages of Willibrord's career. The second section analyses the shift from his Insular background to his continental activity. Did Willibrord build on previous links between Ireland, Rome and northern Francia or did the foundation of Echternach mark the creation of a new ecclesiastical horizon?

[617] See Introduction.

2.2.1 Ripon, Rath Melsigi and Iona

The two chapters in Book Five of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in which Bede outlines Willibrord's career contain little evidence for the commemoration practiced by the latter's circle, except for Bede's statement that Willibrord wished to collect relics in Rome.[618] A look beyond Book Five, however, reveals an interesting detail: the first appearance of Willibrord in Bede's work occurs in Book Three, several chapters before the account of Ecgberct's plan to convert the Frisians. Book Three focuses on the life of King Oswald of Northumbria, his veneration after his death in battle against Penda of Mercia (d. 655) in 642 and the miracles performed by his relics. The chapters on Oswald represent a central element of the structure of the *Historia*; through Oswald's biography, Bede narrated the reestablishment and expansion of Christianity in Northumbria in the seventh century.[619] Bede placed this development between the death of King Edwin in 633, which was followed by a partial abandonment of Christianity in Northumbria, and the death of King Ecgfrith in battle against the Picts in 685; the latter event allegedly initiating a new phase of political decline in Northumbria.[620]

In chapter 13 of Book Three, Bede describes a meeting between Wilfrid of York, Acca of Hexham and Willibrord on the continent. The encounter probably took place in 703 in the context of Wilfrid's third journey to Rome and was related to Bede by Acca himself.[621] Willibrord told his guests about a healing which he performed with the help of one of Oswald's relics. The chapter contains the interesting detail that the miracle took place during Willibrord's time in Ireland: an Irish cleric was affected by the plague and asked Willibrord for help, having heard of the miracles associated with the name of Oswald.[622] Willibrord possessed a piece of the stake to which Oswald's head had been affixed after his death in battle, of which he put a splinter in a cup of water, urging the sick man to believe in the healing power of the relic. After the latter had drunk from the cup, he was healed and from

[618] See chapter 1.1.3.
[619] Bede, *HE*, 3.6 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 230); see Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 349–54.
[620] Bede, *HE*, 3.1, 4.26 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 212–4, 426–30).
[621] *Ibid.*, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252–4); see Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 197–8. It is unclear where the meeting took place. According to Bede, Willibrord told Wilfrid and Acca about the miracles of Oswald which were performed in *illa prouincia*; given the reference to Willibrord in the same passage as *Fresonum gentis archiepiscopus*, the *prouincia* in question was probably Frisia. Bede could, however, also have meant the wider province of *Germania* since the chapter opens with a reference to *Germania et Hibernia*, to where Oswald's fame had apparently spread. This does not, however, solve the question whether the three clerics met at Utrecht, Echternach or somewhere else in Austrasia.
[622] That the miracle took place in Ireland is suggested by Bede's phrasing; he introduces the chapter with the information that Oswald's fame spread beyond Britain to *Germaniae simul et Hiberniae partes*, and that stories about the king's holiness had already spread in *ea insula* when Willibrord was a priest (*presbyter*) there.

this day onwards proclaimed the 'glory of His faithful servant' Oswald.[623] The episode implies that Oswald was commemorated in Ireland before 690 and that at least one relic associated with the king was kept at Rath Melsigi, possibly brought over from Northumbria by Willibrord himself.[624] The fact that Bede chose to insert this specific story into his larger section on the veneration of Oswald and to connect it to the authority of Willibrord indicates that the latter played a primary role in the spread of the king's memory between Ireland and the Continent.[625]

Although the story told by Willibrord is set in Ireland, the three individuals mentioned at the beginning of the chapter are Northumbrians. In the statement which Bede attributed to the Irish cleric, Oswald is assigned to the *gens Anglorum*. At first sight, Bede's phrasing implies that the transmission of the stories connected to Oswald was limited to a Northumbrian ecclesiastical network; the entire passage, however, suggests that the sick cleric had already heard the story in Ireland before he met Willibrord. Thus, Willibrord's circle was probably not the sole custodian of Oswald's veneration in Ireland.[626] The question is whether there is any evidence for the spread of the tradition via channels other than the link between Ripon and Rath Melsigi. Here, Bede's narrative choices need to be considered again. Throughout Book Three and Four of the *Historia*, he relates several miracles connected with the relics of Oswald. In two cases, Bede identifies Acca as his source. Next to the healing of the Irish cleric by Willibrord, Acca allegedly told Bede of another miracle which was performed at the South Saxon monastery of Selsey.[627] This chapter is significant, as it indicates that the monastic community possessed *codices* which contained notes relating to the 'deposition of the dead', including the day of Oswald's slaying. According to Bede, the monks had not celebrated the mass in honour of Oswald on 5 August before that day, when a young boy was instructed by the Saints Peter and Paul to remind the community to commemorate the anniversary of the king's death; only subsequently did the tradition spread from Selsey to 'many other places'.[628]

---

[623] Bede, *HE*, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 254; trans. *ibid.*, 255).
[624] Alan T. Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*: the division of the body and the diffusion of the cult', in Clare E. Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (eds), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stanford, 1995), 97–127: 114.
[625] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 116–9; for the enduring significance of Oswald's feast day for the community of Echternach in the late twelfth century see Theoderic, *Libellus* (*Liber aureus*, fol. 120^{r}; ed. Weiland, 72).
[626] Bede, *HE*, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 254): *Audiuimus autem, et fama creberrima, quia fuerit in gente uestra rex mirandae sanctitatis, uocabulo Osuald* […].
[627] Bede, *HE*, 3.13, 4.14 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252, 376). Significantly, the first three references to Acca in the *Historia* relate to his role as Bede's informant. The first two instances concern miracles associated with Oswald, the third one the miraculous healing of Wilfrid on the continent; on Bede's and Acca's relationship see Paul Hilliard, 'Acca of Hexham through the eyes of the venerable Bede', *Early Medieval Europe*, 26.4 (2018), 440–61: 450–2.
[628] Bede, *HE*, 4.14 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 376–80).

The monastery at Selsey was established by Wilfrid in the early 680s when he sought refuge in Sussex after his unsuccessful attempt to regain control of the see of York.[629] Bede placed the episode directly after the conversion of the South Saxons by Wilfrid (*eodem ferme tempore*), yet the manuscript evidence suggests that Bede added the chapter at a relatively late stage of the compilation of the *Historia* and that the tradition had only developed around the turn of the seventh century. The late inclusion of the Oswald material is further implied by the fact that the king is not mentioned in the earliest version of Bede's *Martyrology* nor in the *De temporum ratione* (725), in which King Edwin and Bishop Paulinus still occupy the position later assigned to Oswald and Aidan of Lindisfarne.[630] On the other hand, the chapter in Book Four implies that the members of Wilfrid's community at Selsey possessed a calendar which recorded Oswald's feast day.[631] Bede's account implies that the veneration of Oswald had been established within Wilfrid's circle by the time Willibrord left Ripon for Ireland in 678. However, the late addition of the chapter to the *Historia* sounds a note of caution.[632] In this context, Bede's indication that masses had not been held on 5 August at Selsey before the early eighth century – over half a century after the king's death – seems curious, since he highlights the fact that the feast day was already part of the community's written tradition.[633] After all, Bede himself provides evidence for the development of the king's veneration shortly after his death.[634]

The chronological discrepancy between the evidence of the *Historia* for an early devotion to Oswald in the second half of the seventh century and the Selsey story suggests that Bede referred to two different phenomena: as Alan Thacker pointed out, there is only limited evidence for the establishment of a widespread *cult* of Oswald in the seventh and early eighth centuries. His veneration was probably still limited to specific networks, of which that of Willibrord represented a prominent example. It is unclear, however, to what extent the 'private devotion' of, for example, the Echternach community was expanded into a liturgical commemoration of the king.[635] Within the context of Bede's treatment of Oswald's *memoria*, the Selsey episode stands out because it implies that the commemoration reached a new level: the feast day, whose entry in the *codices* had been forgotten, was now

[629] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 41 (ed. Colgrave, 80–84).
[630] Bede, *HE*, 4.14 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 376); Bede, *Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 311); Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, 1.xciv–xcvi; Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 109, 112.
[631] See Colgrave/Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 378–9, n. 2.
[632] See Clare E. Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen's Life of Wilfrid and the early proses Lives of St Cuthbert', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41 (2013), 7–39: 36, n. 140.
[633] Bede, *HE*, 4.14 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 380).
[634] *Ibid.*, 3.9–13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 240–54).
[635] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 116–8.

firmly integrated into the monastery's liturgy. It is important to note that when Bede wrote his text, a new phase in the veneration of Oswald had begun, and its assertion was anything but secure before the early eighth century. The Selsey story not only highlights the intercession of Peter and Paul but also attributes an important role to Acca in the development. When Bede composed the *Historia*, Acca had begun to reinforce the commemoration of Oswald within his diocese after he had succeeded Wilfrid as bishop of Hexham in 710. It was primarily the appropriation of the king's veneration by Acca's circle and the subsequent propagation of the connection between Hexham and Oswald through Bede which set the foundation for the primacy of Oswald among the commemorated kings of Northumbria in the following centuries.[636]

Bede's choice to insert Acca twice as the link between him and the transmission of Oswald's reputation was, therefore, not a coincidence. For Bede, Oswald's significance resulted above all from the fact that he had reunited Northumbria both in political and in religious terms. The transmission of the Hexham tradition allowed Bede to develop his image of the king as a unifying figure of Northumbrian Christianity.[637] Acca's appointment as bishop of Hexham, in turn, represented a return to stability in the see after the period of conflicts between Wilfrid and the Kings Ecgfrith and Aldfrith (d. 705). Although Acca promoted the memory of his predecessor, he was probably not a staunch 'Wilfridian' in the sense that Bede felt distanced from his bishop, as older studies suggested. On the contrary, Acca and Bede were in close contact with each other and by linking Acca's episcopacy with Oswald's veneration, Bede probably advanced his ideal of ecclesiastical unity in Northumbria.[638]

To retrospectively accentuate Oswald's prominence and to highlight Acca's relation to the commemoration of the king, however, Bede had to polish his narrative and partially reduce the complexity of Oswald's legacy before the early eighth century. Firstly, it needs to be remembered that there were two sites connected to Oswald's *memoria*: the site of Heavenfield, in the immediate vicinity of Hexham, and the (unidentified) site of *Maserfelth*.[639] According to Bede, the former site was the place where Oswald erected his

[636] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 109–13; Michelle Ziegler, 'The Ripon Connection? Willibrord, Wilfrid, and the Mission to Frisia', *Heroic Age* 6 (2003) (www.heroicage.org/issues/6/ziegler.html) [accessed: 25 August 2021]; Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', 32–6.
[637] See Julia Barrow, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', in Alexander J. Langlands and Ryan Lavelle (eds), *The Land of the English Kin: Studies in Wessex and Anglo-Saxon England in Honour of Professor Barbara Yorke* (Leiden, 2020), 183–96: 185–6.
[638] See Hilliard, 'Acca of Hexham', 455–61; Clare E. Stancliffe, 'Bede and Bishop Acca', in Scott DeGregoria and Paul Kershaw (eds), *Cities, Saints, and Communities in Early Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Alan Thacker* (Turnhout, 2020), 171–94.
[639] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 98–9.

camp on the eve of the battle against Cadwallon of Gwynedd in 634, and where the king 'set up the sign of the holy cross', which has traditionally been interpreted as a freestanding wooden cross. Although this thesis has recently been called into question, Bede's phrasing suggests that a wooden cross stood at the site in his own lifetime, and that both the spot itself and the wood from the cross had become the sources of miracles.[640]

Bede directly connects the veneration of Heavenfield to Hexham, but his account reveals that, although the monks observed the tradition of undertaking a yearly pilgrimage to the site, the construction of a church at the same site was only a 'recent' development.[641] The construction of the latter building was probably only undertaken after 710 during Acca's episcopacy.[642] The short distance between Heavenfield and Hexham facilitated the monks' access to the relics associated with the king. In the same passage, Bede indicates that there was 'no emblem of the Christian Faith, no church, and no altar in the whole of Bernicia' before Oswald erected his cross at Heavenfield. With this statement, Bede drew a dividing line between Oswald's time and that of his predecessors, and thereby reduces the impact of Edwin's rule for the development of Christianity in Northumbria. What is more, Bede's attempt to clearly distinguish Oswald's reign mirrors his description of the king's veneration at Hexham: in both cases, earlier developments are toned down to accentuate the contribution of Oswald and Acca, respectively.[643]

In contrast, the site of *Maserfelth*, where Oswald was killed and his body dismembered by Penda's troops in 642, soon attracted the attention of different religious and political actors: Oswald's severed forearms and his head were recovered in 643 by his brother Oswiu (d. 670), who transferred the head to Lindisfarne and the arms to Bamburgh.[644] The bones of his body, on the other hand, were recovered by Queen Osthryth (d. 697), daughter of Oswiu and wife of King Æthelred of Mercia, and taken to the abbey of Bardney in Mercia.[645] Although the account of the translation precedes the information that Oswiu recovered the head and the arms in the *Historia*, Osthryth's initiative has been placed in the period between her marriage to Æthelred in 679 and her death in 697. In any case, it is likely

[640] Bede, *HE*, 3.2 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 216); Barrow, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', 189–92.
[641] Bede, *HE*, 3.2 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 216): *In quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est, uigilias pro salute animae eius facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, uictimam pro eo mane sacrae oblationis offerre.*
[642] Barrow, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', 192.
[643] Bede, *HE*, 3.1 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 212–4); see Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 110–3; Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', 38–9; Barrow, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', 185–6. In this context, it was not Bede's concern to downplay Edwin's role but rather to erase the short reigns of Cadwallon and the 'apostates' Osric and Eanfrith over Northumbria after Edwin's death.
[644] Bede, *HE*, 3.12 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 252); Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 100.
[645] Bede, *HE*, 3.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 244–50).

that it preceded the developments at Hexham, where the community focused on Heavenfield.[646] According to Bede, Willibrord possessed splinters of wood from the stake on which Oswald's head had been impaled, not from the wooden cross which had been erected at Heavenfield. The devotion of Willibrord's circle to Oswald could, therefore, have developed earlier and through a different channel of transmission than Acca's Hexham.[647]

Lindisfarne has been put forward as a possible source for the veneration of Oswald within Willibrord's community.[648] The translation of the king's head to the monastery, established by Aidan in 635 on Oswald's initiative, implies a strong connection between the foundation and the veneration of the king.[649] However, there is little evidence for the development of a liturgical commemoration of Oswald at Lindisfarne.[650] What is more, the supposed link between Echternach and Lindisfarne (often cited in the context of the palaeographical debate[651]) rests to a large extent on the brief episode, recorded in both the anonymous and Bede's *Life* of Cuthbert, according to which a member of Willibrord's community stayed at the monastery at an unspecified date during his travels. It appears, however, that Willibrord's circle constituted an important channel for the transmission of traditions between Iona, Lindisfarne and Francia.[652]

Iona represents a second possible source for the spread of Oswald's veneration between Ireland and Northumbria. After the death of his father at the hands of King Rædwald of East Anglia (d. *c.* 626) in 616 and the ascension of Edwin to the throne of Northumbria, Oswald had sought refuge 'among the Irish or the Picts' (*apud Scottos siue Pictos*).[653] His subsequent recruitment of Aidan in the 630s initiated the period of strong ecclesiastical interconnectedness between Ireland and Northumbria in the second half of the seventh century.[654] Another piece of evidence for the commemoration of Oswald in Iona is provided by the *Life* of Columba, written around 700 by Adomnán (d. 704), the ninth abbot of Iona

[646] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 260–1; Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 104–5.
[647] Bede, *HE*, 3.9, 3.13 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 240–4, 252–4).
[648] Ziegler, 'The Ripon connection?'.
[649] Bede, *HE*, 3.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 218–20).
[650] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 101–2. When the followers of Bishop Colman left Lindisfarne after the Synod of Whitby in 664, they translated a part of Aidan's body to Ireland but left Oswald's head behind. On the problematic notion of a 'Celtic head cult', see Helen Imhoff, '*Inna hinada hi filet cind erred Ulad inso*: Burial and the status of the head', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 63 (2016), 69–94: 79–80.
[651] See chapter 2.1.2.
[652] V*ita Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, 4.16 (ed. Colgrave, 134); Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 44 (ed. Colgrave, 296); see also Clare E. Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the polarity between pastor and solitary', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 21–44: 24, n. 22; Alan T. Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of St Cuthbert', *ibid.*, 103–24: 115.
[653] Bede, *HE*, 3.1 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 212).
[654] *Ibid.*, 3.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 218–20).

(679–704).[655] Significantly, the information provided by Adomnán, which focuses on Oswald's battle against Cadwallon in 634, partially diverges from the *Historia ecclesiastica*. According to Adomnán, Columba appeared to the king on the eve of the battle and urged him to meet his enemy resolutely, as the saint foresaw his victory.[656] The crucial difference between Adomnán's and Bede's account is the former's indication that only Oswald and twelve of his followers had been Christians before the battle. The rest of Oswald's army only promised to receive baptism after they heard the king proclaim Columba's prophecy. The difference in their approaches reveals the specific interests of Bede and Adomnán, respectively: Adomnán stressed that the small number of Christians in Oswald's host had been baptised during his exile among the Irish.[657]

By contrasting Oswald's faith, through which he was granted Columba's support, with the rest of his troops, Adomnán promoted the role of Iona in the Christianisation of Northumbria. As mentioned above, Bede was anxious to depict Oswald as the champion of a united Northumbrian Christianity and thus needed to adapt his account to the central message of Book Three of his *Historia*.[658] Adomnán indicates that he was told the story about Oswald's vision by his predecessor, Abbot Failbe (669–79), who, in turn, had heard it from Abbot Ségéne (624–52).[659] It has been suggested that Oswald travelled to Iona after his victory against Cadwallon to discuss the dispatch of a bishop to Northumbria with Ségéne.[660] However, the *Life* of Columba provides no evidence for the commemoration of Oswald in Iona during Adomnán's time, although the abbot remembered him as a powerful ruler who paved the way for Iona's influence on the Northumbrian Church.[661]

---

[655] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, eds and trans. Alan O. Anderson and Majorie O. Anderson (London, 1961), 178–544; on the dating and composition of the *Vita* see Richard Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba* (London, 1995), 3, 53–65; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 224. Adomnán's *Vita* was based on an earlier work composed by Abbot Cumméne (657–69) of Iona between *c.* 630 and 650. Traces of Cumméne's book only survive in a later copy of Adomnán's *Vita*.

[656] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 1.1 (eds Anderson/Anderson, 198–200).

[657] Bede, *HE*, 3.2 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 214–8); Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 1.1 (eds Anderson/Anderson, 200); Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona*, 252–3, n. 41, suggests that Oswald's and Oswius' baptism took place in Iona.

[658] Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona*, 252–3, n. 41; Barrow, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', 192–6, concludes that Bede knew Adomnán's work. The fact that Bede apparently accepted a contradiction within his own narrative, reinforces the assumption that Adomnán's account depicts the religious composition of Oswald's army more accurately. On the one hand, Bede asserts that 'no church and no altar had been erected' (trans. Colgrave/Mynors, 217) in the whole of Bernicia before the battle. On the other hand, he claims that Oswald's army was already Christian. The former point was central to his narrative and needed to be retained, but at the same time, he wished to avoid any reference to non-Christian elements in Oswald's circle; see also Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona*, 46–8. Adomnán visited Northumbria twice in the 680s and also stayed at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.

[659] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 1.1 (eds Anderson/Anderson, 200–2).

[660] Bede, *HE*, 3.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 218–20); Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona*, 253, n. 43.

[661] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 1.1 (eds Anderson/Anderson, 200). Adomnán refers to Oswald as *Brittanniae imperator* ('emperor of Britain'); see Sharpe, *Adomnán*, 250–1, n. 38; Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 114. It should also be noted that Adomnán only refers to the battle of Heavenfield but not to Oswald's death nor to the miracles later associated with the king. This suggests that the community of Iona developed its own tradition which was independent of the one promoted by Acca and Bede. I thank Brendan Meighan for pointing this out.

Bede's account of Willibrord's meeting with Acca and Wilfrid and the dating of the *Calendar* prove that Willibrord's network was one of the earliest contexts in which an ecclesiastical devotion to Oswald developed before Acca's episcopacy in the early eighth century. However, the brief analysis of the sources for the commemoration of Oswald in the seventh century has shown that the chronology needs to be carefully considered: although Bede provides much information on the early seventh century, his depiction of the king's veneration, including that practiced by Willibrord, needs to be placed within the context of Acca's episcopacy and the writing of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The dating of Osthryth's translation of the body to Bardney Abbey to the period after 679 and the late addition of Bede's material relating to Selsey all suggest that this development needs to be placed in the late seventh century. Adomnán likewise wrote his *Life* of Columba around the turn of the seventh century. Although Oswald's head had already been translated to Lindisfarne in 643, the earliest written evidence for an ecclesiastical commemoration of the king only becomes tangible in the last two decades of the seventh century.

This again highlights the potential significance of Willibrord's time in Ireland for the compilation of the *Calendar*; if the veneration intensified after 678, then the stay at Rath Melsigi could have provided a context for the (written) consolidation of a tradition that had spread between Northumbria, Ireland and Iona. Two questions result from this observation: firstly, to what extent does the evidence for Oswald's *memoria* fit in with a wider development of hagiographical texts in Ireland and Northumbria after 678? Secondly, to what extent is this development reflected in the *Calendar*?

It has long been noticed that the period between Cuthbert of Lindisfarne's death in 687 and the completion of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in 731 was marked by a new phase of hagiographical writing in Iona, Ireland and Northumbria.[662] The main examples of this development are Adomnán's *Life* of Columba, the anonymous *Live* of Cuthbert (*c.* 699 x 705),[663] the anonymous *Life* of Gregory the Great (*c.* 704 x 714), written at Whitby,[664] Stephen's *Life* of Wilfrid (712 x 714)[665] and Bede's Life of Cuthbert (*c.* 710 x 720).[666] In

[662] See Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 78.
[663] *Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo* (ed. Colgrave, 59–140); on the date and author see Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the polarity', 22–7; Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the origins', 115.
[664] *Vita Gregorii papae,* ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*: *By an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Lawrence, 1968), 72–139; on the date and author see *ibid.*, 45–54; Alan T. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: the origin and transmission of a papal cult in the seventh and early eighth centuries', *Early Medieval Europe,* 7 (1998), 59–84: 60–1; Colin Ireland, 'Some Irish characteristics of the Whitby Life of Gregory the Great', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 139–78: 139–43.
[665] See chapter 1.1.1.
[666] Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti* (ed. Colgrave, 141–309); on the date and author see Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the polarity', 23, 27–40. Bede first composed a verse *Life* in 705 which he later integrated into the prose version.

Ireland, an initial phase of hagiographical writing around the middle of the seventh century[667] was followed by Cogitosus' *Life* of Brigid of Kildare (*c.* 675 x 686) and the development of the Patrician tradition represented by Tírechán's *Collectanea* (c. 688 x 693) and Muirchú's *Life* of Patrick (*c.* 695).[668] Significantly, except for Wilfrid, the earliest layer of the *Calendar* contains the names of all the saints mentioned above: Brigid, Columba, Cuthbert, Gregory and Patrick.[669] The fact that these writings were completed and disseminated within a relatively narrow timeframe of around 40 years, suggests that the different hagiographical discourses were interconnected and partially responded to each other. The most prominent example is the relation between the veneration of Cuthbert, promoted by Lindisfarne, and that of Wilfrid, championed by the community of Ripon. It has been argued that the rivalry between both monasteries was a direct consequence of the repercussions of Wilfrid's turbulent career.[670]

In Northumbria, this development overlapped with the growing interest of the ruling dynasties in the commemoration of their members. Oswald was not the sole Northumbrian ruler whose relics were translated from the battlefield to a monastery.[671] After the death of Abbess Hild in 680, the joint abbesses of Whitby, Eanflæd (d. *c.* 704) and her daughter Ælfflæd (d. 714), recovered the body of King Edwin from the site of Hatfield Chase and buried it in the church of their monastery.[672] Eanflæd was Edwin's daughter and Oswiu's wife. Thus, Eanflæd's and Ælfflæd's initiative conformed to Oswiu's and Osthryth's course of action with regard to Oswald's remains. It has already been noted that Osthryth's translation of Oswald's body to Bardney took place significantly later than the king's death in battle. In Edwin's case, who died in 633, the chronological gap is even more significant. Alan Thacker has argued that the synchronicity between both translations is a strong

[667] See Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 222–5.
[668] Cogitosus, *Secunda vita sanctae Brigidae*, ed. John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae, trium veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae communium patronorum acta* (Louvain, 1647), 518–26; Tírechán, *Collectanea*, ed. and trans. Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (1979), 122–62; Muirchú, *Vita sancti Patricii*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979), 62–123; the dating follows Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 438–40; see also Flechner, *Saint Patrick*, 183–207; Immo Warntjes, 'Episkopalisierung und Episkopalisierungsversuche im frühmittelalterlichen Ireland' (forthcoming).
[669] See chapter 2.1.1.
[670] See Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', 9–10.
[671] Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 97–107, argues that Oswald's cult was 'secular and dynastic' at the beginning and met with distrust by the ecclesiastical elites at first. He furthermore suggests that the recovery of Oswald's head and arms by Oswiu in 643 marked a departure from earlier traditions; before the seventh century, it was allegedly unusual to divide the body of a king into separate relics and to make the ruler himself the focus of the cult. However, Thacker's depiction of Oswald as a 'Germanic warrior hero' rests on the now outdated conception that a 'Germanic' military culture persisted from antiquity into the early Middle Ages; for a contrary view see Graus Graus, František, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965), 390–422; see also Peter Eich, *Gregor der Grosse: Bischof von Rom zwischen Antike und Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 2016), 104–5.
[672] *Vita Gregorii papae*, 18–9 (ed. Colgrave, 100–4). Edwin's head was kept at York.

indicator that the growing veneration of Oswald and Edwin were the result of the same initiative, namely the attempt of Oswiu's family to cement its claim to the rulership of Northumbria. Oswiu – although descending from the Bernician line of King Æthelfrith – was also buried at Whitby. The promotion of Edwin's and Oswald's memory was, therefore, embedded in the attempt to reconcile the branches of Deira and Bernicia during Oswiu's rule.[673] At the same time, the commemoration of Edwin at Whitby is a reminder that the primacy of Oswald was not yet established at the end of the seventh century and that Bede's advocacy for the king was shaped by the political context of the 730s.[674]

In relation to Willibrord's ecclesiastical network, two points need to be borne in mind: firstly, the timeframe for the intersection and the consolidation of the influences which are reflected in the *Calendar*, needs to be placed towards the end of the seventh century and thus during Willibrord's time in Ireland and on the continent. Secondly, the brief overview of the emerging traditions in Ireland and Northumbria during this period shows that the entries in the *Calendar* do not simply reflect the networks of the hagiographical sources. The variety of the names hardly fits in with the traditional focus of historians on the ecclesiastical divisions and political rivalries between Ripon, Lindisfarne and Iona, or between the royal lines of Deira and Bernicia. In this context, the perspective of the *Calendar* appears surprisingly 'inclusive': it commemorates Columba and Aidan next to Cuthbert and Theodore, and combines the names of the kings Edwin, Oswald and his rival Oswine, the son of Edwin's cousin Osric (d. 634).[675] The contextualisation of the *Calendar* shows that its horizon corresponds to the complex 'grid' of ecclesiastical traditions that developed between Ireland, Iona and Northumbria at the end of the seventh century and which cut across ecclesiastical and political divides.

This observation, in turn, leads back to the question of how these different traditions were combined within Willibrord's circle. Based on the *Calendar*, it seems as though Willibrord's network encompassed different traditions, while the authors of saints' lives aimed to restrict the veneration of their subject to a specific foundation or group of persons. The formalisation of a saint's veneration through the writing of hagiographical texts partially erased earlier intersections in favour of clear-cut attributions: consequently, the glance of the historian at the period before 687 is significantly restricted and redirected by the agendas of

[673] See Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 106–11; Erin T. Dailey, 'To Choose One Easter From Three: Oswiu's Decision and the Northumbrian Synod of AD 664', *Peritia*, 26 (2015), 58–9; Ireland, 'Some Irish characteristics', 172–3.
[674] See Walter A. Goffart, 'L'Histoire ecclésiastique et l'engagement politique de Bède', in Stéphane Lebecq (ed.), *Béde le vénérable entre tradition et postérité* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2005), 149–58.
[675] Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the origins', 113, misses the entry for Aidan in the *Calendar*. However, Oswiu's name is absent from the *Calendar*.

Adomnán, Stephen, Bede and others. Thus, the challenge is to compare the different sources to each other and to detect intersections between them which can, in turn, be used to retrace the extent of Willibrord's horizon. Oswald was not the only king whose commemoration extended between Ireland, Iona and Northumbria, as Edwin's translation to Whitby and the insertion of both Ecgfrith and Aldfrith (d. 705) into the *Lives* of Columba and Cuthbert demonstrate.[676] The inclusion of the names of Edwin and Hild suggests that traces of the Whitby tradition found their way into Willibrord's circle; a fact which is hardly observable in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Could Rath Melsigi have provided a context for the connection between these different strands? The most important text to survive from Whitby from the period around 700 is the anonymous *Life* of Pope Gregory the Great, composed during the sole abbacy of Ælfflæd (704–14). The *Life* does not only provide the earliest evidence for the veneration of Gregory in Northumbria, but the anonymous author also describes the translation of Edwin's body from Hatfield Chase to Whitby.[677] In the text, Edwin is referred to as 'our most Christian king' (*rex noster christianissimus*) and Bishop Paulinus of York, who baptised Hild (and whose name is equally recorded in the *Calendar*), as 'our teacher' (*doctor noster*).[678] The *Life* thus stands in contrast to Bede's more influential narrative focusing on Oswald and offers an alternative conception of the foundations of the Northumbrian kingdom, in which the Bernician line is marginalised.[679] As a Deiran foundation in proximity to Whitby, Ripon represents an obvious source of transmission between Willibrord and the monastery's tradition. However, during the abbacy of Hild, Whitby stood at the intersection of a much wider network which reached from Lindisfarne to Austrasia.[680]

The connection between Whitby and Ireland is strengthened by a detail in the *Life* of Gregory the Great. The anonymous author refers to Gregory as 'golden-mouthed' (*os aureus*).[681] Although not Irish in origin,[682] the expression is first attested in relation to Gregory in Cummian's letter to Abbot Ségéne of Iona and a certain *Beccanus*. The letter was probably written in 633 in the context of the debate regarding the reckoning of Easter in

[676] Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, 2.46 (eds Anderson/Anderson, 178–81); *Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, 3.6, 4.1, 4.8 (ed. Colgrave, 102–4, 110–2, 122); Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, 24, 27 (ed. Colgrave, 234–8, 242–8).
[677] *Vita Gregorii papae*, 18–9 (ed. Colgrave, 100–4).
[678] *Ibid.,* 12, 16, 17 (*ibid.*, 94, 98, 100). By 'we' the author refers to the *gens* or *natio* of the *Angli*.
[679] Oswald and Oswiu, for example, are not mentioned in the *Life*; see also Bede, *HE*, 2.20 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 204), who suggests that, after Edwin's death, the members of the Deiran line feared the retribution of Oswald.
[680] Bede, *HE*, 4.23 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 406). Before she became abbess of Whitby, Hild had intended to enter the monastery of Chelles in Neustria but she was recalled by Aidan.
[681] *Vita Gregorii papae*, 24 (ed. Colgrave, 116).
[682] See Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 62.

Ireland.[683] Cummian composed his letter after a synod had been held by the southern Irish churches. The decision to organise a synod had probably been provoked by a letter from Pope Honorius I (625–38), in which he had admonished the southern Irish churches and urged them to follow the 'orthodox' reckoning of Easter, which in this case still referred to the one developed by Victorius of Aquitaine in 457. This system was dismissed by the community of Iona whose members followed the *latercus* invented by Suplicius Severus until 716.[684] Cummian sent his letter to Iona after the southern Irish churches had begun to celebrate Easter according to the Victorian model, following the return of an Irish delegation from Rome around 630.[685] Cummian clearly associates the Christianisation of Ireland with Rome; his letter thus not only shows that there was a direct exchange between the southern Irish churches and the papacy in first half of the seventh century, but that the appeal to papal authority was not a tradition solely introduced by the Gregorian mission to Kent.[686] Furthermore, Cummian states that the delegation, which returned from Italy to Ireland, brought back relics. Finally, an important detail in Cummian's letter is his mention of Patrick as *papa noster*, which represents the first reference to him in a seventh-century Irish text.[687]

What is the significance of Cummian's letter for the contextualisation of Willibrord's *Calendar*? The letter is a reminder that the division between the southern Irish churches and their Northumbrian counterparts with regard to the calculation of Easter was not as severe before the Synod of Whitby in 664 as Stephen's and Bede's accounts imply.[688] Before the assertion of the Dionysiac Easter in Northumbria at end of the seventh century, the 'Roman' practice followed in Oswiu's kingdom alongside the Irish *latercus* was the Victorian system. The followers of the Victorian system arrived in Northumbria together with Eanflæd on the occasion of her marriage to Oswiu. This means that between 643 and 664, at least a part of the Northumbrian clergy followed the same 'Roman' reckoning as the southern Irish

[683] Cummian, *Epistula de controverisa paschali*, eds and trans. Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter* De Controversia Paschali *and the* Ratione Computandi, l. 190–1 (Toronto, 1988), 55–97: 82; Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 71; Ireland, 'Some Irish characteristics', 144; on the author and date of the letter see Walsh/Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 3–18

[684] Bede, *HE*, 2.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 198–200); Walsh/Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 4. It should be noted that the early dating of the synod and Cummian's letter depends on Bede's indication in *HE*, 3.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 218; trans. *ibid.*, 219), referring to the arrival of Aidan in Northumbria in 635, that the southern Irish had 'long before learned to observe Easter according to canonical custom'; for an alternative chronology see Immo Warntjes, 'Victorius vs Dionysius: the Irish Easter controversy of AD 689', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 33–98: 40–9.

[685] Walsh/Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 4–7.

[686] Cummian, *Epistula de controverisa paschali*, l. 264–81 (eds Walsh/Ó Cróinín, 90–4); see Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 182; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 170–2; Niamh Wycherley, *The Cult of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 2015), 41; Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 157.

[687] Cummian, *Epistula de controverisa paschali*, l. 208–10, 285–8 (eds Walsh/Ó Cróinín, 84, 94); *ibid.*, 9.

[688] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 10 (ed. Colgrave, 20–2); Bede, *HE*, 3.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 294–308).

churches.[689] Although the Whitby *Life* of Gregory was composed after the Synod and the assertion of the Dionysiac system in Northumbria, the anonymous author's use of stylistic elements, which are otherwise only found in Irish texts, implies the existence of close relations between Eanflæd's circle and an ecclesiastical network which encompassed the south of Ireland.[690] It needs to be stressed that the available evidence suggests that Willibrord followed the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter. Here, the crucial question is whether Willibrord's adherence to the 'Roman' practice promoted by Wilfrid should represent the guideline for the analysis of his ecclesiastical network.[691] The traditional focus of modern scholarship on the Synod of Whitby in 664 as the alleged watershed in the ecclesiastical history of the Insular world has led to a misrepresentation of the dispute as the clash between a 'Celtic' and a 'Roman' faction. What is more, a tendency existed among historians to divide the Northumbrian clergy into a 'Wilfridian' and an 'anti-Wilfridian' party and to oversimplify the constellations *within* the Northumbrian Church.[692]

From the point of view of the southern Irish churches, the most fervent ecclesiastical conflict before 664 was with Iona and its associated houses, not with the 'Anglo-Roman' side, which was itself divided into at least two groups. Although Rath Melsigi was founded by *Angli* in Ireland, its particularity as a Northumbrian foundation has probably been overstated: by the time Ecgberct arrived in Ireland around the middle of the seventh century, the southern Irish churches had already adopted the Victorian reckoning of Easter. In this context, the *Calendar* points towards another important aspect of seventh- and eighth-century ecclesiastical networks in Ireland and Britain: although the reckoning of Easter could be instrumentalised in political conflicts, the divergences in computistical practices did *not* prevent the peaceful coexistence and exchange between the followers of the different traditions.

On the one hand, the *Calendar* provides the most substantial piece of contemporary evidence for the influence of Irish ecclesiastical traditions on Willibrord's career, not least through the commemoration of the *trias thaumaturga* – Patrick, Brigid and Columba.[693] On the other hand, the inclusion of Columba is a reminder that the ecclesiastical horizon of the

[689] Dailey, 'To choose one Easter', 49–54.
[690] Bede, *HE*, 3.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 298): *Veneruntque illo reges ambo, pater scilicet et filius; episcopi Colman cum clericis suis de Scottia, Agilberctus cum Agathone et Uilfrido presbyteris. Iacobus et Romanus in horum parte erant, Hild abbatissa cum suis in parte Scottorum*; see Ireland, 'Some Irish characteristics', 141–74.
[691] See Warntjes, 'Victorius vs Dionysius', 69–70; *idem*, 'The origin(s)', 134–8.
[692] Dailey, 'To choose one Easter', 47–9; see chapter 1.1.1.
[693] See Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Bemerkungen zum hagiographischen Dossier des heiligen Gallus', in Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds), *Gallus und seine Zeit: Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (St Gallen, 2015), 223–42: 237–42.

community of Echternach should not rashly be derived from Willibrord's stance on Easter. The Irish saint was associated with the *latercus* followed by Iona and its daughter houses; on the face of it, his commemoration at Echternach conflicts with the adherence of Ecgberct and Willibrord to the Dionysiac Easter.[694] At the same time, Bede's account of the Synod of Whitby shows that matters could be more nuanced: in the dialogue which he attributes to Wilfrid, Bede refers to the position of Iona as 'foolish' (*stultus*).[695] Yet his account reveals that even from the point of view of a staunch supporter of the 'Roman' position, Columba could still be venerated as a saint. Although Bede stresses the fact that Colmán, the defendant of Iona's position at the synod in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, erred in the sense that he placed Columba's authority over that of St Peter, the account clearly contradicts the assumption that Columba could not be venerated by the 'Roman' side: according to Bede, Wilfrid corrected Colmán by arguing that Columba should not be considered to be the saint of Iona alone, but that he should also be counted among the saints of the 'Roman' side.[696] From Bede's point of view, the precedence of St Peter over Columba and the superiority of the 'Roman' Easter over the customs of Iona did not prevent the veneration of Columba as a holy man by the church of Northumbria.[697] This example illustrates that the classification of networks into clear-cut categories such as 'Anglo-Roman' and 'Irish' does not only misrepresent the complexity of the ecclesiastical discourse in Bede's and Willibrord's time, but it also ignores the integrative outlook of the monastic *memoria* practiced at Echternach.[698]

Both the particularity and the significance of the *Calendar* result from the fact that it connects different traditions to each other, whose combination does not necessarily accord with the narrative provided by the hagiography. The horizon of the *Calendar* up to 700 fits much better in the above-mentioned framework than in an alleged 'post-Whitby factionalism'. This observation is supported by the composition of Willibrord's network in Ireland. Bede's account suggests that between 678 and 690, the main link between Willibrord's new environment, Northumbria and the continent was Ecgberct, who planned to travel to Rome himself. As shown in chapter 1, the reliance on Bede is problematic, as he magnified Ecgberct's role in the *Historia* to retell the conversion of the community of Iona to the Dionysiac Easter.[699] By placing Ecgberct at the centre of Book Five of the *Historia*, however, Bede had to prepare his prominent role by providing the reader with additional

[694] See Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 153–5.
[695] Bede, *HE*, 3.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 300).
[696] *Ibid.* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 304–8).
[697] See Dailey, 'To choose one Easter', 52.
[698] See Ziegler, 'The Ripon Connection', who, following Augustin van Berkum, rightly detaches Willibrord from a narrow 'Wilfridian' context, but at same time overemphasises his connection to Lindisfarne.
[699] See chapter 1.1.1.

information about his biography in earlier parts of his narrative. What stands out in Bede's portrayal of Ecgberct is the fact that during his time in Ireland, the *sanctissimus pater* apparently remained at the intersection of many different networks. In the passage that introduces Ecgberct's arrival in Ireland, Bede counts Æthelhun among his companions, the brother of Æthelwine.[700] The latter joined Ecgberct and Æthelhun at Rath Melsigi; around 680, he became bishop of Lindsey in Mercia after the region had been reclaimed by King Æthelred of Mercia (675–704), which caused the Northumbrian bishop to return to Ripon.[701] Æthelhun's and Æthelwine's sister, Abbess Æthelhild, is explicitly mentioned by Bede in the chapter in which he describes the translation of Oswald's bones to Bardney under Queen Osthryth, Æthelred's wife.[702] The fact that Osthryth had gathered the relics from the site of *Maserfelth*, and not Heavenfield, suggests that the veneration of Oswald spread between Northumbria, northern Mercia and Ireland during Willibrord's stay at Rath Melsigi.[703]

The significance of Ecgberct as a link between the three regions is further strengthened by a passage in Bede's chapter about the death of Chad in 672, who was abbot of Lastingham in Northumbria before he became bishop of York. After Wilfrid's return, he was made bishop of Mercia when Oswiu extended his influence over the northern part of the kingdom. Chad and his brother Cedd (d. 664) were both pupils of Aidan and during his youth, Chad had 'lived the monastic life' (*monachica vita*) in Ireland with Ecgberct.[704] According to Bede, a man named Hygbald, who was abbot in the province of Lindsey, visited Ecgberct in Ireland after Chad's death in 672. On this occasion, Ecgberct apparently told Hygbald that, when Chad died, a certain man saw Cedd descend from heaven to carry his brother's soul to heaven.[705] It could thus be significant that Chad's name but not Cedd's is included in the *Calendar.* Cedd had been abbot of Lastingham before Chad and remained under the authority of Lindisfarne after he was entrusted with the conversion of the East Saxons by Oswiu.[706] At the Synod of Whitby, he still supported the 'Irish' faction together with Abbess Hild of Whitby but later adopted the Dionysiac Easter according to Bede.[707] In contrast to his brother, however, there is no evidence that Cedd ever spent time in Ireland. Could this be a further indication that the determining factor for Chad's inclusion was his closeness to

[700] Bede, *HE*, 3.27 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 312).
[701] *Ibid.*, 4.12 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 370); Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart*, 6.
[702] *Ibid.*, 3.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 246–50). From the place where the king's bones had been washed, Æthelhild received a portion of the dust touched by the water.
[703] See Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*', 114.
[704] Bede, *HE*, 3.28, 4.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 316, 336, 344).
[705] *Ibid.*, 4.3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 344). Bede himself was uncertain if Ecgberct had referred to himself or another person as the witness of the event.
[706] *Ibid.*, 3.22–3 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 286–94).
[707] *Ibid.*, 3.25–6 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 298, 308).

Ecgberct's personal network? If so, this example would provide another warning against the reliance on the reckoning of Easter to reconstruct Willibrord's network.[708]

Despite Bede's portrayal of Ecgberct as an ascetic exile in Ireland, Willibrord's teacher retained his connections with the ecclesiastical and political elite of Ireland, Iona and Northumbria.[709] In the 680s, the balance of power between the three regions was destabilised through King Ecgfrith's expansionist politics, which led to an assault against the Irish province of Brega in 684. According to Bede, Ecgberct had warned the king against the attack.[710] Bede counted Ecgberct among the 'friends' (*amici*) of the king, of whom the other prominent member was Cuthbert. Cuthbert allegedly urged Ecgfrith not to attack the Picts, a campaign which led to his death in 685 at the battle of Nechtansmere. The chapter, in which Bede relates both campaigns, marks an important narrative turning point in the *Historia ecclesiastica*: citing Virgil, Bede claims that the strength of the *regnum Anglorum* began 'to ebb and fall away' after Ecgfrith's death, which he interpretated as the 'just curse' of God for the king's 'wickedness'.[711]

Rath Melsigi's central position in the 'triangle' between Ireland, Iona and Northumbria is furthermore suggested by the possible identification of *Ichbricht*, one of the attendees of a synod in the Irish midlands in 697, as Wictberct, Willibrord's predecessor in Frisia. The synod was convoked by Adomnán of Iona who used the opportunity to gather support for the *Cáin Adomnáin*, a law which guaranteed the protection of women, children and clerics in military conflicts.[712] Adomnán's career, which cannot be discussed here in detail, is another case in point which illustrates the prominent role which churchmen of his rank played in the political developments of their time. Adomnán not only negotiated the release of Irish captives who had been taken by the Northumbrian side during the attack on Brega with Ecgfrith's successor Aldfrith, but he was also directly involved in the latter's return from his exile in Iona to the throne in 686. Even more significant is the fact that

[708] The identification of *cynifrid* as the brother of Abbot Ceolfrith of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow would further support the focus of the *Calendar* on the network of Rath Melsigi. Although Ceolfrith was connected to Ripon, his name is not included, whereas the more obscure Cynifrith, like Chad, studied in Ireland.

[709] See Fiona Edmonds, 'The practicalities of communication between Northumbrian and Irish churches, c. 635-735', in James A. Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (eds), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), 129–50: 141–6.

[710] Bede, *HE*, 4.26 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 428); see Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart*, 14–6; David A. E. Pelteret, 'The Northumbrian attack on Brega in A.D. 684', in Alexander J. Langlands and Ryan Lavelle (eds), *The Land of the English Kin: Studies in Wessex and Anglo-Saxon England in Honour of Professor Barbara Yorke* (Leiden, 2020), 214–30: 215–20.

[711] Bede, *HE*, 4.26 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 428; for the trans. see *ibid.*, 429); see also *Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, 3.6, 4.8 (ed. Colgrave, 102–4, 122); Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 24, 27 (ed. Colgrave, 234–8, 242–8); Immo Warntjes, 'The role of the church in early Irish regnal succession: the case of Iona', in *L'Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 2010), 155–214: 178–9.

[712] *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan*, ed. Kuno Meyer (Oxford, 1905), 16; see Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 25–6.

Adomnán was able to promote Iona's interests in the wider region until his death in 704, although he had probably abandoned the *latercus* in favour of the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter as early as 687.[713] Ecgberct's, Cuthbert's and Adomnán's potential to interact between different ecclesiastical and political networks was apparently not impeded by their stance on Easter. On the contrary, it can be suggested that it was their role as intermediaries between these networks on which their influenced rested. In Ecgberct's case, his access to the king might have resulted from the fact that he was of noble or even royal origin, as Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has argued.[714]

Bede provided another link between Ecgberct and Cuthbert. In contrast to the anonymous *Life* of Cuthbert, Bede's text assigns a prominent role to Boisil in his *Vita Cuthberti*. Boisil was prior at Melrose at the time when Cuthbert entered the monastery. Throughout Bede's *Life*, Boisil is distinguished by his prophecies, which include his vision of his own death by the plague.[715] This characterisation of Boisil mirrors his appearance in Book Five of the *Historia ecclesiastica* to a monk at Rath Melsigi who had formerly been one of Boisil's disciples. The unnamed monk ultimately convinced Ecgberct to travel to Iona.[716] It could be significant that the two chapters focusing on Ecgberct and Willibrord are directly followed by a long account of the vision of Drythelm, who later entered the monastery of Melrose. Bede claimed that his source for Drythelm's vision was the monk Haemgils, who lived as a hermit in Ireland at the time of the composition of the *Historia* and used to visit Drythelm at Melrose.[717] It has been suggested that Haemgils was also Bede's source with regard to the story in Book Three about Ecgberct's vow to live as an exile in Ireland.[718] What is more, Colin Ireland has argued that Boisil himself was from Ireland; the interrelation between the circles of Ecgberct and Boisil might have been closer than previously assumed. This would solidify the assumption that the *eata* in the *Calendar* refers to Eata of Hexham, who was abbot of Melrose at the time when Cuthbert joined the

[713] See Hermann Moisl, 'The Bernician royal dynasty and the Irish in the seventh century', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 103–26: 120–2; Jean-Michel Picard, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the writing of history', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 50–70: 58–70; Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona*, 47–53, 350–2, nn. 349, 350; Barbara Yorke, 'Adomnan at the court of King Aldfrith', in Jonathan M. Wooding with Rodney Aist, Thomas O. Clancy and Thomas O'Loughlin (eds), *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010), 36–50: 36–40; Warntjes, 'Victorius vs Dionysius', 65–70; *idem*, 'Episkopalisierung'.

[714] Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart*, 16–21; see also Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*, 6, ed. and trans. Alistair Campbell (Oxford, 1967), 11–7; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', 36–8; Æthelwulf's poem, composed *c.* 803–21 and addressed to the bishop of Lindisfarne, relates how the nobleman Eanmund, himself a political exile, received support from Ecgberct for the foundation of a monastery near Lindisfarne.

[715] Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 6, 8, 22 (ed. Colgrave, 171–4, 180, 228–30); see also *idem*, *HE*, 4.28 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 438).

[716] See chapter 1.1.1.

[717] Bede, *HE*, 5.12 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 496).

[718] Kirby, 'Cuthbert, Boisil', 53; see chapter 1.1.1.

community.[719]

As in the case of Willibrord's veneration of Oswald, the reconstruction of Ecgberct's network is faced with a chronological problem. By placing Ecgberct at the centre of his narrative in Book Five, Bede probably overstated Ecgberct's interest in the conversion of Iona to the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter before 716. The surprisingly long gap between the admonition by Boisil, which Bede placed in the 680s, and Ecgberct's departure for Iona, suggests that Bede only learned of Ecgberct's activities after his arrival in Iona and retrospectively integrated the information into his work. David Kirby has argued that the story was related to the author by the community of Melrose and that it formed part of an independent tradition which commemorated Boisil's career as a complement to the veneration of Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, which would explain the omission of Boisil from the anonymous *Life* of Cuthbert.[720] Furthermore, Bede's phrasing implies that the stories about Ecgberct told by Hygbald and Haemgils reached him at a later stage, closer to the compilation of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[721] In conclusion, the evidence for Ecgberct's network is based on traditions which probably developed in the early eighth century and were consolidated by Bede between the writing of his *Life* of Cuthbert and the completion of the *Historia*.

Ultimately, the analysis of Ecgberct's role within Willibrord's network must differentiate more strongly between Bede's account in Book Five of the *Historia* and the chronology of his sources. It has been shown that a significant part of the Insular ecclesiastical traditions included in the *Calendar* only developed after *c.* 687, shortly before Willibrord left for the continent. It is, of course, possible that the names in the *Calendar* reflect Willibrord's horizon before his arrival in Francia and that the selection of saints had been established before the first hagiographical texts were written down. On the other hand, the *Calendar* was not compiled before the beginning of the eighth century. The phase between *c.* 690 and the foundation of Echternach must, therefore, have been of crucial importance for the development of Willibrord's network, yet it is precisely this phase of his continental career (together with the last decade of his life) that is most obscured beyond his two journeys to Rome. The alleged centrality of Ecgberct as the intermediary between Willibrord, Frisia and the Pippinids depends on Bede. While it cannot be excluded that Ecgberct remained an important source of information for Willibrord's circle after the foundation of Echternach, other reference points besides Radbod and Pippin II must have

[719] Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 6 (ed. Colgrave, 171–4); see Ireland, 'Boisil', 400–3; chapter 2.1.1.
[720] Kirby, 'Cuthbert, Boisil', 50–3.
[721] Bede, *HE*, 4.3, 5.12 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 344, 496).

existed between Rath Melsigi and Austrasia. The following section asks whether the *Calendar* allows for the reconstruction of possible 'bridgeheads' which connected the Insular and the continental stages of Willibrord's career.

2.2.2 Péronne, Nivelles and Rome

According to the traditional master narrative, Willibrord's arrival in Austrasia was a direct consequence of Ecgberct's plan to convert the Frisians, for which the arrivals from Rath Melsigi required the support of the Pippinids. In contrast to the routes taken by earlier generations of Insular travellers to the continent, Willibrord's focus on the area between the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta, the Lower Rhine and the Moselle marked a shift to the north-eastern part of the Frankish kingdom. Columbanus, who left Ireland almost exactly one-hundred years before Willibrord,[722] spent some time in Austrasia after his expulsion from Burgundy, but he remained mostly in the region around Metz and Paris. What is more, for their planned return to Ireland, Columbanus and his companions chose the route through Neustria and the valley of the Loire.[723] Around the middle of the seventh century, we can detect the presence of Insular clerics in Austrasia, more precisely in the south of modern Belgium. This development is primarily connected with the biographies of the brothers Fursa and Fóillán. In the context of the present study, the significance of their activity does not result from the fact that they came from Ireland. Rather, their association with the earliest Pippinid monasteries in Austrasia needs to be considered as a potential link between Willibrord's circle and north-eastern Francia. Fursa's family was probably involved in the deposition of the Merovingian King Dagobert II (d. 679), who was exiled to Ireland and later returned to the throne of Austrasia.[724] This much-discussed episode reveals the intersection between political and ecclesiastical networks stretching from Ireland via Britain to the Frankish kingdom in the late seventh century; could Willibrord have built on the connections established by Fursa and Fóillán in Austrasia?

An exhaustive discussion of the background of their arrival on the continent and Dagobert's exile requires a detailed analysis of the political history of the Frankish kingdom between *c.* 640 and 680 which would exceed the scope of this chapter. What is more, the reconstruction of the events and their chronology remains a matter of debate among modern

[722] Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio:* Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, *and* Life of Vedast (Liverpool, 2017), 4–8.
[723] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, 1.21, 1.23–4 (ed. Krusch, 93–4, 97–9).
[724] On the question whether Dagobert reigned twice, both before and after his exile, see note 742 below.

scholars.[725] Therefore, the following section focuses on the identification of possible overlaps between the networks of Fursa, Fóillán and Willibrord. In this context, the biographies of the two brothers must be briefly outlined. The disagreement between historians regarding the chronology of events between Fursa's arrival in Francia and Dagobert's return from Ireland results from the fragmentary nature of the sources. Two of the most important texts came from the circle of Fursa and Fóillán on the continent: the *Transitus Beati Fursei* (sometimes referred to as *Vita prima*) and the so-called *Additamentum Nivialense de Foilano*. Both texts were probably written in the late 650s at the monasteries of Péronne and Nivelles, respectively. Another source, the *Virtutes Fursei*, was not composed until the ninth century.[726] Bede knew the *Transitus*, but there is no reference to the later career of Fóillán in the *Historia*.[727] Our knowledge of the fate of Dagobert II, on the other hand, depends on two very disparate sources, namely Stephen's *Vita Wilfridi* and the *Liber Historiae Francorum*.[728]

Fursa first arrived in Francia from Ireland (via East Anglia) in *c.* 642. It is important to note that his original destination was Neustria, where he was received by the mayor of the palace Erchinoald (d. *c.* 660). Erchinoald established a monastery at *latiniacum* (Lagny-sur-

[725] See Eugen Ewig, 'Noch einmal zum "Staatsstreich" Grimoalds', in Clemens Bauer, Laetitia Boehm and Max Müller (eds), *Speculum historiale: Geschichte im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung. Festschrift Johannes Spoerl* (Freiburg i. Br., 1965), 454–7; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Les Vies de saint Fursey: les sources irlandaises', *Revue du Nord*, 68/269 (1986), 405–13; Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 47–66; Jean-Michel Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II', in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600–850* (Dublin, 1991), 27–52; Josef Semmler, 'Spätmerowingische Herrscher: Theuderich III. und Dagobert II.', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 55 (1999), 1–28: 19–24; Stefanie Hamann, 'Zur Chronologie des Staatsstreichs Grimoalds', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 59 (2003), 49–96; *eadem*, 'Die "Vita Fursei" als chronologische Quelle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 122 (2004), 283–95; Kölzer, 'Die letzten Merowingerkönige', 51; Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: the English connection', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 70–89; *idem*, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 194–9; Ian N. Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers: Their Contribution to the Irish Legacy on the Continent* (Fursey Pilgrims, 2016); Matthias Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich Grimoalds: Versuch einer Neubewertung', in Linda Dohmen, Florian Hartmann, Hendrik Hess and Daniel König (eds), *Macht und Herrschaft: Praktiken – Strukturen – Begründungen* (Bonn, 2019), 227–60 [Originally published in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 119–47].

[726] *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 449–51; *Virtutes Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis*, *ibid.*, 440–9; *Vita Fursei abbatis* Latiniacensis, *ibid.*, 434–40. It should be noted that Krusch's edition leaves out the central part of the *Transitus*, namely the many visions experienced by Fursa. For the edition of this part of the text, which is less relevant to the present study, see Oliver Rackham, *Beati Fursei: A Translation of the 8th Century Manuscript* (Norfolk, 2007), 4–48; on the dating of the *Transitus* see Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe–XIe siècles)* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 304, n. 147; Hamann, 'Die "Vita Fursei"', 283, n. 1; Rackham, *Beati Fursei*, v–vii; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 1, 6; on the dating of the *Additamentum* see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 307; on the dating of the *Virtutes* see Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, 305; Ó Riain, 'Les Vies de saint Fursey', 405; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 3; Rackham, *Beati Fursei*, viii, rejects the *Virtutes* as 'fiction'; see also Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, 501–3; Michelle P. Brown, *The Life of St. Fursey: What We Know; Why It Matters* (Norwich, 2001), 16–7.

[727] Bede, *HE*, 3.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 268–76); see Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 1.

[728] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 28, 33 (ed. Colgrave, 54–6, 66–8); *LHF*, 43 (ed. Krusch, 316).

Marne) for Fursa, who died in *c.* 649.[729] Fursa's arrival in north-western Francia can be placed in the wider development of contacts between the kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria and Neustria around the middle of the seventh century; Bede dedicated a chapter of his *Historia* to the departure of East Anglian, Kentish and Northumbrian princesses for the monasteries of Chelles, Faremoutiers-en-Brie and Andelys.[730] Fursa's departure from East Anglia, however, took place in less peaceful circumstances; according to the *Transitus*, he feared for the safety of the monasteries during the conflict between Penda of Mercia and Anna of East Anglia (d. 654).[731]

Fursa died in Francia and Erchinoald brought his body to his own church at Péronne on the Somme. Four years later, his remains were translated again to a new shrine within the same building with the participation of the Bishops Eligius of Noyon (d. 660) and Autpert of Cambrai.[732] By this time, Fursa's brothers – Fóillán and Ultán – had also arrived in Neustria, but they were expelled by Erchinoald shortly afterwards.[733] They found refuge at the monastery of Fosses in Austrasia, where they entered the sphere of influence of the Pippinids in the south of modern Belgium: Fóillán founded the monastery in *c.* 651 with the help of the Austrasian mayor the palace Grimoald (d. *c.* 657/9) and his mother Itta (d. *c.* 652), the wife of Pippin I. Shortly before the establishment of Fosses, Itta had founded the monastery of Nivelles on the advice of Bishop Amandus of Maastricht and her daughter Gertrude became its first abbess.[734]

---

[729] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449–50); Bede, *HE*, 3.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 276); *Virtutes Fursei*, 5 (ed. Krusch, 441); *Vita Fursei*, 9–10 (ed. Krusch, 438–40); Hamann, 'Die "Vita Fursei"', 293–4; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 2–3; on the date of Fursa's death see Picard, 'Church and politics', 32; Hamann, 'Die "Vita Fursei"', 295; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 5.

[730] Bede, *HE*, 2.20, 3.8 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 204, 236–40); Alain Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles britanniques et le continent pendant la haut moyen âge : La diffusion du monachisme dit columbanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII[e] siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie : Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 vols (Sigmaringen, 1989), 2.371–94: 383–5; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 408–11; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 99–104; Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 192; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 3–5.

[731] Bede, *HE*, 3.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 276); *Vita Fursei*, 9 (ed. Krusch, 438–9).

[732] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449–50); Bede, *HE*, 3.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 276); *Virtutes Fursei*, 22, 24 (ed. Krusch, 448–9); *Vita Fursei*, 9–10 (ed. Krusch, 438–40).

[733] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449–50); see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 129; Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, 70–2, 294, n. 71; Picard, 'Church and politics', 33–4; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 100–4, 315–6; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 145; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 5–6. The departure of Fóillán and Ultán from East Anglia followed another incursion of the Mercians, during which the brothers' monastery was plundered. The reasons for Erchinoald's change in attitude remain unclear. Ultán later returned to Péronne and the monastery retained its strong ties to Ireland. A prominent example of Péronne's connections to the Insular world is the undated exchange of letters between Aldhelm of Malmsbury (d. 709/10) and Abbot Cellanus (Aldhelm, *Epistulae*, nos 9–10, ed. Rudolf Ehwald, MGH AA, 15 [Berlin, 1919], 498–9).

[734] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449–50); *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, 1–2, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 454–7; see Alain Dierkens, 'Saint-Amand et la fondation de l'abbaye de Nivelles', *Revue du Nord*, 68/269 (1986), 325–34; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 185–8; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 301–2; Alain Dierkens, 'Notes biographiques sur saint Amand, abbé d'Elnone et éphémère éveque de

While the anonymous author of the *Transitus* sought to portray both Fursa and Ultán as ascetics and hermits,[735] the course of their careers in Francia suggests that they became involved in the political conflicts between Neustria and Austrasia soon after their arrival.[736] In late 655 or 656, Fóillán was assassinated after he had left Nivelles on 31 October.[737] This event probably led to the composition of both the *Transitus* (at Péronne) and the *Additamentum* (at Nivelles).[738] Two aspects mentioned in the latter text have raised the attention of historians: Firstly, the anonymous account suggests that Abbess Gertrud initiated the search for Fóillán because he was expected at a *placitum* at Nivelles; the term usually refers to a court led by royal officials or the king himself.[739] Secondly, although the author does not elaborate on this information, he states that both Grimoald and Bishop Dido of Poitiers arrived at Nivelles when Gertrud's followers returned with Fóillán's body – allegedly on 16 January, the feast day of his brother Fursa.[740]

This information is significant because its overlaps with the account of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* according to which Grimoald exiled the Merovingian Dagobert to Ireland with the help of Dido after the death of King Sigibert III.[741] Sigibert's death is traditionally dated to 1 February 656/7 and it has been argued that the three events – Fóillán's assassination, the meeting between Grimoald and Dido at the *placitum* and the death of Sigibert – took place within a short timeframe. Thus, Grimoald and Dido planned the abduction of Dagobert in anticipation of the king's death at Nivelles, relying on Fóillán's family and its links with Ireland.[742] Ultimately, Grimoald's so-called *Staatsstreich* failed: before he sent Dagobert to Ireland, he had convinced Sigibert to adopt his own son, whom he installed as king of Austrasia in Dagobert's stead. This manoeuvre provoked the resistance

Maastricht (mort peu apres 676)', in E. Bozóky (ed.), *Saints d'Aquitaine: Missionnaires et pèlerins du haut Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2010), 63–80: 63.

[735] *Vita Fursei*, 4, 8 (ed. Krusch, 436, 437–8).

[736] See Régine Le Jan, 'Les élites neustriennes et Quentovic au VII[e] siècle', in Stéphane Lebecq, Brune Béthouart and Laurent Verlype (eds), *Quentovic: Environnement, archéologie, histoire* (Lille, 2010), 177–94: 185–8.

[737] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 450–51); on the date of Fóillán's death see Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, 73–5; Hamann, 'Zur Chronologie', 75–8, 84; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 5–7; see also Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 3.1442.

[738] That the assassination of Fóillán represents a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Transitus* is suggested by *Vita Fursei*, 8 (ed. Krusch, 438), where he is referred to as *sanctus*.

[739] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 451); Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 329, n. 132.

[740] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 451); see Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender*, 1.477.

[741] *LHF*, 43 (ed. Krusch, 316).

[742] See Ó Cróinín, 'Merovingian politics', 40–2; Picard, 'Church and politics', 29–33; Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie der Merowinger', 194–6; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 7–8. A different chronology was proposed by Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 60–6 (dating the death Sigibert and Dagobert's exile to 651 and Grimoald's death to 657), and Hamann, 'Zur Chronologie', 58–71, who suggests that Sigibert died in 653 and that Dagobert II's first reign took place between 653 and 657. Hamann dates Grimoald's 'coup' to 657 and his execution to 659.

of the Neustrian Franks, who captured Grimoald and tortured him to death in *c.* 659.[743]

At his point, the continental sources break off and we rely on the *Vita Wilfridi* to reconstruct the events that led to Dagobert's return. Stephen included his information on Dagobert in the account of Wilfrid's second journey to the continent in 678.[744] After he had spent the winter in Frisia, Wilfrid met with Dagobert on his way to Rome. According to Stephen, Wilfrid had been approached by the 'friends and relatives' (*amici et proximi*) of the king who demanded his return to the throne of Austrasia. Wilfrid allegedly received the prince and supplied him with arms and a retinue. Stephen neither mentioned the date of Dagobert's return nor the place of their first meeting. Based on charter evidence from Francia, the beginning of Dagobert's reign can be dated to 676. Thus, Dagobert probably returned to Austrasia via Northumbria when Wilfrid was still bishop of York.[745] When Wilfrid arrived in Francia again in 680, he discovered that Dagobert had been assassinated, probably by the supporters of the Neustrian mayor of the palace Ebroin. Wilfrid was forced to justify himself to a Frankish bishop who held him responsible for the return of Dagobert and his alleged tyrannical rule. Wilfrid's exculpated himself by stressing that he had only helped an exile and nurtured him in the most righteous way. Wilfrid's reply demonstrates that Stephen's intention was not to provide a detailed account of Dagobert's life. Rather, he included the episode to highlight his protagonist's virtuousness.[746]

It is a strange fact that Dagobert's exile remained only a sidenote in contemporary texts. The episode has been, above all, discussed with regard to the rise of the Pippinids to power in Austrasia before the battle of Tertry.[747] The connections between Ireland, Britain and northern Francia which enabled Dagobert to return to his kingdom appear to provide the 'missing link' between Willibrord's stay in Ireland and his arrival in Austrasia.[748] Although the exact circumstances of Dagobert's reinstatement remain obscured, it appears very likely that Pippin II belonged to the Austrasian nobles who initiated the exiled prince's return.[749]

---

[743] *LHF*, 43 (ed. Krusch, 316); see Ewig, 'Noch einmal zum "Staatsstreich"', 454; Hamann, 'Zur Chronologie', 51–8; for an alternative reading of the evidence, according to which Grimoald adopted Sigibert's son, see Becher 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich', 246–8. Grimoald's son, Childebert 'III', reigned until 661/2.

[744] See chapter 3.1.2.

[745] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 28, 33 (ed. Colgrave, 54, 66–8); Picard, 'Church and politics', 48–50; Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie der Merowinger', 194–8; Semmler, 'Spätmerowingische Herrscher', 19–24; Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 196–7.

[746] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 33 (ed. Colgrave, 66–8); Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 170–2; Fouracre, 'Forgetting and remembering', 75–6; Scholz, *Die Merowinger*, 253–4.

[747] See Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 47; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 222–4; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 180–5; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 31–3; Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich', 227–9; Geneviève Bührer-Thierry and Charles Mériaux, *481–888: La France avant la France* (Paris, 2010; this edition Paris, 2019), 258: 'En somme, les événements des années 656–662 ne doivent sans doute pas être considérés dans la perspective d'une ascension momentanément interrompue de la famille pippinide en Austrasie […]'.

[748] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 56.

[749] See Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 71–82; Picard, 'Church and politics', 46–52; Story,

While the primary role of Wilfrid in this process is suggested by Stephen's *Vita*, historians have also assumed that Ultán was a crucial actor in both 656/7 and in 675/6.[750] With regard to Willibrord, the question nevertheless remains whether the Pippinids were the decisive node within this network.

Willibrord left Northumbria in 678, he could thus not have met Dagobert in Ireland. Based on the chronology of the *Vita Wilfridi*, an overlap between Willibrord's time at Ripon and Dagobert's stay in Northumbria is possible, but such a reconstruction depends to a large extent on Stephen's formulation: the indication that Dagobert was nurtured by Wilfrid primarily enhances the bishop's benignancy and does not allow for the reconstruction of the prince's itinerary.[751] Stephen also made no mention of the Pippinids in his account of Dagobert's return. Wilfrid's decision to travel to Rome via the mouth of the Rhine in 678 was prompted by the threat of Ebroin rather than by his connection to Austrasia.[752] In his account, Stephen stresses that the port of Quentovic (modern Étaples) in Neustria was still considered to be the regular route from Britain to Francia at that time.[753]

It should be noted that the fragmentary sources for Dagobert's exile and his return place more emphasis on Neustria than on Austrasia. The involvement of Bishop Dido of Poitiers in the affair must, of course, not imply that the young exile was taken to Ireland via Aquitaine; the party could have made for the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta via Nivelles.[754] Nevertheless, there is no solid evidence for the direct participation of Ultán's circle in the entire development. With regard to Dagobert's return, it has been suggested that Wilfrid relied on the Neustrian Bishop Agilbert, whose career encompassed prolonged stays in Ireland and Wessex.[755] Ultimately, Dagobert's abduction and return were organised through

---

Carolingian Connections, 40–1; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 180–5; Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich', 253–6. In 675, Childeric II was assassinated, which caused the mayor of the palace Wulfoald to flee to Austrasia. His opponent Ebroin installed Theuderic III as king of Neustria. In this context, the return of the legitimate heir Dagobert provided the Austrian aristocracy with an opportunity to counter Ebroin's expansion and to secure the independence of the *Teilreich*.

[750] See Picard, 'Church and politics', 44–50; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 8.

[751] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 33 (ed. Colgrave, 66–8).

[752] On the wider political and ecclesiastical context of this episode see Stefan Esders, '"Great security prevailed in both East and West": the Merovingian kingdoms and the 6th Ecumenical Council (680/81)', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages*: *The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 247–64: 250–4, 260–4; Sihong Lin, 'Bede, the papacy, and the emperors of Constantinople', *English Historical Review*, 136/580 (2021), 465–97: 486–8.

[753] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 25 (ed. Colgrave, 50); on Quentovic see Stéphane Lebecq, 'La Neustrie et la mer', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique* international, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 405–40: 411–20; see also chapter 3.1.2.

[754] See Edward James, 'Ireland and western Gaul in the Merovingian period', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David N. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 362–86: 277–9;Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 8–9; Picard, 'De Gente Scottorum Monachi', 398.

[755] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 9, 10, 12 (ed. Colgrave, 18–20, 26), Bede, *HE*, 3.7, 3.25–6, 3.28, 4.1, 5.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 234–6, 300, 308, 314, 330, 522); see Le Jan, 'Les élites neustriennes', 181–2; Carl I. Hammer, '"Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian Bishop between Ireland, England and Francia',

multiple networks, which differed from each other in 656/7 and 675/6.[756] The role played by Dido of Poitiers and Wilfrid suggests that the Pippinids (*if* they were the main initiators of Dagobert's reinstatement) relied on external actors to establish a connection to Ireland.

To return to the *Calendar*, it contains no trace of the Irish associated with Péronne, Fosses and Nivelles.[757] What is more, Willibrord shifted the focus of his activity in Francia to the north-east of the kingdom, away from the Neustrian-Austrasian border region where the earliest Pippinid monasteries lay. It has been argued that Fursa's family represented a group of Irish clerics who disassociated themselves from the circle of Luxeuil and its daughter houses after their arrival in Francia.[758] Furthermore, they have been associated with the north rather than with the south of Ireland, leading to speculations about the monastery where Dagobert was taken to.[759] Thus, the evidence seems to imply that Fursa and Willibrord belonged to two different networks. On the other hand, there were some significant overlaps between their ecclesiastical horizons which suggest that a strict division of the source material into fixed networks is unhelpful. What Dagobert's exile does illustrate is the fact that monasteries like Nivelles were important intersections within the networks that connected Ireland, Britain and France in the seventh century. While the community of Echternach did not commemorate Fursa, Fóillán or Gertrude, the *Calendar* contains several entries that reflect the same ecclesiastical 'world view' as the sources composed at Péronne, Fosses and Nivelles.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Zürich Calendar* probably offers a glimpse of the saints venerated at Nivelles, by including both Fursa and Fóillán as well as Gertrude alongside Patrick under 17 March.[760] The most prominent source for the veneration of Patrick at Fosses is the account of the contemporary *Vita Geretrudis* regarding the death of the abbess in *c.* 659: according to the anonymous author, a certain *peregrinus* at Fosses foresaw Gertrude's death and revealed that the saint would receive her.[761] The *Additamentum* relates that Fóillán carried books, altars and relics with him to Francia, but only the *Virtutes Fursei* contains the information that the relics of Patrick were kept at Péronne alongside those of Beonán and Meallán. The two latter saints were probably associated with Fursa's

Peritia, 22/23 (2011/12), 53–82: 75–7; Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 196–7.
[756] See Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles', 388.
[757] See chapter 2.1.2.
[758] See Fouracre/Gerberding, Late Merovingian France, 313–7; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 17–8.
[759] See Ó Riain, 'Les Vies de saint Fursey', 405–9; Warntjes, 'The origin(s)', 154–7; Picard, 'De Gente Scottorum Monachi', 399–400; *idem*, 'Church and politics', 42–4, suggests that Dagobert was kept at the monastery of Slane in modern County Louth; Ó Cróinín, 'Merovingian politics', 40–2, argues for Rath Melsigi.
[760] See chapter 2.1.2.
[761] *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, 7 (ed. Krusch, 461–4); on the author and the date of the *Vita* see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 301–7.

and Fóillán's home region.[762] Here, we can probably observe regional differences between the *memoria* of the Rath Melsigi group and Fursa's circle, respectively. Next to Patrick, the only other Irish saint who was commemorated at both Echternach and Nivelles is Brigid.[763]

Significantly, most of the overlaps between the *Calendar* and the sources associated with Nivelles do not concern Ireland but the continent. In the following, I want to briefly highlight three examples: The first notable intersection is the name of Bishop Amandus of Maastricht, which is included in both calendars.[764] Amandus was closely associated with the Neustrian court and held the see of Maastricht between *c.* 648/9 and 651/2. Under Dagobert I and his son Sigibert III, he was active in the area of the Scheldt, the Scarpe and the Meuse.[765] The nature of his 'mission' to north-eastern Francia has recently been reassessed by Stefan Esders, who suggested that Amandus' aim was not so much the 'Christianisation' of the area between Frisia and Neustria as the implementation of a broader royal policy. The communities targeted by Amandus were probably apostates rather than 'pagans', against whom Dagobert decided to take political action. [766] Amandus' involvement in the foundation of Nivelles furthermore demonstrates that Fóillán and Ultán were not operating in a purely 'Pippinid' or 'Austrasian' environment.[767]

In this context, the first charter in Camille Wampach's edition of the *Liber aureus* stands out: according to Theoderic's *Chronicon*, Willibrord received the church of Ss Peter and Paul in Antwerp, first constructed by Amandus, by the *vir illuster* Rohingus in the third year of King Clovis III. Wampach dated this transaction to 692/3 and subsequently sparked a debate among Dutch, Belgian and Luxembourgish historians regarding Willibrord's earliest field of activity on the continent.[768] The arguments need not repeated here: firstly,

---

[762] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449); *Virtutes Fursei*, 19 (ed. Krusch, 447); see Rackham, *Beati Fursei*, 26, n. 43; Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 10–1.

[763] See Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, 310–1, and chapter 2.1.1.

[764] Fol. 35^{r}: *sancti amandi* (6 February) ; Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fol. 167^{v}: *Sancti uedasti et sancti amandi* (6 February; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 297).

[765] *Vita Amandi episcopi*, 13, 15, 19, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 436–8, 439, 443; on the eighth-century *Vita*, known as *Vita prima* to distinguish it from an earlier *Vita antiqua* which does not deal with Amandus' mission to the Scheldt area, see Dierkens, 'Notes biographiques', 63–6; *Esders, 'Nationes quam plures conquiri', 274;* Charles Mériaux, 'A one-way ticket to Francia: Constantinople, Rome and northern Gaul in the mid seventh century', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 138–48: 142–5; on Amandus' career see Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 137–8, 149–50; Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 38–42.

[766] Esders, *'Nationes quam plures conquiri', 277–87; see also* Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, 1.34, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1913), 691.

[767] See Charles Mériaux, 'Quentovic dans son environnement politique et religieux: Cités et diocèses au nord de la Somme au VII^{e} siècle', in Stéphane Lebecq, Brune Béthouart and Laurent Verlype (eds), *Quentovic: Environnement, archéologie, histoire* (Lille, 2010), 194–212: 203–7.

[768] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 1 (16): *Anno igitur tercio Clodovei, qui est annus DCXCIIII incarnationis Domini, indictione VII, Rohingus vir illustris magnarum opum legitima testamenti confirmatione delegavit sancti Willibrordo aecclesiam in Antwerpo castello* […]. The problem lies in the fact that Thiofrid mentions this donation without date in his *Vita Willibrordi*, 12 (ed. Poncelet, 468). In the *Chronicon*, Theoderic records

the discussion was primarily fuelled by national and confessional sentiments.[769] Secondly, even if the donation dated to 692/3 (or 693/4), it would not necessarily prove that Antwerp was Willibrord's original destination in 690.[770] Much more interesting is the fact that Willibrord's community already shared in the commemoration of Amandus at an early stage of his continental career.[771]

Although Amandus was a member of the Neustrian elite, his cooperation with Itta illustrates his ability to act across political 'factions'. Similarly, Fursa was in close contact with both Erchinoald and King Clovis II (639–57) shortly after his arrival in Neustria.[772] According to the *Transitus*, Fursa was of noble birth and his social standing appears to have facilitated his rapid integration into the elite networks of both East Anglia and Francia.[773] It has been noted that the texts associated with Fursa's circle are very much 'continental' in their outlook. Except for the *Transitus*, they are almost exclusively concerned with events in Francia.[774] Both the *Additamentum* and the *Virtutes Fursei* reflect the political dimension which the foundation of monasteries and the translation of relics had gained. According to the *Virtutes*, Fursa returned to East Anglia at least once after the foundation of Lagny. During his absence, the 'holy man' (*vir sanctus*) Emmianus was ordered to take care of the community. Emmianus, however, died soon after Fursa's departure during a visit to the *dux* Haimo. Subsequently, a conflict arose between Erchinoald, Haimo and Bercharius, another *dux* from the area of Lyons, over the body of Emmianus. Ultimately, Emmianus was buried

two other donations by Rohingus, of which the first is dated 726 (Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 34–5). The information that the church in Antwerp was built by Amandus is only recorded in these two charters. It appears that Theoderic considered the first of these two (no. 34) to be a confirmation of an earlier donation mentioned by Thiofrid, which he dated to the third year of Clovis III. Wampach, 'Das Apostolat', 251–2; elaborates on this interpretation and was subsequently criticised, above all, by Regnerus R. Post, 'Nieuwe argumenten voor S. Willibrord's missiearbeid in Antwerpen en Noord-Brabant?', *Studia Catholica*, 29 (1954), 165–77, who assumes that Theoderic erroneously recorded the same donation by Rohingus from 726 twice. However, the question remains as to how Theoderic came up with the precise dating of the donation to the third year of Clovis III. Wampach assumed that Clovis III's reign started in 690. According to Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie', 201–2, his reign lasted from 691–4. I thank Jelle Visser for pointing this aspect out to me.

[769] See Honée, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords', 103–10, for a summary of the debate.

[770] According to Thiofrid, *Vita Willibrordi*, 5 (ed. Poncelet, 463) Willibrord landed at Gravelines in the north of modern France. The origins of this tradition remain obscure; see Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 213–4; Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 99; Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 111–3; Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 89; Heinz Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius: Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte ihrer Zeit', in Heinzgünter Frohnes, Hans-Werner Gensichen, Georg Kretschmer and Knut Schäferdiek (eds), *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte 2: Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), 192–226: 203, nn. 56–7 [Originally published in: *La Conversione al Christianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1967), 217–61]; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 94–7.

[771] See Fritze, 'Universalis gentium confessio', 101–6.

[772] *Virtutes Fursei*, 5 (ed. Krusch, 441).

[773] *Ibid.*, 1, 7 (ed. Krusch, 434, 437). According to the *Virtutes Fursei*, 10 (ed. Krusch, 443), Fursa baptised Erchinoald's son at Péronne.

[774] See Wood, *Fursey and His Brothers*, 9–10; *idem*, 'The Irish in England and on the continent in the seventh century: part II', *Peritia*, 27 (2016), 189-214: 203.

in Erchinoald's church in Péronne.[775]

In this context, it can be argued that the presence of the Bishops Eligius and Autpert at the translation of Fursa's body in *c.* 653 was not merely a matter of devotion.[776] The *Life* of Eligius, written by Bishop Audoin of Rouen (d. *c.* 685), records how the bishop was involved in the recuperation of several relics. The significance attributed to the posssession of relics in the *Vita Eligii* lends credibility to the episode in the *Virtutes Fursei* and the competition between the Neustrian magnates for Emmianus' body.[777] One of the saints whose relics Eligius allegedly recovered is the early Christian martyr Quentin.[778] The *Additamentum*, in turn, report that Fóillán celebrated the mass of Quentin on the day before his departure from Nivelles and his assassaniation.[779] The feast of Quentin is likewise recorded in the *Calendar*. The veneration of Quentin within Eligius' circle, at Nivelles and at Echternach provides a glimpse of a shared horizon which transcended the political boundaries within the Frankish kingdom.[780]

The fact that ecclesiastical traditions were not only developed within a local context is suggested by the *Vita Geretrudis*; early in her abbacy, Gertrude apparently acquired relics and books from Rome and from 'across the sea' (*de transmarinis regionibus*) through her envoys. The *Vita* also contains the information that an altar at Nivelles was dedicated to the martyred Pope Sixtus (d. 258). Sixtus was likewise commemorated at Echternach.[781] More significant, however, is the inclusion of Gregory of Great in the calendars from Nivelles and Echternach. In the case of the *Calendar*, it has been argued that the unusual spelling *grigori* reflects Irish usage. What is more, the fact that the *Calendar* records both Gregory's deposition and his ordination has been described as 'most unusual'. Yet the same pattern can be found in the *Zürich Calendar*.[782] The development of Gregory's cult in Ireland and Northumbria has already been mentioned and cannot be treated here in full.[783] In relation to

[775] *Virtutes Fursei*, 14–9 (ed. Krusch, 445–7).
[776] See Paul Fouracre, 'The work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in extending episcopal influence from the town to the country in seventh-century Neustria', *Studies in Church History*, 16 (1979), 77–91: 86–7.
[777] Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii,* 1.31 (ed. Krusch, 687–8); on the *Vita* see Laury Sarti, 'The digression on Pope Martin I in the *Life of Eligius of Noyon*', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 149–64: 150–2.
[778] Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, 1.31 (ed. Krusch, 687–8).
[779] *Additamentum* (ed. Krusch, 449–50).
[780] Fol. 39^{r}: *sancti quintini martyris* (31 October); see Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, 74–5. Fóillán celebrated the mass on 30 October and was assassinated the following day.
[781] *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, 2, 4 (ed. Krusch, 457–8); fol. 38^{r}: *sancti syxti episcopi* (6 August).
[782] Fol. 35^{v}: *sancti grigori rome* (12 March); *ordinatio grigori papae* (29 March); Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fol. 168^{r}: *Natale gregorii pape rome* (12 March; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 296); *ibid.*, fol. 168^{v}: *Ordinatio gregorii rome* (29 March; eds Hänggi/Schönherr, 297); Richter, 'The young Willibrord', 29; Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 78.
[783] See Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 71–82; Bruno Judic, 'Le culte de saint Grégoire le Grand et les origines de l'abbaye de Munster en Alsace', in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen*

Willibrord's arrival on the continent, the important aspect of Gregory's veneration in the Insular world is the fact that it encompassed two dimensions: on the one hand, it could be employed in regional conflicts over ecclesiastical and political authority. On the other hand, it provided a link between the local communities in Ireland and Northumbria and the continent. This interconnection between local identities and a wider ecclesiastical horizon can be observed in many of the hagiographical texts discussed in the section above. Thus, the Whitby *Life* of Gregory not only embeds the development of Christianity of Northumbria in a wider historical framework, but it also offers a rallying point for the *memoria* of the Deiran and Bernician dynasties.[784] In Ireland, the competition between the Patrician group at Armagh and its ecclesiastical rivals, most notably the followers of Brigid of Kildare, is reflected in the different communities' attempts to connect each of their saints to Rome.[785]

What we can observe, therefore, is that different networks between Ireland, Britain and Francia could share the same ecclesiastical horizon but adapt it to their local environment. In Francia, the impact of Fursa and his companions on the political and ecclesiastical landscape was probably based on their potential to create intersections between supra-regional and local networks as well as between local communities and the aristocracy. Fursa, Fóillán and Ultán were thus not very different from a figure like Amandus, whose connections extended from Austrasia to Rome,[786] and their status as 'outsiders' in Francia probably faded very quickly.[787] Even the relics of their own Irish saints became a target for various Neustrian magnates and were integrated into the Frankish ecclesiastical landscape. In this context, Willibrord's immediate departure for Rome in 690/1 to acquire relics fits in with the pattern described above. Ultimately, Willibrord and Fursa probably shared an ecclesiastical horizon that was very similar to that of Amandus' or Eligius', and this intersection facilitated their integration into the Frankish world.

At the same time, Willibrord shifted his attention to other parts of Austrasia. The following section focuses on the development of his network after his arrival in Francia and reconsiders the connections he established between the mouth of the Rhine and Thuringia.

Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production (Stuttgart, 2001), 263–96 : 271–4, 282–6, who highlights the role potentially played by Willibrord in the spread of Gregory's cult on the continent.

[784] See Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 73–7.

[785] See Wycherley, *The Cult of Relics*, 38–45, 49.

[786] See Mériaux, 'A one-way ticket to Francia', 149–52.

[787] For a view that stresses the 'outsider' status of Fursa and Fóillán see Wood, 'The Irish in England: part II', 214; Picard, 'De Gente Scottorum Monachi', 395–6.

2.3 Connections: The Development of Willibrord's Network, *c.* 690–728

'Brauchen wir da noch nach dem Geheimnis zu fragen, wie Willibrords Werk einem schnellen Erfolge zuwachsen konnte!'.[788] In 1940, Camille Wampach regarded Willibrord's success on the continent as self-evident: the bishops of Cologne had long neglected the Christianisation of the territories northeast of the Rhine. With Pippin II's rise to power in 687 and the establishment of the see of Utrecht in 695, the new arrival from Ireland began to attract the support of the aristocracy between the mouth of the Rhine and Trier.[789] This perspective is supported by the accounts of Bede and Alcuin, who created an idealised but static impression of Willibrord's continental career, set between the Pippinids and the papacy. By relying on Bede and Alcuin, however, the analysis passes over a number of significant questions raised by the comparison between the hagiography, the *Liber aureus* and the *Calendar*: what were Willibrord's options upon his arrival in 690? Was his *Handlungsspielraum* defined by the framework of a 'Carolingian Austrasia', as Friedrich Prinz suggested?[790] The following section gathers the fragmentary evidence for his activity beyond the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the *Vita Willibrordi*, and subsequently contrasts the results with the horizon reconstructed from the *Calendar*. Which connections did he establish, but were not commemorated at Echternach? What does the selection of names reveal about the integration of a new arrival from Ireland into a space that not only encompassed the established dioceses of Cologne, Tongeren-Maastricht[791] and Trier but also extended to Thuringia? In the following, the analysis will focus on the areas outside of Frisia. The role of Utrecht will be discussed separately in chapter 3, as it is intertwined with the history of the early Carolingians to a greater degree.

2.3.1 Adaption: The Dioceses of Trier, Cologne and Tongeren-Maastricht

The analysis of the ecclesiastical topography of the *Calendar* shows that a reorientation took place within the monastic community at Echternach. The earlier horizon, which

[788] Wampach, 'Willibrord: Seine Umwelt und Mitwelt', 42.
[789] *Ibid.*, 42–3.
[790] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 195.
[791] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 228–30; Alain Dierkens, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse de Maastricht à l'époque mérovingienne', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 541–68 : 553–4; Frans Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power in the early Middle Ages', in Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2001), 155–217: 160–75. The chronology of the relocation of the see of the late antique diocese of Tongeren to Maastricht (in the sixth century) and finally to Liège (in the eight century) remains a matter of debate among modern scholars.

encompassed saints from Northumbria, Ireland and Iona, was transferred to the continent but not continued after *c.* 700. The establishment of new contacts in the area between Utrecht and Trier, however, cannot have been a predetermined process. Between Willibrord's first and second journey to Rome, around three years passed; he then spent another two to three years in Frisia or Austrasia before the foundation of Echternach, and around eight years went by before Pippin and Plectrude issued their charters for the monastery.[792] The rather long period suggests that Willibrord first needed to build up and subsequently develop his network on the continent. The years between his departure from Ireland and the foundation of Echternach in 697/8 must have been of crucial importance in this regard.[793] Yet only the mere outlines of his activity can be reconstructed. According to Bede, Willibrord had already planned to build churches before his first visit to Rome and spent the years before his consecration in Frisia, yet the information that Willibrord afterwards built and established several churches and monasteries does not improve the lean chronology.[794] In the case of the *Vita Willibrordi*, it is even more difficult (and probably counterproductive) to place the various hagiographic episodes into a coherent timeframe, as Alcuin deliberately rearranged the chronology of his subject's career to fit his narrative purpose.[795]

In his *Chronicon*, Theoderic of Echternach only recorded four donations to Willibrord before the year 700, excluding Irmina's charters for Echternach. Assuming that the summary of the donation by Rohingus in 692/3 is a forgery by Theoderic, the first donations were made in 696, 697/8 and 698/9, and thus after his consecration in Rome.[796] The donation in 696 by Gerbertus and Bilitrudis can neither be located nor specified.[797] In 697/8, Willibrord received a vineyard from Gerelindis on the Moselle and in 698/9, Hadericus transferred property to him in three places in northern Toxandria on the river Dommel.[798] The distribution of the property is interesting in so far as the donations connect the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta and Echternach via the property of Gerelindis, situated on the bank of the Moselle which links the Rhine with Trier.

The few sources for Willibrord's first decade on the continent place his activity close to the Rhine. While Bede does not elaborate on the itinerary of the arrivals from Rath Melsigi, he interweaves his narrative with the Hewalds' martyrdom and Suidberct's career.

[792] See chapter 3.2.1.
[793] See Honée, 'St. Willibrord in recent historiography', 25.
[794] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486).
[795] See chapter 1.1.3.
[796] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 2, 5, 7; see chapter 2.2.2.
[797] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 2.
[798] *Ibid.*, nos 5, 7; see chapter 1.2.4; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 148, lists Hadericus among the Toxandrian donors, but subsequently (267, n. 150) states that the donation by Aengilbaldus in 704 was the first to be located 'unmittelbar in Toxandrien'.

In both cases, the Rhine serves as a geographical marker for Bede. Thus, he related that the Hewalds' bodies were thrown into the river by their Saxon murderers and miraculously carried against the current of the Rhine for nearly forty miles. Although the exact location of the Hewalds' killing remains unknown, Bede's phrasing suggests that the monk Tilmon and the remaining members of their group were located further upstream and thus closer to Cologne. Guided by a heavenly light, they were able to retrieve and bury the bodies. Pippin subsequently heard of the events and organised the translation of the remains to Cologne.[799] Suidberct, on the other hand, approached Pippin directly after he had been forced to leave the territory of the *Boructuari*. On the request of Plectrude, the clerics were given an island in the Rhine, where they founded the monastery of Kaiserswerth.[800]

From Bede's point of view, both the companions of the Hewalds and Suidberct's group were orientated towards Cologne. The Hewalds' translation to the city cannot be dated, and Bede only states that Suidberct's flight from the area of the *Boructuari* took place shortly after his arrival there. Suidberct left Frisia to be consecrated bishop in Britain during Willibrord's first journey to Rome; he then returned to Frisia and went to the *Boructuari* 'shortly afterwards' (*non multo post*). Bede also adds that Suidberct lived in Kaiserswerth 'for some while' (*aliquandiu*) before his death in 713.[801] Assuming that around two years passed between the clerics' arrival in Frisia, Suidberct's consecration in Britain and his subsequent departure to convert the *Boructuari*, and that he spent at least two years at Kaiserswerth before his death, his meeting with Pippin and Plectrude took place between 692 and 711.[802] At the same time, it needs to be remembered that Bede did not suggest that the Hewalds and Willibrord formed part of the same group. Suidberct probably belonged to the Rath Melsigi party, but his journey to Britain during Willibrord's absence and his subsequent departure to the *Boructuari* are all indications that his circle began to operate independently of Willibrord's group soon after their arrival in Frisia.[803]

The inclusion of both the Hewalds and Suidberct in the *Calendar* provides important evidence for the horizon of Willibrord's community after the foundation of Echternach, but there is no indication of a direct connection between the latter and Cologne in the early years of his continental career.[804] After 700, the charters in the *Liber aureus* remain focused on

[799] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 482–4); see chapter 1.1.2.
[800] *Ibid.*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 484–6).
[801] *Ibid.*; on the date of Suidberct's death see chapter 1.1.2.
[802] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 203, dates the foundation of Kaiserswerth to 695 x 710.
[803] See Franz Flaskamp, 'Die frühe Friesen- und Sachsemission aus northumbrischer Sicht: Das Zeugnis des Baeda', Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 51 (1969), 183–209: 202–7, who argues that Suidberct was forced to leave Frisia because Pippin II regarded his consecration as an encroachment on his sphere of influence.
[804] See chapter 2.1.1.

Toxandria and the Moselle area, thus continuing the pattern established by the charters of Gerelindis and Hadericus. The Moselle already appears as an important link between the Rhine and Trier in Irmina's charters. The Lower Rhine, in contrast, connected two of the central areas of Willibrord's activity rather than representing a focal point of his network in itself.[805]

It would be tempting to follow Bede's perspective and argue that the connection between the Hewalds' group, Suidberct and Cologne demonstrates the early adherence of the newcomers to the Pippinids. The fact that Bede's two chapters on the continental missions focus exclusively on undertakings connected to the Pippinids, is undoubtedly significant and might point to the channels of transmission which the author relied on by the second decade of the eighth century.[806] Friedrich Prinz argued that, from the start, the 'Anglo-Saxons' allied themselves *exclusively* to the 'Austrasian Carolingians'.[807] The distribution of monastic foundations in the late seventh and early eighth centuries in Austrasia appears to confirm Prinz's statement: the most important foundations were either situated in the area of influence of the Pippinids east of the Meuse or established in the context of Willibrord's and Suidberct's arrival. Based on his mapping of the monastic foundations of the seventh century, Prinz concluded that the contrast between the dense network of monasteries in Neustria (especially in the Paris area) and the low number of foundations in Austrasia reflected a sharp border between the Merovingian and the early Carolingian areas of influence, as well as between the sphere of Luxueil and that of the *angelsächsisches Benediktinertum* supported by Charlemagne's ancestors.[808]

The presence of Pippin and Plectrude in Cologne is documented before 700, yet for the Frankish ecclesiastical elite, the city's appeal was not only based on its ties to the Pippinids. The *Life* of Bishop Audoin of Rouen (d. *c.* 685), probably composed within a generation of the saint's death, mentions a visit by the bishop to Cologne in the context of the civil war between Pippin and Ghislemar, the rebellious son of the Neustrian *maior domus*

[805] The absence of evidence for a direct relation between Willibrord and Cologne does not preclude the thesis by advanced by Warntjes, 'The *Computus Cottianus*', 200–3, according to which the compilation of the *Computus Cottianus* and its later reception (via the *Computus Rhenanus*) suggest a link between Echternach and Cologne. If, as Warntjes assumes, the origin of the *Computus Rhenanus* lay in the Trier area, the transmission of the text could reinforce the assumption that Willibrord's early activity in Austrasia focused on the Moselle. A stronger connection between Willibrord's circle and Cologne, through which knowledge could be transmitted down the Rhine, only emerged when Pippin and Plectrude became involved in Echternach.
[806] It should be remembered that the focus on the Pippinids was also the result of a conscious choice made by Bede when he assembled his material.
[807] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 194–5: 'Während die Iren, wie wir gesehen haben, sowohl in merowingischen als auch in karolingischen Klöstern zu finden sind, verbünden sich die Angelsachsen von Anfang an ausschließlich mit den austrasischen Karolingern'.
[808] *Ibid.*, 140–1, 147–51.

Waratto.[809] Audoin acted as a mediator between the opposing parties, yet the *Life* also stresses the bishop's goal to explore the city's martyrs and to collect relics for his own city.[810] While there are few sources for the activities of the bishops of Cologne between the times of Kunibert (d. 663?) and Hildegar (d. 753), the short passage in the *Vita Audoini* illustrates that the city was still integrated into the wider ecclesiastical networks of the Frankish kingdom shortly before Willibrord's arrival, even though its metropolitan status seems to have become insecure by 700.[811] Furthermore, Utrecht, Cologne and Trier were not only connected through the Pippinids in the second half of the seventh century: The family of Bishop Kunibert, whom King Dagobert I charged with the establishment of an ecclesiastical base at Utrecht, probably came from the Moselle area.[812] Although Kunibert was an ally of Pippin I (d. 640), and cooperated with the latter's son Grimoald during the foundation of Stablo-Malmedy around 648 under King Sigibert III,[813] Cologne upheld its claim to the see of Utrecht in the time of Boniface, apparently ignoring the establishment of Willibrord's *sedes episcopalis* under Pippin II.[814]

Outside of Cologne, a similar picture emerges: Before Pippin II's death, his family were not the all-dominant actors in the area between south-western Frisia and the Lower Rhine.[815] The situation around 690 should not be confused with the extent of Pippin's and Plectrude's influence in 714, as different phases of their assertion in the region need to be discerned. After the political setback caused by the execution of Grimoald and before the battle of Tertry, Pippin's influence as *dux* was most likely restricted to the area between the Lower Rhine and Namur, as the latter city was besieged around 680 by Ghislemar.[816] Before 700, Pippin's and Plectrude's involvement in the appointment of abbots and bishops and their endowments of churches and monasteries concentrated on the family's home territory

[809] *Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis*, 13, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 562; *LHF*, 47 (ed. Krusch, 320–2); on the date and author of the *Life* see Georg Scheibelreiter, 'Audoin von Rouen: Ein Versuch über den Charakter des 7. Jahrhunderts', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 195–216: 215–6; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 133–52.

[810] *Vita Audoini*, 13 (ed. Krusch, 562); Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 106–7.

[811] See Odilo Engels and Stefan Weinfurter (eds), *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MXCXVIII 5: Germania. Archiepiscopatus Coloniensis* (offprint; Stuttgart, 1978), 3–11; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 408.

[812] See Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, 114–5; Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 88; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 143.

[813] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 169.

[814] See chapter 3.1.1.

[815] See Frans Theuws, 'Das mittlere Maastal und wie es zu einem Kerngebiet des Karolingerreichs wurde', in Frank Pohle (ed.), *Karl der Große, Charlemagne: Orte der Macht* (Dresden, 2014), 200–9: 203–5.

[816] *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 4 (ed. Krusch, 171); Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 264–5; see also Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 122–4, who stresses that even Liège was not firmly under the control of the Pippinids before the 680s.

in the southeast of modern Belgium, Cologne and the northwest of the Frankish kingdom.[817] In this area, roughly stretching from Saint-Wandrille near the mouth of the Seine in Neustria to Stablo-Malmedy in the Austrasian heartland of the Pippinids, a distinction between 'Merovingian' and 'Carolingian' influences is hardly meaningful, as different networks, emanating from Luxueil, the Merovingian court, the Pippinids and other local actors, overlapped throughout the seventh century. Significantly, Prinz himself noted that in some important cases such as the foundations of Saint-Arnulf in Metz (b. 643), Stablo-Maldmedy (*c.* 648), Saint-Wandrille (*c.* 648/9) and Oeren in Trier (*c.* 650?), *both* the Merovingian court and the Pippinids were either involved in their establishment or continued to support the monasteries with donations.[818]

The long intervals between the different donations which Willibrord received from the early Carolingians between 695 and 726 contradict Prinz's assumption that Willibrord was immediately integrated into a 'Carolingian' ecclesiastical horizon upon his arrival. He received Utrecht in 695/6, the two charters for Echternach were issued in 706 and Plectrude bought the monastery of Susteren from Alberic and Haderic shortly before March 714. The network of churches and monasteries which connected Willibrord to the early Carolingians developed over a period of almost 25 years. The expansion of the family's sphere of influence into the Trier area and Toxandria was thus *not* the precondition of Willibrord's activity but a contemporary development.[819] The fragmentary evidence provided by Bede and the donations in the *Liber aureus* suggest that Willibrord's early stations on the continent circled around the Pippinids' main area of influence rather than being situated within it.

It seems improbable that, over half a century before the coronation of Pippin III, the political and ecclesiastical horizon of the population between Utrecht and Trier could be defined as 'Carolingian' or that Willibrord and his companions used such a category to define their surroundings. While much depends on the credibility of Bede's words, his account reveals a subtle but significant distinction between the agency of the new arrivals from Rath Melsigi on the one hand and the initiative of their Frankish supporters on the other: the translation of the Hewalds' bodies to Cologne was initiated by Pippin, whereas the martyrs themselves and their companions had not previously approached the *maior domus*. On the other hand, it was Suidberct's plan to approach the mayor and his wife, while the foundation of Kaiserswerth was the result of Plectrude's initiative. Her endowment of St Mary in

[817] See Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 189; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 407–8; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 38–40. After the appointment of his son Drogo as *dux* of Champagne, Pippin was able to extend his control over the monastic foundations in this part of Neustria, but his influence remained limited in the centre of Merovingian power between the Seine and Oise.
[818] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 169–70; Fox, *Power and Religion*, 37–8.
[819] See chapter 3.2.

Cologne (before 700?) provides further evidence for her active support of new foundations.[820] In contrast to Prinz's thesis of a guiding political framework, Bede's text suggests that the activity of Insular clerics was shaped by both their own potential to attract support as well as by the initiative of the local elite who wished to assist them. What is more, the arrivals were divided into different groups and were able to pursue individual strategies, as the relationship between Boniface and Willibrord likewise demonstrates.[821]

Prinz's emphasis on the political dominance of the Pippinids in Austrasia ignores the agency of a large group of 'intermediary' actors: between the newly arrived clerics from Rath Melsigi and the mayor of the palace, there were local landowners and ecclesiastical actors with varying affiliations and motivations. With regard to Austrasia, the saints of the dioceses of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht occupy a prominent position in the *Calendar*. Historians have long noted that, in striking contrast to Boniface, there is no evidence for an opposition between Willibrord and the bishops in whose jurisdiction he was active. While this perspective is shaped by the available sources, it has been argued that the bishops' tolerance towards the new arrival resulted from his connection to the Pippinids; the bishops in question were either allies or relatives of the ruling family. Even if they were not necessarily on good terms with Pippin, such as in the case of Lambert of Maastricht (which will be discussed below) they had to accept Willibrord's presence within their bishopric because he enjoyed the protection of the *princeps*. In turn, the veneration of local saints in Austrasia was allegedly developed and controlled by the early Carolingians through their loyal intermediaries. Does the focus of the *Calendar* on the dioceses of Tongeren-Maastricht (on which Utrecht bordered) and Trier (within which Echternach lay) ultimately reflect Willibrord's dependence on the Pippinids, whose ecclesiastical horizon he simply adopted?[822]

With regard to Cologne, it is significant that only the names of the Hewalds and Suidberct directly refer to the diocese. All three were members of Willibrord's personal network and their commemoration was promoted by Pippin and Plectrude. The privileged position of the Hewalds and Suidberct in the *Calendar* could indicate that the arrival of the clerics in the 690s offered the Pippinids the opportunity to develop their own position as patrons in the Cologne area. By the time the *Calendar* was compiled, they had appropriated the *memoria* of the newcomers through the translation of the Hewalds' remains and the foundation of Kaiserswerth. Thereby, they were able to shape the development of new

[820] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 206–8; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 193.
[821] See chapter 2.3.2.
[822] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 267–8; Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 125–9; Dierkens, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse', 553.

commemorative traditions in their immediate area of influence to a greater degree than before. The Pippinids did not simply determine the activity of individuals such as Suidberct; they reacted to it and gradually consolidated the network of churches and monasteries under their authority. At the same time, the *Liber aureus* contains a brief note that Willibrord exchanged an unspecified number of tenants with Archbishop Raginfrid of Cologne (d. 743/5) before his death. The transaction cannot be precisely dated but it serves as a reminder that the martyrological entries do not reflect the entirety of Willibrord's network and that his horizon extended beyond the outlook of the *Calendar*.[823]

In contrast, Willibrord's activity in the dioceses of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht is reflected in both the *Calendar* and the *Liber aureus*. Interestingly, there is very little evidence in the hagiography for this dimension of Willibrord's activity. Apart from Alcuin's short reference to the saint's stay in Trier,[824] there are two texts from the eighth and ninth centuries which have been connected to his activity in Austrasia. The first is the *Life* of Maximin of Trier (d. *c.* 364), of which the earlier, anonymous version, dated to the middle of the eighth century, was rewritten in 839 by Lupus Servatus (d. *c.* 862), a monk at the abbey of Ferrières.[825] Both versions mention the translation of Maximin's remains by the bishops *Hildulfus*, *Clemens* and the unidentifiable *Clodobertus* in the time of Pippin II.[826] Based on the facts that both the names of Maximin and Hildulf are commemorated in the *Calendar* and that Willibrord's relation to St Maximin is documented through the commemoration of Basin in the *Calendar* and his involvement in the foundation of Echternach, most historians have suggested that *Clemens* refers to Willibrord's Roman name.[827]

If the identification of the first two names is correct, Hildulf's death around 707 at the monastery of Moyenmoutier would offer a rough *terminus ante quem* for the event.[828]

---

[823] Wampach, Quellenband, no. 40: *Raginfridus Coloniae archiepiscopus et [sanctus] Willibrordus fecerunt commutationes de mancipiis*; see Engels/Weinfurter, *Series episcoporum*, 10; Josef Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission und der Eintritt der in der alten Provincia Germania II gelegenen Bistümer in die karolingische Reichskirche', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 212 (2009), 1–43: 36.

[824] See chapter 1.1.4.

[825] *Vita sancti Maximini per anonymum Sanmaximinianum seculo VIII scripta* (*Vita Maximini* I), AASS, May 7 (1866), 21–5; Lupus, *Vita Maximini episcopi Trevirensis scripta* (*Vita Maximini* II), ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 3 (Hannover, 1896), 71–82; Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane, 'La *Vita* mérovingienne de Maximin de Trèves à travers sa réecriture par Loup de Ferrières : Hypotexte ou prétexte?', *Beihefte der Francia*, 71 (2010), 193–217: 193–4.

[826] *Vita Maximini* I, 2 (AASS, 23): *Tunc sancti Dei, Hidulphus videlicet, Clemens, et Lothbertus, cognoverunt quod vir beatus de ipsa vellet egredi crypta, et se ad locum ubi nunc adorator, transferri, sicut saepius Lothberto relevatum fuit Episcopo*; *Vita Maximini* II, 15 (ed. Krusch, 79-80): *Igitur venerabiles episcopi Hildulfus, Clemens atque Clodobertus convenientes in unum et quod evenerat diligenter examinantes, transferenda beati vir ossa ex memorata crypta et in loco, ubi nunc sita sunt, iudicavere ponenda.*

[827] Levison, 'Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Willibrord', 64, n. 2; Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, 132; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 46, n. 69; Resmini, *Das Erzbistum Trier*, 190–1. It should be noted that there is no contemporary evidence that Hildulf carried the title of bishop. Rather, he seems to have been a *chorepiscopus* ('assistant bishop').

[828] Goullet, 'Les saints du diocese de Toul', 69.

On the one hand, a date of around 700 for the translation would fit in with the focus of the *Calendar* on the ecclesiastical elite of Trier in the first decade of the eighth century. The scribes of the martyrological entries also paid special attention to Maximin's obituary, as the original entry was later moved to the correct date (29 May).[829] On the other hand, the *Calendar* does not note the translation itself, which, according to a later tradition, took place on 12 September.[830] Willibrord's possible cooperation with Hildulf would fit in with his good relationship with the ecclesiastical elite of Trier reflected in both the *Calendar* and Irmina's charters for Echternach.[831] The participation in the translation could have offered Willibrord the opportunity to solidify his integration into the immediate horizon of his new foundation. The testimony of the *Vita Maximini* suggests that he was able to take action within the diocese without coming into conflict with the local ecclesiastical elite.

This impression is strengthened by another source which concerns the Maastricht area: according to the *Life* of Harlindis and Reinila, abbesses of the monastery of Aldeneik (now Maaseik in Belgium), the sisters were consecrated by Willibrord and Boniface. Both clerics allegedly visited the monastery, which had been founded by the abbesses' parents, on several occasions.[832] The validity of the *Life*, which was probably written in the third quarter of the ninth century by a cleric at Aldeneik, has been questioned, especially with regard to the information concerning Boniface.[833]

The relationship between Harlindis, Reinila and Willibrord, on the other hand, has been regarded as more probable, mainly for two reasons: Firstly, Aldeneik is situated in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Susteren, which Willibrord received in 714 from Pippin and Plectrude.[834] Secondly, the *Vita* highlights the abbesses' interest in the writing of texts and specifically mentions the production of an evangeliary.[835] The manuscript which the author refers to can be identified as the so-called Maaseik Gospels.[836] The Gospel book has been dated to the second half of the eighth century context on palaeographical grounds and must have been located at Aldeneik at the time of the composition of the *Vita*. Elias Lowe, however, argued that the manuscript cannot have been written by Harlindis and Reinila at the monastery. Nancy Netzer assigned the work to Echternach and considered a

[829] Fol. 36^{v}: *natale sancti maximini treueris* (31 May); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 30–1.
[830] See Veyrard-Cosme, 'La *Vita* mérovingienne de Maximin de Trèves', 194; Resmini, *Das Erzbistum Trier*, 600.
[831] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 46.
[832] *De sanctis virginibus Herlinde et Reinula seu Renilde abbatissis Masaci in Belgio*, 10, 13, ed. Godefroid Henschen, AASS, March 3 (Paris, 1865), 388–9.
[833] See Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 271; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 178–80.
[834] See Werner Schuhn, 'Die Irminasippe im Mosel-Maas-Raum und ihre Verbindung mit der Mission Willibrords', *Neues Trierisches Jahrbuch*, 12 (1972), 5–14: 7–9, and chapter 3.2.1.
[835] *De sanctis virginibus Herlinde et Reinula*, 12 (ed. Henschen, 388).
[836] See chapter 2.1.1.

dating to Willibrord's lifetime possible. The hypothesis that Willibrord presented the manuscript to the abbesses accounts for both the date of the manuscript and Lowe's observation that it was produced outside of Aldeneik in a centre with Insular connections.[837]

The events recorded in the *Vita* of Harlindis and Reinila cannot be precisely dated; it is thus not possible to determine whether the connection between Willibrord and the abbesses of Aldeneik was already established before 700 or if it developed after Pippin's and Plectrude's donation in 714.[838] The *Vita* does not mention a connection between the family of Harlindis and Reinila and the early Carolingians, but Matthias Werner assumed that they descended from one of the leading of families of the area around Maastricht and Liège. According to the *Vita*, the parents entrusted their daughters to a religious education at a young age. The fact that they built the monastery for their children, suggests that they were one of several established Christian communities in the Meuse valley, similar to those that emerge from the charters of the *Liber aureus*.[839] Due to the sparse information provided by the anonymous hagiographer, it remains unclear if Willibrord approached the sisters or if they contacted him. If the hypothesis regarding the origin of the Maaseik Gospels is correct, the connection between Willibrord and the abbesses of Aldeneik provides important evidence for the dynamic nature of his network.

Willibrord's activity extended across the borders of the dioceses of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht. A comparison between the different pieces of evidence suggests that Willibrord was able to both integrate his activity into this horizon and to consolidate his own position by asserting control over new foundations. In 721, a Toxandrian landowner named Herelaef donated his maternal inheritance, plus property in the nearby hamlets of *Fleodrodum* (modern Vlierden) and *Durninum* (modern Deurne), to the church in Bakel. The charter states that *Herelaef* had 'recently' (*nuper*) built the church, that it was dedicated to the saints Peter, Paul and Lambert the martyr and that it was under the authority of Willibrord.[840] The text does not contain any evidence for the prior relation between the bishop and the donor. However, Bakel (in the modern Netherlands) is located *c.* 57 km to

[837] See *CLA* 10, 1558 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/283); *CLA* 10, 1559 (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/284) [accessed: 30 Auugust 2021]; McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 428–9; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, 7–8, 26, 83, 112–6, 118–9. Bound with the Maaseik Gospels is a fragment of nine folios, depicting canon tables and one Evangelist portrait (*CLA* 10, 1559). Netzer argues that the fragment represented a first attempt to create the canon tables for the Maaseik Gospels and that the folios were added to the manuscript as flyleaves. As in the case of the Trier Gospels, the assignment of the Maaseik Gospels to Echternach is based on the palaeographical similarities between the manuscript and the Augsburg Gospels; see chapter 2.1.1.

[838] Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 178–9, notes that, if Boniface's involvement in the consecration of the abbesses is accepted, then the event must have taken place after his own consecration as bishop in 722.

[839] *De sanctis virginibus Herlinde et Reinula*, 8 (ed. Henschen, 387); Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 183–4.

[840] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 30.

the north of Maaseik. Here, Willibrord had access to a dense network of property by the time he received the donation from Herelaef.[841] The fact that Willibrord gained control over an existing church that had been dedicated, among others, to the recently martyred Bishop Lambert of Maastricht (d. 703/5), shows that he was able to integrate himself into the existing ecclesiastical horizon of the communities he encountered.[842]

Willibrord's activity in the diocese has generally been interpretated as a sign of his good relationship with the bishops Lambert and his successor Hubert (703/5–27).[843] At the same time, it has been argued that their coexistence demonstrates Willibrord's 'uncanonical' status as a bishop acting outside of his jurisdiction before the reforms of Boniface.[844] The decisive factor which allowed Willibrord to secure his strong position within the diocese was the support of Pippin, who allegedly favoured him over Lambert. Consequently, the information of the earliest *Vita Landiberti* (727 x 743), according to which Lambert undertook his own missionary work in Toxandria, has been read as the bishop's attempt to secure his influence against the growing presence of Pippin's candidate.[845] The relationship between Lambert, his successor Hubert and the early Carolingians has above all been analysed in the context of the political conflicts which marked the Frankish kingdom between the assassination of King Childeric II in 675 and Charles Martel's victory at Amblève against his Neustrian and Frisian rivals in 716.[846]

According to the *Vita Landiberti*, written between the death of his successor Hubert in 727 and the translation of the latter's remains in 743, Lambert was appointed bishop of Maastricht in 669/70 under Childeric II (673–5) but forced to leave his see in 675 for a period of seven years, which he spent at the monastery of Stablo-Malmedy.[847] The interpretation of the events depends on the reconstruction of Lambert's political alliances, which must have shifted repeatedly until his assassination in 703/5 by the *domesticus* Dodo in Liège in the context of a personal conflict between the families of the bishop and the murderer. Although Lambert's rehabilitation was overseen by Pippin in 682/3, the anonymous author of the *Vita*

[841] See chapter 1.1.4.
[842] On date of Lambert's death see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 268, n. 155.
[843] See Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 191; Dierkens, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse', 553.
[844] See Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 89–94; *idem*, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 39–40; Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 20–1.
[845] *Vita Landiberti episcopi Traiectensis vetustissima*, 10, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 363–4; see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 178–9, 266–8; on the *Life* and the date of Lambert's death see *ibid.*, 241–74; Heinzelmann, Martin, 'L'hagiographie mérovingienne: Panorama des documents potentiels', in Monique Goullet, Martin Heinzelmann and Christiane Veyrard-Cosme (eds), *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures* (Ostfildern, 2010), 27–82: 51.
[846] See chapter 3.2.2.
[847] *Vita Landiberti*, 5 (ed. Krusch, 357–8).

does not suggest a close relationship between the bishop and the *dux*.[848]

Evidence for a connection between the Pippinids and the commemoration Lambert only appears in the following decade when Hubert began to promote his predecessor's cult. Probably on 31 May 716, Hubert oversaw the translation of the martyr's relics from their original burial place near Maastricht to Liège.[849] The *basilica sancti Landiberti*, to which the remains were brought, must have been completed before that date: in 714, Pippin's son Grimoald was killed while praying in the church.[850] By this date, the Pippinids were sharing in the veneration of Lambert. At the same time, different chronological stages need to be discerned. While the translation of Hubert's remains was overseen by Charles Martel's son Carloman (d. 754) in 743, there is little evidence for an active promotion of Lambert's or Hubert's commemoration by the family before 714. The Pippinids did probably not secure their influence over Liège until the early eighth century, and the decisive actor in the promotion of Lambert's *memoria* was Hubert himself, building on the veneration which had developed in the region after his predecessor's assassination.[851]

The connection between the translation and the consolidation of Charles Martel's power will be further discussed in chapter 3. Here, the inclusion of Lambert in the *Calendar* needs to be considered; does his name reflect the adoption of a 'Carolingian' horizon by the community of Echternach? Hubert has commonly been characterised as a supporter of the early Carolingians and he emerges as such at the end of the Frankish civil war.[852] Significantly, the first evidence for his succession to Lambert's position (and thus the *terminus ante quem* for the latter's assassination) is the mention of a *Chuchobertus*/*Chugobertus episcopus* among the witnesses of the two charters issued by

[848] *Ibid.*, 7, 21 (*ibid.*, 361, 347); see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 253–74; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 55; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 170–1; Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 13–6; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 33–4; The anonymous author of the *Life*, who relied on Audoin of Rouen's *Vita Eligii* to compose his text, placed Lambert in a Merovingian political context, mentioning his education at court and his election by Childeric II and the *optimates*, whereas Pippin is only briefly mentioned. Pippin's rehabilitation of Lambert in 682/3 has been interpretated as an attempt to gain support in the area around Maastricht after the death of the Neustrian *maior* Ebroin in *c.* 680/1. It seems probable that Lambert was temporarily on Ebroin's side, which led to his deposition under King Dagobert II. The position of the Pippinids taken in this conflict is difficult to reconstruct, but the assumption that Pippin sought Lambert's support in the early 680s would fit in with the limited influence of the *dux* beyond Cologne and Liège before the battle of Tertry.

[849] *Vita Landiberti*, 25 (ed. Krusch, 378–81); Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', 173; on the reconstruction of the date see Krusch, MGH SRM, 6.306; Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 133, n. 3; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 268, n. 155.

[850] *LHF*, 50 (ed. Krusch, 324–5); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 7 (ed. Krusch, 173); see Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 298–303; Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', 190–1; on the political context of the murder see Sven Meeder and Erik Goosmann, *Redbad: Koning in de marge van de Geschiedenis* (2018), 124–32.

[851] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 290–315; Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', 174–5, 186, 190–3.

[852] See Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', 201; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 277–80; Dierkens, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse', 562; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 193; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 55–6; chapter 3.2.2.

Pippin and Plectrude in 706 for Echternach.[853] However, is name is absent from Pippin's and Plectrude's charter for the monastery of Susteren in 714, although the foundation lay in his diocese. Without touching on the question whether Hubert had already 'abandoned' Plectrude for Charles Martel in March 714,[854] the charter evidence indicates that Hubert's relationship with Pippin's family was not predetermined before Charles Martel's rise to power. According to the *Vita Landiberti*, the veneration of Lambert was first developed through the intercession of the local population of Liège.[855] Similarly, Herelaef's charter suggests that the dedication of the church in Bakel to Lambert was an act of personal piety and local commemoration. The bishop's violent death in a personal vendetta did not prevent the spread of his *memoria* within a decade of his assassination; rather, his veneration appears to have cut across political divisions.

It can be argued that, by the time of Grimoald's assassination, the Pippinids were one of many groups who sought spiritual affiliation with Lambert *after* the bishop's commemoration had become a factor of regional importance. The participation in this process might have offered the family an opportunity to heal the rifts which had been caused the conflict between the families of Lambert and Dodo.[856] Hubert's cooperation with Pippin and Plectrude in 706 does need to imply that the family controlled this process. The development of the bishop's *memoria* was probably neither a purely 'popular' movement nor the prerogative of the most powerful families.[857] Instead, one can imagine a more dynamic model, in which Willibrord and his community played an important role as an intersection between Hubert and the Pippinids. In the *Calendar*, the entry for Amandus belongs to the earliest layer according to Henry Wilson's analysis, whereas the names of Servatius and Lambert are characterised as 'early' additions; given the date of the manuscript, it is possible that Lambert's name was included shortly after his death.[858] The example of Trier and the involvement of Irmina in the foundation of Echternach show that Willibrord interacted directly with the ecclesiastical elite in his field activity from early on in his continental career.

According to his anonymous *Vita*, written shortly after 743, Hubert undertook

[853] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14, 15; see also *ibid.*, *Textband*, 130–1, n. 5. Following a first suggestion by Levison in his edition of Hubert's *Vita* (MGH SSRM, 6.471–2), Wampach assumed that Hubert and Plectrude were related. However, this hypothesis is only based on the mention of *Chuchobertus* directly after Pippin, Plectrude and Drogo in the charters; Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 278–9.
[854] See chapter 3.2.1.
[855] *Vita Landiberti*, 21–4 (ed. Krusch, 374–8).
[856] See Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 27–8.
[857] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 300–3; Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', 180, 190, n. 103.
[858] Fol. 35^{r}: *sancti amandi* (6 February); fol. 36^{v}*: sancti seruati* (13 May); fol. 38^{v}: *sancti landberichti episcopi* (17 September); Wilson, *The Calendar*, 21, 30, 40.

missionary work in the Ardennes, the valley of the Meuse and Toxandria.[859] While the portrayal of Hubert as a 'missionary' represents a hagiographical distortion of the religious situation in Austrasia in the early eighth century, his and Willibrord's fields of activity overlapped.[860] The contact between them could have been established earlier than 706 and formed the basis for Hubert's involvement in the issuing of the charters for Echternach. The donation by Herelaef in 721 is a reminder that Hubert was probably not Willibrord's only source for his adoption of the ecclesiastical traditions in the region between Utrecht and Trier. It is notable that the *Calendar* commemorates Servatius next to Amandus and Lambert. The veneration of Servatius was connected to Maastricht, which was also less of a 'Pippinid' city than Liège and whose development was shaped by the presence of the Merovingian kings.[861] This does not mean that the horizon of the *Calendar* was 'Merovingian' rather than 'Carolingian', but the inclusion of Servatius highlights the wide perspective of the martyrological entries beyond specific 'factions'.

This ultimately leads to the question of whether territorial and political divisions were essential for the formation of Willibrord's network. There is, for example, no evidence that he was integrated into the network which connected the dioceses of Tongeren-Maastricht and Metz through the foundation of St Truiden, in which the Pippinids were directly involved.[862] To further assess the extent of Willibrord's *Handlungsspielraum*, the perspective of the study needs to be extended to his connections in the Frankish world outside of Austrasia.

2.3.2 Expansion: Chelles, Thuringia, Strasbourg

The sources for Willibrord's activity outside of the core area between Utrecht and Trier are even more fragmentary than the evidence discussed above. Yet they contradict the impression that Willibrord acted exclusively in a 'Austrasian Carolingian' context. Significantly, these fragments appear at the same time that the scribes of the *Calendar* began to restrict their perspective to the more immediate environment of Echternach. The following section considers the discrepancy between the extent of Willibrord's horizon and its restriction to a specific space in the *Calendar*.

---

[859] *Vita Hugberti episcopi Traiectensis,* 3, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 484–5; on the date of the *Vita* see Heinzelmann, 'L'hagiographie mérovingienne', 71.
[860] See Esders, '*Nationes quam plures conquiri*', 278–82.
[861] See Theuws, 'Maastricht as a centre of power', 182–6, 210–3; Dierkens, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse', 555–62; Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 16–7, notes that there is no evidence for a translation of Servatius' relics by Charles Martel before the eleventh century.
[862] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 73–93.

In the *Liber aureus*, three donations indicate that his network extended beyond Toxandria, the Lower Rhine and the Moselle: two by the Thuringian *dux* Heden and one by the *Deo sacrata* Bertilindis from the monastery of Chelles.[863] The latter donation was still connected to Austrasia, as the property transferred in 710 lay in Toxandria. Nonetheless, Willibrord's connection to the heartland of the Merovingians via Chelles must be regarded as an exception in the context of the *Liber aureus*. It has been argued that Willibrord was present in Chelles when the charter was written.[864]

This hypothesis gains further weight through the indication in the charter that the text was written by the same Laurentius who has been identified as one of the two main scribes of the Echternach scriptorium.[865] Among the oldest surviving manuscript fragments which are known to have been kept at Echternach are two eighth-century copies of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* respectively. In both cases, the scriptorium at Chelles has been suggested as the possible place of composition, although the earliest manuscripts are traditionally dated to *c.* 750 and thus after Willibrord's death.[866] At the same time, Chelles (and nearby Jouarre) already emerged as an important intersection for the exchange of manuscripts and relics between Ireland, Northumbria and Neustria in the second half of the seventh century.[867]

The history of Chelles was intertwined with the ecclesiastical networks of the Neustrian aristocracy. An oratory had existed at the royal *villa* from the time of Queen Clothild (d. 545). In the 660s, it was expanded into a double monastery under Queen Balthild (d. *c.* 680), the wife of Clovis II (639–57) and regent for her son Chlothar (III, 657–73) after his father's death. The first abbess of Chelles was Bertila, a nun from Jouarre. The ordination of Bertila reflected Balthild's cooperation with the circle of Bishop Audoin, who had become one of the most influential political actors in the Frankish kingdom after the death of the mayor of the palace Erchinoald in *c.* 657/61 and the rise of his successor Ebroin.[868] According to her hagiographer, Balthild undertook many donations to churches and monasteries from the royal fisc. Most of the monasteries mentioned in the *Vita Balthildis* were associated with Luxueil.[869] The close relation between Balthild, Audoin and Luxeuil

[863] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 8, 17, 26.
[864] Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 290; see also Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 45–7.
[865] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 17, 48: *Ego Laurentius presbiter, rogante Bertilinde illustri femina atque Deo consecrata virgine, scripsi et subscripsi*; see chapter 2.1.1.
[866] See Falmagne/Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, 1.185–8.
[867] McKitterick, 'The diffusion', 406–12. In this context, it could be significant that the eighth-century collection of Chelles also includes relics of King Oswald of Northumbria; see chapter 2.2.1.
[868] Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 174–6; Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles', 383–5; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 108–12;
[869] *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, 7, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 489–91.

also expanded to the political sphere: when the Austrasian aristocracy requested their own ruler after the death of Clovis II, Balthild met their demand by sending them her son Childeric (II), after he had been married to the daughter of Himnechild, the widow of King Sigibert III.[870] As discussed above, this course of action was not predetermined, as Sigibert's son, Dagobert, was still alive. Balthild's decision to not recall the exile prince from Ireland could have been a factor which, in the long term, shaped the orientation of Willibrord and his companions, as the return of Dagobert was ultimately organised through Wilfrid and the establishment of a new network which connected Ireland, Northumbria and Austrasia.[871]

According to the author of the *Vita Balthildis*, who probably wrote within a decade of the queen's death, Abbess Bertila asked the priests to preserve Balthild's *memoria*. The author adds that 'throughout many places deservedly her [memory] is still steadfastly celebrated'.[872] Given the contemporary composition of the work, it can be assumed that the Neustrian queen was already venerated in Francia by the time of the compilation of the *Calendar*, yet there is no trace of the link between Echternach and Chelles among the martyrological entries. In contrast to Willibrord's relationship with the ecclesiastical elite of Trier, Maastricht and Liège, his connection to Balthild's foundation fell outside of the horizon which the scribes of the *Calendar* wished to capture.

The discrepancy between Willibrord's reliance on supra-regional networks and the perspective of the *Calendar* is also apparent from the example of his interaction with the *dux* Heden of Thuringia.[873] According to two charters in the *Liber aureus*, Heden donated property to Willibrord in 704 and in 717.[874] The first donation, which Heden undertook together with his wife Theodrada, encompassed a hall or substantial dwelling (*curtis*) near modern Arnstadt (*Arnestati*), three farmsteads (*casata*) near modern Mühlberg (*Mulenberge*), including the tenants (*mancipiis*), and different parts of the *curtis Monhore* (Großmonra?), including seven labourers as well as cow- and swineherds with their animals.[875] Through the second donation, in which Theodrada is only mentioned as a signatory, Willibrord received the *castellum Hamulo* (Hammelburg), including Heden's maternal and paternal inheritance. According to the charter, Willibrord had advised Heden

[870] Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 162–7.
[871] See chapter 2.2.2.
[872] *Vita sanctae Balthildis*, 15: *Quod nuncusque per loca multa merito eius* [*sancta memoria*] *assidue celebratur* (ed. Krusch, 491; trans. Fouracre/Gerberding, 130); on the date of the *Vita* see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 114–8.
[873] This Heden is sometimes referred to as Heden 'II', to distinguish him from his grandfather, *Hetanus senior*, mentioned in chapter 3 of the *Passio Kiliani*; see below, p. 169.
[874] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 8, 26.
[875] *Ibid.*, no. 8, 29–30.

to construct a monastery on the same property.[876] Both charters also mention Heden and Theodrada's son Thuringus and two royal officials (*comites*) appear among the witnesses of the second document. The first charter, issued at Würzburg, was again written by Laurentius at the request of the *dux*, whereas the later one identifies as the scribe a cleric named Richisus.[877]

The area in which Heden's property was situated is today divided between the German federal states of Bavaria and Thuringia. In the early eighth century, the estates lay in Thuringia. The kingdom of Thuringia had been conquered by the Franks in the early sixth century; in the seventh century, it was governed by *duces* in the service of the Merovingians. Like the area between Utrecht and Maastricht, Thuringia was (at first sight) a peripheral part of the Frankish kingdom. However, it did not lie outside the reach of the Merovingian kings: from Austrasia, Dagobert I and his son Sigibert III led military campaigns against the invading Wends and the insurgent *dux* Radulf in the early seventh century. It has been argued that Heden's family was established in Thuringia by the mayor of the palace Grimoald I after Radulf's removal.[878]

How did Thuringia fit into the horizon of Willibrord's activity on the continent? Based on the *Liber aureus* and onomastic observations, Willibrord's activity in Thuringia has been interpretated as an extension of his links with Irmina of Oeren and the Pippinids.[879] Heden's charters in the *Liber aureus* belong to the earliest stratum of written evidence for ecclesiastical foundations in Merovingian Thuringia. Next to the material from Echternach, later additions to the chartulary of the monastery of Weißenburg (founded in *c.* 660 north of Strasbourg) refer to possessions in the same area around Hammelburg where Heden's property was located in 717. The chartulary, first compiled in *c.* 860, also mentions a *dux* named *Theotcharius* in relation to the purchase of salt production sites by the abbot of the

[876] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 26, 64–5: […] *ubi et cogito Dei misericordia per ipsius apostilici viri consilium monasterium construere* […]; see also Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (New York, 2006), 123.

[877] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 8, 30: *Ego Laurentius indignus presbiter iubente domno Hedeno duce viro illustri, hanc donationis cartulam scripsi et in Dei nomine subscripsi*; *ibid.*, 65: *Actum publice Hamulo castello. Anno* quo supra *Chilperici regis XIIII Kal(endas) Maias. Cato comes. Sigericus comes. Ego illuster vir Hedenus dux hanc donationem fieri volui et subscripsi cum Theodrada coniuge mea. Ado nutricius Hedeni et Tiringus filius Hedeni. Adogoto. Hererico. Ego Richisus clericus rogatus scripsi et subscripsi.*

[878] Fredegar, *Chronicae*, 4.68, 4.74–5, 4.77, 4.87 (ed. Krusch, 154–5, 158–9, 159, 164–5); Hubert Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im austrasischen Frankenreich', in Jörg Jarnut (ed.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. Jörg Jarnut (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345–66: 351–2; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 112–3; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 103–5; see also Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 194–5; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 153, n. 518. Opinions diverge whether Heden's family came to Thuringia from Austrasia or if they were the descendants of the rebellious duke Radulf. It has been assumed that Heden's family originally controlled the area south of the Thuringian forest (*mainfränkisches Dukat*) from Würzburg and that the northern part of Thuringia was added to their rule around 700. It should be noted that Heden is assigned to the *ingenui franci* in the 'testament' of 726 (Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 39).

[879] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 234–5.

monastery.[880] Although doubts remain with regard to the dating of the charter to the late seventh century, this *Theotcharius* has been identified with the *dux Theotarius*, from whose son *Theodardus* Pippin and Plectrude received one half of the property at Echternach before 706.[881] From these fragments, two theories have been constructed: firstly, it has been argued that *Theotcharius*/*Theotarius* and Irmina of Oeren were related. Based on the later tradition that Irmina was buried at Weißenburg, Camille Wampach assumed that the abbess and the *dux* were closely connected to the Alsatian monastery.[882] Secondly, historians have noted the similarity between the names of *Theotcharius*, *Theotarius*, his son *Theodardus* and Heden's wife Theodrada. The later, twelfth-century *Vita* of Bishop Burchard of Würzburg (d. 742–54) mentions Heden's daughter *Immina*.[883] Together with *Theotarius*/*Theotcharius*, Heden was thus assigned to the family of Irmina of Oeren. This allowed Friedrich Prinz to argue that Willibrord was 'recommended' within the same Austrasian network which ultimately stood under Pippin's authority.[884] Matthias Werner, however, showed that both assumptions cannot be upheld.[885]

With the removal of the Weißenburg link between *Theotarius*, Irmina and Heden, the only remaining evidence for a connection between Echternach, Weißenburg and Würzburg is the resemblance of the names *Theotarius*-Theodrada and Irmina-*Immina*. Yet even if Willibrord and the community of Weißenburg both held property in Thuringia, the donations could have been transmitted through different networks: the coexistence of different landholders in the same area is characteristic of patterns of land tenure in late Merovingian

[880] *Traditiones Wizenburgenses: Die Urkunden des Klosters Weißenburg 661-841*, no. 213, eds Karl Glöckner and Ludwig A. Doll (Darmstadt, 1979), 427–9; Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge, 2005), 18–9; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 163.
[881] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no, 14.
[882] See Wampach, *Textband*, 129; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 126, 139–48; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 44–6.
[883] *Ex Vita Burchardi episcopi Wirziburgensis auctore ut traditor Egilwardo*, 4, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 55; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 150; see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian and the Irish network in early Carolingian Europe', in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlüter (eds), *"A fantastic and abstruse Latinity?" Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages* (Münster, 2017), 31–53: 43, n. 53.
[884] See Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 234–47; a more cautious approach is taken by Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 194–5.
[885] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 165–70. First of all, doubts remain regarding the identification of the *Theotcharius* mentioned in the Weißenburg charter as the *Theotarius* who owned one half of the *villa Epternacus*. The only evidence for a connection between *Theotcharius* and Weißenburg is his mention as the seller of the salt production sites. In this transaction, he appears as an external actor rather than as a member of the inner circle of the Weißenburg network. At the same time, the tradition regarding Irmina's burial at Weißenburg only appears around four hundred years after her death; the evidence which links *Theotcharius* and Irmina to the monastery is thus very sparse. What is more, the property owned by Weißenburg near Hammelburg is only mentioned in a later addition to the chartulary from the thirteenth century. Finally, Werner points out that, despite the resemblance, the names *Theotcharius* and *Theotarius* are ultimately dissimilar and could refer to two different persons; the son of *Theotcharius* is also called *Theotcharius* in the Weißenburg charter, whereas the son of the Echternach *Theotarius* was called *Theodardus*.

Francia.[886] At the same time, if the later traditions associated with Weißenburg are to be trusted, they show that the integration of Thuringia into the ecclesiastical networks of Austrasia had begun before the arrival of Boniface.[887]

In contrast, the debate about Heden's possible relation to Irmina of Oeren demonstrates that this stage of Willibrord's career has likewise been placed within the same 'Carolingian' framework as the foundation of Echternach. The establishment of a missionary outpost in this part of the Frankish kingdom was identified as Willibrord's main objective, which was later continued by Boniface.[888] Heden's second donation, undertaken shortly after Charles Martel's victory over his Neustrian enemies at Vinchy in March 717, has been interpreted as a sign the Thuringian magnate's allegiance to the mayor of the palace, represented by Willibrord.[889]

In contrast, Hubert Mordek argued that Heden's attitude towards Charles was more distant and possibly even hostile.[890] It is peculiar that the 'testament' of 726 only records Heden's first donation.[891] Mordek suggested that the transaction of 717 was not included in the document because Willibrord did not want to provoke the victorious mayor of the palace by transferring property from one of his former enemies to Echternach in 726. The plausibility of this thesis is increased by the fact that the dating clause of the second charter (18 April 717) refers to the reign of Chilperic II (715–21), the king of Neustria whom Charles Martel had defeated just a few weeks earlier at Vinchy.[892] Although Charles would not install his own king, Chlothar IV (717–8), until June or October of the same year, the reference to Chilperic in the charter could be an indication of Heden's loyalty to the Merovingian.[893] Ultimately, it seems that Willibrord (and Heden) acted more independently in Thuringia than previously assumed. In 704, when he received Heden's first donation, Willibrord had not yet placed Echternach under Pippin and Plectrude's authority, and both donations in Thuringia were addressed to Willibrord personally and not to Echternach.[894]

---

[886] See chapter 1.2.4.
[887] See Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 211; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 236. According to a charter issued under King Dagobert III (711–6), preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript, the foundation of the monastery of St Peter in Erfurt was likewise initiated by Weißenburg.
[888] See Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 101–2.
[889] See Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 62, 113–4; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 101; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 47.
[890] Hubert Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im austrasischen Frankenreich', in Jörg Jarnut (ed.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. Jörg Jarnut (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345–66: 345–7; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 60, 107–8, also counts Heden among Charles Martel's enemies.
[891] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 39, 97.
[892] *Ibid.*, no. 26, 65: *Actum publice Hamulo castello. Anno* quo supra *Chilperici regis XIIII Kal(endas) Maias*; on the battle of Vinchy see chapter 3.2.2.
[893] Mordek, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft, 347; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 56–7, 107–8, also considers the possibility that Charles Martel would not have recognised the donation after Heden's deposition.
[894] See Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 41–2; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 106.

Further evidence for the situation in Thuringia must be deduced from the source material connected to Boniface. The interaction between Willibrord and Heden stands in stark contrast to Willibald's claim in his *Vita Bonifatii* that one part of the population of Thuringia was oppressed by the 'tyrannical' leadership of Heden and a certain *Theotbaldus*, while the other part fell under the rule of the invading Saxons, under whom the Thuringians reverted to paganism.[895] Combined with Willibald's statement that Boniface encountered resistance not only from pagans but also from 'false brothers' (*falsi fratres*) in Thuringia, whom scholars have assigned to Willibrord's circle, the impression grows that Willibrord had solidified an independent position in the region which Boniface competed against.[896] Willibald's characterisation of Heden's family as despots, who allowed the spread of paganism in their realm, can also be read as the attempt to downplay the developments made by Boniface's precursors.[897] At the same time, if the *Life* of Bishop Gregory of Utrecht (d. *c.* 775) by Liudger of Münster (d. 809) can be trusted, Boniface and Willibrord relied on the same supra-regional networks: in 721, he stayed with Abbess Adela at Pfalzel on his way from Frisia to Hesse.[898] Again, it can be observed that, although Insular clerics relied on similar routes, they could pursue their own strategies in a local context.

It is important to note that Heden's first donation to Willibrord in 704 and Boniface's mission took place in different political contexts. Boniface first stayed in Thuringia for a short while in 719 and did not return until 725, three years after he had been consecrated bishop in Rome.[899] The testimony of the *Vita Bonifatii* thus represents a double deformation of the situation which Willibrord encountered in 704. The political situation had changed profoundly by 719. The rule of Heden's family had come to an end shortly after 717, apparently causing a destabilisation of the region. When Pope Gregory II (715–31) wrote his letter to the Thuringian aristocracy in 722 in order to recommend Boniface to them, he addressed the 'noble men' (*vires magnifici*) and five of their sons instead of one *dux*.[900] Similarly, Willibald speaks of several *seniores* and *principes* who had abandoned

[895] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 6 (ed. Levison, 32).
[896] *Ibid.* (ed. Levison, 33); see Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 150; Werner, 'Iren und Angelsachsen', 83–7. The fact that Willibrord transferred the property he had received in 704 to Echternach in his 'testament' instead of ceding it to Boniface has also been taken as evidence for a divergence between both clerics; in contrast, Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 205, doubts that Willibrord ever went to Thuringia himself and that the 'false brothers' were associated with him.
[897] Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 154; see also Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 112–4; Ian N. Wood, 'Before or after mission: social relations across the middle and lower Rhine in the seventh and eighth centuries', in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 149–66: 156–8; Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian', 44.
[898] Liudger, *Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis*, 2, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 67; Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 140.
[899] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 5–6 (ed. Levison, 22, 30–2); Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 150.
[900] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 19, ed. Michael Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH Epp. sel., 1 (Berlin, 1916), 33.

Christianity. Yet Willibald was even further removed from the situation of 704, writing after the Carolingians' rise to power. It is possible that Heden and his family were one of the casualties of Charles Martel's victory against his political opponents in 716–8.[901]

The perception of Thuringia in the sources written after 719 is thus shaped by the integration of the region into the Carolingian sphere. In this context, the most important source besides the *Vita Bonifatii* is the (minor) *Passio Kiliani*, written in *c.* 788/840.[902] The *Passio* records that assassination of the Irish cleric Kilian around 689 in Würzburg by the men of Gozbert, Heden's father, at the instigation of his wife.[903] Most scholars have treated the account of the *Passio* with distrust because of its late date and its similarities to the earlier eighth-century *Life* of Bishop Corbinian of Freising (d. *c.* 730).[904]

The commemoration of Kilian only developed in the Carolingian period, following the translation of his relics in 752 under Bishop Burchard of Würzburg and again in 788 under Charlemagne.[905] Another argument against the validity of the source concerns Kilian's journey to Rome, where he allegedly received the permission to preach north of the Alps from Pope Conon (686–87).[906] It has been argued that this motif must have been inspired by the career of Boniface and that it is implausible that an Insular cleric would have approached the pope before the arrival of Willibrord.[907] Furthermore, the account of the *Passio* regarding the fate of Heden's family is written from the same 'Carolingian' angle as the *Vita Bonifatii*: Gozbert and his wife Geilana are not only introduced as pagans, their deaths are presented as divine punishments, whereas Heden was apparently expelled from Thuringia by the *populus orientalum Francorum*. Since the author also refers to Pippin III as the first king of

[901] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 6 (ed. Levison, 32); Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 57, 105–6. The potential conflict between Charles Martel and Heden must not imply that the Thuringian *dux* and Pippin II had not been on good terms with each other.

[902] *Passio Kiliani martyris Wirziburgensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 711–28; on the dating of the *Passio* see Knut Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg: Gestalt und Gestaltung eines Heiligen', in Knut Schäferdiek and Winrich A. Löhr (eds), *Schwellenzeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, 1996), 459–86: 461–3 [Originally published in Hagen Keller (ed.), *Iconologia sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-40]; Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian', 31–2, n. 4; see also *ibid.*, 51. The earliest manuscript is from St. Gall, where Kilian's tradition was expanded in the ninth and tenth centuries.

[903] *Passio Kiliani,* 10 (ed. Levison, 725–6).

[904] See Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 138–9; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 239–40; Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 214; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 150, n. 503; Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian', 37, 40–2.

[905] Palmer *Anglo-Saxons*, 68–9, 87, 158; Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian', 43, n. 50, 49–50.

[906] *Passio Kiliani,* 10 (ed. Levison, 725–6); see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 240–1.

[907] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 150, n. 503, considers the tradition to be credible; Schäferdiek, 'Kilian von Würzburg', 474–6, disagrees and notes the similarities between the *Passio* and the earlier Bonifatian sources; see also Hanswernfried Muth, 'Die Geschichte von Kilian und seinen Gefährten', in *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland. Aller Franken Patron* (Würzburg, 1989), 32–33: 32: 'Kilians Reise nach Rom und seine Beauftragung durch den Papst werden kaum als Tatsache zu werten sein; eher ist in dieser Erzählung eine Rückprojektion angelsächsischer Romverbundenheit zu sehen'; according to the *Passio,* 4 (ed. Levison, 723), Kilian took the decision to travel to Rome in Ireland.

the ‘eastern Franks’, he seems to imply that Pippin’s ancestors were involved in Heden’s deposition. The Carolingian development of Kilian’s veneration could thus be interpreted as an attempt of the ruling family to legitimise the deposition of Heden’s family in Thuringia and to appropriate the *memoria* of one of the region’s most prominent saints.[908]

While the older *Passio* thus contains many elements that diminish its value for the period around 690, the possibility that Kilian was active in Thuringia with papal approval less than two decades before Willibrord must be considered. Besides the *Passio*, there is very little, if any, evidence for the presence of Insular clerics in the Würzburg area before Heden’s donation of 704.[909] Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel has recently highlighted the role of Willibrord and his circle for the diffusion of Kilian’s memory, yet also argued that Willibrord’s interaction with Heden appears ‘irreconcilable’ with the alleged martyrdom reported in the *Passio*.[910] This point deserves further attention. Both the older *Passio Kiliani* and the *Vita Bonifatii* distort the political and religious situation in Thuringia around 700.

Willibrord did not interact with Gozbert but with his son Heden, whose adherence to Christianity is proven by the charters in the *Liber aureus*. The alleged inconsistency of Kilian’s assassination with Willibrord’s good relationship with Heden is diminished if Willibrord and Kilian were *not* part of the same network. Ó Riain-Raedel has rightly stressed the links between Willibrord’s departure from Ireland and his presence in Würzburg as the context in which Kilian’s commemoration could have spread.[911] There is, however, no trace of Kilian in the *Calendar*. The comparison between the contemporary calendars from Nivelles and Echternach shows that two foundations could share the same *horizon*, including the veneration of the Irish saints Brigid and Patrick, but not necessarily the same *network*. The scribes at Echternach chose not to include the names of Fursa and Foillán, although their veneration had developed by 700 and Nivelles was much closer to Echternach, both geographically and in terms of its links to the Pippinids.[912]

---

[908] *Passio Kiliani,* 3, 14 (ed. Levison, 723, 727); see Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 112–5; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 108–10; Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘St Kilian’, 52.

[909] See Löwe. ‘Pirmin, Willibrord’, 210; Werner, ‘Iren und Angelsachsen’, 257–71; on the high medieval tradition according to which the Alsatian monastery of Honau already possessed relics of St Brigid in the eighth century *ibid.,* 258–9, n. 83. Another piece of evidence concerns the church at Büraburg (near Fritzlar): according to a thirteenth-century source, it was dedicated to St Brigid. Finally, the younger *Passio* (*maior*) of Kilian attributes the foundation of the church of St Mary in Karlburg, north of Würzburg, to Gertrude of Nivelles.

[910] Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘St Kilian’, 45, 48. She also identifies the scribe Laurentius, who wrote Heden’s first charter, as the ‘first historically attested Irishman’ in Würzburg. However, as discussed chapter 2.1, an Irish origin has only been proposed for the name of Virgilius, and it remains unclear if Laurentius and Virgilius were the same person.

[911] See *ibid.*, 43–53.

[912] See chapter 2.1.2; Paul Grosjean, ‘Une translation à Nivelles de S. Fursy et de S. Kilian au 25 février?’, *Analecta Bollandiana,* 72 (1954), 352–7, argues that the enigmatic entry for *kyriani sacerdoti*[*s*] *et martyris in niuialcha* under 25 February in the Nivelles Calendar (Zürich ZB Rhen. 30, fols 168^{r}; eds Hänggi/Schönherr,

If Kilian existed and was martyred at Würzburg, he did not attract any significant attention before the reign of Pippin III. It could be argued that Willibrord's arrival had something to do with the marginalisation of Kilian. The fact that Heden's donation of 704 represents the earliest reliable source for the Christianisation of Thuringia, suggests that the development of an ecclesiastical infrastructure in the region gained a new momentum through Willibrord's appearance. If Kilian had been at Würzburg before him, Willibrord chose not to commemorate him at Echternach. The role attributed to Gozbert's wife Geilana in Kilian's execution represents a hagiographical motif which was reused throughout saint's lives in the seventh and eighth centuries.[913] However, the expulsion of Fóillán from Péronne and his assassination show that the position of Insular clerics in the Frankish sphere could attract hostility and violence.[914] If Kilian had fallen out with Gozbert and was killed in the ensuing conflict, Willibrord could have made the strategic decision to ignore the activity of his predecessor in order to establish a new relationship with Gozbert's heir.

To the concerns regarding the authenticity of the *Passio Kiliani* listed above, Ó Riain-Raedel added the fact that Willibald did not mention Kilian, although his murder by Heden's family would have enhanced the account of the *Vita Bonifatii*. Yet Willibald did also not mention Willibrord's presence in Thuringia.[915] On the contrary, the mention of Kilian would have severely diminished Boniface's impact on the Christianisation of Thuringia. With the removal of Heden's family around 718/9, their subsequent defamation in the pro-Carolingian hagiography and the establishment of a diocesan structure, Boniface's status as the founding figure of Christianity in Hesse and Thuringia was solidified, and the potential arose to revive the previously marginalised figure of Kilian.[916]

Even if it is assumed that Kilian was the product of an eighth-century hagiographical discourse, the evidence for Willibrord's activity in Thuringia shows that he did not enter a region that had been detached from the developments in the Frankish kingdom,[917] not least given the strategic location of Würzburg between the Austrasian heartland and the eastern periphery of the Merovingian kings' area of influence. Considering the mechanisms of monastic foundations in seventh-century Francia, it would be much more plausible to

295) refers to the translation of Kilian's relics from Würzburg to Nivelles. It is curious that the only pieces of evidence for the presence of Insular clerics in Thuringia before Willibrord – references to both Brigid and Gertrude – fit in with the horizon of Nivelles. At the same time, the introduction of Gertrude into the legend of Kilian could have been a part of the Carolingian appropriation of the saint's life.

[913] See Elva Johnston, Elva, 'Movers and shakers? How women shaped the career of Columbanus', in Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 2018), 69–90: 74.

[914] See chapter 2.2.2.

[915] See Ó Riain-Raedel, 'St Kilian', 42–3.

[916] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 8 (ed. Levison, 46); see Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 199–203.

[917] See Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 141.

perceive Heden's donations as the initiative of an established Christian elite, rather than to portray Willibrord as the harbinger of a mission orchestrated by the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*.[918] Furthermore, the example of Heden demonstrates that the absence of an episcopal see before Boniface's arrival did not necessarily equate to the absence of Christian communities who attracted and subsequently supported clerics from the central regions of the Frankish kingdom. From this perspective, the situation in Thuringia appears very similar to the one Willibrord encountered in Toxandria according to the *Liber aureus*. Although both regions were peripheral in terms of their distance from the main political centres of the Frankish kingdoms and their low number of churches and monasteries around 700, Willibrord was able to tap into the same support by Christian landowners which he relied on in central Austrasia.

Still, Thuringia seems like a deviation from his previous route. Here, a final piece of evidence for Willibrord's activity outside of Austrasia helps to place his contact with Heden more firmly within his itinerary on the continent. In 727, the *comes* Eberhard founded the monastery of Murbach on his own property in the Vosges.[919] The monastery was consecrated by Pirmin (d. *c.* 753/5), who, in the same year, had been expelled from Alemannia by the brother of the *dux* Lantfrid in the context of an ongoing conflict between the latter's family and Charles Martel.[920] Murbach was granted immunity in 728 according to a charter issued by Bishop Widegernus in Strasbourg under King Theuderic IV (721–37). Among the list of witnesses, one entry reads: *Ego in dei nomine Uuillibrordus subscripsi*.[921] The spelling leaves little doubt that the witness in question was the abbot of Echternach, yet the fact has received surprisingly little attention in modern scholarship.[922]

Pirmin's career cannot be discussed in detail here. Based on the anonymous *Vita Pirmini*, written at or in the vicinity of the monastery of Hornbach in the Vosges around 850,

[918] See Fox, *Power and Religion*, 8–15.
[919] *Regesta Alsatiae aevi Merovingici et Karolini 496-918*, 1*: Quellenband*, no. 112, ed. Albert Bruckner (Strasbourg, Zurich, 1949), 112.
[920] See Franz Beyerle, 'Bischof Perminius und die Gründung der Abteien Murbach und Reichenau', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte = Revue d'histoire Suisse*, 27 (1947), 129–73: 132–40, 142–5, 157–73; Arnold Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini: Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters* (München, 1972), 81–97; Fritze, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 212–3; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 106–8; Hummer, *Politics and Power*, 58–60.
[921] *Regesta Alsatiae*, no. 113 (ed. Bruckner, 56); on the authenticity of the document see Beyerle, 'Bischof Perminius', 144–5; Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini*, 84–90; Ingrid Heidrich, 'Die urkundliche Grundausstattung der elsässischen Klöster, St Gallens und der Reichenau in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', in Peter Classen (ed.), *Die Gründungsurkunden der Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1977), 31–62: 33–5.
[922] See Verbist, *A l'aube des Pays-Bas*, 148; Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini*, 177–8; Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 199–200; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 181–2, erroneously states that Willibrord signed the (spurious) charter by Theuderic IV from 727 (see note 931 below) and misdates Widegernus' privilege to 738.

scholars have assumed that he came from the *castellum* Meaux in Neustria.[923] His origin remained a controversial subject throughout the twentieth century; Ireland and Visigothic Spain have likewise been proposed as the possible place of his birth. The impression of Pirmin as an 'Irish' bishop mainly arose from his wide-ranging activity as a monastic founder between Alemannia and Alsace. Since Pirmin was not tied to an episcopal see himself, he was portrayed as one of the last remnants of the roaming 'monastic bishops' of the Merovingian period, whose era was eventually ended by the reforms of Boniface.[924] Pirmin's most famous foundation is the monastery on the island of Reichenau, which he established in 724 with the support of Charles Martel.[925] However, the author of the *Vita Pirmini* seems to have written his text in a centre removed from Reichenau, as he himself stated that he knew little about the monastery on Lake Constance. The *Vita* was probably written on the occasion of the translation of Pirmin's remains under Archbishop Hrabanus Maurus of Mainz (*c.* 780–856).[926]

As in the case of the *Passio Kiliani*, the depiction of the saint's life in the *Vita* is shaped by Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii*. The influence is especially apparent in the final part of the *Vita Pirmini*: the anonymous author concludes his account of Pirmin's life with the statement that Boniface visited Hornbach shortly before his departure for Frisia in 753, followed by a digression on Boniface's martyrdom. The final chapter reveals the intention of the author to elevate Pirmin to the status of a martyr, despite the fact that he did not die by the hand of a pagan.[927] The account of Pirmin's journey to Rome has, therefore, been discarded as a post-Bonifatian embellishment.[928] In this context, it is striking that there is no reference to the Carolingians in the *Vita Pirmini*. Charles Martel was directly involved in the establishment of Reichenau; Pirmin's escape to the Etichonids in Alsace, in turn, was a

[923] *Vita sancti Pirminii,* 1, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 21; on the date of the *Vita* see Richard Antoni, *Leben und Taten des Bischofs Pirmin: die karolingische Vita* (Stuttgart, 2002; second edition Heidelberg, 2005), 10–7.

[924] See Beyerle, 'Bischof Perminius', 131–2; Angenendt, *Monachi Peregrini*, 184, 216–24; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 213–7.

[925] *Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen*, ed. Karl Brandi, (Heidelberg, 1890), nos 1–2, 89–94. The original charters for Reichenau did not survive and have been reconstructed from twelfth-century forgeries; see Angenendt, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius', 271–2, n. 103; Heidrich, 'Die urkundliche Grundausstattung', 44–62; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 209–12; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 105–6; Beyerle, 'Bischof Perminius', 138–42, argues that Reichenau was founded after Murbach.

[926] Antoni, *Leben und Taten des Bischofs Pirmin*, 12–7.

[927] *Vita sancti Pirminii,* 10 (ed. Holder-Egger, 30–1); Antoni, *Leben und Taten des Bischofs Pirmin*, 13.

[928] *Vita sancti Pirminii*, 3–6 (ed. Holder-Egger, 22–7). Similar to the *Passio Kiliani*, the author states that Pirmin travelled to Rome to secure papal permission for his work. Pirmin had allegedly been invited to Alemannia by the nobleman Sinlaz to be their pastor. Sinlaz urged the cleric to travel to Rome; he later joined Pirmin in the city himself. From there, Sinlaz departed as the (unnamed) pope's emissary to King Theuderic IV. The king subsequently gathered his bishops, to whom Sinlaz related the instructions of the pope. Pirmin then received the island in the Lake Constance from Sinlaz on which he founded the monastery of Reichenau. Other donations by Aleman nobles followed. Beyerle, 'Bishof Periminius', 130, describes the entire tradition as 'fabulous'.

consequence of the Aleman duke's hostility towards the Carolingian *maior domus*.[929] Pirmin received the mayor of the palace's protection around the same time as Boniface.[930] At the same time, Paul Fouracre has warned against dividing the ecclesiastical and political actors in Alemannia and Alsace into 'pro-' and 'anti-Carolingian factions'. Pirmin probably retained a certain degree of independence, as did King Theuderic IV with regard to the granting of immunities to foundations such as Murbach.[931]

However, the privilege for Murbach in 728 was issued in a political situation that was different from the early years of Willibrord's continental career. Charles Martel had not yet displaced the Aleman and Alsatian ducal families, but he now exercised a much greater degree of control over the Merovingian king than Pippin II had done.[932] In contrast to the foundation of Echternach, the establishment of the monasteries of Reichenau and Murbach was intrinsically tied to the political ambitions of Charles Martel and the regional elite in Alemannia and Alsace, respectively.[933] Therefore, it cannot be excluded that Willibrord signed the privilege for Murbach in 728 as a representative of Charles Martel.[934]

Here, Willibrord's potential presence in Strasbourg needs to be compared to the evidence for his continental network assembled so far .[935] His signature in the privilege for Murbach again highlights the fragmentary nature of the sources on which the reconstruction of his network rests: without this piece of evidence, there would be no trace of Willibrord's connection to this part of the Frankish kingdom. At first sight, the main intermediary between Willibrord and Pirmin was Charles Martel. The only earlier overlap between Willibrord's immediate network and Strasbourg is provided by the *Vita Wilfridi*: according to Stephen, Wilfrid was offered the see of Strasbourg by King Dagobert II on his way from Frisia to Rome in 679. The chapter does not indicate whether the bishop met with the king in the city or in one of his other residencies. Wilfrid declined the offer and there is no further mention

[929] Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 105–6.
[930] The protection letter for Pirmin did not survive and has been reconstructed from the text of the forged charter for Reichenau. *Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen*, no. 1 (ed. Brandi, 90): *quem* [*Perminius episcopus*] *gratante animo in nostro mundburdio suscepimus* […]; see Angenendt, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius', 270–7; for Charles' letter of protection for Boniface, dated to 723, see: *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 22 (ed. Tangl, 36–8); *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, no. 11 (ed. Heidrich, 26–8).
[931] See Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 105–7; for a contrary view, stressing Charles Martel's control over the king, see Hummer, *Politics and Power*, 57; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 90–2; it should be noted that the grant of protection by Theuderic IV to Murbach, dated to 727, is a forgery from the Carolingian era. See *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, no. 188, ed. Theo Kölzer (nach Vorarbeiten von Carlrichard Brühl, unter Mitwirkung von Martina Hartmann und Andrea Stieldorf), MGH DD regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica, 2 vols (Hannover, 2001), 468–71.
[932] See Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 141–5; Kölzer, 'Die letzten Merowingerkönige', 55–8; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 55–6; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 54–8.
[933] See Heidrich, 'Die urkundliche Grundausstattung', 32–41.
[934] See chapter 3.2.2.
[935] Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 181, doubts that Willibrord was present in Strasbourg.

of Strasbourg in the *Vita*.[936]

Yet Dagobert's initiative shows that Strasbourg was both closely tied to the Merovingian court and connected to north-eastern part of the Frankish kingdom via the Rhine at the end of the seventh century.[937] With regard to Boniface's visit to Hornbach, the truthfulness of the *Vita Pirmini* can be questioned, but the chapter demonstrates that a voyage from the Vosges region to Frisia via the Rhine would have appeared as a credible option to a ninth-century audience.[938] The strategic position of Strasbourg also throws further light on the position of Thuringia within the Frankish kingdom around 700. During their campaigns against the Slavs in Thuringia, Dagobert I and his son Sigibert III led their troops via Mainz to the east.[939] Like Strasbourg, Mainz was an important junction of trade and communication networks which connected the area of the Meuse and the Moselle not only to the Rhine but also to the eastern periphery of the Frankish kingdom.[940] Perhaps Willibrord had already passed Mainz and Strasbourg during his first two journeys to Rome.

This also raises the question whether Pirmin should be regarded as the only possibly link between Willibrord and the meeting at Strasbourg. The privilege for Murbach was issued by Bishop Widegernus 'with the consent of our brothers, abbots, priests, archdeacons and all of the clerics of the church'.[941] Willibrord was one of the 'bishops and God-fearing men' whom Widegernus asked to confirm the privilege.[942] Based on its terminology, which is characterised by numerous references to the *monachi peregrini* in Pirmin's circle, Arnold Angenendt argued that the text of the charter had been determined by Pirmin in advance.[943] At the same time, the list of signees – which includes three royal officials (*Fulchernus tribunus*, *UUoalfoaldus comes*, *Leodofredus dux*), three unidentified bishops (excluding Willibrord) and several other clerics – suggests that the privilege was issued on the occasion of a larger gathering, possibly a synod.[944] Significantly, it seems that Willibrord here fulfilled the same function as the bishops of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht who signed the charters by Irmina, Pippin and Plectrude for Echternach. In 728, Willibrord appeared as part of the

---

[936] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 28 (ed. Colgrave, 54).
[937] See Semmler, 'Spätmerowingische Herrscher', 19–22; Hummer, *Politics and Power*, 11–6; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 175–7; Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', 197–8.
[938] See note 927 above.
[939] See note 878 above.
[940] See Innes, *State and Society*, 97; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 177; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 50.
[941] *Regesta Alsatiae*, no. 113 (ed. Bruckner, 54): […] *cum* [*consensu*] *fratrum nostrorum, abbatum, presbiterorum, archydiaconi, omnique clero aecclesiae* […].
[942] *Ibid.* (ed Bruckner, 55): *Et nunc omnibus episcopis et deum timentibus hominibus preco, supplico et per caritate coniurare presumo, ut quibus hic privilegius ostendetur, manus vestras subscribere et confirmare dignetis* […].
[943] See Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini*, 84–90.
[944] *Regesta Alsatiae*, no. 113 (ed. Bruckner, 56); Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini*, 177–8, n. 23. This hypothesis could increase the credibility of the chapter of the *Vita Pirmini*, according to which Theuderic IV organised a council of bishops before the foundation of Reichenau (see note 928 above).

regional ecclesiastical elite and his position in the Frankish kingdom was now secured to the extent that he was able to confirm the privilege for Murbach. If the foundation the monastery was embedded in a political conflict between the local aristocracy and the Carolingians, it is not reflected in the text.[945] Willibrord's name forms part of a wider network of ecclesiastical and political actors rather than representing a specific 'faction'.[946]

His signature in the privilege for Murbach also stands out because it represents one of the few pieces of evidence for his later life. In the *Liber aureus*, the transmission of charters from his lifetime breaks off in 726.[947] It is, therefore, all the more striking that the privilege was issued in the same year as the marginal note in the *Calendar* was written. The date of the note has usually been associated with the fact that 728 marked Willibrord's seventieth birthday. David Pelteret has also drawn attention to the structure and the terminology of the short text, which in his opinion reflect contemporary charter formularies. Pelteret especially highlighted the threefold use of the invocation *in Dei nomine*, three *anno Domini* dates, the humility formula and the concluding word *feliciter*.[948]

Regarding the Murbach privilege, it is notable that Willibrord's signature is one the few that opens with the formulation *ego in Dei nomine*.[949] In the *Liber aureus*, the invocation in *Christi nomine* occurs frequently.[950] The phrase *ego in Dei nomine* is rarer but still appears in nine cases (excluding the forgery attributed to Charles Martel).[951] The formulation is used

[945] *Regesta Alsatiae*, no. 113 (ed. Bruckner, 54–5). In this context, it is notable that the privilege (in contrast to Pippin and Plectrude's charters for Echternach and Susteren) does not require the monastic community to show allegiance to a specific family, neither to the Etinochid family represented by Eberhard nor to the Carolingians.
[946] In this context, the arguments by Judic, 'Le culte de saint Grégoire le Grand', 286, according to which the earliest traces of the veneration of Gregory the Great in Alsace could be linked to Willibrord, will need further consideration.
[947] See chapter 1.2.1.
[948] Pelteret, 'Diplomatic elements', 5–14. In relation to the *anno Domini* dating, Pelteret lists several similarities between the marginal note and charters from the kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, Sussex and Kent, some of them attested by or involving Wilfrid. Yet doubts remain regarding the dating and authenticity of these documents. As Pelteret himself acknowledges, there is little need to retrace the influence of charter formulas in Willibrord's circle to his Northumbrian background, as he had long been familiar with the practice of charter writing on the continent by the time the note in the *Calendar* was composed. However, it is precisely the incarnational dating which is not found in Merovingian charters. The Murbach privilege and the charters in the *Liber aureus* are all dated according to the regnal dates of the Merovingian kings. As Pelteret argues, the use of the incarnational dating fits in with the evidence for Willibrord's education in Ireland and the transmission of the Dionysiac reckoning of Easter to the continent via Echternach. The potential impact of the use of the incarnational dating at Echternach on the development of annalistic writing in the Frankish kingdom requires a separate, in-depth study of the evidence which has not yet been undertaken; see also Friedrich Kurze, 'Die Karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 25 (1900), 291–315: 296; Levison, *England and the Continent*, 83–4; Palmer, 'The adoption of the Dionysian Easter', 152–3.
[949] *Regesta Alsatiae*, no. 113 (ed. Bruckner, 56).
[950] Wampach, *Quelleband*, nos 3 (20), 3 (21, 23), 6 (26), 8 (29), 9 (32), 16 (44), 17 (47), 20 (51), 21 (53), 27 /67), 28 (69), 20 (72).
[951] *Ibid.*, nos 14 (39), 15 (42), 23 (57), 24 (58), 26 (64), 34 (79), 39 (95); nos 25 (62), 31 (74) and 35 (81) use the invocation *in Dei nomine* followed by *ego* and the name of the donor.

by Pippin in all three charters for Echternach and Susteren.[952] However, the Pippinids were not the only donors to adopt this formula; it was also used by the Thuringian *dux* Heden as well as by the *vir illuster* Rohingus and (in a slightly varied form) by the Toxandrian *comes* Ebroinus.[953] The other examples are included in Willibrord's 'testament' and his own donation to Echternach.[954] As Pelteret points out, the combination of *ego in Dei nomine* and *feliciter* is especially reminiscent of continental charter formulas.[955]

Ultimately, Willibrord's signature in the privilege for Murbach and the composition of the marginal note in the *Calendar* must not have been directly related to each other. The occurrence of *ego in Dei nomine* in other charters from Echternach suggests that Willibrord adapted a common formula from his own environment. The connection between both sources is nonetheless significant. As the present chapter has shown, the martyrological entries in the *Calendar* are characterised by the 'regionalisation' of the scribes' perspective after *c.* 700; there are no traces of Willibrord's links with Chelles, Würzburg or Strasbourg among its pages. The perspective of the *Liber aureus* is equally limited to a specific dimension of Willibrord's activity, that of the ecclesiastical landowner, and offers few overlaps with the remaining corpus of sources. The Murbach privilege, like Herelaef's donation to the church in Bakel, is evidence of small but important intersections between the *Calendar* and the charters which are otherwise obscured. The contextualisation of the *Calendar* has also revealed that the development of Willibrord's network encompassed at least two different dimensions: On the one hand, he relied on supra-regional networks which stretched from Ireland to Rome. These networks are reflected in the commemoration of saints across different regions, the translation of relics between Rome, Francia and the Insular world, as well as in the wide-ranging support which Insular clerics received from the elite of the Frankish kingdom. Even towards the end of his life, Willibrord's horizon still extended beyond the immediate vicinity of Echternach, as his participation in the assembly in Strasbourg demonstrates. The early acquisition of relics in Rome, his cooperation with the bishops of Trier and Tongeren-Maastricht and the commemoration of saints from Ireland, Britain and Francia all fit into the pattern followed by Fóillán, Fursa, Gertrude of Nivelles, Audoin of Rouen, Wilfrid, Hubert of Maastricht and others.

---

[952] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14 (39), 15 (42), 24 (58). Arnulf's charter (no. 25) uses the variation *in Dei nomine* followed by *ego itaque Arnulfus dux*.
[953] *Ibid.*, nos 26 (64), 31 (74), 34 (79), 35 (81). The Toxandrian *comes* Ebroinus (no. 31) used the same formula as Arnulf. This variation was also used by Rohingus in his second charter (no. 35) from 726.
[954] *Ibid.*, nos 23 (57), 39 (95).
[955] Pelteret, 'Diplomatic evidence', 3, 10. Pelteret translates *feliciter* as 'with blessings' or 'blessedly'. The parallels between the marginal note and Merovingian charter formulas require further investigations which verify Pelteret's suggestion on the basis of a larger corpus of sources.

On the other hand, *within* this larger horizon, Willibrord consolidated his own position on the continent and extended his network into areas such as Toxandria and Thuringia. In this context, the analysis of the *Calendar* allows for two conclusions: Firstly, the evidence suggests that Willibrord's horizon was not shaped by the border between Neustria and Austrasia, nor between a 'Merovingian/Hiberno-Irish' and a 'Carolingian/Anglo-Saxon' sphere. Rather, an important point of contact between the new arrival and his supporters were the ecclesiastical traditions which Willibrord encountered in his field of activity. By sharing in the commemoration of Lambert, for example, Willibrord was not only able to cooperate with the martyred bishop's successor but also to tap into the support of the Toxandrian elite. At the same time, the diocesan structure was not the decisive factor in this context. In Thuringia, for example, Willibrord successfully gained the support of Heden without building on an established ecclesiastical structure. This suggests that his agency was based on his ability to create intersections between different networks across his field of activity, such as through the foundation of Echternach or by initiating the foundation of new churches.

Secondly, the comparison between the horizon of the *Calendar* and the fragmentary evidence for Willibrord's network in Francia highlights the dynamic nature of his network. Contrary to Friedrich Prinz's assumption, Willibrord's *Handlungsspielraum* was not *a priori* defined by its subordination to a 'Carolingian' or 'Austrasian' framework. The chapter has shown that the development of his network was shaped by the interaction with many 'intermediary' actors, such as clerics of different status and secular landowners. Viewed individually, the hagiography, the charters and the *Calendar* each offer a fixed picture of Willibrord's network. By comparing the sources with each other, the Willibrord's integration into the Merovingian world appears less predetermined: the connections which he relied on had to be created and maintained. Contacts such as those with the Thuringian *dux* or the abbesses of Aldeneik must not have resulted from a specific 'strategy' but could have developed over a longer period of time and through the initiative of the supporters rather than Willibrord's.[956] Consequently, he cannot be regarded as the representative of *one* missionary movement. Besides Willibrord's circle, other groups such as those led by the Hewalds and by Suidberct were able to pursue individual goals and to create their own networks.

This raises the question of how Willibrord secured his position on the continent between 690 and 739 and how he was able to shift between Frisia and Francia in a period

[956] I thank Stephan Bruhn for discussing this point with me.

which was marked by a political crisis in the Frankish kingdom. The final chapter seeks to apply the results summarised above to Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians. How did this relationship develop and to what extend did it define Willibrord's activity?

3. 'Vassal' or 'Political Player'? The Relationship Between Willibrord and the Family of Pippin II

In 728, the author of the marginal note in the *Calendar* commemorated Willibrord's career on the continent by highlighting two events: his arrival in Francia and the consecration as bishop in Rome. Traditionally, the family of Pippin II has been identified as the driving force behind the various stages of Willibrord's biography, from the Frisian mission to the foundation of Echternach. The previous chapter focused on Willibrord's network in Francia; it has been shown that in many cases, he relied on routes and connections which had developed before the rise to power of the early Carolingians. Significantly, Willibrord's role as archbishop of the Frisians has only played a marginal role in the developments discussed so far. Yet it is the bestowal of the title of *archiepiscopus* of the Frisian *gens* by Pope Sergius I to Willibrord in 695 which has often been regarded as the defining moment of his career.[957] The title of archbishop contrasts with the pattern of integration and cooperation observed so far with regard to Willibrord's activity in Francia. Through this distinction, Willibrord stood out from the metropolitans in the Frankish Church.[958] Modern scholars have relied on Bede and Alcuin to interpret the consecration as a result of Pippin's political ambitions. Wilhelm Levison described Sergius I's decision as 'momentous', as it represented the first 'co-operation of a Carolingian and a Pope'.[959]

At the same time, it has been argued that it was Willibrord's subordination to the domination of the early Carolingians which prevented the successful establishment of a Frisian ecclesiastical province. Because Echternach became the family's 'private' monastery in 706, Willibrord was unable to fulfil the task assigned to him by the pope and to simultaneously maintain his roles as archbishop, abbot and missionary.[960] Willibrord became a 'political player' in Francia because he was as a 'harbinger of Frankish power' in Frisia and a 'vassal' of the early Carolingians at Echternach.[961] This final chapter reconsiders this

[957] See Levison, 'St. Willibrord', 323–4; Wampach, 'Willibrord: Seine Umwelt und Mitwelt', 38–9; Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 29.
[958] See below, p. 185.
[959] Levison, *England and the Continent*, 57.
[960] See Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 94; *idem*, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 40–1.
[961] See *idem*, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 109: 'Jede Grenzüberschreitung musste [Willibrord] fortan als Boten nicht nur des Christentums, sondern auch der fränkischen Machtentfaltung erscheinen lassen'; *idem*, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 40: 'Gerade zu befremdlich für römisch-kanonisches Denken aber muß Willibrords Fidelität gegen Pippin den Mittleren und Karl Martell genannt werden'. Angenendt (*ibid.*, 41), therefore, doubts that the consecration as archbishop was Pippin II's idea, because the creation of an independent Frisian archdiocese allegedly threatened his and Charles Martel's 'centralist' mode of ruling. Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 241, in contrast, argues that through the creation of a Frisian see subordinated to a Frankish metropolitan, Willibrord would have appeared as an 'instrument' of Pippinid power to the other bishops. According to Wampach, Pippin was aware of this potential conflict and thus supported the

narrative by detaching the consecration in 695 and the transformation of the status of Echternach in 706 from a teleological perspective focused on Charles Martel and Boniface. I argue that Willibrord's relationship with the early Carolingians was not based on a long-term strategy;[962] it was a *consequence* rather than a pre-condition of his activity on the continent. By analysing the family's support for Willibrord as a *reaction* to the shifting political situation in 695, 706 and 714/8, the chapter highlights Willibrord's ability to attract political support. The early Carolingians did not associate themselves with Willibrord because he was their 'dependant' but because his unique position between Frisia and Austrasia allowed them to renegotiate their position in phases of political crisis.

establishment of an independent ecclesiastical province; see also Angenendt, '"Er war der erste"', 17–8, 21–3; Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 195; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 154–6.

[962] See Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 51.

3.1 A 'Momentous Decision'? The Establishment of the See of Utrecht

In 753, Boniface wrote a letter to Pope Stephen II (752–7), in which he addresses his dispute with Bishop Hildegar (d. 753) of Cologne over the see of Utrecht.[963] After Willibrord's death in 739, the see remained vacant until Carloman, the mayor of the palace, assigned the *sedes* to Boniface.[964] Boniface first installed an otherwise unknown bishop in Utrecht. After the latter's death (probably in 753), Boniface appointed a *chorepiscopus* ('assistant bishop') named Eoban.[965] According to Boniface's letter, the bishop of Cologne countered this procedure by claiming that the *castellum* of Utrecht had been added to his diocese by King Dagobert I in the early seventh century on condition that the Church of Cologne organised the conversion of the Frisians. Boniface argued that the bishops of Cologne had neglected their task and that the conversion of Frisia was only achieved under Willibrord, who had been appointed with the task by Pope Sergius I. Boniface presented himself not only as Willibrord's legitimate successor but also as the agent of the pope in north-eastern Francia.[966] The arguments which were apparently raised by the bishop of Cologne, namely the existence of a church in Utrecht before Willibrord's arrival,[967] were dismissed by Boniface on the grounds that the papal mandate outweighed any previous endeavours, since they had been undertaken independently of the Roman see. Boniface did not disclose that these endeavours existed, both before Willibrord's arrival and during his lifetime but underlined his view that only a see placed under the authority of the pope could claim legitimacy.[968]

The conflict was resolved in the same year: a charter issued by Pippin III confirmed Boniface as the *custos* ('custodian') of the see of Utrecht.[969] However, the plan of a Frisian

[963] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 234–6); Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 270–1; Engels/Weinfurter, *Series episcoporum*, 11.
[964] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235); Levison, *England and the Continent*, 82–3; Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 209; see also Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 52–7.
[965] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235); Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 8 (ed. Levison, 47); Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius*, 209, 254. According to Boniface's letter, Willibrord had instated a *chorepiscopus* his death. Schieffer supposes that this *chorepiscopus* remained in Utrecht after 739; on the function of the *chorepiscopus* see Levison, *England and the Continent*, 66–9; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 39; see also Levison, 'Willibrordiana', 330–7; Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 20–1.
[966] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235–6). Interestingly, Boniface stated that Willibrord was of 'Saxon origin' (*generis Saxonum*). The overall message of the letter, however, shows that for Boniface, the unifying element between them was their relation to the pope, not their common origin from Britain.
[967] See below, p. 190.
[968] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235–6): *Cui respondebam, ut creddidi, quod maius et fortius feri debeat preceptum apostolicae sedis et ordinario Sergii papae et legatio venerandi predicatoris Uuilbrordi, ut et fiat sedis episcopalis subiecta Romano pontifici predicans gentem Fresorum, quia magna pars illorum adhuc pagana est, quam destructae aecclesiolae fundamenta deruta et a paganis conculcata et per neglegentiam episcoporum derelicta*; see Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 38–9.
[969] *Die Urkunden der Karolinger 1: Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Großen*, nos 4–5, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH DD Karolinorum, 1 (Hannover, 1906), 6–8.

ecclesiastical province, headed by an archbishop in Utrecht, was not realised. In the letter, Boniface only refers to the see (*sedis episcopalis*) of Utrecht. His request to receive a copy of the instructions which Sergius I had passed on to Willibrord, hints at a rupture in the occupation of the see in the 740s.[970] Modern scholars, therefore, have described Willibrord's endeavours in Frisia as a 'failure'.[971] Yet the criteria which they employed were based on an idealistic notion of the role of the archbishop, derived from the careers of the two clerics whom scholars long regarded as the great 'reformers' of the ecclesiastical organisation in Britain and in the Frankish kingdom: Theodore of Canterbury and Boniface. In direct comparison with them, Willibrord did apparently not fulfil the requirements connected to the title of *archiepiscopus*: the sources do neither mention the organisation of a synod, nor the definition of a diocesan structure in Frisia, nor the effort to maintain the ecclesiastical province as a whole.[972] Several explanations have been brought forward to explain this apparent lack of 'canonical spirit': it has been argued that Pippin II and Charles Martel were reluctant to tolerate an independent Frisian ecclesiastical province, and that – as a *peregrinus* educated in Ireland – Willibrord's approach was neither 'systematic' nor 'organised'.[973]

But can Willibrord's position in Frisia be compared to that of Theodore in Britain or that of Boniface under Carloman and Pippin III? Boniface's dispute with the bishop of Cologne demonstrates that his position as archbishop did not remain unchallenged within the Frankish Church. The letter to Pope Stephen II followed Boniface's own attempt to gain control of the province of Cologne; yet despite papal support, he met with the resistance of the Frankish elite and settled for Mainz in 748.[974] The assertion of the title of archbishop was thus not predetermined and its use was tied to discourses about political and ecclesiastical influence.[975] Therefore, the question of Willibrord's portrayal as archbishop in the sources needs to be addressed first.

---

[970] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 236); see Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 206; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 159–60.

[971] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 150–1; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 165–7; Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord', 197.

[972] Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 39–41; *idem*, '"Er war der erste", 19–23; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 162–3; Alan T. Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek? Archbishops in England from Theodore to Ecgberht', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 44–69: 68; for a more cautious assessment see Levison, 'Willibrordiana', 335: 'An die Bildung genau umschriebener, fester Diözesen darf man freilich für diese Zeit nicht denken, da sich die friesische Kirche noch im Zustand des Werdens befand […]'.

[973] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 150–1; Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 103: 'In der Behandlung seines Echternacher Klosters – und wohl auch seines Bistums Utrecht – läßt Willibrord den deutlichen römischen Einschlag kanonischen Bewußtseins durchaus vermissen'; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 171: 'Een organisator, systematicus of beoefenaar van het kerkelijk recht is hij […] evenmin geweest als zijn hooggeschatte voorbeelden en leermeesters in Northumbrië en Ierland'.

[974] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 80 (ed. Tangl, 179–80).

[975] See Reuter, '"Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik"', 38–9; Stuart Airlie, 'The Frankish aristocracy as supporters and opponents of Boniface', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds),

3.1.1 Willibrord as Archbishop

In his letter to Pope Stephen II, Boniface refers to Willibrord as *episcopus* and to Utrecht as *sedes episcopalis*.[976] In the eight century, *archiepiscopus* and *episcopus* represented different titles with regard to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, yet the rite of consecration remained the same for both roles; this is best illustrated by the marginal note in the *Calendar*, according to which Willibrord was *ordinatus in Romae episcopus* in 695.[977] The *Liber pontificalis* records that Sergius I consecrated *Bertoaldum Britanniae archiepiscopum atque Clementem in gentem Frisonum*.[978] Together with Damian of Ravenna, Willibrord and Berhtwald of Canterbury (692–731) are distinguished from the 97 other bishops ordained by the pope. The striking feature of this passage is the difference in its terminology: whereas Berhtwald's episcopacy was linked to the diocese of *Britannia*, Willibrord was assigned to a specific *gens*. According to Bede's copy of Gregory the Great's letter to Augustine of Canterbury in 601, the pope referred to his emissary's area of influence as the *ecclesia Anglorum*, thereby targeting the *gens* rather than the former Roman province.[979]

In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede adopted this terminology and introduces Theodore as the first archbishop whom the entire *ecclesia Anglorum* agreed to obey.[980] In his account of the Synod of Hatfield (679), however, Bede quoted from the report compiled on Theodore's orders. Here, the archbishop is referred to as *archiepiscopus Brittaniae insulae et ciuitatis Doruuernis*.[981] It appears, therefore, that the change in terminology took place within papal circles in the course of the seventh century, inspired by Theodore's position.[982] The distinction made in the *Liber pontificalis* between Berhtwald and Willibrord seems to reflect the papal perception of Frisia as a region which lay outside of the Roman-Christian structure. By 695, the pope was apparently unaware of the previous attempt by Dagobert I

Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter (Mainz, 2007), 255–70: 255–62; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 159–60.

[976] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 236).

[977] Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 33–4; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 159; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 790, 796; the term *episcopus* is also used in the marginal note added to the Echternach copy of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* (fol. 28^{v}).

[978] *Liber pontificalis,* 16 (ed. Duchesne, 1.376); according to Bede, *HE*, 5.8 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 474), Berhtwald was consecrated in 693 by Godwin, metropolitan of Gaul; see Levison, *England and the Continent*, 242, n. 1; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 37; Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 56, 62; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 812, n. 119. It has been suggested that Berhtwald later went to Rome to receive the pallium.

[979] *Liber pontificalis,* 66 (ed. Duchesne, 1.312); Bede, *HE*, 1.29 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 104); see Robert A. Markus, 'The papacy, mission and the "gentes"', in Walter Pohl and Maximilian Diesenberger (eds), *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter* (Vienna, 2002), 37–42: 40–1; Benigni, 'La missione anglo-sassone', 38–44.

[980] Bede, *HE*, 4.2 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 322).

[981] *Ibid.*, 4.17 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 384).

[982] See Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 55; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 814.

and the Church of Cologne to establish a Christian base at Utrecht, which Boniface later referred to in his letter. In this regard, the focus on the Frisian *gens* in the *Liber pontificalis* mirrors the approach of Gregory the Great: despite the presence of a small Christian community in the circle of Queen Bertha of Kent, the papal chronicles depict Augustine's arrival as the true beginning of the Christianisation of the *Angli*.[983] This potential limitation of the pope's information about Frisia needs to be kept in mind when his relation to Pippin II is considered.[984]

In the *Historia*, Bede follows the entry in the *Liber pontificalis*: on the request of Pippin II, Willibrord was ordained *Fresonum genti archiepiscopus*.[985] Thereby, Bede created the impression that Willibrord's consecration was part of a seamless development in which the significance of the archbishop was first established in Britain in the course of Augustine's mission and subsequently transferred (back) to the continent.[986] However, Augustine's mission, Theodore's career and Bede's retrospective depiction of Willibrord's consecration represent three distinct stages in the development of the title of archbishop, which must not be conflated. Around 600, very few bishops in the post-Roman kingdoms carried the title of archbishop. Bede's copy of Gregory the Great's letter to Augustine from 601 explicitly states that the rank which the pope accorded to his representative in Britain was the *honor metropolitani* ('rank of a metropolitan').[987] Significantly, no source of the early seventh century refers to Augustine or any of his successors as archbishops.[988] At the same time, during the mission to Kent, the pallium was transformed into a sign of a superior metropolitan rank and papal authority, as Gregory needed to provide Augustine with the potential to establish an ecclesiastical province and to consecrate other bishops; yet the receipt of the pallium was still a personal distinction rather than a marker of the rank of archbishop.[989]

Bede thus needed to reconcile his sources about Gregory the Great's plans for the structure of the *ecclesia Anglorum* with the position developed by Theodore at the end of the seventh century. By the 680s, Theodore's status was singular among the Churches of the post-Roman kingdoms, with regard to 'his assumption of quasi-patriarchal status of the

[983] *Liber pontificalis,* 66 (ed. Duchesne, 1.312); Bede, *HE*, 1.25 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 72–4).
[984] See Eich, *Gregor der Grosse*, 162–7.
[985] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486).
[986] See Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 793, 810.
[987] Bede, *HE*, 1.29 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 104).
[988] Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 784.
[989] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 20–2; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 32–3; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 416–21; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 790-1; Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 54–55.

whole island of Britannia'.[990] The distinctiveness of Theodore's rank resulted from the situation he encountered upon his arrival from Rome in 669: faced with the disputes in Northumbria over the see of York and the ambitions of Wilfrid, Theodore extended his power beyond the metropolitan see of Canterbury by firmly associating it with papal authority and the possession of the pallium.[991] While he still styled himself as *episcopus* in 672, he had adopted the title of archbishop by the end of the decade.[992]

However, this new conception of the preeminent archbishop did not correspond to the system originally devised by Gregory the Great, which envisaged two metropolitan sees in London and York, respectively.[993] While the plan had never been realised, the matter gained a new relevance for Bede during the final phase of the composition of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. By 731, the balance of power between the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and Kent had changed in such a way that the model introduced by Theodore could not be maintained. After the ascension of Egbert (not to be confounded with Willibrord's teacher at Rath Melsigi) to the see of York following a short period of crisis, Bede began to advocate the creation of a northern archbishopric, which was finally realised in 735.[994]

With regard to the depiction of Willibrord's consecration in the *Historia*, it needs to be kept in mind that when Bede compiled his work, the title of archbishop had acquired a new significance for him, and that his vision of the role was inspired by both Gregory the Great's plans and Theodore's legacy. This is especially apparent from Bede's inclusion of the letters by Gregory to Augustine and the two letters by Pope Honorius (625–38) to King Edwin of Northumbria and Bishop Honorius of Canterbury (653), both composed in 634, into his work.[995] In 725, when he composed *De temporum ratione*, Bede apparently had access only to an incomplete version of Gregory's letter from 601, in which the pope informs Augustine about his plan to send two pallia to Britain, one for London and one for York. At this point, Bede was unaware that only one pallium had reached the island in the end. It is characteristic of his notion of the original structure of the *ecclesia Anglorum* that he

[990] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 60.
[991] See Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 429–38; Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 56–64; on the wider background of Theodore's consecration and arrival in Britain see Lin, 'Bede, the papacy, and the emperors of Constantinople', 478–83.
[992] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 55–8; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 814.
[993] Bede, *HE*, 1.29 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 104–6).
[994] *Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum episcopum*, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), 1.405–23; Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', 80; Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, 56; Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 66–7; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 813–5. It should be noted, however, that Bede never questioned Theodore's position in his writings. Apart from the letter to Egbert, there is little evidence which suggests that Bede was a fervent apologist of the model envisaged by Gregory the Great.
[995] Bede, *HE*, 1.23–32, 2.17–8 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 68–114, 194–8); on Bede's attempt to reconcile the date of the letter with the date of Edwin's death in 633 see Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 794–5.

concluded that the bishops of London and York had been confirmed (as metropolitans) before Gregory's death through the sending of the pallia.[996]

Bede acquired copies of the two letters by Pope Honorius only a few years later, probably through the priest Nothhelm.[997] As Joanna Story has shown, the receipt of the letters had a profound impact on Bede's conception of the history of the *ecclesia Anglorum*. Both of Pope Honorius' letters confirm that two pallia had finally been sent to Britain in the 630s. Following the usage in the early seventh century, they had been addressed to Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York personally.[998] Bede, however, interpretated the letters as confirmation of the general prerogative of the dioceses of Canterbury and York.[999] Bede subsequently developed an anachronistic image of the early *ecclesia Anglorum*; while he still follows the original papal terminology in the passage on Augustine in *De temporum ratione,* he refers to Bishop Justus (d. 627) as *archiepiscopus* in the *Historia*. In the latter work, Bede thus postulated the existence of archbishops vested with the pallium in Britain in the early seventh century.[1000]

Bede already had access to the material on Willibrord's consecration in the *Liber pontificalis* when he completed the *De temporum ratione*, but by the time he compiled the *Historia*, the significance of the event had increased through the receipt of the papal letters.[1001] In the *De temporum ratione,* Bede only notes that Sergius I consecrated Willibrord *Fresonum genti episcopum*.[1002] As noted above, no difference existed between the consecration of a bishop and an archbishop from a theological standpoint; nevertheless, Bede's decision to adapt the terminology of the *Liber pontificalis* in his *Historia* is striking. By 731, the terms 'archbishop' and 'metropolitan' had become interchangeable through Rome's adoption of the model established by Theodore.[1003] This development is reflected in Bede's anachronistic use of *archiepiscopus* to refer to the earliest bishops of Canterbury. At the same time, for Bede, the term *archiepiscopus* was specifically connected to the position developed by Theodore and to the special relation between the *ecclesia Anglorum* and Rome. Bede, for example, clearly distinguishes between the ranks of Theodore (*archiepiscopus*) and Godwin (*metropolitanus episcopus Galliarum*), the consecrator of Bishop Berhtwald,

[996] Bede*, Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 309); Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 791.
[997] See Introduction, 28; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 785–90.
[998] Bede, 2.17–8 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 194, 198).
[999] Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 793–4.
[1000] Bede*, Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 309); Bede, *HE*, 2.8–9, 2.18, 2.20 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 158, 164, 196, 204); Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 793–6; Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission*, 34.
[1001] See Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 787.
[1002] Bede*, Chronica maiora* [= *De temporum ratione*, 66] (ed. Mommsen, 316).
[1003] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 64–7; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 812–3; see also Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 14 (ed. Colgrave, 30).

within the same chapter.[1004] While it is true that no metropolitan in Gaul possessed a position similar to that of Theodore around 690, and Bede's terminology is thus 'historically' correct, his choice of vocabulary should nonetheless be considered: by 731, it was of great significance to him to place Willibrord's consecration as *archiepiscopus* in an apparently unbroken tradition of archbishops in the *ecclesia Anglorum* from the time of Augustine onwards. In this context, it might be significant that Stephen – writing in the second decade of the eighth century – only refers to Willibrord as *episcopus* in his *Vita Wilfridi*.[1005] Wilfrid's understanding of his own role within the Northumbrian Church was probably based on the metropolitan model in Merovingian Gaul rather than on Theodore's position, even if he acknowledged the latter.[1006] Wilfrid's different notion of the title of archbishop may have influenced Stephen's choice of words. The fact that Willibrord received this distinction did apparently not matter as much to Stephen as it did to Bede, which again underlines the latter's narrative strategy.[1007]

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that Bede did not mention the pallium.[1008] The fact that Willibrord received the pallium is only stated by Alcuin in his *Vita Willibrordi*.[1009] Alcuin did not adopt the terminology of the *Liber pontificalis* with regard to the Frisian *gens* and only described Willibrord's rank as *archiepiscopus*, yet he added that the pope entrusted the archbishop *cum salutaribus praeceptis* ('with salutary instructions').[1010] Alcuin's text especially derivates from Bede's account with regard to the establishment of the see of Utrecht.[1011] According to the *Vita*, Willibrord only received the *sedis episcopalis* after Charles Martel's conquest of Frisia – although the consecration in 695 is likewise ascribed to the initiative of his father Pippin.[1012] The comparison between Bede and Alcuin shows that Willibrord was still remembered as archbishop of Utrecht at the end of the eighth century, despite the fact that a Frisian ecclesiastical province had never been established. In Liudger of Münster's *Vita Gregorii*, for example, the beginning of the Christianisation of Frisia is attributed to Willibrord, the *archiepiscopus*.[1013] Boniface's letter to Pope Stephen II demonstrates that in 753, the archbishop of Mainz was well aware of the fact that Utrecht

[1004] Bede, *HE*, 5.8 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 474); see Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission*, 34. In some cases, Bede also referred to metropolitans in Gaul as archbishops.
[1005] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 26 (ed. Colgrave, 52).
[1006] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 56–9.
[1007] See Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 287; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 225–7.
[1008] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486)
[1009] Alcuin, *VW*, 7 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 48); Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 20, assumes that Willibrord did not receive the pallium in 695.
[1010] Alcuin, *VW*, 7 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 48); see van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 160.
[1011] See chapter 1.1.3.
[1012] Alcuin, *VW*, 6, 13 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 46, 54).
[1013] Liudger, *Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis*, 10 (ed. Holder-Egger, 75).

would remain the seat of a bishop rather than the centre of an ecclesiastical province; yet in the hagiography, the image of Willibrord as a metropolitan of superior rank, consecrated in Rome, was preserved.[1014]

At the same time, the discrepancy between the accounts of Bede and Alcuin raises an even more fundamental question: did Willibrord receive the title of *arch*bishop in 695, combined with the task to establish an ecclesiastical province in Frisia?[1015] As mentioned above, the marginal note in the *Calendar* only refers to Willibrord as *episcopus*.[1016] Likewise, the title *archiepiscopus* does not appear in the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus*.[1017] Willibrord is only called 'archbishop' in Charles Martel's charter for the monastery in Utrecht in 723. In contrast, the charter issued in 726 only uses the designation *episcopus*.[1018]

The comparison between the marginal note and the charter of 723 demonstrates that the use of the term *episcopus* cannot be taken as clear evidence that Willibrord did *not* receive the title of archbishop in 695. Besides the testimony of the *Liber pontificalis*, three points can be highlighted here: Firstly, it appears unlikely that Willibrord would have been able to establish his authority as archbishop in the 720s if he had not been elevated to this rank before. Secondly, the fact that he was consecrated in Rome is in itself an indication that his position differed from his contemporaries. Wilfrid was consecrated bishop in Francia and Suidberct chose to return to Britain for his consecration. Similarly, Berhtwald was first consecrated in Gaul before he went to Rome.[1019] From his position in Frisia, Willibrord could thus have opted for a closer location for his consecration. Thirdly, there is some evidence

[1014] See Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 41; Jean Schroeder, 'Willibrord: Erzbischof von Utrecht oder Abt von Echternach? Das Leben und Wirken des angelsächsischen Missionars aus der Sicht der frühmittelalterlichen Hagiographie', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 348–57: 349; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 163–4; Rob Meens, 'With one foot in the font: the failed baptism of the Frisian king Radbod and the 8th-century discussion about the fate of unbaptized forefathers', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 577–96: 590–3; on the other hand, Palmer, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 163–6, stresses that Willibrord and Boniface were primarily commemorated as missionaries in the hagiography of eighth- and ninth-century Frisia, not as bishops of Utrecht in an institutionalised sense.

[1015] See Marios Costambeys, 'Willibrord', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29576; print edition 2004, this edition 2011) [accessed: 25.09.2021]; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 225–7.

[1016] In contrast to the edition by Wilson, Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 202, argues that the abbreviation *aepis* accompanying the entries for Suidberct (fol. 35v; 1 March), Basin (fol. 35v; 4 March) and Theodore (fol. 38v, 19 September) in the *Calendar* refers to the title *archiepiscopus*; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 34–7, rejects this interpretation (at least for Suidberct).

[1017] See Schroeder, 'Willibrord: Erzbischof von Utrecht', 348–9. The only reference to his connection with Rome can be found in the 'testament' (Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 39), in which Willibrord uses his Roman name Clemens.

[1018] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, nos 12, 13 (ed. Heidrich, 29, 31).

[1019] Bede, *HE*, 5.8, 5.11, 5.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 474, 484, 522); Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 12 (ed. Colgrave, 24–6).

which suggests that Willibrord's self-perception as bishop of Utrecht was based on the archiepiscopal model.

The ecclesiastical infrastructure which Willibrord established in the *castellum* of Utrecht was centred on two churches dedicated to the Saviour and St Martin, respectively. The former building was a new construction, whereas the church of St Martin was re-erected on the ruins of an older structure; this is the church on which the bishop of Cologne based his claim to the see of Utrecht in his dispute with Boniface. Charles Martel's charter of 723 also shows that both monks and clerics lived in Utrecht by the 720s; the pattern which Willibrord followed thus closely resembles the model of Canterbury, where his counterpart Berhtwald likewise presided over churches dedicated to the Saviour and St Martin and a dual community of monks and clerics.[1020]

More complicated is the question of the relationship between Willibrord, Sergius and Pippin. In contrast to Levison's assumption that the consecration followed a common strategy of the papacy and the mayor of the palace, subsequent studies have depicted the establishment of the see of Utrecht as a process that took places in several phases. It has been argued that Sergius only consecrated Willibrord archbishop without determining the location of his seat. The *castellum* of Utrecht was chosen by Pippin, who had just defeated the Frisian leader Radbod, but Willibrord did apparently not take up residence there before the early eighth century.[1021] However, there continued to be disagreement on the question of whether

[1020] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, nos 12, 13 (ed. Heidrich, 29, 31); *Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, nos 4–5 (ed. Mühlbacher, 6–8); *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235); see Levison, *England and the Coninent*, 60; Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 38–46, 202; Angenendt, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', 39; Piet H. D. Leupen, 'Sint Salvator en Sint Maartin, Willibrord en Bonifatius', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 317–27: ; Huib L. de Groot, 'Utrecht and Dorestad: fifteen miles apart, a world of difference', in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London, 1996), 12–21: 17; David Parsons, 'England and the Low Countries at the time of St Willibrord', in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London, 1996), 30–48: 35–7; *idem*, 'Willibrord's "Frisian" mission', 138–6; Costambeys, 'Willibrord'; Semmler, 'Die Friesenmission', 22. To the evidence listed above can be added the entries for Theodore (fol. 38^{v}, 19 September), Paulinus (fol. 39^{r}; 14 October) and the two entries for the translation (fol. 37^{v}; 4 July) and feast day (fol. 39^{v}; 11 November) of St Martin in the *Calendar*. It should be noted that the veneration of Martin was not a distinctive 'Anglo-Saxon' tradition, as his cult had spread between Ireland and Francia by the seventh century. The church in Utrecht had already been dedicated to Martin before its destruction by the Frisians and probably predated the reign of Dagobert I. Pippin III's charter of 753 confirmed the privileges which the church had received during the reigns of Theudebert II (595–612) and Chlothar II (613–29). Nevertheless, the devotion of Willibrord's circle to Martin is suggested by the decoration which highlights the first letter of the entry for Martin's feast day in the *Calendar*. I thank Dáibhí Ó Cróinín for pointing this aspect out to me.

[1021] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 118–29, 139; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 184–5; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 103–9. Fritze argued that the *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of the see was the meeting between Wilfrid, Acca and Willibrord in 703, because they met in Frisia according to Bede. However, this might place too much weight on Bede's choice of words because he does not specify the location of their meeting (see chapter 2.2.1); according to *Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, no. 4 (ed. Mühlbacher, 6–7), Pippin II had also conceded the tithe to church of St Martin before his death in 714; on the chronology of the confrontation between Pippin and Radbod see the section below.

the original plan was to establish a Frisian ecclesiastical province instead of a single bishopric.[1022] With regard to Pippin's involvement, were are again dependent on Bede, who had a distinct interest in representing the mission to Frisia as an ideal example of the cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular powers.[1023]

At the same time, there is no evidence that contemporary authors regarded Willibrord's activity in Frisia as a failure. In Bede's eyes, Willibrord completed the conversion of the Frisian *gens*.[1024] Significantly, Bede did not base his assessment on the criteria which modern historians employed, namely the consecration of bishops, the organisation of synods and the fixing of the diocesan structure. From his point of view, Willibrord's success was based on the construction of churches and monasteries, the destruction of pagan sites and, above all, on preaching.[1025] This perspective is very similar to Boniface's in his letter to Pope Stephen II, since he likewise depicts Willibrord as a *praedicator* devoted to Rome rather than as a bishop of metropolitan rank.[1026]

What recent studies have stressed is that the process which led to the establishment of the see of Utrecht was less coherent than Levison assumed. Instead of a unified 'Roman-Carolingian' strategy, Willibrord, Sergius and Pippin probably each had a different notion of the title of archbishop and its associated role. This short analysis has shown that Willibrord's rank as archbishop was used and commemorated differently depending on the context; outside of Frisia, the designation appears to have been of little importance for Willibrord's self-perception or his position as a member of the ecclesiastical elite. The use of the title from Theodore to Boniface indicates that it was a mechanism of improvisation and innovation, developed in contexts where external actors needed to assert themselves on an ecclesiastical level. Before the Carolingian period, the title was primarily an expression of personal power, derived from the authority of the pope rather than an institutionalised phenomenon.[1027] When Boniface received the title of archbishop of *Germania* in 732, he did not yet have a see; but the papal mandate provided him with the (not unchallenged) authority to participate in Frankish ecclesiastical debates and to exercise authority in areas such as Hesse, Bavaria and Thuringia.[1028] Was the adoption of the title of archbishop only a side-

[1022] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 118–29; Löwe, 'Pirmin, Willibrord', 206–8; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 107; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 160–5.
[1023] See Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 227; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 811; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 39, and chapter 1.1.3.
[1024] Bede, *HE*, 5.19 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 522).
[1025] *Ibid.*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486). Levison, *England and the Continent*, 65–8, concludes that Willibrord's appointment of *antistites* (mentioned by Bede) or *chorepiscopi* (mentioned by Boniface in his letter to Pope Stephen II) was 'uncanonical'; see also Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 123–4.
[1026] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 109 (ed. Tangl, 235).
[1027] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', 56.
[1028] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 128–9; van Berkum, 'De Constituering', 162; *Esders, 'Nationes*

effect of the military campaigns led by Pippin against the Frisians, which helped to secure Frankish dominion over the region? In order to understand Willibrord's consecration in its wider context, therefore, the following section will analyse his arrival in Frisia and the situation which he encountered there in 690.

3.1.2 The Mission to Frisia in its Political Context, 690–714

The starting point for the reconstruction of the political context of the Frisian mission is Book Five of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The significance of Bede's short account results from two pieces of information which it provides: firstly, Willibrord and his companions allegedly made straight for Pippin's position upon their arrival in Frisia. The *maior domus* sent them to preach in *Fresia citerior* ('nearer Frisia') because he had *nuper* ('recently') conquered the region and banished 'King' Radbod.[1029] Secondly, it was Pippin himself who took the initiative and sent Willibrord to Rome after several years, carrying the mayor's request that the pope should bestow the title of *Fresonum genti archiepiscopus* upon his envoy.[1030] From Bede's point of view, Willibrord's arrival did not only correlate with Pippin's military campaign, but the consecration (dated to 696 by Bede) and the establishment of the see of Utrecht marked the immediate conclusion of the alliance between the missionaries, Pippin and the papacy. A striking feature of Bede's account is his focus on the first decade of the Frisian mission. Although he compiled his material after Pippin's death, Bede neither referred to Charles Martel's campaigns against the Frisians, nor did he specify the progress of Willibrord's career as archbishop beyond the information that he built a church in Utrecht and appointed several assistant bishops. Bede's aim was to condense the thirty-six years which Willibrord spent in Frisia; by jumping from 696 to 731 within the same section, he created the impression that Pippin's initiative was immediately followed by the conversion of the Frisian *gens*.[1031]

A closer look at the text of the *Historia* reveals a number of questions with regard to the cooperation between Willibrord and Pippin: when did the expulsion of Radbod take

---

quam plures conquiri', 278–85. Fritze argues that Boniface's case was an exception and that the consecration as archbishop always implied the creation of an ecclesiastical province. On the other hand, Amandus of Maastricht, for example, was already active in the border region between Frisia and Francia before he became bishop of Maastricht. He operated on the basis of a royal mandate which he had received from Dagobert I. Amandus' case is a reminder that the evidence cannot be divided into roaming 'missionary bishops' on the one hand and localised archbishops on the other.

[1029] Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480): *Qui cum illo aduenissent (erant autem numero duodecim), diuertentes ad Pippinum ducem Francorum, grantater ab illo suscepti sunt. Et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam expulso inde Rathbedo rege ceperat, illo eos ad praedicandum misit* […]; on Radbod's title see below, 194.

[1030] Bede, *HE*, 5.11 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486).

[1031] *Ibid.* (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 486); see chapter 1.1.3.

place? How far did Pippin's influence in Frisia extend between 690 and 695? Why did Willibrord receive the title of archbishop only several years after Pippin's alleged victory? The first point requires some clarification regarding the extent of early medieval Frisia: in the seventh and early eighth centuries, Frisia roughly encompassed the area between the Zwin inlet (near the modern Dutch-Belgian border) and the mouth of the Weser in modern Germany. In contrast to the modern notion of a medieval *Frisia magna*, it was not a political entity: the landscape was dominated by rivers and shaped by the tide; settlement was subsequently restricted to islets, dunes and river banks.[1032]

Of this large area, it was specially the south-western part, encompassing the modern Dutch provinces of Zeeland, Utrecht, Noord-Holland and Zuid-Holland, which was most connected to Britain and Gaul through trade networks. It was probably this area which Bede's *Frisia citerior* referred to. While Frisia had been on the horizon of the Merovingian kings since the sixth century, the establishment of an ecclesiastical outpost in Utrecht under Dagobert I marked a new phase of Merovingian intervention in the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta, which was followed by a phase of economic growth after *c.* 650. With the establishment of the *emporium* of Dorestad (modern Wijk bij Duurstede) south of Utrecht before 670, the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta became a significant point of intersection between Ireland, Britain and Gaul next to Quentovic in Neustria.[1033]

The emergence of southwestern Frisia as a gateway into Francia is first reflected in Wilfrid stay in Frisia during the winter of 678/9. Stephen apparently felt the need to justify Wilfrid's decision to avoid the *via rectissima* to Rome via the port of Quentovic and therefore stressed the bishop's readiness to convert the Frisians; this implies that the passage from Britain to the continent via the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta was still perceived as a recent development in early eighth-century Northumbria.[1034] The refusal of the Frisian 'King'

[1032] Meeder/Goosmann, *Redbad*, 26–7; see also Stéphane Lebecq, 'On the use of the word "Frisian" in the sixth-tenth centuries written sources: some interpretations', in Séan McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), 85–90: 85–8; Johan A. W. Nicolay, 'Kingship in early-medieval "Frisia": historical versus archaeological sources', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kiek (eds), *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research Into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities* (Turnhout, 2015), 24–33: 25–7; Gilles de Langen and Johannes A. Mol, 'Landscape, trade and power in early-medieval Frisia', in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm (eds), *Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 79–136: 83–93.

[1033] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 56; Levison, 'St. Willibrord', 318; Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 111–3; Weiler, *Willibrords Missie*, 92; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 296–302; Stéphane Lebecq, 'Franken und Friesen', in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 338–41; Adriaan E. Verhulst, 'Roman cities, "emporia" and new towns', in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 105–20: 110–5; Nicolay, 'Kingship in early-medieval "Frisia"', 31–2; de Langen/Mol, 'Landscape, trade and power', 94–102.

[1034] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 25 (ed. Colgrave, 50); Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 5 (ed. Levison, 20). When Boniface left for the continent for the second time in 718, he sailed from London to Quentovic instead of Dorestad.

Aldgisl, only mentioned in the *Vita Wilfridi*, to deliver Wilfrid to his Neustrian enemies, has been interpretated as a sign of existing 'tensions' between the Frisians and the Franks around 680.[1035] Yet, regardless of the question of Aldgisl's existence outside of Stephen's imagination, Wilfrid's decision to spend several months in Frisia demonstrates that the local environment was neither entirely hostile nor inaccessible to arrivals from Britain in the late seventh century. Only a few years after Wilfrid's sojourn, Wictberct attempted the conversion of the Frisians. Although he was ultimately unsuccessful (in Bede's eyes), he was able to spend two years in the region before his return to Ireland.[1036]

By the time of Wictberct's departure from Rath Melsigi, the Frisians were led by Radbod. Whereas the hagiographical sources mostly identify Radbod as *rex* ('king'),[1037] the Frankish sources use the words *dux* or *princeps* ('leader') to characterise his status.[1038] It is unlikely that either of these terms adequately reflects his position within Frisian society, which Sven Meeder and Erik Goosman recently described as that of one 'warlord' among many. Although Radbod was not the ruler of a unified Frisian kingdom, his power base encompassed the south-western part of Frisia and probably extended from the Zwin inlet to the Vlie in the north.[1039] Before Willibrord's arrival, he probably controlled both Utrecht and the *emporium* at Dorestad.[1040] The ambiguity of his position is reflected in the variety of the portrayals of Radbod in the sources of the eighth and ninth centuries, ranging from his condemnation as an 'archetypical pagan persecutor' to less severe assessments. Yet the concern of contemporary authors to integrate Radbod into their narratives simultaneously reflects the proximity of the Frisian leader to their world: despite his reluctance to accept Christianity, his position in the north-eastern part of the Frankish kingdom was not a remote one. The decision of contemporary Frankish authors to describe Radbod's position with a term that they equally applied to office holders under the Merovingians, suggests that – at least in political terms – they did not exclusively perceive Radbod as an external 'other' but as a powerful political actor within the Merovingian sphere.[1041]

[1035] See Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 71–2.
[1036] Bede, *HE*, 5.9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 478–80); on Aldgisl see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 297–8; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 35–6; Palmer, 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', 232–3; Nijdam/Knottnerus, 'Redbad', 88.
[1037] Alcuin, *VW*, 5 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 44); Bede, *HE*, 5.10 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 480); Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 5, 6 (ed. Levison, 17, 23). A notable exception to this pattern is the *Vita Vulframni episcopi Senonici auctore Pseudo-Iona*, 9–10, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 668–70, in which Radbod is referred to as both *dux* and *princeps*.
[1038] *AMP*, s.a. 692 (ed. von Simson, 13); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 6 (ed. Krusch, 172); *LHF*, 49 (ed. Krusch, 323–4).
[1039] See van Egmond, 'Radbod', 31–3; Nicolay, 'Kingship in early-medieval "Frisia"', 26–7; Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 578; Meeder/Goosmann, *Redbad*, 28–31.
[1040] See Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 296–7; Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 42; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 209–10. As shown in chapter 1.1.3, Alcuin asserted that Radbod still held Utrecht on Willibrord's arrival.
[1041] See van Egmond, 'Radbod', 25–9; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 71–2; Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and

In this context, Bede's narrative represents a twofold 'condensation': firstly, he only recorded one battle between Pippin and Radbod which apparently took place shortly before Willibrord's arrival and which established Pippin's dominion over *Frisia citerior*. Secondly, in the *Historia*, Austrasia and Frisia appear disconnected from each other; Bede's claim that Willibrord required Pippin's *imperiali auctoritas* ('imperial authority') and permission to preach in the area around Utrecht creates the impression that a fixed border existed between the two regions and that Willibrord's mission was intrinsically tied to Pippin's campaign.[1042] Bede placed Frisia on the periphery of an expanding Christian realm, thereby creating the impression of a one-sided Frankish impact on the developments in the region.[1043]

The information provided by Bede has appeared especially coherent to modern scholars because it allowed them to place the battle between Pippin and Radbod close to Willibrord's arrival in 690. This dating, in turn, connects the conquest of *Frisia citerior* with Pippin's victory at Tertry in 687 over King Theuderic III (679–91) and the Neustrian mayor of the palace Berchar.[1044] From this perspective, the link between Willibrord's arrival and Pippin's victory over Radbod seems clear: the newcomers from Rath Melsigi decided to place their undertaking under the protection of *de facto* ruler of the Frankish kingdom. As bishop of Utrecht, Willibrord became a 'representant' of Pippinid power in the northern part of the Frankish kingdom.[1045]

However, Bede's narrative is less clear-cut than has often been assumed. At this point, it is important to reconsider the chronology outlined above. One trivial but nonetheless significant detail is the fact that Bede did neither specify the date of Willibrord's landing in Frisia nor the date of Pippin's victory over Radbod. The dating of Willibrord's arrival on the continent to 690 depends on the marginal note in the *Calendar.*[1046] The only chronological indication which helps to date Willibrord's departure from Ireland within the *Historia* can be found two chapters earlier: firstly, Theodore of Canterbury's death is recorded for 690.[1047] Bede then introduces the following chapter on Ecgberct with *eo tempore* ('at this time'). However, Willibrord's departure is preceded by Ecgberct's own attempt to leave Ireland and by Wictberct's stay in Frisia, which lasted for two years. Thus, based on the chronology of

---

Merovingians', 157–60; Meeder/Goosmann, *Redbad*, 28–31; Nijdam/Knottnerus, 'Redbad', 92–8.

[1042] See chapter 1.1.3.

[1043] See Parsons, 'England and the Low Countries', 136–8: 'This distribution [of church buildings] strongly suggests that Willibrord's activity was limited to that part of Frisia which was under Frankish control throughout most of his missionary life […]. This apparent relationship between missionary activity and political and military colonialism is a well-recognized phenomenon'.

[1044] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, 56; Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 89–91.

[1045] See Levison, 'St. Willibrord', 318; Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 109; von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung* Europas, 81–2; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 73.

[1046] See chapter 1.1.3.

[1047] Bede, *HE*, 5.8–9 (eds Colgrave/Mynors, 472–4).

Book Five only, the mission to Frisia could be placed around the year 692 rather than 690.[1048] This observation does not preclude a short gap between Pippin's victory over Radbod and Willibrord's arrival, but it serves as a reminder that Bede's information about Willibrord was not entirely precise and that he condensed the events to accelerate his narrative of a rapid and successful Christianisation of the Frisian *gens*.

In order to reconcile the date provided by the *Calendar* with Bede's indication that a battle took place shortly before Willibrord's arrival, historians have dated the first major battle between Pippin and Radbod to 689/90.[1049] This thesis gains further support through the testimony of the Carolingian *Annales Mettenses Priores*.[1050] The early ninth-century text is the only source which appears to correlate with the *Historia*: the author of the *Annales Mettenses* recorded a first confrontation between the armies of Pippin and Radbod (at an unknown location) under the year 692. The author also knew of a second battle which allegedly took place at the *castrum* of Dorestad south of Utrecht in 697.[1051]

The mention of two battles contrasts with the earlier accounts of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar*. The *Liber Historiae Francorum* mentions that, after the battle of Tertry, Pippin fought 'many wars' (*multa bella*) against Radbod.[1052] According to the author's chronology, these battles, of which neither the exact dates nor the locations are given, took place between the ascension of Childebert III to the thrones of Neustria and Austrasia and the death of Pippin's eldest son Drogo.[1053] Childebert's reign began (at the latest) in 694 while Drogo's death can be dated to 708.[1054] The first continuator of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, who otherwise closely followed the narrative of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, only recorded one battle within the same period and located it at Dorestad.[1055] The author of the *Annales Mettenses*, in turn, partly copied the account of the battle of Dorestad from the *Continuations*.[1056] However, the precise dating of the battle to 697 and the indication that a previous confrontation took place in 692 are distinct

[1048] See Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, 2.287.
[1049] See Weiler, *Willibrords missie*, 91; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 181–2; Lebecq, 'Franken und Friesen', 339–40; Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 41; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 72; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 209–10.
[1050] See Introduction, 30.
[1051] *AMP*, s.a. 692, 697 (ed. von Simson, 13, 17).
[1052] *LHF*, 49 (ed. Krusch, 323).
[1053] *Ibid.* (ed. Krusch, 323–4); see Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 189–90.
[1054] *Annales Petaviani*, s.a. 708 (ed. Pertz, 7); *Annales Sancti Amandi*, s.a. 708 (ed. Pertz, 6); *Annales Tiliani*, s.a. 708 (ed. Pertz, 6); see Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie', 202.
[1055] *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 6 (ed. Krusch, 172).
[1056] *AMP*, s.a. 697 (ed. von Simson, 17). The author's intention to glorify Pippin's ability as a military commander is reflected in his adaption of the *Continuations of Fredegar*. Whereas the latter text states that Pippin returned with 'much booty' (*multa spolia*), the *AMP* refer to 'immeasurable amounts of booty' (*innumerabilibus spoliis*); on the author's use of the Carolingian annals see Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 481.

additions made by the *Annales Mettenses*.

According to the ninth-century narrative, Pippin's first campaign against Radbod took place in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Tertry. The author, probably writing at the monastery of Chelles under the patronage of Charlemagne's sister Gisela,[1057] embedded Pippin's victory over his Neustrian opponents into a glorifying account of the Carolingians' rise to power. In contrast to the continuators of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the author extended the mention of a single battle between Pippin and Radbod into an anachronistic depiction of Pippin's 'imperial' policy which foreshadowed the extent of Charlemagne's power.[1058] In this first section of the *Annales Mettenses*, Pippin's position as *princeps* is depicted as one of military superiority and political domination over the neighbouring *gentes*.[1059] The author relates how Pippin first acquired domination over all the *Franci* after the battle of Tertry and then set out to restore his authority over those *gentes* that had risen up in rebellion due to the idleness of the Merovingians.[1060] The language is notably different from both the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar*: Pippin allegedly inflicted a crushing defeat on Radbod in 692, who subsequently became tributary to the 'invincible leader' (*invictus princeps*) of the Franks.[1061] The anonymous author also expanded the description of the battle of Dorestad in the *Continuations*, by adding that Pippin continued to subjugate the neighbouring *gentes* to his authority after 697.[1062]

The evidence of the *Annales Mettenses Priores* led Wolfgang Fritze to suggest that the author knew of two battles which occurred five years apart. Since the author of the *Annales Mettenses* misdated the beginning of King Childebert's III reign to 696 (instead of 694), he moved the battle of Dorestad to 697 to fit his account to the relative chronology of the *Continuations*. Fritze adapted the information to the correct date of Childebert's reign and assigned the confrontation at Dorestad to 695. In order to reconcile the *Annales* with Bede's testimony, Fritze furthermore suggested that the first battle took place in 690 instead

---

[1057] See Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*, 53–8; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 338; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 35–6.

[1058] *AMP*, s.a. 688 (ed. von Simson, 1–4). Here, the author greatly distorts the political situation in Francia before the battle of Tertry by claiming that the sphere of influence of Pippin's family extended to the borders of Frisia; see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 334–5, 341–2, 351, n. 103.

[1059] On Pippin's political titles see Ingrid Heidrich, 'Les maires du palais neustriens du milieu du VII[e] au milieu du VIII[e] siècle', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 217–30: 225–6; on the use of *princeps* by the author of the *Annales Mettenses* see Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 342.

[1060] *AMP*, s.a. 691 (ed. von Simson, 12–3); the Carolingians' negative perception of the last Merovingian kings is reflected especially in Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, 1, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SRG, 25 (Hannover, 1911), 2–4.

[1061] *AMP,* s.a. 692 (ed. von Simson, 13).

[1062] *Ibid.*, s.a. 697 (ed. von Simson, 17).

of 692. He assumed that the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Continuations* omitted the first battle in their accounts, because it seemed only a minor confrontation to them in contrast to the more decisive clash at Dorestad.[1063] According to Fritze, Willibrord left Ireland soon after Pippin's first victory against Radbod in 690; the beginning of the Frisian mission and the establishment of the see of Utrecht in 695 were thus directly linked to Pippin's two consecutive victories over Radbod in the aftermath of the battle of Tertry.[1064]

However, the dates contained within the first section of the *Annales Mettenses* are incoherent and partially contradict the chronology of other Frankish sources. The battle of Tertry, for example, is dated to 690.[1065] The inconsistency of the dates resulted from the fact that the author tried to adapt his or her material to the annalistic form. For the period between 697 and 742, the source primarily relies on the *Continuations* and contemporary annals such as the so-called *Annales regni Francorum*, the *Annales Sancti Amandi* and the *Annales Petaviani*.[1066] However, the first section, which covers the period from Pippin's victory at Tertry to the appointment of his son Grimoald as the mayor of the palace for the entire realm, was mainly written in the author's own words. What is more, due to the complex manuscript tradition, it is difficult to ascertain which elements were added by later scribes.[1067]

Wilhelm Levison was, therefore, distrustful of the information contained in the first section and suggested that certain entries, such as that for 692, should be viewed as a later 'filler'.[1068] In contrast, Fritze pointed out that the respective passage disrupts the section's narrative; the author's reference to the first battle between Pippin and Radbod must have been based on genuine knowledge, which he or she wished to include. The interval of five years between the first battle and the confrontation at Dorestad in 697 could not be regarded as random information; the scribe must, therefore, have had access to an earlier, now lost source.[1069] Fritze rejected the theory, proposed by Levison, that the reference to the first battle reflected the author's knowledge of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[1070] Here, Fritze contradicted himself: on the one hand, he postulated that the date of the first battle in 690

[1063] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 140–4; see also Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 481.
[1064] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 148–51, argues that the first battle only extended Pippin's area of influence to the river Lek, whereas Dorestad and Utrecht were captured in 695. This would corroborate Alcuin's indication in the *Vita Willibrordi* that Utrecht was still controlled by Radbod in 690 (see chapter 1.1.3); see also Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, 190–2; Schäferdiek, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', 185–6.
[1065] The battle is dated to 691 in the *Annales Sancti Amandi* (ed. Pertz, 6); see Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 480–1; on the dating of the battle of Tertry see also Weidemann, 'Zur Chronologie', 194.
[1066] Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 480–2; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 333.
[1067] See Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*, 41–53; Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 330–4.
[1068] Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 481.
[1069] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 143–4.
[1070] See Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 481, n. 2; Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 143–4. Levison also argued that the *Annales Mettenses* contained traces of Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*.

was confirmed by Bede's account. On the other hand, Fritze argued that the *Historia* would have offered only a *terminus ante quem* of 696 (the year of Willibrord's consecration) to the author of the *Annales Mettenses*. He or she could thus have dated the first battle to any year before 696 instead of 692. However, the potential relation between Bede's *Historia* and the *Annales Mettenses* should be considered.[1071] From the *Historia*, the anonymous author would have received two pieces of information which are not provided by the *Continuations*: firstly, that another battle took place before Willibrord's consecration in 696 which led to Pippin's conquest of *Frisia citerior*; secondly, that this battle took place shortly before Willibrord's departure from Rath Melsigi, which followed the death of Theodore of Canterbury in 690 and Wictberct's two-year stay in Frisia.

Bede's narrative could thus have provided the author of the *Annales Mettenses* with additional information which allowed for a dating of Radbod's expulsion from Frisia to 692. The addition of this earlier confrontation between Pippin and Radbod does not interfere with the chronology of the first section of the *Annales Mettenses*. Furthermore, the passage fits the overall structure and tone of the entire section: according to the anonymous author, Pippin took up the 'sole leadership of the Franks' (*singularis Francorum principatus*) in 691 and subsequently began to subject the neighbouring *gentes*. This passage would have represented a fitting context to insert the information provided by Bede on the conquest of *Frisia citerior*. The author did not specify the place of the battle but focused on Radbod's resistance against Pippin's authority.[1072] Levison also considered that the author simply wished to add another example of Pippin's superiority over the neighbouring *gentes*.[1073] Fritze objected to this argument, arguing that it did not explain why the text specifically refers Radbod and the Frisians.[1074] Yet, the disruption within the narrative appears less grave if the following passage is considered: after he had defeated Radbod and received the latter's legates who were suing for peace, Pippin presided over a synod at which he took care of the 'well-being of the churches, orphans and widows'. The author also stressed that Pippin still respected the authority of King Theuderic III despite his recent triumphs because of his 'humility and clemency'.[1075]

The victory against Radbod thus ties in with the overall message of the respective passage in which the author not only reflected on Pippin's kindness and foresight but also on his superiority over the Franks *and* their neighbours. Moreover, in his description of the

[1071] On the knowledge of Bede's text in Carolingian Francia see Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, 21–2.
[1072] *AMP,* s.a. 691 (ed. von Simson, 12–3; trans. Fouracre/Gerberding, 359).
[1073] Levison, 'Zu den Annales Mettenses', 481, n. 2.
[1074] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 142–3.
[1075] *AMP,* s.a. 692 (ed. von Simson, 13–5; trans. Fouracre/Gerberding, 360).

battle of Dorestad in 697, the author claims that Radbod had disregarded Pippin's authority, thus portraying the Frisians as 'rebels' against the rightful ruler of the Frankish kingdom.[1076] Ultimately, both battles between the Franks and the Frisians serve as parentheses for the earliest section of the *Annales Mettenses*, which covers the period from the battle at Tertry to the assertion of Pippin's power as *princeps*. After the battle of Dorestad, the narrative jumps to 708 and realigns with the *Continuations* and the Carolingian annals.[1077]

The reassessment of Fritze's analysis shows how his dating of the first battle mentioned in the *Annales Mettenses* to 690 became entangled with Bede's imprecise yet coherent narrative. Fritze's argumentation is based on the assumption that the account of the *Historia* was more credible than Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar*. As a 'scrupulous historian', Bede would not have contracted events or concealed information from his readers as Alcuin did in his *Vita* with regard to the establishment of the see of Utrecht.[1078] He thereby constructed a circular argument: the apparent correspondence between the *Annales Mettenses* and the *Historia* seemed to confirm Bede's credibility. However, Bede offered only a relative chronology with regard to the beginning of the Frisian mission and Pippin's victory over Radbod; without the testimony of the *Calendar*, Willibrord's arrival could just as well be dated to 692, creating a much wider interval between the two events. What is more, Bede only highlighted the connection between Pippin's victory over Radbod and his decision to send Willibrord to *Frisia citerior*; this allowed Bede to over-emphasise the mayor of the palace's role in the success of the missionaries.[1079] Yet, there is no evidence in Bede's text which suggests that Willibrord's departure from Ireland was linked to the political developments in Frisia. Based on a straightforward reading of the *Historia*, it could even be argued that Willibrord only learned of Pippin's victory *after* his arrival and during their first meeting.[1080]

What are the implications of this reconsideration of Bede's timeline for our understanding of the establishment of the see of Utrecht? By dating Pippin's two victories

---

[1076] *AMP,* s.a. 697 (ed. von Simson, 17); see Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and Merovingians', 155–60.
[1077] *AMP,* s.a. 697, 708 (ed. von Simson, 17): *Hinc annis singulis circumsitas gentes cum exercitu Pippinus fortiter proterit et suae ditioni subegit. Lapsisque post haec aliquibus annis anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCVIII*.
[1078] Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 117: 'Will man also [Bedas] Darstellung der Ereignisfolge aufgeben, so kann man das nicht, indem man sie mit einem Irrtum erklärt, dem Beda bona fide erlegen sei, sondern muß sich dazu entschließen, den northumbrischen Gelehrten einer wissentlichen Verfälschung zu bezichtigen. Nur sehr schwere Gründe werden uns dazu vermögen, gegen einen so verantwortungsbewußten Historiker wie Beda einen solchen Vorwurf auszusprechen'.
[1079] See chapter 1.1.3.
[1080] See Higham/Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 221; this point was raised by Calum Platts in his paper at the Research Seminar of the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at the University of Cambridge on 30 October 2020.

over Radbod to 690 and 695 respectively, Fritze concluded that Willibrord's consecration and the conquest of *Frisia citerior* were interlinked.[1081] By relying on Bede, Fritze tried to resolve the complexity of the political situation reflected in the Frankish sources. The *Liber Historiae Francorum*, the earliest of the historiographical sources discussed here, noted that Pippin waged 'many wars' against Radbod and other *principes*; neither the *Liber Historia Francorum* nor the *Continuations* contain a reference to Pippin's alleged subjection of Radbod. One point on which the different authors agreed upon, is the fact that Radbod still posed a military threat to Pippin by the end of the 690s and that both sides still fought for the control of Dorestad several years after Willibrord's arrival. Contrary to the condensed account of Bede's *Historia* and the partisan depiction of Pippin in the *Annales Mettenses*, the conflict between the Austrasian mayor of the palace and the Frisian leader cannot be limited to one or two isolated campaigns which 'the' Franks allegedly led against a 'rebellious' and unified *gens*.[1082]

The question about the date of Radbod's 'expulsion' from *Frisia citerior* is, therefore, misleading. The battle of Dorestad did not mark the successful conclusion of the 'Carolingian' conquest of Frisia; the battle was part of a series of clashes in a regional conflict between two aspiring political leaders.[1083] Their struggle appears to have centred on the area around Utrecht and the trading port of Dorestad, but it remains unclear to what extent Radbod or Pippin 'controlled' the ancient Roman *castrum* and the nearby *emporium*.[1084] When Boniface sailed from Britain to Frisia in 716, he boarded a ship of merchants in London according to Willibald's *Vita*. Boniface arrived in Dorestad two years after Pippin's death, shortly after Radbod had formed an alliance with the Neustrian Franks against both Plectrude and Charles Martel. Willibald claimed that the war between Radbod and Charles led to the widespread destruction of the ecclesiastical structure in the border region between northern Francia and Frisia.[1085] Most historians have argued that Willibrord was forced to retreat to Echternach during the entire period between 714 and 719, the year of Radbod's death. This argument will be further considered below.[1086]

Here, the parallel between Wilfrid's stay in Frisia in 678/9 and Boniface's ability to safely debark in Dorestad is notable. In both cases, the clerics arrived at a time when the relationship between Franks and Frisians was apparently marked by hostility. Yet, both

[1081] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 147–51.
[1082] Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 107.
[1083] See van Egmond, 'Radbod', 36–7; Meeder/Goosmann, *Redbad*, 55–61; for a contrary view see de Langen/Mol, 'Landscape, trade and power', 116–8.
[1084] See Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 301–3; *idem*, 'Franks and Frisians', 205.
[1085] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 16–8); see chapter 1.1.2.
[1086] See p. 222.

Wilfrid and Boniface were able to spend several months in Frisia. After his arrival, Boniface allegedly met with Radbod in Utrecht.[1087] If Willibald's reconstruction of the events can be trusted, this episode suggests that Dorestad retained a certain degree of independence as both a trading port and a safe harbour for travellers from the Insular world even after Radbod's reoccupation of Utrecht.

The question of the extent of Pippin's control over *Frisia citerior* between 690 and 695 is likewise deceptive, especially if the account of the *Annales Mettenses* is considered. The scant evidence for the period between *c.* 697 and 614 does not only suggest that both regions remained interconnected, but it also points to a consolidation of the relationship between Radbod and the Austrasian elite. The most notable indication of this process is the marriage of Radbod's daughter to Pippin's son Grimoald between the death of King Childebert III in 711 and Grimoald's murder in 714. While both the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Annales Mettenses Priores* record the event, only the author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* included the name of Radbod's daughter, Theudesinda.[1088] Shortly before 700, Grimoald had been appointed mayor of the palace by his father, yet his authority was *de facto* limited to Neustria, whereas Pippin remained in Austrasia.[1089] The ties between Neustria and Frisia appear to have been strengthened during this period and Radbod's link to the *Teilreich* might have laid the foundation for his alliance with the Neustrians in 715 – even if it was now directed against Grimoald's family.[1090] At the same time, none of the sources mentions another confrontation between Pippin's family and Radbod until the outbreak of the civil war. It has, therefore, been argued that the Frisian leader came close to accept Christianity during this phase which lasted from his defeat at Dorestad to 714.[1091]

Further evidence for this development has been extrapolated from later hagiographical texts. The *Life* of Wulfram of Sens (d. before 696/7), written by an anonymous author[1092] at the monastery of Saint-Wandrille between the end of the eighth and

[1087] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 16–7).
[1088] *AMP*, s.a. 711 (ed. von Simson, 18); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 7 (ed. Krusch, 172–3); *LHF*, 50 (ed. Krusch, 324–5).
[1089] The author of the Neustrian *Liber Historiae Francorum*, 50 (ed, Krusch, 324), commemorated Grimoald in a positive way: *Eratque ipse Grimoaldus maiorum domus pius, modestus, mansuetus et iustus.*
[1090] See chapter 3.2.2.
[1091] See Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 228–30; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 43; Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 578; Meeder/Goosmann, *Redbad*, 94–9; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 208.
[1092] Ian N. Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille and its hagiography', in Ian N. Wood and Graham A. Loud (eds), *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (London, 1991), 1–14: 6; Stéphane Lebecq, 'Vulfran, Willibrord et la mission de Frise : Pour une relecture de la *Vita Vulframni*', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 431–51: 432–3. According to the prologue of the *Vita*, the text was written by a certain Jonas. Historians have interpretated the choice of the author's name as an attempt by the community of Saint-Wandrille to invoke the authority of the author of the *Vita Columbani*.

the beginning of the ninth centuries, contains a much-quoted chapter on the bishop's attempt to baptise Radbod.[1093] According to his *Vita*, Wulfram descended from the Neustrian aristocracy and had access to the court of both Chlothar III and Theuderic III. He was appointed bishop of Sens but, prompted by a vision, left his see to evangelise the Frisians. After a meeting with Abbot Ansbert (d. 689), bishop of Rouen, he donated his property to Saint-Wandrille and left for Frisia via the monastery's harbour.[1094] He was able to baptise Radbod's son (who died soon afterwards), but the Frisian *dux* changed his mind on the very edge of the baptismal font after he learned from Wulfram that, as a Christian, he would be unable to join his ancestors after his death, because they had already gone to hell.[1095] Radbod then sent a messenger to Willibrord, since he wanted to know if the *doctor* ('teacher') of his *gens* agreed with Wulfram's position. Willibrord confirmed Wulfram's judgement and added that Radbod's damnation had already been revealed to him in a vision. After Radbod's death, Wulfram resigned from the episcopal office and became a monk at Saint-Wandrille.[1096]

The authenticity of story about Radbod's baptism has been doubted, not least because of the many chronological inconsistencies the *Vita* contains.[1097] Although being dedicated to Abbot Bainus (d. 709) and referring to two witnesses who had supposedly accompanied Wulfram, scholars now agree that the present text was composed at the earliest in the late eighth century; this is not least suggested by the parallels between the *Vita Vulframni* and Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*.[1098] The author also relied on the Carolingian annals to date

[1093] *Vita Vulframni episcopi Senonici auctore Pseudo-Iona*, 9–10, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 668–70; on the dating of the *Vita* see Wilhelm Levison, 'Zu den Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 530–50: 534–6 [Originally published in *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 241-64]; Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', 3–5; *idem*, *The Missionary Life*, 92–3; Matthias Becher, 'Die Chronologie der Äbte von Saint-Wandrille in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu den *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*', in Sabine Happ and Ulrich Nonn (eds), *Vielfalt der Geschichte: Lernen, Lehren und Erforschen verganener Zeiten: Festgabe für Ingrid Heidrich zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2004), 25–47: 27; see also John Howe, 'The hagiography of Saint-Wandrille (Fontenelle) (Province of Haut-Normandie)', in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 127–92 : 154–9, who suggests that an earlier version of the *Vita*, composed in the first half of the eighth century, originally existed but was later rewritten.

[1094] *Vita Vulframni*, 1–4 (ed. Levison, 661–4).

[1095] *Ibid.*, 9 (ed. Levison, 668); Stéphan Lebecq, 'Le baptême manqué du roi Radbod', in Odile Redon and Bernard Rosenberger (eds), *Les Assises du pouvoir : Temps médiévaux, territoires africains* (Saint-Denis, 1994), 141–50: 142–4; *idem*, 'Vulfran, Willibrord', 431. In the twelfth century, an anonymous author from the abbey of Egmond added the story about Radbod's failed baptism to the text of the Carolingian *Annales Xantenses* (s. a. 718; ed. Pertz, 221) together with other material relating to Willibrord and Adalbert, the founder of Egmond; on the potential theological background of this tradition see Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 580–9.

[1096] *Vita Vulframni*, 9–11 (ed. Levison, 668–71); see Fritze, 'Universalis gentium confessio', 104.

[1097] See Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 580.

[1098] Lebecq, 'Vulfran, Willibrord', 433. More sceptical about the parallels between the two *Vitae* is Howe, 'The hagiography of Saint-Wandrille', 154, who adds that the reference to Wulfram as *archiepiscopus* reflects Carolingian rather than Merovingian terminology. The author of the *Vita Vulframni* also made extensive use of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Radbod's death to 719.[1099] This information, however, forced him to date Wulfram's death to 720.[1100] The translation of Wulfram's relics under Abbot Bainus took place in 704; Wulfram could thus not have been alive at the time of Radbod's death.[1101] Stéphane Lebecq has advocated a less critical reading of the *Vita* and, in contrast to the chronology of the text, he has argued that Wulfram was active in Frisia between 687/8 and 693 before he became bishop of Sens. Lebecq linked Wulfram's departure from the Neustrian court to the battle of Tertry and to the imminent conflict between Pippin and Radbod; before Willibrord secured the support of the pope and thus sealed the success of the 'Anglo-Saxons', Pippin could have relied on Wulfram as an additional support during the conquest of Frisia.[1102]

The existence of a rival mission from Neustria would imply that the Christianisation of Frisia was not restricted to the circles of Wilfrid and Ecgberct. However, in assessing the *Vita Vulframni*, it is crucial to consider the author's Neustrian background. The traditions compiled at Saint-Wandrille in the eighth and ninth centuries reflect a strong local identity which was founded on the ties between the monastery and the Neustrian court before the ascension of the Carolingians.[1103] In the Vita *Vulframni*, this tendency can be observed in the portrayal of Radbod, which is distinct from that of the 'pagan persecutor' promoted by the *Vita Bonifatii*.[1104] It has been suggested that the depiction of the Frisian leader was shaped by the memory of his alliance with Ragamfred and King Dagobert III (711–5) against Plectrude and Charles Martel.[1105] In this regard, the text was also influenced by Alcuin's more nuanced and less condemning depiction of Radbod in the *Vita Willibrordi*.[1106]

The appearance of Willibrord in the *Vita Vulframni* shows that the community of Saint-Wandrille directly responded to Alcuin's work. However, rather than to adapt Alcuin's framework, the monks chose to produce their own version of the history of the Christianisation of Frisia, in which the early Carolingians feature less prominently. Although Pippin II endowed Saint-Wandrille and his grandson Hugo (d. 731) became its abbot in 724, the relation between the monastery and the early Carolingians was marked by tensions, especially during the early years of Charles Martel; after Charles' victory in the civil, Abbot Wando (d. 756), who had been appointed by the Neustrian mayor of the palace Ragamfred

[1099] *Annales Alamannici*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 24); *Annales Laureshamenses*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 24); *Annales Nazariani*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 25); *Annales Petaviani*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 7); *Annales Sancti Amandi*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 6); *Annales Tiliani*, s.a. 719 (ed. Pertz, 6).
[1100] *Vita Vulframni*, 10 (ed. Levison, 670).
[1101] Lebecq, 'Vulfran, Willibrord', 434–8; Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 481–2; on the chronology of the abbots of Saint-Wandrille see Becher, 'Die Chronologie', 25–47.
[1102] See Lebecq, 'Vulfran, Willibrord', 446–9; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 208.
[1103] See Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', 11–2; Becher, 'Die Chronologie', 25–6.
[1104] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 16–7).
[1105] See Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 76, and chapter 3.2.2.
[1106] Alcuin, *VW*, 9 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme, 48–50).

and whose testimony is invoked by the author of the *Vita Vulframni*, was forced to flee to Maastricht in 719.[1107] In 742, Wando was reinstated as the abbot of Saint-Wandrille at the request of the monks; the return of Ragamfred's candidate after Charles Martel's death has been interpretated as an expression of the monastic community's adherence to their Neustrian roots.[1108] In this context, the decision to commemorate a bishop of Sens as a missionary in Frisia alongside Willibrord was probably also a reaction to Alcuin's dedication of the *Vita Willibrord* to Archbishop Beornrad of Sens, who, as abbot of Echternach, was involved in the Christianisation of Saxony under the Carolingians.[1109] The portrayal of Radbod in the *Vita Vulframni* suggests that this period of Neustrian-Frisian cooperation between 715 and 716 shaped the memory of the Frisian leader at Saint Wandrille.[1110]

The *Vita Vulframni* is significant because it testifies to the existence of competing narratives with regard to the Christianisation of Frisia. In contrast to the accentuation of Radbod's paganism in other saints' lives, the *Vita Vulframni* offers a different view of the stance of the Frisian elite towards Christianity. The conversion of high-ranking Frisians is also highlighted in another hagiographical text from the Carolingian period, the *Life* of Liudger, written by Bishop Altfrid of Münster (839–49) for the monks of Werden. According to the tradition preserved by the family of Bishop Liudger of Münster, his mother's uncles were taught by Willibrord and were the first Frisians to hold an ecclesiastical office.[1111]

The *Vita* furthermore recounts how a Frisian magnate named *Wrssingus* was forced to seek refuge in Francia before 714. The Frisians were allegedly suffering many 'injustices' (*iniusta*) under Radbod's rule, who planned to assassinate Wrssing and to seize his property. Wrssing and his family fled to Grimoald and were baptised in Francia.[1112] However, Wrssing's youngest son returned to Frisia after Radbod, afflicted by an illness, had promised him the return of his father's inheritance. Wrssing himself returned to Frisia after Radbod's death and Charles Martel's conquest of the region; here, the *Vita* closely follows the account of Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi*. Charles gave the former exile property near Utrecht and Wrssing's eldest son married Liafburg, Liudger's mother, whose brothers had been entrusted to Willibrord as youths.[1113]

[1107] *Vita Vulframni*, 5 (ed. Levison, 664); Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 65.
[1108] Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', 12–4, argues that Wando's exile in Maastricht could have formed the basis of the association between Saint-Wandrille and the mission to Frisia. This hypothesis is rejected by Lebecq, 'Vulfran, Willibrord', 446–7.
[1109] See Meens, 'With one foot in the font', 591; considering the evidence discussed in the section above, it might be significant that the author of the *Vita Vulframni* chose not to introduce Willibrord as *arch*bishop.
[1110] See Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and Merovingians', 160–1.
[1111] *Vita Liudgeri,* 5 (ed. Diekamp, 9–10).
[1112] *Ibid.*, 2–3 (ed. Diekamp, 7–9).
[1113] *Vita Liudgeri*, 4–5 (ed. Diekamp, 8–10); see Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 130–2; Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 108–14; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, 108–10. Fritze dates Wrssing's flight from Frisia to *c.* 695

The *Vita Liudgeri* suggests an even higher degree of interconnectedness between Frisia and Francia than the *Vita Vulframni*: not only was Wrssing well received by Grimoald, but his son was also able to return to Frisia and to reclaim his father's property from Radbod despite his Christian belief. Although the account of the *Vita Liudgeri* needs to be read with caution, Wrssing's story suggests that the religious differences between the Frankish elite and their Frisian neighbour were less fundamental than the hagiographical texts imply; depending on the political context, a certain degree of pragmatism was possible.[1114] On the other hand, Radbod's willingness to accept Christianity could have represented a hagiographical motif as much as his refusal to abandon paganism.[1115] However, the *Vita Liudgeri* preserves a knowledge of the links that existed between Frisia and Neustria in the early eighth century: the fact that Wrssing fled to Grimoald rather than to Pippin ties in with the evidence of the annals for the marriage between Grimoald and Theudesinda. By underlining Radbod's tolerant stance towards Wrssing's Christian son, the *Vita Liudgeri* furthermore mirrors the more nuanced portrayals of Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* and the *Vita Vulframni*. Even Willibald suggested that Boniface was able to approach Radbod directly, although only the anonymous author from Saint-Wandrille considered the possibility of Radbod's baptism.[1116]

The scant evidence for the relationship between Radbod and Pippin's family before 714 shows that Bede's narrative of one decisive confrontation between both sides around 690 represents the retrospective condensation of a more complex development. Both in terms of their scope and their duration, the battles fought between Pippin and Radbod were small in comparison with the Saxon Wars fought by Charlemagne.[1117] Although the border region between Frisia and Francia was contested around 700, the economic and political ties which ran through it persisted and were even reinforced during the first two decades of Willibrord's stay on the continent. The notion of a large-scale military conquest of the territories north of the Rhine by the Pippinids between 690 and 714 is thus misleading.[1118]

At the same time, the situation in Frisia differed from that which Willibrord encountered in Thuringia. In contrast to the region between Würzburg and Erfurt, the foundation on which ecclesiastical structures could be erected was much more fragile here – especially beyond the *Frisia citerior* controlled by Radbod.[1119] By choosing Utrecht as his

and his son's return from exile to *c.* 711.

[1114] See Wood, 'Before or after mission', 165; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 41.

[1115] See Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and Merovingians', 160–1; John Hines, 'Religion and conversion amongst the Frisians', in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm, *Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 311–38: 319–23.

[1116] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 16–7).

[1117] See Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 73–6; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 212.

[1118] See chapter 3.2.2.

[1119] See de Langen/Mol, 'Landscape, trade and power', 83–93.

base, Willibrord entered a territory which was marked by small-scale military confrontations and a shifting balance of power. Yet, the south-western part of Frisia had not been completely cut off from the surrounding Christian kingdoms before Willibrord's arrival: the ruins of the church of St Martin must have represented a prominent sign of Utrecht's former integration into the Merovingian sphere and the area of influence of the bishop of Cologne.[1120] This aspect has often been overlooked in discussions on the Frisian mission: in 690, Willibrord did not simply arrive in an area which was marked by the struggle between 'pagans' and Christians. Between the eighth and the ninth centuries, different Christian communities from Ireland, Britain and Francia participated in or retrospectively laid claim to the Christianisation of Frisia; by becoming bishop of Utrecht, Willibrord altered the ecclesiastical map of northern Francia and created a new space for ecclesiastical competition, which was later continued in hagiographical writing.[1121]

To perceive Willibrord not only as a missionary in Frisia but as a new actor in the Frankish ecclesiastical landscape allows for a more nuanced understanding of the establishment of the see of Utrecht. It should be remembered that five years passed between his arrival in Francia and his consecration in Rome. Bede's accelerated narrative leaves little room for alternative line of thoughts, as does his assertion that Pippin himself sent Willibrord across the Alps. This section has attempted to show that the establishment of the see of Utrecht was not a coherent development which simply followed the military conquest of Frisia by the Pippinids. It has been shown that both before and after Willibrord, clerics drew on the authority of the pope to consolidate their influence in areas where the ecclesiastical organisation was either instable or where their own position was challenged.[1122] In the case of the Frisian mission, both aspects applied. Therefore, it can be argued that Willibrord's consecration did not mark the inception of a more 'organised' ecclesiastical structure in the Frankish kingdom; it was rather the 'external' and personal dimension of the title of archbishop which provided him with an advantage in the border region between Frisia and Francia.[1123]

[1120] See above, p. 190.

[1121] See Palmer, 'Beyond Frankish authority?', 139–62.

[1122] See, for example, Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 29 (ed. Colgrave, 56–60). The career of Wilfrid provides another case in point of an influential churchman who appealed to the pope in the context of a power struggle in his home region.

[1123] See Reuter, '"Kirchenreform" und "Kirchenpolitik"', 37–42. In contrast to Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 66, I do not argue that Willibrord was less 'canonical' in his approach than Boniface. To apply such a dichotomy to the sources discussed here, prevents a more nuanced analysis of Willibrord's ability to adapt himself to different political and ecclesiastical contexts. The traditional notion of the 'institutionalisation' of the Frank Church through the Bonifatian 'reforms' created the anachronistic expectation among modern historians that the structures championed by Boniface and his followers were more 'progressive' than those established by their predecessors.

From this point of view, the consecration can be interpretated as an adaption by Willibrord to his new field of activity based on the experience which he acquired between 690 and 695. When Willibrord left for Rome in 691/2, his community immediately elected Suidberct as their bishop; in its early phase, the Frisian mission thus required a stable ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the same time, the episode highlights the group's ability to adapt themselves to situations in which the necessary structures were not yet secured.[1124] In this context, the title of archbishop probably gave Willibrord a twofold advantage: Firstly, it enabled the establishment of an ecclesiastical structure outside of the Merovingian diocesan system. As mentioned above, Pope Sergius I's decision to bestow the title of archbishop on Willibrord might have resulted from his notion of the Frisians as a *gens* which settled beyond the borders of the Christian sphere.[1125] Secondly, the title strengthened Willibrord's authority over potential competitors. He could have regarded his consecration as *arch*bishop as an effective way to evade the consent of the neighbouring bishops in relation to the establishment of the see of Utrecht.[1126]

It is thus all the more striking that Willibrord only appears as *episcopus* in the sources which refer to his activity outside of Frisia. This suggests that he was able to shift between different contexts and to adapt his role to the communities he encountered between Utrecht and Würzburg. Within the first decade of his continental career, Willibrord travelled between Frisia, Austrasia and Rome and founded the monastery of Echternach; the high level of mobility suggests that the significance of the consecration was not restricted to Frisia and that it extended his *Handlungsspielraum* beyond Utrecht. In contrast, Willibrord's activity in Francia has often been depicted as an extension only of the Frisian mission: Echternach was apparently established as an 'outpost' of the see of Utrecht, and the donations which Willibrord received provided him with the necessary resources to undertake the task of conversion.[1127] However, the Pippinids did not take Echternach under their protection until

[1124] See chapter 1.1.2.
[1125] See Fritze, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte', 126–7.
[1126] See Scholz, *Die Merowinger*, 182–5. This argument raises the question of the significance of Pippin's consent. It appears unlikely that Willibrord could have taken up residence in Utrecht without the support of the mayor of the palace, who probably controlled the appointment of bishops in the name of the king. However, the opposition which Boniface faced from the bishop of Cologne in 753 suggests that the political support of the leading family did not necessarily equate to compliance from the ecclesiastical elite. As discussed in chapter 2.2, there is no evidence that Willibrord faced active resistance from other bishops, but this silence could result from the fragmentary nature of the sources.
[1127] See, for example, Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 93; Weiler, *Willibrords Missie*, 115, 150–1; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1995), 103–4; Busch, *Die Herrschaften der Karolinger*, 5–6. In contrast, Theuws, 'Das mittelere Maastal', 200–7, notes that it remains difficult to assess the economic significance of the valley of the Meuse in the early eight century. There were probably important differences in population density between the scarcely inhabited area to the east of the Meuse and the royal properties in the western part of the region.

706 and Willibrord received the monastery of Susteren only in 714. What is more, this section has shown that the phase between 690 and 714 was not one in which Charlemagne's ancestors systematically conquered Frisia. The following section, therefore, aims at analysing the support which Willibrord received from the early Carolingians as a reaction to his position in Francia rather than as the consequence of his missionary activity.

3.2 Willibrord Between Frisia and Francia, *c.* 706–26

Pippin II died on 16 December 714.[1128] In March of the same year,[1129] he had already been ill and unable to confirm the donation of the monastery of Susteren, north of Maastricht, to Willibrord. According to the text of the charter preserved in the *Liber aureus*, Pippin gave his *potestas* to Plectrude and asked her to confirm the donation in his stead. The content of the document is reminiscent of the second charter which Pippin and Plectrude had issued in 706 for Echternach: Willibrord received the foundation in order to assemble *fratres peregrinos vel alios Deum timentes* ('foreign or other God-fearing brothers'). The same *fratres* promised to choose a new abbot in the case of Willibrord's death, one who remained both faithful to Pippin and Plectrude's heirs and under their protection. Here, the charter contains a notable detail: only Grimoald, his children and Drogo's children are explicitly mentioned as the heirs to whom the monks have to show their allegiance.[1130] Grimoald and Drogo were both Plectrude's children and there is no mention of Charles Martel, the son of Pippin and Alpaida, in the text.[1131] The charter for Susteren has, therefore, been interpretated as a first attempt by Plectrude to secure the succession of her own branch to Pippin's position at a time when his health was already declining.[1132]

In 714, Charles was between twenty-three and twenty-six years old and Plectrude already considered him as a potential rival to her and her children's position, as the events of the following year show.[1133] After Pippin's death, Plectrude established Grimoald's son Theudoald as mayor of the palace in Neustria, whereas her other grandson Arnulf acted as *dux* of Austrasia. Charles was imprisoned on Plectrude's orders and probably detained in Cologne, his stepmother's power base. However, Plectrude was unable to maintain her position: between 715 and 718, the Frankish kingdom was shaken by a civil war from which Charles emerged victorious. His son Pippin was probably baptised by Willibrord in 716.[1134] In the following years, Charles made donations to both Echternach and Utrecht.[1135] How was Willibrord able to secure both his position as bishop of Utrecht and as abbot of Echternach throughout this turbulent period and to gain Charles' support? Did he 'change sides' in 714

[1128] *AMP*, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simsons, 19).
[1129] On the date of charter see Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 463.
[1130] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 24. Christian Schweizer and Carlo Cedro kindly assisted me with the translation of the Latin text.
[1131] On Alpaida see Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 55–6; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 48.
[1132] See Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 127–8; Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 206; Ingrid Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden Pippins d. M. und Karl Martells: Beobachtungen zu ihrer zeitlichen und räumlichen Streuung', in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 23–33: 31–2; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61–2; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 55–6.
[1133] On the date of Charles' birth and his upbringing see Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 43–8.
[1134] On the 'Pippinid succession crisis' see chapter 3.2.2.
[1135] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, nos 12, 13 (ed. Heidrich, 28–32); Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 27.

and abandon Plectrude in order to obtain Charles' military support against the invading Frisians, as some historians have argued?[1136] In order to assess to significance of the so-called 'Pippinid succession crisis' for Willibrord's position in Francia, the phases before and after 714 need to be distinguished first.

3.2.1 Missionary Outposts and Carolingian Eigenklöster*? Echternach and Susteren*

If one pursues the hypothesis that Willibrord switched his allegiance from Plectrude to Charles Martel between the outbreak of the civil war in 714 and Radbod's death in 719, one also needs to assume that Willibrord had been on Pippin and Plectrude's 'side' in the first place. The assumption that Willibrord firmly allied himself to the Pippinids in 690 and the supposed relation between Irmina of Oeren and Plectrude allowed historians to condense the timeframe between the arrival in Frisia and the donation of Susteren, almost twenty-five years later.[1137] Around eight years passed between the foundation of Echternach in 697/8 and the issuing of the first recorded charters by Pippin and Plectrude, in which they donated their portion of the *villa* to the monastery and took the monastic community under their protection.[1138] By 697/8, Willibrord had already established a strong connection with the local ecclesiastical elite, which allowed him to build his monastery close to the heart of the diocese.[1139] The foundation of Echternach can thus be regarded as the conclusion rather than the beginning of his integration into the Trier area. Similarly, Willibrord had already established a network of supporters between Frisia and Thuringia by the time he received Susteren.[1140]

If Irmina of Oeren is removed from the Carolingian family tree, their relationship with Willibrord only becomes tangible after 706; there is, for example, no evidence that they directly endowed Willibrord with property outside of Utrecht before that date. This observation contradicts the traditional assumption that Pippin had already extended his influence into the Trier area through his marriage with Plectrude before 680.[1141] The property of Plectrude's family has often been located on the Meuse and the Moselle. Echternach and Susteren were thus apparently connected through Plectrude's network.[1142] Scholars have assumed that the former owners of Susteren, Alberic and Haderic, from whom Plectrude

[1136] See note 1132 above.
[1137] See Wampach, 'Das Apostolat', 255–6; Schuhn, 'Die Irminasippe', 8–9.
[1138] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14–5.
[1139] See chapter 1.2.3.
[1140] See chapter 2.3.
[1141] See chapter 1.2.3.
[1142] See Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61–2; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 35–6.

acquired the property, were nephews of Irmina of Oeren.[1143] Here, we are confronted with another circular argument based on the notion of the *Hugobert-Irmina-Sippe*: the localisation of Plectrude's possessions before 700 rests on the genealogical links which scholars, following Camille Wampach and Eduard Hlawitschka,[1144] have established between Plectrude, Irmina of Oeren and Adela of Pfalzel. In contrast, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar* mention Pippin and Plectrude's marriage without providing any details on Plectrude's origin.[1145]

Besides the charters for Echternach and Susteren, the only evidence for the property of the Pippinids in the Moselle area dates to the period after their marriage: according to the testament of Adela of Pfalzel, dated to 732/3, the abbess had received the property for the foundation of her monastery near Trier through an exchange with Pippin, which probably took place in the last decade of the seventh century.[1146] The dating is based on the fact that Pippin is referred to as *maior domus* in the charter; he adopted the title shortly after the battle of Tertry but stopped using it after Grimoald had taken up the position in Neustria around 700.[1147] However, there is no evidence that the Pippinids remained connected to Pfalzel after the exchange.[1148] Further evidence for the family's presence near Echternach is provided by a charter from the *Liber aureus* dated to 715: Arnulf, Pippin's grandson, donated his inherited portion of *Bollanevilla* (Bollendorf) to Willibrord's monastery. The property was located in the immediate vicinity of Echternach, but it remains unclear whether the *villa* had been acquired by Pippin before 706. The sources rather indicate that the Pippinids slowly expanded their influence in the area around Echternach between *c.* 690 and 706.[1149]

Significantly, the charters for Echternach and Susteren suggest that both Pippin and Plectrude relied on Willibrord's network; in both cases, the property in which the monasteries were established had been held by other landholders before the Pippinids acquired it; they thus needed to assert their authority over the location foundation first. The *villa Epternacus* was divided into at least two portions before 706: one was owned by Irmina, the other by Theodardus.[1150] The division of the *villa* is the described in the first of the two charters which Theoderic of Echternach copied into the *Liber aureus*, both of which are dated to 13 May 706.[1151] The first charter details the donation of Pippin and Plectrude's

[1143] See below, p. 216.
[1144] See chapter 1.2.3.
[1145] *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 5 (ed. Krusch, 171); *LHF*, 48 (ed. Krusch, 328).
[1146] *Urkunden- und Quellenbuch*, no. 19 (ed. Wampach, 18–26).
[1147] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 192–4.
[1148] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 294.
[1149] See Fouracre, 'Observations on the outgrowth', 3–14.
[1150] On the potential relationship between Theodardus' family and Irmina of Oeren see chapter 2.3.2.
[1151] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 14, 15.

portion, acquired from Theodardus, to the monastery. The second charter both confirms the previous act and records that Echternach passed into the *defensio* of Pippin, Plectrude and their heirs. The text furthermore contains a passage which is repeated in the one for Susteren: the monks received the right to elect a new abbot after Willibrord's death, on the condition that they remained loyal to their new benefactors' descendants.[1152] The terminology of the two charters issued in 706 is striking: in the text, Pippin and Plectrude refer to Echternach as *monasterium nostrum* and underline that it was built in *proprietas nostra*.[1153] Arnold Angenendt has argued that the charters were drawn up at an assembly (possibly a synod) held at the unidentified location of *Gaimundas*.[1154]

In this case, the event could have provided Pippin and Plectrude with the opportunity to publicly declare their family's claim to the protection of the monastery.[1155] The insertion of the passage on the previous ownership structure had probably more than a descriptive function: the wording can be interpretated as a first attempt by the Pippinids to rewrite the history of Echternach's foundation or even to suggest a re-foundation; by turning the monastery into *their* property, the previous division of the *villa* was overcome. The presence of Pippin's son Drogo among the witnesses is a further indication that the new relation of the Pippinids towards the monastery was probably enacted in front of a larger audience.[1156]

706 also marks the year in which the *abbatissa* Irmina disappeared from the historical records until the writings of Thiofrid of Echternach in the eleventh century. Her sudden disappearance remains puzzling. Even if Irmina is identified as Plectrude's mother, the process in which the Pippinids took Echternach under their authority is obscured in the sources; there is no evidence which suggests that Irmina had already passed away in 706, nor do the charters record that Pippin and Plectrude *inherited* Irmina's portion of the *villa Epternacus*.[1157] The first charter states that the other portion was given (*tradidit*) to them by Theodardus, whereas no explanation is given for the acquisition of Irmina's part. At the same time, the terminology of the charters suggest that Willibrord's former benefactor was confronted with a strong *claim* of the Pippinids to the relationship which had formerly existed between her and Echternach. The events of 706 could, therefore, be read as the active

[1152] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 15, 42–3: *Et illud ibidem nobis placuit inserendum, ut cum ipse (beatus) Willibrordus de hac luce migraverit, ipsi fratres quem ex semetipsis elegrint, sibi constituant abbatem ea ratione, ut heredibus nostris in omnibus fidelis appareat, et ibidem secundum ordinem degat, et sub nostro mundiburdio vel defensione persistant*; see Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 70–1.
[1153] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 14, 39.
[1154] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 279, n. 23.
[1155] Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 75–6.
[1156] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 14, 40.
[1157] See chapter 1.2.3.

displacement of Irmina by Pippin and Plectrude.[1158]

Why did their initiative take place only eight years after the foundation of the monastery? Here, the political position of the Pippinids in Neustria and Austrasia after 700 needs to be considered: Pippin had already intervened in the appointment of bishops before that date, most notably in the case of Ansbert of Rouen in 690.[1159] However, these actions were mostly embedded in a Neustrian context, where the influence of the Pippinids was still limited. The foundation of Kaiserswerth, on the other hand, was located in Pippin Plectrude's power base on the Lower Rhine. By 700, Grimoald had been appointed mayor of the palace in Neustria and Pippin endowed the monastery of Saint-Wandrille shortly afterwards. Probably in 706, a charter was set up in Pippin's name for the monastery of Fleury-en-Vexin. As in the case of Echternach, the monks were placed under the Pippinids' protection.[1160] At the end of the seventh century, the influence of the Pippinids in Neustria remained limited.[1161] By establishing his son as the *maior domus* and his supporter Bainus as abbot of Saint-Wandrille in 701, Pippin was able to consolidate his family's position in Neustria.[1162] The presence of the Bishops Constantinus of Beauvais and Garebaldus of Toul among the witnesses of the two charters for Echternach could have helped Pippin to bolster his attempt to gain control of Echternach.[1163]

The two charters of 706 have traditionally been interpretated as the transformation of Echternach into a 'Carolingian *Eigenkloster*'; the monastery thus became the 'private' property of Pippin and Plectrude through Willibrord's decision to place it under their protection.[1164] The process by which a monastery or a church was granted the protection of the Merovingian king was not a new development, although its implantation was delegated to the mayor of the palace by the seventh century. The so-called *Formulary of Marculf*, dated to the late seventh century, contains a chapter on the *mundeburde regis et principes* ('protection given by the king and a prince').[1165] However, the Echternach charters do not

[1158] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 96–7; Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdoms (840-987)* (Turnhout, 2012), 57.
[1159] Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 38–9.
[1160] Josef Semmler, 'Episcopi potestas und karolingische Klosterpolitik', in Arno Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1974), 305–96: 305–6.
[1161] See Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', 204–7; Fouracre, 'Observations on the outgrowth', 3–14; Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms*, 262–3.
[1162] See Semmler, 'Episcopi potestas', 305–6; Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', 12; Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden Pippins d. M.', 27.
[1163] See Fouracre, 'Observations on the outgrowth', 6.
[1164] See Anton, 'Klosterwesen und Adel', 121; on the notion of the *Eigenkloster* see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (New York, 2006), 1–2; Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren?', 225–31.
[1165] *Marculfi Formulae*, no. 24, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hannover, 1886), 58; see Alice Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool, 2008), 165.

mention the consent of the king to the change of ownership. What is more, Pippin does not appear as *maior domus* in the charter anymore.[1166] According to the traditional narrative, Willibrord apparently bypassed the consent of both the king and the bishops of Trier by granting the right of protection directly to Pippin and Plectrude.[1167]

However, placed in the wider context of the Pippinids' position in Neustria and Austrasia in the first decade of the eighth century, the charters could also be read differently. While Pippin and Grimoald controlled the access to the king, the legitimacy of their position derived from the framework of the Merovingian political system.[1168] Although the Echternach charters do not directly correspond to any formularies in Marculf's collection,[1169] the Pippinids' initiative in 706 followed a pattern that was closely associated with the Merovingian court. By taking Echternach under his family's protection, Pippin implemented a royal practice which provided him with the necessary legitimacy to act as the monastery's *defensor*.[1170] While he did not carry the title of *maior domus* himself at that time, the charters explicitly encompassed Pippin and Plectrude's heirs and thus included Grimoald as mayor of the palace.[1171] Another aspect concerns Willibrord's stance in the process. Josef Semmler argued that Willibrord experienced a 'change of mind' in 706 which caused him to remove Echternach from the influence of the bishops of Trier and turn his foundation into a 'Carolingian family monastery'. However, to underline his hypothesis, Semmler quoted from Theoderic of Echternach's narrative in the *Liber aureus* rather than from the charters themselves.[1172] As discussed in chapter 1.2, the preservation of Echternach's *libertas ecclesiae* against the ambitions of the Archbishop of Trier was one of the main reasons for the compilation of the *Liber aureus* at the end of the twelfth century. Its political context advises us to be extremely cautious when using Theoderic's text to interpret the events of 706.[1173]

One could go even further and ask whether Willibrord would have understood the

[1166] Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 461–2.
[1167] See Semmler, 'Episcopi potestas', 314–6.
[1168] Fouracre, 'Observations on the outgrowth', 10–3; Scholz, *Die Merowinger*, 257–8; Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 912–4.
[1169] See Ingrid Heidrich, 'Titulatur und Urkunden der arnulfingischen Hausmeier', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 11/12 (1965/6), 71–279: 171–213.
[1170] See Franz Felten, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich: Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1980), 129–32; Heidrich, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger', 463–4, Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 115–6. It has been noted that, although the charters for Echternach followed earlier models, they ultimately represented a departure from the royal formularies, as the Pippinids created new forms of obligations which bound the monastic communities closer to them. At the same time, the change in formularies could be interpretated as a part of a long-term strategy, developed by the mayors of the palace to strengthen their claim to properties such as the *villa* of Echternach.
[1171] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 15, 42–3.
[1172] See Semmler, 'Episcopi potestas', 314–6.
[1173] See chapter 1.2.1.

anachronistic concept of a 'private' monastery.[1174] This question ties in with the wider historiographical debate on the significance of ecclesiastical immunities and privileges in the Frankish kingdom in the seventh and eighth centuries, which cannot be discussed in detail here.[1175] Traditionally, it has been argued that aristocratic families secured immunities for their own foundations in order to circumvent the authority of the local bishops and the king, thereby accelerating the decline of Merovingian power. In contrast, recent studies have shown that, by granting his protection to a monastery, the king ultimately consolidated his influence on a regional level.[1176]

Ecclesiastical immunities were thus not a symptom of the decline of Merovingian political structures but an attempt to strengthen the ties between royal court and the numerous foundations which transformed the ecclesiastical landscape of the Frankish kingdom in the seventh century. From Willibrord's perspective, the protection of the Pippinids primarily guaranteed the continuity of his foundation and the perpetuity of the property associated with the *villa*. The reorganisation of the property also benefited the Pippinids, as they secured their influence in the area against the former rights of Irmina and Theodardus.[1177] This they achieved through the adoption of a royal strategy rather than through the detachment of Echternach from the diocesan structure.

The reliance of the Pippinids on earlier structures can also be obverseved in the case of the monastery of Susteren north of Maastricht. Plectrude first bought the *mansionile* of Susteren from Alberic and Haderic. As mentioned above, most scholars have assumed that Alberic and Haderic were the sons of Abbess Adela of Pfalzel and the nephews of Plectrude.[1178] Adela's 'testament' briefly mentions her son Alberic; according to Liudger's *Vita Gregorii*, Alberic's son was Bishop Gregory of Utrecht (*c.* 748–775/6). A later tradition from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries furthermore records that Alberic's widow, his son Gregory and his grandson were buried at Susteren.[1179] According to Adela's 'testament', a part of Alberic's inheritance was probably located in the immediate vicinity of Susteren.[1180] On the other hand, Alberic is not mentioned in any other charter recorded in the *Liber aureus*, whereas Haderic could have been identical to the donor of property in Toxandria to

[1174] See Patzold, 'Den Raum der Diözese modellieren?', 225–31.
[1175] See Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, New York, 1995), 74–96.
[1176] See Alexander C. Murray, 'Immunity, nobility and the *Edict of Paris*', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 18–39: 23–6; Fouracre/Gerberding, Late Merovingian France, 52–8; Innes, *State and Society*, 259–60; Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, 30–1.
[1177] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 96–7; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 45–6.
[1178] See Wampach, 'Das Apostolat', 255–6; Schuhn, 'Die Irminasippe', 8–9; Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 127; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61.
[1179] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 280–91.
[1180] *Ibid.*, 198-9, n. 117.

Willibrord in 698/9.[1181]

While it is likely that Alberic was a son of Adela, the charter does not suggest a close relationship between the previous owners of Susteren and Plectrude.[1182] The earlier exchange between Adela and Pippin (before 700?) indicates that a connection between both families existed before the acquisition of Susteren.[1183] Yet, as the charters of the *Liber aureus* demonstrate, the property of Willibrord's supporters was in many cases not only scattered over a wide area between the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta, the Lower Rhine and the Moselle, but property rights could also overlap with each other in the same location.[1184] Like the Pippinids, Adela's held family property in the area between Maastricht and Trier in the early eighth century. In this context, it is also important to highlight the potential contacts between the monastery of Pfalzel and the Insular world. The tradition which links Boniface's travels to Pfalzel has already been mentioned.[1185] Before her death 714, Abbess Ælfflæd of Whitby sent a letter to Adela, asking her to care for another Northumbrian abbess who was on her way to Rome.[1186] Here, Pfalzel appears as another intersection of local and supra-regional networks in the immediate vicinity of Echternach. If it is assumed that the property in Susteren was previously held by Adela's family, the choice of location could have been influenced by Willibrord rather than the Pippinids.[1187]

The foundation of Susteren could thus also be approached from Willibrord's point of view: the monastery was located in the centre of his field of activity between Utrecht and Echternach. Susteren lay near the Meuse and in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Aldeneik, to which Willibrord was probably connected.[1188] The area around Aldeneik represented one of the entrance points to Toxandria by which travellers could avoid the surrounding marches and plateaus.[1189] By 714, Willibrord had already received several donations in Toxandria.[1190] With the foundation of Susteren, Pippin and Plectrude thus not only built on Willibrord's position in Toxandria but their initiative followed those of other

[1181] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no.7; Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 295–8, doubts that the two Haderics were identical. Even if the Haderic mentioned in the Susteren charter was Alberic's brother, the evidence would not be sufficient to link the Haderic mentioned in the charter of 689/9 to Adela of Pfalzel's family.
[1182] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 293–4. The text also specifies that the property was sold and not transferred (as in the case of Theodardus' portion of the *villa Epternacus*) to Plectrude, but such an agreement does not necessarily preclude a relationship between both parties.
[1183] See *ibid.*, 291–8, 254.
[1184] See chapter 1.2.4.
[1185] See chapter 2.3.1.
[1186] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, no. 8 (ed. Tangl, 3–4).
[1187] See Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 127–8, who assumes that the foundation was the initiative of Plectrude rather than Pippin and that the foundation can be read as an attempt by Plectrude to strengthen her influence in the home region of Alpaida and Charles Martel.
[1188] See chapter 2.3.1.
[1189] Theuws, 'Early medieval transformations', 41.
[1190] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 143, map 5, and chapter 1.2.4.

influential families in the region who had already supported Willibrord before.[1191]

One notable different between the charters for Echternach and Susteren is the fact that Bishop of Hubert of Maastricht was not involved in the donation in 714. Based on his participation in the assembly at *Gaimundas* in 706, Hubert has traditionally been perceived as a staunch supporter of the Pippinids and as another possible relative of Plectrude.[1192] His absence from the list of signees in 714 has been therefore interpretated as the sign of a growing distance between Plectrude and the bishop, who allied himself to Charles Martel in the ensuing civil war. It should be noted that the hypothesis of an alliance between Hubert and Charles in 716 rests on a single passage in the *Vita Landiberti*, according to which Hubert transferred the relics of his predecessor Lambert from Maastricht to Liège in the same year with the consent of the *seniores* of the region. It has been argued that Charles was one of the 'elders' mentioned here.[1193]

The question remains whether Hubert's support for Charles in 716 implies that he had already 'switched sides' in 714. The interpretation of the charter for Susteren illustrates how historians have long attempted to assign individual clerics and monasteries to clear-cut 'factions' and to link the absence of the local bishop to the establishment of aristocratic *Eigenklöster*. It should be remembered that the bishop of Trier was also absent from the assembly at *Gaimundas* in 706, and yet there is no evidence that Willibrord fell out with the ecclesiastical elite of Trier over the grant of protection he received from the Pippinids. Likewise, as discussed in the previous chapter, the bishops of Maastricht were probably not opposed to Willibrord's activity within their diocese.

On the contrary, the commemoration of Lambert at Echternach suggests that the donations he received in Toxandria were not perceived as an intrusion into the area of influence of see of Maastricht. The assassination of Grimoald in the church dedicated to Lambert at Liège shortly after the foundation of Susteren furthermore demonstrates that Plectrude's heirs were still partaking in the cult promoted by Hubert in 714.[1194] After Willibrord's death, the connection between Susteren and Utrecht was upheld by the family of Bishop Gregory, who were supporters of Charles Martel.[1195] It is thus doubtful whether contemporaries clearly associated Susteren with Plectrude's branch of the Pippinid family in

[1191] See Wampach, nos 24, 30. The charter for Susteren was apparently issued at Bakel (*Bagoloso villa*). This is the same place where Willibrord later held the church of St Lambert according to the charter by Herelaef (no. 30) from 721 (see chapter 2.3.1). Willibrord's control of the church in Bakel might have predated the foundation of Susteren and influenced the choice of location in 714.
[1192] See chapter 2.3.1.
[1193] *Vita Landiberti*, 25 (ed. Krusch, 379); see Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 214; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61–2; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 55–6 (although more cautious); see also chapter 3.2.2.
[1194] See chapter 2.3.1.
[1195] Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 282–3; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 56.

714; rather, the monastery appears to have formed another important 'node' in the ecclesiastical and political network which connected Utrecht, Maastricht and Echternach.

Another difference between Echternach and Susteren concerns the development of the ecclesiastical infrastructure. In 714, Pippin and Plectrude did not secure authority over an existing foundation but established the monastery themselves. The charter indicates that the buildings (*oratorium ac cellula*), dedicated to the Saviour and Ss Peter and Paul, were newly erected by Pippin and Plectrude, which suggests that Plectrude bought the property with the specific aim of building the chapel and the adjacent monastery. She first acquired the *mansionile* from Alberic and Haderic before it was transferred to the newly constructed monastery, which is referred to as both *oratorium ac cellula* and *basilica*. The latter term indicates the enshrinement of relics at Susteren, which are explicitly mentioned in the opening section of the charter.[1196] Plectrude finally transferred the *basilica* to Willibrord in Pippin's name.[1197] In contrast to the charters issued at *Gaimundas* in 706, the present text specifically mentions Grimoald, Drogo and their children as the heirs to whom the monks must remain loyal.[1198]

Since Pippin was ill at the time when the charter was written, the declaration that the foundation was undertaken by the mayor for the 'remedy of our soul' (*animae nostrae remedio*) probably reflects a genuine concern for his own salvation.[1199] The donation to Willibrord, close to one of his main areas of influence in Toxandria and almost halfway between Utrecht and Echternach, can be interpretated as the attempt by Pippin and Plectrude to further associate themselves with the bishop at a time when Pippin's health was declining. It appears that by 714, Willibrord was perceived as a factor of stability by the Pippinids in this area.

[1196] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 24, 59: […] *ut oratorium ac cellulam in honore Salvatoris et sanctorum Petri et Pauli vel ceterorum apostolorum et reliquiis sanctorum mansionile Suestra, situm in pago Mosarum super fluviolo Suestra, quod Blittrudis dato precio ab Alberico et Haderico comparavit, a novo fundamine aedificare deberemus*; see Wycherley, *The Cult of Relics*, 40–2.

[1197] See Werner, *Adelsfamilien*, 293, n. 511, for a discussion of the question whether the monastery had already been founded by Alberic and Haderic.

[1198] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 24, 59: *Et illud nobis inserendum placuit, ut cum ipse Willibrordus de hac luce migraverit, ipsi fratres, quem ex se elegrint, sibi constituant abbatem, in ea ratione ut nobis vel filio nostro Grimoaldo et filiis suis vel filiis Drogonis, nepotibus nostris, in omnibus fidelis appareat et ibidem secundum ordinem sanctum degat et sub nostro mundiburdio et ipsius Grimoaldi filiorumque suorum et Drogonis, nepotum nostrorum, defensione persistere debeat.*

[1199] See Innes, *State and Society*, 32, 41–2; Rosamond McKitterick, 'The uses of literacy in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe: literate conventions of memory', in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo*, 1 (Spoleto, 2012), 179–208: 197–8.

3.2.2 Reassessing Willibrord's Role in the 'Pippinid Succession Crisis'

Following Pippin's death in December of the same year, the balance of power in the Frankish kingdom was disrupted. The ensuing events have been referred to as the 'Pippinid succession crisis' by modern scholars since the conflict not only concerned the power struggle between the Pippinids and the Neustrian aristocracy but also that between Plectrude and Charles Martel.[1200] The general course of events is well established and does not need to be repeated here in detail.[1201] The assassination of Grimoald had left the position of mayor of the palace in Neustria vacant. After Pippin's death, Plectrude chose to appoint Grimoald's son Theudoald as his successor. Her other grandson Arnulf became *dux* in Austrasia, whereas Charles Martel was imprisoned (probably in Cologne).[1202] Plectrude's attempt to secure her family's power was followed by a rebellion of the Neustrian aristocracy, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces led by Theudoald and King Dagobert III at the battle of Compiègne (in modern France) in the autumn of 715.[1203] The Neustrians, now led by the new mayor of the palace Ragamfred, allied themselves with Radbod shortly afterwards; the involvement of the Frisians in the Frankish civil war between 715 and 716 demonstrates Radbod's status as a political player within the Merovingian sphere, which the Christian authors of later saints' lives have largely erased.[1204] In 716, Ragamfred and Radbod moved towards Cologne, Plectrude's power base. By this time, Charles Martel had managed to free himself from captivity. He attacked the Frisians but was defeated. Significantly, the author of the pro-Carolingian *Annales Mettenses* sidestepped this piece of information.[1205]

[1200] See Josef Semmler, 'Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise 714-723', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 33 (1977), 1–36: 1–5.

[1201] See Semmler, 'Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise', 1–36; Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians*, 130–45; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 270–87; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 57–78; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 50–79; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 211–5.

[1202] *AMP*, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 19); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 7 (ed. Krusch, 173); *LHF*, 48–9, 51 (ed. Krusch, 323–5); see Semmler, 'Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise', 3–4, n. 22; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 269–70; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 28–9; Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 211. Some scholars have suggested that Theudoald was the son of Grimoald and Radbod's daughter Theudesinda. This is unlikely for several reasons, not least because the author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* distinguishes between Theudoald's mother, who was apparently a 'concubine' (*concubina*), and Theudesinda within the same section of his text. The chronology offered by the sources also seems to imply that Theudoald was born before the marriage of Grimoald and Theudesinda in *c.* 711, as he was probably not an infant anymore in 714. Finally, if Theudoald was Radbod's grandson, it is difficult to explain why the Frisian leader allied himself to the Neustrians against Theudoald and Plectrude; on Theudoald's possible survival after 715 see Roger Collins, 'Deception and misrepresentation in early eighth century Frankish hagiopgraphy: two case studies', in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 227–47: 229–35.

[1203] *AMP*, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 20); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 8 (ed. Krusch, 173); *LHF*, 51 (ed. Krusch, 325); on the mention of the battle in the *Calendar* see p. 226 below.

[1204] *AMP*, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 21); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 8 (ed. Krusch, 173); *LHF*, 51 (ed. Krusch, 325).

[1205] *AMP*, s.a. 714 (ed. von Simson, 21); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 9 (ed. Krusch, 173–4); *LHF*, 52 (ed. Krusch, 325–6); see also Fouracre/Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, 366.

In the meanwhile, the troops of Ragamfred and the new King Chilperic II (715–21) reached Cologne and forced Plectrude to cede the treasure (*thesaurus*) to them. On their way back to Neustria they were ambushed and overwhelmed by Charles Martel's forces near Amblève in modern Belgium.[1206] Charles' victory marked the turning point in the civil war. He defeated the Neustrians again near Vinchy in 717 and near Soissons in 718.[1207] Previously, he had deprived Plectrude of her power and the remaining treasure and established his own king. By 718, Ragamfred was forced to surrender King Chilperic to Charles Martel, who later replaced him with Theuderic IV (721–37). Charles now consolidated his claim to Pippin's position by removing two of the remaining members of Plectrude's branch, including the *dux* Arnulf.[1208] Although the end of the 'Pippinid succession crisis' did not yet mark the definitive assertation of the Carolingian dynasty in the Frankish kingdom, Charles Martel's victory not only secured his family's power in Austrasia but also provided him with the resources to initiate a wave of military campaigns whose scope and frequency far exceeded those of his father.[1209]

Historians have long debated the factors which allowed Charles Martel to strike back in 716 and to assert himself against both his Neustrian and Austrasian opponents. His success must have resulted from his ability to gather support in his family's home region between Liège and Cologne.[1210] In the context of the present study, the potential role of Willibrord in the events needs to be considered. As discussed in chapter 1, the *Vita Willibrordi* contains Alcuin's claim that Willibrord baptised Charles Martel's son, the future King Pippin III.[1211] Pippin was born in 714 or 715, and it has been argued that Willibrord baptised the new-born in 716, shortly after Charles Martel had defeated the Neustrians at Amblève. Apparently, this was the occasion on which Willibrord sided with the victorious leader and abandoned his former benefactor Plectrude. Radbod's advance on the Lower Rhine had forced Willibrord to flee his missionary field in Frisia; he was thus dependent on Charles Martel to regain access to Utrecht. Together with Bishop Hubert of Maastricht, Willibrord has been identified as one of the influential Austrasian churchmen who strengthened Charles Martel's position

[1206] *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 9 (ed. Krusch, 173–4).
[1207] *AMP*, s.a. 717 (ed. von Simson, 23–5); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 10 (ed. Krusch, 174); *LHF*, 53 (ed. Krusch, 326–8); on the dating of both battles see Marco Kamradt, 'Die frühfränkische Historiographie und die Schlacht von Vinchy am 21. März 717', *Concilium Medii Aevi*, 10 (2007), 153–66; Roland Zingg, 'Zur Datierung von Karl Martells Sieg in der "Schlacht bei Soissons"', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 68 (2012), 127–36; for the possible mention of both battles in the *Calendar* see p. 226 below.
[1208] Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 66.
[1209] Ewig, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', 204–7; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 155–74; Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 43–9; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 69–136; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 50–8.
[1210] See Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 211–6.
[1211] Alcuin, *VW*, 23 (ed. Veyrard-Cosme 64–6); see chapter 1.1.3.

before the battle of Vinchy.[1212]

What is problematic about this hypothesis is its reliance on two later hagiographical sources. Because of his connection to the Carolingian court, Alcuin's account has been regarded as credible.[1213] However, as shown in chapter 1, he added a 'Carolingian' element to Willibrord's biography which is not detectable in earlier sources. Alcuin did not mention the exact date or place of the baptism, and the passage focuses on the virtues of the future king and his son Charlemagne instead of providing a historical framework for the event.[1214] Even if Willibrord baptised Pippin, the alleged connection between the baptism and Radbod's involvement in the 'succession crisis' rests on the testimony of the *Vita Bonifatii*, according to which the Frisians attacked the Christian communities on the border of the Frankish kingdom around 716. The extent to which Radbod persecuted Christians in this period has probably been greatly exaggerated by Willibald. In contrast, it has been argued that Willibrord was perceived by Radbod as a 'representant' of the early Carolingians and that the Frisian hostility was fuelled by political and not religious sentiments.[1215]

But is this relationship between Willibrord's activity and Charles Martel's rise to power also reflected in other more contemporary sources? One the one hand, there is no clear evidence that Willibrord was in Frisia between 714 and 718. Significantly, the only charters recorded in the *Liber aureus* for this period (after the foundation of Susteren) were issued by the *dux* Arnulf, Charles Martel and the *dux* Heden.[1216] On the other hand, it should be remembered that the sources for Willibrord's activity in Frisia are generally very sparse; the information provided by Bede and Alcuin does not allow for a precise dating of his missionary activity between 690 and 739; as for the *Liber aureus*, only the 'testament' mentions a donation before 739 which can be clearly located in Frisia.[1217] The main evidence which connects Willibrord with Charles Martel dates to the period after 717 and encompasses three charters (one for Echternach and two for Utrecht), the 'testament' and a small number of dry glosses added to the *Calendar*.

In 718, Charles Martel donated his share of *Bollunvilla* (Bollendorf near Echternach)

[1212] See Wampach, *Sankt Willibrord*, 295–6; Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 210–3; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 61–4; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 76–7; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 46–7.
[1213] See Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 47.
[1214] See *Vita Erminonis*, 9, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 469; Alain J. Stoclet, *Fils du Martel : La naissance, l'éducation et la jeneusse de Pépin, dit "le Bref" (v. 714 – v. 741)* (Turnhout, 2013), 29–31, argues that Alcuin could have adopted the prophecy regarding Pippin's reign from the *Life* of Abbot Ermin of Lobbes (712–37), written between 751 and 768 by Anso of Lobbes, which contains a similar passage. Stoclet furthermore suggests that Anso's text was influenced by Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*; see also Wood, 'Franks and Frisians', 207.
[1215] Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, 4 (ed. Levison, 17); see Semmler, 'Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise', 23; van Egmond, 'Radbod', 39; Costambeys, 'Willibrord'; Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 75.
[1216] Wampach, *Quellenband*, nos 25, 26, 27.
[1217] *Ibid.*, no. 37; see chapter 1.2.4.

to Willibrord's monastery.[1218] Only three years earlier, Plectrude's grandson Arnulf had also transferred his property in the same location to Echternach. [1219] The charters show that Bollendorf belonged to the family property of the Pippinids; the donation by Charles Martel can thus also be read as a claim to Pippin's succession. Richard Geberding argued that the sequence of the donations mirrored the shift of Willibrord's alliance which had taken place in 716. According to Geberding, '[Plectrude's side of the family] would, of course, cease donating to the bishop once he had deserted them for Martel's side'.[1220] However, Gerberding appears to have missed the summary in the *Liber aureus* which records another donation by Arnulf in 720.[1221] As mentioned above, Arnulf was probably eliminated by Charles Martel in the following year, and yet the *dux* still appears as a benefactor of Echternach after the battle of Vinchy. Arnulf's late donation forces us to reconsider Willibrord's role in the period between 714 and 718. It should be remembered that the Thuringian *dux* Heden has recently been identified as another potential rival of Charles Martel, and he also appears as a benefactor of Willibrord at this time.[1222]

This indicates that Willibrord occupied a more neutral position in the political network of north-eastern Francia than traditionally assumed. Ian Wood has suggested that the baptism of Pippin III could have been intended as an act of reconciliation between the two branches of the Pippinid family, and Janet Nelson recently characterised Willibrord as a 'charismatic peacemaker' who was 'keen to heal the rift between the branches of the *Pipppinii*'.[1223] Richard Geberding, in turn, stressed that Charles Martel's donation of 718 was probably not intended as a 'recompense' for Willibrord's support in 716–7. Rather, Charles Martel tried to secure his inherited share of Pippin's possessions from the claims of Plectrude's grandson.[1224] Such an approach would fit in with the foundation of Susteren discussed above: as the *custos* of several churches and monasteries in region between Utrecht and Trier, Willibrord provided the different political actors with access to secure bases (both in spiritual and economic terms) in a period of crisis. Whereas the region between the mouth of the Rhine and the Ardennes had not previously been a central region of the Frankish kingdom, it became the central arena of the 'Pippinid succession crisis'.

Based on the evidence gathered so far, the relationship between Willibrord and

[1218] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 27.
[1219] *Ibid.*, no. 25.
[1220] Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 211; see also Wampach, *Quellenband*, 66–7; Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 64.
[1221] Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 29.
[1222] See chapter 2.3.1; for a contrary view see Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 47.
[1223] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 271; Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 47.
[1224] Gerberding, '716: a crucial year', 213.

Charles Martel can be viewed differently. Instead of perceiving Willibrord's support as a precondition of Charles Martel's rise to power, it can be argued that Charles Martel needed to compete with other Austrasian magnates for Willibrord's (and Hubert's) assistance after Pippin's death. In this context, it is significant that Willibrord is first attested as archbishop in one of the two charters issued by Charles Martel in 723 and 726 for the monastery of St Martin and the church of the Saviour in Utrecht, respectively.[1225]

Radbod's death in 719 apparently offered Charles Martel the opportunity to re-establish his family's influence over Utrecht. In 734, the mayor of the palace led a naval expedition to the northern parts of Frisia and defeated the 'rebellious' leader Bubo. Although the victory over Bubo did not yet secure Carolingian control of Frisia, the war against the Frisians after 719 apparently provided Charles Martel with the opportunity and the resources to support Willibrord beyond the borders of Austrasia.[1226] At the same time, the sources indicate that this new phase of the conflict altered the relationship between Francia and Frisia. In the *Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar* and the *Annales Mettenses*, the Frisians appear as a subjected people under the dominion of the Carolingians. Although the *Annales* in particular were written long after the battle against Bubo, the scope of Charles Martel's military campaign stands in stark contrast to his father's localised conflict with Radbod. Therefore, it can be assumed that the involvement of Radbod in the Frankish civil war caused Charles Martel to adopt a more aggressive strategy; whereas the author of the Neustrian *Liber Historiae Francorum* still remembered Radbod's alliance with Ragamfred in 727, the Frisians became a uniform and hostile 'other' in the eyes of the Carolingians and their followers.[1227]

The fact that Charles Martel used his access to Pippin's inheritance to strengthen his relationship with Willibrord is especially reflected in the charter from 726. The *villa Heliste* (near Merm in the modern Netherlands), which Charles Martel donated to Willibrord for the church of the Saviour in Utrecht, had originally belonged to a certain Everhardus. According to the charter, Everhardus had allied himself to 'pagans' (*infideles*). Therefore, the *villa* had been confiscated before 711 by King Childebert III and transferred to Pippin.[1228] The accusations raised against Everhardus hint at the interrelations which had existed between

[1225] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, no. 12 (ed. Heidrich, 29).
[1226] *Annales Alamannici*, s.a. 734 (ed. Pertz, 3); *Annales Laureshamenses*, s.a. 734 (ed. Pertz, 3); *Annales Nazariani*, s.a. 734 (ed. Pertz, 4); *Annales Petaviani*, s.a. 734 (ed. Pertz, 9); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 17 (ed. Krusch, 176); see Fischer, *Karl Martell*, 78–9.
[1227] *AMP*, s.a. 734 (ed. von Simson, 27); *Continuationes Fredegarii*, 17 (ed. Krusch, 176); *LHF*, 51 (ed. Krusch, 325); see Costambeys/Innes/MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 42–9; Broome, 'Pagans, rebels and Merovingians', 155–68.
[1228] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, no. 13 (ed. Heidrich, 31).

the Frisian and the Frankish aristocracies before Pippin's death.[1229] It can be assumed that the decade following Charles Martel's victory in the civil war was marked by the reshaping of the political and ecclesiastical networks in the Frankish kingdom. As Willibrord had been able to maintain his position in the region between Utrecht and Echternach between 714 and 718, his personal network probably provided a gateway for Charles Martel into southern Frisia. It has been argued that two of the witnesses to the charter of 723 belonged to the group of Willibrord's Toxandrian supporters.[1230]

If this identification is correct, the charter would provide further evidence that Willibrord's foundations were points of intersection between different political networks. The same charter represents the only contemporary source (except for the *Liber pontificalis*) in which Willibrord is referred to as *archiepiscopus*. In view of the fact that the scribe of the second charter reverted to the title *episcopus*, it appears that the titles remained interchangeable.[1231] Given the small number of charters, any interpretation of the terminology must remain speculative. Nevertheless, Willibrord's appearance as *archiepiscopus* in 723 indicates that the title retained (or even regained) a certain significance and that Willibrord was able to exercise authority both as abbot of Echternach and as bishop of Utrecht.

The remaining evidence for the relationship between Willibrord and Charles Martel comes from Echternach. In his 'testament' of 726, Willibrord calls Charles Martel both his *senior* and his *dominus*.[1232] In his seminal article of 1973, Arnold Angenendt interpretated the use of the term *senior* as an expression of Willibrord's subordination to Charles Martel and as an early form of vassalage.[1233] However, as Paul Fouracre has stressed, there is no evidence which suggests that Willibrord owed or provided military support to the mayor of the palace.[1234] The usage of *senior* and *dominus* in later Carolingian sources indicates that the former term can imply an obligation owed by the user to the *senior*, whereas *dominus* primarily acknowledges the rank of the designated person.[1235] Willibrord uses both titles in

[1229] See van Egmond, 'Radbod', 40–1.
[1230] See Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*, 156; Costambeys, 'An aristocratic community', 43–4. The names in question are those of *Engilbaldus* and *Ruotbertus*. The *Liber aureus* contains a charter by Aengilbaldus (Wampach, *Quellenband*, no. 11), which was also witnessed by a certain Rotbertus.
[1231] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, nos 12, 13 (ed. Heidrich, 29, 31).
[1232] Wampach, *Quelleband*, no. 39, 95–7: *Similiter illas res, quas domnus Pippinus mihi condonavit vel delegavit, seu matrona sua Blitthrudis, sive filius suus domnus noster Karolus maior domus*. […] *ut et ibidem omni tempore pro nostra mercede vel seniore nostro Karulo maior domus* […].
[1233] See Angenendt, 'Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger', 77–9.
[1234] Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, 127–8. At the same time, Fouracre still described Willibrord as a 'dependant' of the Pippinids; on the now discarded notion that Charles Martel's success was based on the introduction of the feudal system see Steffen Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen* (Munich, 2012), 25–43.
[1235] Phillipe Depreux, '*Dominus* : Marques de respect et expression des rapport hiérarchiques dans la designation des personnes d'autorités', in François Bougard, Régine le Jan and Hans-Werner Goetz (eds),

the text, and it is doubtful whether by the early eighth century they had already acquired the connotations associated with the *vassi* of the ninth and tenth centuries.[1236] One could ask whether the designations were meant as an expression of gratitude rather than subordination. Between 718 and 726, Charles Martel had donated property to both Echternach and Utrecht, and the text of the charter shows that, despite the 'succession crisis', Pippin and Plectrude were still remembered as important benefactors at Echternach. By transferring the property which he had personally received from the early Carolingians to Echternach in 726, Willibrord acknowledged the support he had received from Charles Martel's family, and it can be assumed that the monks included them in their *memoria*.[1237]

In this context, the *Calendar* provides further evidence for the connection between Echternach and the circle of Charles Martel. In 1937, Bernard Bischoff first published a short notice on a number of dry glosses which Henry Wilson, the author of the 1918 edition, had missed.[1238] So far, eight dry glosses have been detected, of which five refer to personal names.[1239] The other three record battles: *pugna in Finnaca, pugna in cocia* and *pugna in nirac* or *nirca*.[1240] The first two glosses almost certainly refer to the battles of Vinchy (717) and Compiègne (715), respectively.

The third entry has traditionally been associated with the battle of Poitiers in 732, but Roland Zingg has recently suggested that the scribe commemorated the battle of Soissons (718), another victory of Charles Martel over his opponents in the Frankish civil war.[1241] The question remains whether these significant additions to the *Calendar* confirm the notion of Echternach as an *Eigenkloster* of Charles Martel's family after 716.[1242] The dry glosses cannot be precisely dated, but the inclusion of Charles Martel's death in 741 under 15 October is a strong indication that the glosses were only added after the event and thus at a

Théorie et practiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge : conception, perception et réalisation sociale (Turnhout, 2011), 187–220: 195.

[1236] See Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen*, 25–43.

[1237] Wampach, *Quelleband*, no. 39, 95–7

[1238] See Bischoff, 'Über Einritzungen', 177; Léon Levillain and Charles Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date de la bataille dite de Poitiers', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 99 (1938), 243–67: 249–53; Levison, 'A propos du calendrier', 342–6; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 202–3, 210; Ó Cróinín, 'The Old Irish and Old English glosses', 86–7.

[1239] Different readings have been proposed by the authors cited in the note above. In the following, I cite those of Levison: *sancti Goaris* (fol. 37^{v}; 6 July); *kolche* (fol. 37^{v}; 19 July); *blidrū* (fol. 38^{r}; 14 August); *carlus regis* (fol. 39^{r}; 15 October); *brantruhot* (fol. 40^{r}; 12 December); *kolche* and *brantruhot* have not been identified. Levillain/Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date', 253, and Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 210, suggest that *blidrū* refers to Plectrude. If this identification is correct, it would significantly alter the image of Willibrord as an 'anti-Plectrude' figure after 714; on St Goar see chapter 1.2.1.

[1240] *pugna in Finnaca* (fol. 35^{v}; 28 March); *pugna in cocia* (fol. 38^{v}; 26 September); *pugna in nirac* or *nirca* (fol. 39^{r}; 14 October).

[1241] See Levison, 'A propos du calendrier', 345–6; Levillain/Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date', 260–7; Kamradt, 'Die frühfränkische Historiographie', 158–9; Roland Zingg, 'Zur Datierung', 133–4. Zingg also stresses that the dates provided by the *Calendar* are not in each case entirely reliable.

[1242] See Levison, 'A propos du calendrier', 345–6; Ó Cróinín, 'The Old Irish and Old English glosses', 86–7.

time when the Carolingians were powerful enough to rule without a Merovingian king.[1243]

The political context in which the glosses were inscribed into the *Calendar* can thus not be compared to the situation between 716 and 726, when Charles Martel had just begun to extend his power beyond Austrasia. The hypothesis that the notes were based on an early set of annals, compiled at Echternach, is tempting but has not yet been proven.[1244] The dry glosses demonstrate the community of Echternach retained a supra-regional perspective on the events in the Frankish kingdom after Willibrord's death in 739. In this context, the glosses could also reflect the adaption of the monastic community to the changing political situation and the growing domination of the Carolingians. The slow assertion of Charles Martel after 718 and the continuity of Echternach's connection with the Carolingian dynasty probably caused Willibrord's community to reposition themselves within the ecclesiastical landscape of Austrasia.

When Willibrord added the short note to the margin of the *Calendar* in 728, he reflected on his life from a 'macro perspective' and highlighted his arrival in Francia and his consecration in Rome. Although he referred to his rank as *episcopus* rather than *archiepiscopus*, his role as bishop allowed him to connect the different dimensions of his continental activity with each other, from the local donations in Toxandria to the establishment of the see of Utrecht. The death of Radbod and the military campaigns led by Charles Martel against the Frisians could have brought the plan for the establishment of a Frisian ecclesiastical province back to the forefront. Joanna Story has recently drawn attention to the copies of two papal letters which were added to the manuscript of the *Calendar* in the eighth century.[1245] The letters in question are those by Pope Honorius to Paulinus of York and Honorius of Canterbury which Bede quotes in his *Historia*.[1246] However, Story was able to show that the copies in the Paris manuscript did not depend on Bede's transcription and suggested that the community of Echternach had access to the copies made by Nothhelm in Rome. At the same time, the exemplars preserved in the *Calendar* could have been made as late as *c.* 760. If they were compiled in the late 720s or early 730s, they could reflect the renewed interest of Willibrord in the archiepiscopal question, which took on a new urgency following Boniface's consecration as archbishop for *Germania* in 732 and the creation of the archdiocese of York in 735.[1247]

Therefore, another reading of the marginal note can be suggested. By 728, Willibrord

[1243] See chapter 1.2.1.
[1244] See Levillain/Samaran, 'Sur le lieu et la date', 257; Kamradt, 'Die frühfränkische Historiographie', 159; see also chapter 2.3.2.
[1245] Fols 33^{r}–34^{r}; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 797–9.
[1246] See chapter 3.1.1.
[1247] Story, 'Bede, Willibrord', 804–17.

might have considered the first station of his continental career, the south-western part of Frisia, as belonging to the Frankish sphere of influence. In this case, the indication that he arrived *in Francea* in 690 would represent another example of Willibrord's ability to adapt his position to the political and ecclesiastical transformations of his time.[1248]

[1248] See van Berkum, 'Willibrord', 71.

Conclusions

In May 2020, the border between Luxembourg and Germany was temporarily closed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the same month, politicians from both countries organised a protest near the town of Echternach. Talking to the local press, the mayor of Echternach stood in front of a statue of Willibrord, to which the participants had attached a face-mask displaying the flag of the European union.[1249]

The present study has shown that the modern perception of Willibrord as a 'European' figure has, to some extent, an early medieval foundation. For the period between *c.* 650 and 750, there are few examples of individuals whose biographies connected Ireland, Britain and Francia. At the same time, Willibrord is most remembered for his impact on the continent. Although his life was commemorated at an early stage by Bede in Northumbria (and possibly by an unknown Irish author), the most significant traces of his activity survived in the region between Utrecht and Echternach. Similarly, the *Calendar* and the charters preserved in the *Liber aureus* were shaped by the practices and traditions of the society into which Willibrord and his companions integrated themselves between 690 and 739. But Willibrord's horizon was not exclusively 'Frankish' – just as it was not exclusively 'English', 'Irish' or 'European'. The continuing attempts to place Willibrord in a modern national (or transnational) framework demonstrate that it remains difficult for scholars to understand the coordinates which shaped Willibrord's world. On the one hand, he was able to operate within the networks which connected Ireland with Rome. On the other hand, his activity on the continent focused on a wide but nevertheless limited area in north-eastern Francia. This area, in turn, was apparently not determined by the borders which existed between Frisia, Neustria and Austrasia nor by the ecclesiastical structure which Willibrord encountered there. How was Willibrord able to establish himself at the intersection of these different local, supra-regional, political and ecclesiastical networks?

The present study has shown that the attempt to develop a single coherent narrative of Willibrord's continental career fails to consider the different layers of his role to which the sources refer. The *Calendar* and the charters of the *Liber aureus,* for example, confront us with two different perspectives on Willibrord's network – yet both the 'macro' perspective of the martyrological entries and the 'micro' perspective of charters constituted his horizon. Similarly, the evidence for his consecration as archbishop in Rome stands in

[1249] 'Trotz Protesten bleiben die Grenzen weiterhin geschlossen', *Volksfreund*, 10 May (2020) (https://www.volksfreund.de/region/trotz-protesten-bleiben-die-grenzen-weiterhin-geschlossen_aid 50477221) [accessed: 30.09.2021].

contrast to his appearance as *episcopus* in his field of activity north of the Alps. Is this discrepancy solely due to the different perspectives of the sources, or was Willibrord's position on the continent more complex than previously assumed?

According to the traditional narrative, Willibrord's success in Frisia and Francia depended on his alliance with the early Carolingians, who also supported his foundations in Austrasia. The different dimensions of Willibrord's activity and his roles as abbot, bishop and landowner were thus connected through his relationship with the family of Pippin II. The thesis has attempted to demonstrate that this explanation leaves a number of important questions unanswered: how could Willibrord have anticipated the rise to power of Pippin's family in 690? Were other options and alliances open to him between his arrival and the death of Pippin in 714? How did Willibrord manage to secure and maintain his position even with the support of the early Carolingians? The focus on Willibrord's missionary activity has often reduced the question of the opposition which he potentially faced to examples of 'pagan' resistance to the missionaries' arrival. Yet the thesis has shown that almost every source shows evidence of conflicts: in the case of the hagiography, the competition of different hagiographical traditions indicates that Willibrord did not belong to one unified 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'English' missionary movement. Rather, Willibrord's relationship with Boniface especially shows that both tried to secure their influence in Frisia and in the more peripheral regions of the Frankish kingdom. Furthermore, a critical reading of the charters of the *Liber aureus* suggests that the process in which the Pippinids gained control of Echternach was accompanied by the displacement of Willibrord's former benefactor Irmina. Other evidence, in turn, indicates that Willibrord was able to cooperate with the ecclesiastical and political elites between Utrecht and Thuringia almost from the moment of his arrival. The martyrological entries in the *Calendar* highlight the interconnection between Willibrord's Insular background and Echternach's immediate environment.

In this context, a reassessment of the main sources for Willibrord's activity on the continent contradicts the assumption that he established his network within a static 'Carolingian' power structure. On the contrary, the analysis of the political context of Willibrord's career between *c.* 690 and 718 highlights the fragility of his benefactors' position in this period. What is more, it is precisely in the phase of conflict between the different branches of Pippin's family that Willibrord appears as a neutral figure, able to secure the support of both sides. If Willibrord had been a staunch follower of a specific 'faction', it might be doubted whether he would have come through the 'succession crisis' unscathed.

Therefore, I argue that as a political actor in Francia, Willibrord's behaviour was 'asymmetrical'. He was able to adapt his role to different contexts and to establish connections across geographical, political, ecclesiastical and social boundaries. A key component of his *Handlungsspielraum* was the control of churches and monasteries within the Merovingian sphere. Scholars have long emphasised this aspect of his career, yet the assumption that Echternach, Susteren and other foundations were primarily missionary 'outposts' controlled by the Carolingians, has shifted the attention away from their function for the Christian societies between Utrecht and Würzburg. The hypothesis that Willibrord used the donations he received to 'fund' the mission to Frisia fails to explain why he attracted the support of landholders across Austrasia in the first place. Bede claimed that Willibrord hurried to Rome shortly after his arrival on the continent to acquire relics for the churches he wished to construct in Frisia. Yet the compilation of the *Calendar* and the mention of relics in the charter for Susteren imply that Willibrord also relied on the translation of relics to endow his foundations outside of Frisia. The charters in the *Liber aureus* indicate that the donations which Willibrord received throughout his continental career did not merely follow an 'economic' reasoning. The act of the donation itself was important to the Merovingian elites, including the early Carolingians, who apparently perceived Willibrord and his foundations as 'nodes' of stability in the ecclesiastical landscape of north-eastern Francia.

Willibrord, therefore, was not a political actor in Merovingian Francia because he was a 'vassal' of the early Carolingians or a 'harbinger of Frankish power' in Frisia. Rather, the political dimension of his activity resulted from the fact that he offered different communities, from the local landholders in Toxandria to the Thuringian *dux*, the opportunity to consolidate their position within a new ecclesiastical landscape which extended from Utrecht to Würzburg. This landscape should probably be understood as a sphere of influence rather than a 'system' in any institutionalised sense. Foundations like Echternach were intersections of different networks between Ireland, Britain, Francia and Rome; the coherence of Willibrord's sphere of influence was thus determined by these single 'nodes' rather than by an extensive infrastructure.

In this context, Willibrord's arrival in 690 was not ground-breaking; he was as much a political actor as Fursa, Fóillán, Agilbert, Wilfrid and Boniface, and he relied on the same networks which connected Gertrude of Nivelles, Adela of Pfalzel and Irmina of Oeren. Even the estbalishment of the see of Utrecht followed a Merovingian precursor. Yet this continuity demonstrates that the activity of Insular clerics on the continent in the seventh and early eight centuries cannot be studied independently of their role within Merovingian society

which they shaped not only through their missionary activity but also through their roles as bishops, abbots, scholars, landowners, exiles, diplomats and saints *in Francea*.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 449–51; trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 327–9.

Adomnán, *Vita Columbae*, eds and trans. Alan O. Anderson and Majorie O. Anderson (London, 1961), 178–544; trans. Richard Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba* (London, 1995), 101–234.

Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*, ed. and trans. Alistair Campbell (Oxford, 1967), 1–65.

Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp., 4 (Berlin, 1895), 1–481; trans. Stephen Allott, *Alcuin of York: His Life and Letters* (York, 1974), 1–156.

Alcuin, *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 1 (Berlin, 1881), 169–206; trans. Peter Godman, *Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (Oxford, 1992), 1–135.

Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* (prose), ed. and trans. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin : Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii. Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003), 34–75; also cited in the thesis are the editions by Wilhelm Wattenbach (prose and verse), *Monumenta Alcuiniana* [= *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* 6, ed. Philipp Jaffé] (Berlin, 1873), 1–79, and Wilhelm Levison (prose), MGH SRM, 7 (Hannover, 1920), 81–141.

Alcuin, *De vita sancti Willibrordi episcopi* (verse), ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 1 (Berlin, 1881), 207-20; trans. Paul Dräger, *Alcuini Vita sancti Willibrordi – Alkuin. Das Leben des heiligen Willibrord* (Trier, 2008), 65–97.

Aldhelm, *Epistulae*, ed. Rudolf Ehwald, MGH AA, 15 (Berlin, 1919), 475-503; trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979; second edition Cambridge, 2009), 152–170.

Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, ed. Wilhelm Diekamp, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri* (Münster, 1881), 3–53.

Annales Alamannici, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 22–30, 40–4, 47–8, 49–50, 50–1, 52–60.

Annales Laubacenses, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6–12.

Annales Laureshamenses, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 24–30.

Annales Mettenses Priores, ed. Bernhard von Simson, MGH SRG, 10 (Hannover, 1905), 1–98; trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 350–70.

Annales Nazariani, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 23–31, 40–4.

Annales Petaviani, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6–13.

Annales regni Francorum, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 6 (Hannover, 1895), 2–178.

Annales Sancti Amandi, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6–14.

Annales Tiliani, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hannover, 1826), 6–8, 219–24.

Annales Xantenses, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hannover, 1829), 217–35.

Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1913), 663–761; trans. Jo A. McNamara, 'Life of St Eligius of Noyon, 588–660', *Medieval Sourcebook* (https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/eligius.asp) [accessed: 25.09.2021].

Bede, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA, 13 (Berlin, 1898), 223–354; trans. Faith Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), 1–250.

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, eds and trans. Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 2–577.

Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life. Texts, Translations and Notes* (Cambridge, 1940), 141–309.

Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan, ed. Kuno Meyer (Oxford, 1905).

Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continationibus, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 18–193; trans. John M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of Fredegar With Its Continuations* (London, 1960).

Cogitosus, *Secunda vita sanctae Brigidae*, ed. John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae, trium veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae communium patronorum acta* (Louvain, 1647), 518–26.

Cummian, *Epistula de controverisa paschali*, eds and trans. Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter* De Controversia Paschali *and the* Ratione Computandi, (Toronto, 1988), 55–97.

De sanctis virginibus Herlinde et Reinula seu Renilde abbatissis Masaci in Belgio, ed. Godefroid Henschen, AASS, March 3 (Paris, 1865), 383–90.

De Virtutibus quae Facta sunt Post Dicessum Beate Geretrudis Abbatisse, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 464–74; trans. Jo A. McNamara, John E. Halborg and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, NC, 1992), 229–34.

Die Reichenauer Urkundenfälschungen, ed. Karl Brandi (Heidelberg, 1890).

Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger, ed. Ingrid Heidrich, MGH DD maiorum domus regiae e stirpe Arnulforum (Hannover, 2011).

Die Urkunden der Karolinger 1: Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Großen, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH DD Karolinorum, 1 (Hannover, 1906).

Die Urkunden der Merowinger, ed. Theo Kölzer (nach Vorarbeiten von Carlrichard Brühl, unter Mitwirkung von Martina Hartmann und Andrea Stieldorf), MGH DD regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica, 2 vols (Hannover, 2001).

Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica, ed. Georg H. Pertz, MGH Diplomatum Imperii, 1 (Hannover, 1872).

Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SRG, 25 (Hannover, 1911), 1–41.

Ex Vita Burchardi episcopi Wirziburgensis auctore ut traditor Egilwardo, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 50–62.

Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des liber aureus Epternacensis *(698-1222) I.2: Quellenband*, ed. Camille Wampach (Luxembourg, 1930).

Gesta Treverorum, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 8 (Hannover, 1848), 111–260; trans. Paul Dräger, *Gesta Treverorum: Ab initiis usque ad MCXXXII annum. Geschichte der Treverer. Von den Anfängen bis zum Jahr 1132* (Trier, 2017), 12–155.

Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 64–108; trans. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio:* Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, *and* Life of Vedast (Liverpool, 2017), 91–176.

Liber Historiae Francorum, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 215–328; trans. Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987), 173–81.

Liber pontificalis, ed. Louis Duchesne, *Le* Liber pontificalis*: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92); trans. Raymond Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs* (Liber Pontificalis)*: The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool, 1989; third edition Liverpool, 2010), 1–90.

Liudger, *Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 63–79; trans. Georg Grandaur, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen des hl. Willibrord, Gregors von Utrecht, Liudgers und Willehads von Bremen* (Leipzig 1888; third edition Leipzig, 1941), 27–51.

Lupus, *Vita Maximini episcopi Trevirensis* (*Vita Maximini* II), ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 3 (Hannover, 1896), 71–82.

Marculfi Formulae, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH LL Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hannover, 1886), 32–112; trans. Alice Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool, 2008), 124–229.

Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad fidem codicum adiectis prolegomenis, eds Giovanni B. de Rossi and Louis Duchesne, AASS, Nov. 2 (Bruxelles, 1894), 1–156.

Monumenta Epternacensia, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 11–72.

Muirchú, *Vita sancti Patricii*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979), 62–123.

Oorkondenboek van het sticht Utrecht tot 1301, eds Samuel Muller and Arie C. Bouman, 5 vols (Utrecht, 1920).

Oorkondenboek van Noord-Brabant tot 1312: I. De Meierij van 's-Hertogenbosch (met de Heerlijkheid Gemert). Eerste stuk (690–1294), ed. Henricus P. H. Camps ('s-Gravenhage, 1979).

Passio Kiliani martyris Wirziburgensis, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 711–28; trans. Andreas Biglmair, *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland. Aller Franken Patron* (Würzburg, 1989), 18–20 [Originally published in *Herbipolis Jubilans: 1200 Jahre Bistum Würzburg* (Würzburg, 1952), 1–12].

Regesta Alsatiae aevi Merovingici et Karolini 496-918, 1: Quellenband, ed. Albert Bruckner (Strasbourg, Zurich, 1949).

Sacramentarium Rhenaugensie: Handschrift Rh 30 der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, eds Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr (Freiburg i. d. Schweiz, 1970).

Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae, ed. Michael Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH Epp. sel., 1 (Berlin, 1916), 1–289; trans. Ephraim Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940; second edition with Thomas F. X. Noble, New York, 2000), 23–192.

Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927; this edition Cambridge, 1985), 2–149.

The Calendar of St Willibrord from MS Paris Lat. 10837: A Facsimile with Transcription, Introduction, and Notes, ed. Henry A. Wilson (London, 1918).

Theoderic of Echternach, *Chronicon Epternacense*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 39–64.

Theoderic of Echternach, *Libellus de libertate Epternacensi propugnata*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 64–72.

The Old English Martyrology, ed. and trans. Christine Rauer (Cambridge, 2013), 34–227.

Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sanctae Irminae*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover, 1874), 48–50.

Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Liutwini*, ed. Willibrord Lampen, 'Thiofrid van Echternach en zijn Vita s. Liutwini', *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica*, 3.6 (1936), 1–46.

Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (prose), ed. Albert Poncelet, AASS, Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 459–83; trans. Jacob Schmitz, 'Thiofrids Leben des heiligen Willibrord', *Ons Hémecht*, [published in several parts in the following volumes] 5.2–11, 6.1–2 (1899–1900).

Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi* (verse), ed. Albert Poncelet, AASS, Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 483–500.

Tírechán, *Collectanea*, ed. and trans. Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (1979), 122–62.

Traditiones Wizenburgenses: Die Urkunden des Klosters Weißenburg 661-841, eds Karl Glöckner and Ludwig A. Doll (Darmstadt, 1979).

Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der altluxemburgischen Territorien, ed. Camille Wampach, 10 vols (Luxembourg, 1935–55).

Virtutes Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 440–9; trans. Oliver Rackham, *Beati Fursei: A Translation of the 8th Century Manuscript* (Norfolk, 2007), 60–8.

Venerabilis Baedae opera historica, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896).

Vita Amandi episcopi, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 428–49; trans. Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Christianity and Paganism 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia, 1969), 139–48.

Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 536–67; trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 152–65.

Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life. Texts, Translations and Notes* (Cambridge, 1940), 59–140.

Vita Erminonis, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 461–70.

Vita Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 4 (Hannover, 1902), 434–40; trans. Oliver Rackham, *Beati Fursei: A Translation of the 8th Century Manuscript* (Norfolk, 2007), 2–59.

Vita Gregorii papae, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*: *By an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Lawrence, 1968), 72–139.

Vita Hugberti episcopi Traiectensis, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 482–96.

Vita Landiberti episcopi Traiectensis vetustissima, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 6 (Hannover, 1913), 353–84.

Vita sanctae Balthildis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 482–508; trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 118–32.

Vita sanctae Geretrudis, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM, 2 (Hannover, 1888), 447-64; trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), 319-26.

Vita sancti Maximini per anonymum Sanmaximinianum seculo VIII scripta (*Vita Maximini* I)*,* AASS, May 7 (1866), 21–5.

Vita sancti Pirminii, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), 21–31; trans. Richard Antoni, *Leben und Taten des Bischofs Pirmin: die karolingische Vita* (Stuttgart, 2002; second edition Heidelberg, 2005), 56–107.

Vita Vulframni episcopi Senonici auctore Pseudo-Iona, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 5 (Hannover, 1910), 657–73.

Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRG, 57 (Hannover, 1905), 1–58; trans. Charles H. Talbot, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (London, 1995), 107–40.

Secondary sources

Airlie, Stuart, 'The Frankish aristocracy as supporters and opponents of Boniface', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 255–270.

Angenendt, Arnold, *Monachi peregrini: Studien zu Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters* (München, 1972).

Angenendt, Arnold, 'Willibrord im Dienst der Karolinger', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 175 (1973), 63–111.

Angenendt, Arnold, 'Pirmin und Bonifatius: Ihr Verhältnis zu Mönchtum, Bischofsamt und Adel', in Arno Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit* (Sigmaringen, 1974), 251–304.

Angenendt, Arnold, 'Willibrord als römischer Erzbischof', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 31–41.

Angenendt, Arnold, '"Er war der erste": Willibrords historische Stellung', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 13–34.

Anton, Hans H., 'Klosterwesen und Adel im Raum von Mosel, Saar und Sauer in merowingischer und frühkarolingischer Zeit', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 96–124.

Atsma, Hartmut, 'Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 62.168 (1976), 163–87.

Barrow, Julia, 'Oswald and the strong man armed', in Alexander J. Langlands and Ryan Lavelle (eds), *The Land of the English Kin: Studies in Wessex and Anglo-Saxon England in Honour of Professor Barbara Yorke* (Leiden, 2020), 183–96.

Bauer, Thomas, 'Heiligenverehrung und Raum: allgemeine Grundlagen und Entwicklung, Methoden der Erforschung am Beispiel des Raumes zwischen Schelde, Maas und Rhein', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 147–188.

Becher, Matthias, 'Die Chronologie der Äbte von Saint-Wandrille in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu den *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*', in Sabine Happ and Ulrich Nonn (eds), *Vielfalt der Geschichte: Lernen, Lehren und Erforschen verganener Zeiten: Festgabe für Ingrid Heidrich zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2004), 25–47.

Becher, Matthias, ‘Der sogenannte Staatsstreich Grimoalds: Versuch einer Neubewertung’, in Linda Dohmen, Florian Hartmann, Hendrik Hess and Daniel König (eds), *Macht und Herrschaft: Praktiken – Strukturen – Begründungen* (Bonn, 2019), 227–60 [Originally published in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 119–47].

Benigni, Claudia, ‘La missione anglo-sassone in Frisia del 690: elementi di novità in una storia di incontri’, *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, 118 (2016), 1–48.

Beyen, Marnix and Benoît Majerus, ‘Weak and strong nations in the Low Countries: national historiography and its “others” in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’, in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds), *The Contested Nation: Nation, Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke, 2008), 282–310.

Beyerle, Franz, ‘Bischof Perminius und die Gründung der Abteien Murbach und Reichenau’, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte = Revue d’histoire Suisse*, 27 (1947), 129–73.

Bijsterveld, Arnould-Jan A., ‘“Sinte Willibrordus eygen”: Het bezit van de abdij van Echternach in Texandrië (Nederland en België), ca. 700–1300’, in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach. Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 271–90.

Bijsterveld, Arnoud-Jan A., Paul N. Noomen and Bert Thissen, ‘Der Niederländische Fernbesitz der Abtei Echternach im Früh- und Hochmittelalter’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 203–28.

Bijsterveld, Arnoud-Jan A. and Lauran Toorians, ‘Texandria revisited: in search of a territory lost in time’, in Mirjam Kars, Roos van Oosten, Marcus A. Roxburgh and Arno Verhoeven (eds), *Rural Riches and Royal Rags? Studies on Medieval and Modern Archaeology Presented to Frans Theuws* (Zwolle, 2018), 34–42.

Bischoff, Bernhard, ‘Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters’, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 54 (1937), 173–7.

Borst, Arno, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform* (Hannover, 1998).

Borst, Arno (ed.), *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferungs bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Hannover, 2001).

Bremmer, Rolf H., ‘Von der Geschichte zum Mythos: Willibrord mit angelsächsischen und friesischen Augen gesehen’, *Hémecht*, 45.2 (1993), 125–46.

Brimmeyr, Johann P., *Geschichte der Stadt und der Abtei Echternach*, 2 vols (Echternach, 1921–3).

Broome, Richard, ‘Pagans, rebels and Merovingians: otherness in the early Carolingian world’, in Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven M. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 155–72.

Brown, Michelle P., ‘The Lindisfarne scriptorium from the late seventh to the early ninth century’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 151–64.

Brown, Michelle P., *The Life of St. Fursey: What We Know; Why It Matters* (Norwich, 2001).

Brown, Peter*, The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity. AD 200–1000* (Oxford, 2003; tenth anniversary revised edition Oxford, 2013).

Bruce-Mitford, Rupert, ‘The Durham-Echternach Calligrapher’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 175–88.

Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève and Charles Mériaux, *481–888: La France avant la France* (Paris, 2010; this edition Paris, 2019).

Bully, Sébastien and Jean-Michel Picard, ‘*Mensa in deserto*: reconciling Jonas’ *Life of Columbanus* with recent archaeological discoveries at Annegray and Luxeuil’, in Nancy Edwards, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Roy Flechner (eds), *Transforming Landscapes of Belief in the Early Medieval Insular World and Beyond: Converting the Isles 1*, (Turnhout, 2017), 119–43.

Busch, Jörg W., *Die Herrschaften der Karolinger 714–911* (Munich, 2011).

Campell, James (ed.) with Eric John and Patrick Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1982).

Campbell, James, ‘The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland’, in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission = Ireland and Christendom* (Stuttgart, 1987), 332–46.

Cardot, Fabienne, *L’espace et le pouvoir: Étude sur l’Austrasie mérovingienne* (Paris, 1987).

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013).

Collins, Roger, ‘Deception and misrepresentation in early eighth century Frankish hagiopgraphy: two case studies’, in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 227–47.

Coates, Simon, ‘Ceolfrid: history, hagiography and memory in seventh- and eighth-century Wearmouth-Jarrow’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 25.2 (1999), 69–86.

Costambeys, Marios J., ‘An aristocratic community on the northern Frankish frontier 690–726’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 3.1 (1994), 39–62.

Costambeys, Marios, 'Beornred', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60150; print edition 2004, this edition 2004) [accessed: 25.09.2021].

Costambeys, Marios, 'Willibrord', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29576; print edition 2004, this edition 2011) [accessed: 25.09.2021].

Costambeys, Marios J., Innes, Matthew J. and Simon McLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011).

Cross, Katherine, 'Barbarians at the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon art, race and religion', in Ján Elsner (ed.), *Faith in Late Antiquity: Histories of Art and Religion From India to Ireland* (pre-publication version; Cambridge, 2020), 396–433.

Dailey, Erin T., 'To Choose One Easter From Three: Oswiu's Decision and the Northumbrian Synod of AD 664', *Peritia*, 26 (2015), 47–64.

De Groot, Huib L., 'Utrecht and Dorestad: fifteen miles apart, a world of difference', in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London, 1996), 12–21.

De Langen, Gilles and Johannes A. Mol, 'Landscape, trade and power in early-medieval Frisia', in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm (eds), *Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 79–136.

Depreux, Phillipe, '*Dominus*: Marques de respect et expression des rapport hiérarchiques dans la designation des personnes d'autorités', in François Bougard, Régine le Jan and Hans-Werner Goetz (eds), *Théorie et practiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge : conception, perception et réalisation sociale* (Turnhout, 2011), 187–220.

Devroey, Jean-Pierre, *Puissants et misérables: Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs. VI^e–IX^e siècles* (Bruxelles, 2006).

Devroey, Jean-Pierre and Nicolas Schroeder, 'Beyond royal estates and monasteries: landownership in the early medieval Ardennes', *Early Medieval Europe*, 20.1 (2012), 39–69.

Dierkens, Alain, *Abbayes et Chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VII^e–XI^e siècles)* (Sigmaringen, 1985).

Dierkens, Alain, 'Saint-Amand et la fondation de l'abbaye de Nivelles', *Revue du Nord*, 68/269 (1986), 325–34.

Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles britanniques et le continent pendant la haut moyen âge : La diffusion du monachisme dit columbanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII^e siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 371–94.

Dierkens, Alain, 'Willibrord und Bonifatius: Die angelsächsischen Missionen und das fränkische Königreich in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 459–65.

Dierkens, Alain, 'Reflexions sur l'histoire religieuse de Maastricht à l'époque mérovingienne', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 541–68.

Dierkens, Alain, 'Notes biographiques sur saint Amand, abbé d'Elnone et éphémère éveque de Maastricht (mort peu apres 676)', in E. Bozóky (ed.), *Saints d'Aquitaine : Missionnaires et pèlerins du haut Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2010), 63–80.

Drauschke, Jörg, 'The search for central places in the Merovingian kingdom', in Babette Ludowici (ed.), *Trade and Communication Networks of the First Millennium AD in the Northern Part of Central Europe: Central Places, Beach Markets, Landing Places and Trading Centres* (Stuttgart, 2010), 26–48.

Dumézil, Bruno, *Les racines chrétiennes de l'Europe: Conversion et liberté dans les royaumes barbares, V^e–VIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2005).

Edel, Doris, 'The Christianization of medieval Europe: Willibrord', in Doris Edel (ed.), *The Celtic West and Europe. Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin, 2001), 121-36 [Originally published as 'De kerstening van het vroegmiddeleeuwse Europa: Willibrord', in René E. V. Stuip and Cees Vellekoop (eds), *Utrecht tussen kerk en staat* (Hilversum, 1991), 31–50].

Edmonds, Fiona, 'The practicalities of communication between Northumbrian and Irish churches, c. 635–735', in James A. Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (eds), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), 129–50.

Engels, Odilo and Stefan Weinfurter (eds), *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum MXCXVIII 5: Germania. Archiepiscopatus Coloniensis* (offprint; Stuttgart, 1978),

Engling, Jean, *Apostolat des heiligen Willibrord im Lande der Luxemburger durch Geschichte und Tradition aufgefasst* (Luxembourg, 1863).

Eich, Peter, *Gregor der Grosse: Bischof von Rom zwischen Antike und Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 2016).

Esders, Stefan, '*Nationes quam plures conquiri*: Amandus of Maastricht, compulsory baptism and "Christian universal mission" in seventh-century Gaul', in Jamie Kreiner and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honor of Peter Brown* (Turnhout, 2016), 269–307.

Esders, Stefan, '"Great security prevailed in both East and West": the Merovingian kingdoms and the 6th Ecumenical Council (680/81)', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages*: *The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 247–64.

Ewig, Eugen, *Trier im Merowingerreich: Civitas, Stadt, Bistum* (Trier, 1954).

Ewig, Eugen, 'Noch einmal zum "Staatsstreich" Grimoalds', in Clemens Bauer, Laetitia Boehm and Max Müller (eds), *Speculum historiale: Geschichte im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung. Festschrift Johannes Spoerl* (Freiburg i. Br., 1965), 454–7.

Ewig, Eugen, *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich* (Stuttgart, 1988; fifth edition Stuttgart, 2006).

Ewig, Eugen, 'Milo et eiusmodi similes', in Matthias Becher, Theo Kölzer and Ulrich Nonn (eds), *Eugen Ewig: Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1974-2007)*, 2 (Ostfildern, 2009), 189–219 [Originally published in *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. 754-1954* (Fulda, 1954), 412-40].

Falmagne, Thomas and Luc Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften bis zum Jahr 1628 in den Beständen der Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg sowie der Archives diocésaines de Luxembourg, der Archives nationales, der Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal und des Grand Séminaire de Luxembourg,* 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 2009).

Felten, Franz, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich: Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1980).

Felten, Franz, 'Die Bedeutung der "Benediktiner" im frühmittelalterlichen Rheinland', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 56 (1992), 21–58.

Ferguson, Christopher, 'Re-evaluating early medieval Northumbrian contacts and the "coastal highway"', in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds), Early *Medieval Northumbria: Kings and Communities, AD 450–1100* (Turnhout, 2011), 283–99.

Ferrari, Michele C., *Sancti Willibrordi memoriam: Echternacher Schreiber und Schriftsteller von den Angelsachsen bis Johann Bertels. Ein Überblick* (Luxembourg, 1994).

Ferrari, Michele C., 'Schulfragmente: Texte und Glosse im mittelalterlichen Echternach', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 124–64.

Fischer, Andreas, *Karl Martell: Der Beginn karolingischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, 2012).

Flaskamp, Franz, *Die Anfänge friesischen und sächsischen Christentums* (Hildesheim, 1929).

Flaskamp, Franz, 'Willibrord-Clemens und Wynfrith-Bonifatius', *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. 754-1954* (Fulda, 1954; second edition, Fulda, 1954), 157–72.

Flaskamp, Franz, 'Die frühe Friesen- und Sachsemission aus northumbrischer Sicht: Das Zeugnis des Baeda', Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 51 (1969), 183–209.

Flechner, Roy and Maíre Ní Mhaonaigh, ‘Introduction’, in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 1–8.

Flechner, Roy, *Saint Patrick Retold: The Legend and History of Ireland’s Patron Saint* (Princeton, 2019).

Fouracre, Paul, ‘The work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in extending episcopal influence from the town to the country in seventh-century Neustria’, *Studies in Church History*, 16 (1979), 77–91.

Fouracre, Paul, ‘Observations on the outgrowth of Pippinid influence in the *regnum Francorum* after the battle of Tertry (687–715), *Medieval Prosopography*, 5.2 (1984), 1–31.

Fouracre, Paul, ‘The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints’, in James D. Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 143–65.

Fouracre, Paul, *The Age of Charles Martell* (London, 2000).

Fouracre, Paul, ‘The long shadow of the Merovingians’, in Joanna E. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 5–21.

Fouracre, Paul, ‘Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: the English connection’, in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 70–89.

Fouracre, Paul, ‘Britain, Ireland, and Europe, c. 550–c. 750’, in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Ireland and Europe, c. 550–c. 1100* (Oxford, 2009), 126–42.

Fouracre, Paul, ‘Wilfrid and the continent’, in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 186–99.

Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge, 2014).

Freise, Eckhard, ‘Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria’, in Joachim Wollasch and Karl Schmid (eds), *“Memoria”: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1984), 441–577.

Fritze, Wolfgang H., ‘Slaven und Avaren im angelsächsischen Missionsprogramm: II. Bedas Rugini und Willibrords Dänenmission’, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 32.2 (1965), 231–51.

Fritze, Wolfgang H., ‘Slaven und Avaren im angelsächsischen Missionsprogramm: III. Bedas Hunni und die Entstehung der angelsächsischen Missionsvölkerliste von 703/04’, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 33.2 (1965), 358–72.

Fritze, Wolfgang H., ‘Universalis gentium confessio: Formeln, Träger und Wege universalmissionarischen Denkens im 7. Jahrhundert’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 3 (1969), 78–130.

Fritze, Wolfgang H., ‘Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Bistums Utrecht: Franken und Friesen 690–734’, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 35 (1971), 107–151.

Gerberding, Richard A., *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987).

Gerberding, Richard A., ‘716: a crucial year for Charles Martell’, in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 205–16.

Gerchow, Jan, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der* libri vitae *und Necrologien* (Berlin, 1988).

Goetz, Hans-Werner, ‘Karl Martell und die Heiligen: Kirchenpolitik und Maiordomat im Spiegel der spätmerowingischen Hagiographie’, in Jörg Jarnut (ed.), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 101–18.

Goffart, Walter A., *The Narrators of Barbarian History: A.D. 550–800. Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988).

Goffart, Walter A., ‘L’Histoire ecclésiastique et l’engagement politique de Bède’, in Stéphane Lebecq (ed.), *Béde le vénérable entre tradition et postérité* (Villeneuve d’Ascq, 2005), 149–58.

Goosmann, Erik, ‘Carolingian Kingship, Apostolic Authority and Imperial Recognition: Pippin the Short’s *Italienpolitik* and the Quest for Royal Legitimacy’, in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages*: *The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 329–46.

Goullet, Monique, ‘Les saints du diocèse de Toul (SHG VI)’, in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 11–90.

Graus, František, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965).

Grieve, Alexander, *Willibrord: Missionary in the Netherlands, 691–739* (London, 1923).

Groenewoudt, Bert, Roy van Beek and Michel Groothedde, ‘Christianisation and the afterlife of pagan open-air cult sites: evidence from the northern Frankish frontier’, *Medieval and Modern Matters*, 5 (2014), 1–28.

Grosjean, Paul, ‘Une translation à Nivelles de S. Fursy et de S. Kilian au 25 février?’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 72 (1954), 352–7.

Hägermann, Dieter, *Karl der Große: Herrscher des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 2000; second edition Munich, 2003).

Halbedel, Anton, *Fränkische Studien* (Berlin, 1915).

Hamann, Stefanie, 'Zur Chronologie des Staatsstreichs Grimoalds', *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 59 (2003), 49–96.

Hamann, Stefanie, 'Die "Vita Fursei" als chronologische Quelle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 122 (2004), 283–95.

Hammer, Carl I., '"Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian Bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', *Peritia*, 22/23 (2011/12), 53–82.

Hassal, Arthur (ed.), *Germany in the Earlier Middle Ages, 476–1250 by William Stubbs, D.D., Formerly Bishop of Oxford, And Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford* (London, 1908).

Hauck, Albert, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1898–1911).

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Titulatur und Urkunden der arnulfingischen Hausmeier', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 11/12 (1965/6), 71–279.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Die urkundliche Grundausstattung der elsässischen Klöster, St Gallens und der Reichenau in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts', in Peter Classen (ed.), *Die Gründungsurkunden der Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1977), 31–62.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Von Plectrud zu Hildegard: Beobachtungen zum Besitzrecht adliger Frauen im Frankenreich des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts und zur politischen Rolle der Frauen der frühen Karolinger', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 52 (1988), 1–15.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Les maires du palais neustriens du milieu du VII^{e} au milieu du VIII^{e} siècle', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie : Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 217–30.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Die kirchlichen Stiftungen der frühen Karolinger in der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit und unter Otto I.', in Rudolf Schieffer (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regnum Francorum: Referate beim Wissenschaftlichen Colloquium zum 75. Geburtstag von Eugen Ewig am 28. Mai 1988* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 131-47.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Die Urkunden Pippins d. M. und Karl Martells: Beobachtungen zu ihrer zeitlichen und räumlichen Streuung', in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 23–33.

Heidrich, Ingrid, 'Die Urkunden der frühen Karolinger für das Kloster Echternach', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^{e}–IX^{e} siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 453–71.

Heinzelmann, Martin, 'L'hagiographie mérovingienne: Panorama des documents potentiels', in Monique Goullet, Martin Heinzelmann and Christiane Veyrard-Cosme (eds), *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures* (Ostfildern, 2010), 27–82.

Hen, Yitzhak, '*Milites Christi utriusque sexus*: gender and the politics of conversion in the circle of Boniface', *Revue bénédictine*, 109 (1999), 17–31.

Hen, Yitzhak, 'The early liturgy of Echternach', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 53–64.

Hen, Yitzhak, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew J. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 175–90.

Hen, Yitzhak, 'Missionaries and liturgy', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 341–52.

Hen, Yitzhak, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord and Echternach', in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 187–98.

Herbers, Klaus, 'Hagiographie: Auswertungsmöglichkeiten seit Wilhelm Levison', in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 17–32.

Higham, Nicholas J., *(Re-)Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, 2006).

Higham, Nicholas J. and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013; this edition London, 2015).

Higham, Nicholas J., 'Wilfrid and Bede's *Historia*', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 54–66.

Hilliard, Paul, 'Acca of Hexham through the eyes of the venerable Bede', *Early Medieval Europe*, 26.4 (2018), 440–61.

Hines, John, 'Religion and conversion amongst the Frisians', in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm (eds)*, Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 311–38.

Hlawitschka, Eduard, 'Zur landschaftlichen Herkunft der Karolinger', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 27 (1962), 1–17.

Hlawitschka, Eduard, 'Zu den Grundlagen des Aufstiegs der Karolinger: Beschäftigung mit zwei Büchern von Matthias Werner', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 49 (1985), 1–61.

Hoffmann, Hartmut, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik* (Bonn, 1958).

Honée, Eugène, 'Das Apostolat Willibrords in Toxandrien: Ablauf, Ergebnisse und Voraussetzungen einer langjährigen Diskussion', *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis,* 76.2 (1996), 101–27.

Honée, Eugène, ‘St. Willibrord in recent historiography’, in Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod (eds), *Missions and Missionaries* (Woodbridge, 2000), 16–31.

Hopf, Claudia (ed.), *Die abendländischen Handschriften der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha: Bestandsverzeichnis, 1. Großformatige Pergamenthandschriften Memb. I* (Gotha, 1994).

Howe, John, ‘The hagiography of Saint-Wandrille (Fontenelle) (Province of Haut-Normandie)’, in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 127–92.

Howlett, David R., ‘Wilbrord’s autobiographical note and the “Versus Sybillae de iudicio Dei”’, *Peritia*, 20 (2008), 154–64.

Hummer, Hans J., *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005).

Imhoff, Helen, ‘*Inna hinada hi filet cind erred Ulad inso*: Burial and the status of the head’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 63 (2016), 69–94.

Innes, Matthew J., *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley. 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000).

Ireland, Colin, ‘Boisil: an Irishman hidden in the works of Bede’, *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 400–3.

Ireland, Colin, ‘Some Irish characteristics of the Whitby Life of Gregory the Great’, in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 139–78.

Ireland, Colin, ‘Where was King Aldfrith of Northumbria educated? An exploration of seventh-century insular learning’, *Traditio*, 70 (2015), 29–74.

Isenberg, Gabriele, *Die Würdigung Wilfrieds von York in der* Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum *Bedas und der* Vita Wilfridi *des Eddius* (unpublished doctoral thesis; Münster, 1978).

James, Edward, ‘Ireland and western Gaul in the Merovingian period’, in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David N. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 362–86.

James, Edward, ‘Elite women in the Merovingian period’, in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), 238–54.

Johnston, Elva, ‘Exiles from the edge? The Irish context of *peregrinatio*’, in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 38–52.

Johnston, Elva, ‘Movers and shakers? How women shaped the career of Columbanus’, in Alexander O’Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 2018), 69–90.

Jones, Miriam A., ‘A chosen missionary people? Willibrord, Boniface, and the election of the *Angli*’, *Medieval Worlds,* 3 (2016), 98–115.

Judic, Bruno, ‘Le culte de saint Grégoire le Grand et les origines de l’abbaye de Munster en Alsace’, in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord : Manuscrits, textes et centres de production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 263–96.

Jung-Diefenbach, Josef, *Die Friesenbekehrung bis zum Martertode des hl. Bonifatius* (Mödling, 1931).

Kamradt, Marco, ‘Die frühfränkische Historiographie und die Schlacht von Vinchy am 21. März 717’, *Concilium Medii Aevi*, 10 (2007), 153-66.

Kendrick, Thomas D., Julian T. Brown and Rupert Bruce-Mitford et al. (eds), *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, 2 vols (Olten, 1960).

Kenney, James F., *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide. Volume 1. Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929).

Kiesel, Georges, *Der heilige Willibrord im Zeugnis der bildenden Kunst: Ikonographie des Apostels der Niederlande. Mit Beiträgen zu seiner Kultgeschichte* (Luxembourg, 1969).

Kiesel, Georges, ‘Dem Landesapostel die Treue wahren’, *Luxemburger Wort*, 5 November (1994).

Kirby, David P., ‘Cuthbert, Boisil of Melrose and the Northumbrian priest Ecgberht: some historical and hagiographical connections’, in Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (eds), *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinseas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002), 48–53.

Kirsch, Jean-Pierre, ‘Papst Sergius I. (687-701): Der Konsekrator des Hl. Willibrord’, in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940), 1–17.

Kölzer, Theo, ‘Die letzten Merowingerkönige: *rois fainéants*?’, in Matthias Becher and Jörg Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), 33–60.

König, Daniel, ‘Wilhelm Levison und die Missionsgeschichte im Spiegel der Hagiographie’, in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 33–53.

Koziol, Geoffrey, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdoms (840-987)* (Turnhout, 2012).

Krier, Jean and Robert Wagner, ‘Zur Frühgeschichte des Willibrordus-Klosters in Echternach’, *Hémecht*, 37 (1985), 15–51.

Krier, Jean, ‘Echternach und das Kloster des heiligen Willibrord’, in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 466–78.

Krier, Jean, ‘Von Epternus zu Willibrord: Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Abtei Echternach aus archäologischer Sicht’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 29–46.

Kurze, Friedrich, ‘Die Karolingischen Annalen des achten Jahrhunderts’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 25 (1900), 291–315.

Lampen, Willibrord, *Thiofrid von Echternach: Eine philologisch-historische Studie* (Breslau, 1920).

Lapidge, Michael, ‘Eata’, in Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes and Donald Scragg (eds), *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Chichester, 1999; second edition Chichester, 2014), 161.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘La Neustrie et la mer’, in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie : Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique* international, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 405–40.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘On the use of the word “Frisian” in the sixth-tenth centuries written sources: some interpretations’, in Séan McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), 85–90.

Lebecq, Stéphan, ‘Le baptême manqué du roi Radbod’, in Odile Redon and Bernard Rosenberger (eds), *Les Assises du pouvoir: Temps médiévaux, territoires africains* (Saint-Denis, 1994), 141–50.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘Franken und Friesen’, in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 338–41.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘The role of monasteries in the systems of production and exchange of the Frankish world between the seventh and the beginning of the ninth centuries’, in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 121–48.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘Vulfran, Willibrord et la mission de Frise : Pour une relecture de la *Vita Vulframni*’, in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 431–51.

Lebecq, Stéphane, ‘Paganisme et rites sacrificiels chez les Frisons des VII^e-VIII^e siècles’, in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius. Leben und Nachwirken: Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 111–20.

Le Jan, Régine, ‘Les élites neustriennes et Quentovic au VII^e siècle’, in Stéphane Lebecq, Brune Béthouart and Laurent Verlype (eds), *Quentovic: Environnement, archéologie, histoire* (Lille, 2010), 177–94.

Leupen, Piet H. D., ‘Sint Salvator en Sint Maartin, Willibrord en Bonifatius’, in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 317–27.

Levillain, Léon and Charles Samaran, ‘Sur le lieu et la date de la bataille dite de Poitiers’, *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, 99 (1938), 243–67.

Levison, Wilhelm, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term 1943* (Oxford, 1946).

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Á propos du calendrier de S. Willibrord’; *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 342–6 [Originally published in *Revue Bénédictine*, 50 (1938), 37–41].

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Die Iren und die fränkische Kirche’, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 247–63 [Originally published in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 109 (1912), 1-22].

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Willibrord’, in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940), 51–65.

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘St. Willibrord and his place in history’, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 314–329 [Originally published in *The Durham University Journal*, 32 (1940), 23-41].

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Willibrordiana’, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 330–41 [Originally published in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 33 (1908), 517–30].

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Zu den Annales Mettenses’, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 474–83 [Originally published in *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann* (Berlin, 1933), 9–21].

Levison, Wilhelm, ‘Zu den Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium’, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Wilhelm Levison* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 530-50 [Originally published in *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 241–64].

Lifshitz, Felice, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2006).

Lin, Sihong, ‘Bede, the papacy, and the emperors of Constantinople’, *English Historical Review*, 136/580 (2021), 465–97.

Loveluck, Christopher P. and Aidan O'Sullivan, 'Travel, transport and communication to and from Ireland c. 400–1100: an archeological perspective', in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 19–37.

Löwe, Heinz, 'Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius: Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte ihrer Zeit', in Heinzgünter Frohnes, Hans-Werner Gensichen, Georg Kretschmer and Knut Schäferdiek (eds), *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte 2: Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), 192–226 [Originally published in: *La Conversione al Christianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1967), 217–61].

Lowe, Elias A., *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols (Oxford et al., 1934–71).

Margue, Michel, 'Libertas Ecclesiae: Das Kloster im Spannungsfeld zwischen Adelsherrschaft und Reichsfreiheit aus der Sicht der Echternacher Quellen (8.–12. Jahrhundert)', in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 229-45.

Markus, Robert A., 'The papacy, mission and the "gentes"', in Walter Pohl and Maximilian Diesenberger (eds), *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter* (Vienna, 2002), 37–42.

Martin, Lawrence T., 'Bede and preaching', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 156–69.

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the manuscript evidence', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 395–432.

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: personal connections and local influences', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Frankish Kings and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), 1–40.

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'England and the Continent', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II, c. 700–c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), 64–84.

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Le scriptorium d'Echternach aux huitième et neuvième siècles', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 501–17.

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The uses of literacy in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe: literate conventions of memory', in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo*, 1 (Spoleto, 2012), 179–208.

McKitterick, Rosamond, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The* Liber pontificalis (Cambridge, 2020).

Meeder, Sven and Erik Goosmann, *Redbad: Koning in de marge van de Geschiedenis* (2018).

Meens, Rob, 'Christentum und Heidentum aus der Sicht Willibrords? Überlegungen zum "Paenitentiale Oxoniense II"', in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 415–28.

Meens, Rob, 'With one foot in the font: the failed baptism of the Frisian king Radbod and the 8th-century discussion about the fate of unbaptized forefathers', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 577–96.

Meier, Mischa, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung: Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Munich, 2019; fifth edition Munich, 2020).

Mériaux, Charles, 'Quentovic dans son environnement politique et religieux: Cités et diocèses au nord de la Somme au VII^e siècle', in Stéphane Lebecq, Brune Béthouart and Laurent Verlype (eds), *Quentovic: Environnement, archéologie, histoire* (Lille, 2010), 194–212.

Mériaux, Charles, 'A One-Way Ticket to Francia: Constantinople, Rome and Northern Gaul in the Mid Seventh Century', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 138–48.

Milis, Ludo, 'Monks, mission, culture and society in Willibrord's time', in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen,1990), 82–92.

Moesch, Sophia, *Augustine and the Art of Ruling in the Carolingian Imperial Period: Political Discourse in Alcuin of York and Hincmar of Rheims* (London, 2019).

Moisl, Hermann, 'The Bernician royal dynasty and the Irish in the seventh century', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 103–26.

Montforts, Marjo, 'The beginnings of Utrecht: Roman fort and *vicus*', in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London, 1996), 1–11.

Mordek, Hubert, 'Die Hedenen als politische Kraft im austrasischen Frankenreich', in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. Jörg Jarnut (Sigmaringen, 1994), 345–66.

Mühlbacher, Engelbert, 'Urkundenfälschung in Echternach', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 21 (1900), 350–4.

Mulligan, Dermot, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Pierre Kauthen, *Re-Discovering St. Willibrord: Patron Saint of Luxembourg, First Apostle of the Netherlands and his County Carlow Connection* (Carlow, 2018).

Murray, Alexander C., ‘Immunity, nobility and the *Edict of Paris*’, *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 18–39.

Muth, Hanswernfried, ‘Die Geschichte von Kilian und seinen Gefährten’, in *Kilian: Mönch aus Irland. Aller Franken Patron* (Würzburg, 1989), 32–33.

Nees, Lawrence, ‘The European context of manuscript illumination in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, 600–900’, in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds), *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), 45–65.

Nelson, Janet, ‘England and the Continent in the eighth century’, in Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen (eds), *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Siegburg, 2010), 113–21.

Nelson, Janet, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (London, 2019; this edition London, 2020).

Netzer, Nancy, ‘Willibrord’s scriptorium at Echternach and its relationship to Ireland and Lindisfarne’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 203–12.

Netzer, Nancy, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994).

Nicolay, Johan A. W., ‘Kingship in early-medieval “Frisia”: historical versus archaeological sources’, in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kiek (eds), *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research Into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities* (Turnhout, 2015), 24–33.

Nijdam, Han and Otto S. Knottnerus, ‘Redbad, the once and future king of the Frisians’, in Simon Halink (ed.), *Northern Myths, Modern Identities* (Leiden, 2019), 87–114.

Noble, Thomas F. X., ‘Introduction’, in Ephraim Emerton (trans.), *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940; second edition with Thomas F. X. Noble, New York, 2000), vii–xxxv.

Nonn, Ulrich, ‘Merowingische Testamente’, in Reiss-Museum Mannheim (ed.), *Die Franken: Wegbereiter Europas. Vor 1500 Jahren. König Chlodwig und seine Erben*, 1 (Mainz, 1996), 505–8.

Nordenfalk, Carl, ‘On the age of the earliest Echternach manuscripts’, *Acta archaeologica*, 3 (1932), 57–61.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘Pride and prejudice’, *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 352–62.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach manuscripts’, *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 17–49 [With an appendix by Thomas Fanning, ‘Some field monuments in the townlands of Garryhundon and Clonmelsh, Co Carlow’, 43–9].

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘Merovingian politics and insular calligraphy: the historical background to the Book of Durrow and related manuscripts’, in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500-1200: Proceedings of a Conference at University College Cork. 31 October-3 November 1985* (Dublin, 1987), 40–3.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘Is the Augsburg gospel codex a Northumbrian manuscript?’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 189–202.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘The Old Irish and Old English glosses in Echternach manuscripts (with an appendix on Old Breton glosses)’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 85–101.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘A tale of two rules: Benedict and Columbanus’, in Martin Browne and Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, 2005), 11–24.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, *The Kings Depart: The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon Royal Exile in the Sith and Seventh Centuries* (Cambridge, 2007).

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘Willibrord und die frühe angelsächsische Missionierung Kontinentaleuropas’, in Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker and Wolfgang Walter (eds), *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 3 vols (Petersberg, 2013), 239–49.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, *Early Medieval Ireland: 400-1200* (first edition London, 1995; second edition Abingdon, 2017).

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, ‘The original Lindisfarne gospels?’, in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds), *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), 1–15.

O’Hara, Alexander, ‘Introduction: Columbanus and Europe’, in Alexander O’Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 2018), 3–18.

Ó Riain, Pádraig, ‘Les Vies de saint Fursey : les sources irlandaises’, *Revue du Nord*, 68/269 (1986), 405–13.

Ó Riain, Pádraig, ‘A Northumbrian phase in the formation of the Hieronymian Martyrology: the evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght’, in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of the Irish Martyrologies* (Bruxelles, 2006), 1-42. [Originally published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 120 (2002), 311–63.]

Ó Riain-Raedel, Dagmar, ‘Bemerkungen zum hagiographischen Dossier des heiligen Gallus’, in Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds), *Gallus und seine Zeit: Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (St Gallen, 2015), 223–42.

Ó Riain-Raedel, Dagmar, ‘St Kilian and the Irish network in early Carolingian Europe’, in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlüter (eds), *“A fantastic and abstruse Latinity?” Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages* (Münster, 2017), 31–53.

Padberg, Lutz E. von, *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1995).

Padberg, Lutz E. von, *Heilige und Familie: Studien zur Bedeutung familiengebundener Aspekte in Viten des Verwandten- und Schülerkreises um Willibrord, Bonifatius und Liudger* (doctoral thesis, 1981; second edition Mainz, 1997).

Padberg, Lutz E. von, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1998).

Padberg, Lutz E. von, 'Verbreitung des Wortes: Willibrord und Bonifatius', in Alfried Wieczorek and Gerfried Sitar (eds), *Benedikt und die Welt der frühen Klöster* (Regensburg, 2012), 47–55.

Palmer, James T., 'Defining paganism in the Carolingian world', *Early Medieval Europe*, 15 (2007), 402–25.

Palmer, James T., *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World: 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009).

Palmer, James T., 'Beyond Frankish authority? Frisia and Saxony between the Anglo-Saxons and Carolingians', in Hans Sauer and Joanna E. Story (eds), *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent* (Tempe, 2011), 139–62.

Palmer, James T., 'Wilfrid and the Frisians', in Nicholas J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint* (Donington, 2013), 231–42.

Palmer, James T., 'Martyrdom and the rise of missionary hagiography in the late Merovingian world', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity Into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 157–80.

Palmer, James T., 'The adoption of the Dionysian Easter in the Frankish kingdoms (*c*. 670-*c*. 800), *Peritia*, 28 (2017), 135–54.

Palmer, James T., 'Review of *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identitiy, Culture and Religion*, eds. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder', *The Mediæval Journal*, 7.1 (2018), 168–71.

Palmer, James T., 'Boniface's missionary circles and networks', in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), 46–67.

Pape, Matthias, 'Das Bonifatius-Gedenkjahr 1954 im allgemeinpolitischen und gesamtkirchlichen Kontext', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 375–410.

Parsons, David, 'England and the Low Countries at the time of St Willibrord', in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London, 1996), 30–48.

Parsons, David, 'Willibrord's "Frisian" mission and the early churches of Utrecht', in Jane Awkes and Susan Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), 136–49.

Patzold, Steffen, ‘Den Raum der Diözese modellieren? Zum Eigenkirchen-Konzept und den Grenzen der *potestas episcopalis* im Karolingerreich’, in Philippe Depreux, François Bougard and Régine le Jan (eds), *Les élites et leurs espaces : mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e au XI^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2007), 225–45.

Patzold, Steffen, *Das Lehnswesen* (Munich, 2012).

Pauly, Michel, *Geschichte Luxemburgs* (Munich, 2011).

Pettiau, Hérold, ‘Willibrord et son action: Une historiographie entre ancrage local et perspectives nationales et internationales (début 19e - début 21e siècle)’, *Hémecht*, 66 (2014), 317–36.

Pelteret, David A. E., ‘Diplomatic elements in Willibrord’s autobiography’, *Peritia,* 22/23 (2011/2), 1–14.

Pelteret, David A. E., ‘The Northumbrian attack on Brega in A.D. 684’, in Alexander J. Langlands and Ryan Lavelle (eds), *The Land of the English Kin: Studies in Wessex and Anglo-Saxon England in Honour of Professor Barbara Yorke* (Leiden, 2020), 214–30.

Pfeiffer, Friedrich, ‘Mission zwischen Maas und Rhein in Spätantike und beginnendem Mittelalter (ca. 300 bis 600): Die Rolle der Bischöfe am Beispiel Trier’, in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 191–213.

Phelan, Owen M., *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the* Imperium Christianum (Oxford, 2014).

Philippe, Joseph, ‘Geleitwort’, in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940).

Picard, Jean-Michel, ‘Bede, Adomnán, and the writing of history’, *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 50–70.

Picard, Jean-Michel, ‘Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II’, in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600–850* (Dublin, 1991), 27–52.

Picard, Jean-Michel, ‘De Gente Scottorum Monachi: The Irish in Merovingian Settlement Strategy’, in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), 389–406.

Piper, Ferdinand, *Karls des Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafel: Aus der Pariser Urschrift herausgegeben und erläutert. Nebst einer Abhandlung über die lateinischen und griechischen Ostercyklen* (Berlin, 1858).

Pirenne, Henri, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Bruxelles, 1937; this edition Paris, 2021).

Polfer, Michel, ‘Christentum zwischen Maas und Mosel von den Ursprüngen bis zum Ende der Merowingerzeit’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 9–27.

Poncelet, Albert, ‘Le “testament” de S. Willibrord’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25 (1906), 163–76.

Post, Regnerus R., ‘S. Willibrord en Noord en Zuid: Eenige kantteekenigen bii de jubileumliteratuur’, *Nederlandse Historiebladen*, 3 (1940/1), 1–14.

Prinz, Friedrich, ‘Die Rolle der Iren beim Aufbau der merowingischen Klosterkultur’, in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), 202–19.

Prinz, Friedrich, ‘Von der Bekehrung der Angelsachsen bis zu ihrer Missionstätigkeit im Frankenreich’, in *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare*, 2 (Spoleto, 1986), 701–34.

Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung. 4. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1965; second edition Munich, 1988).

Rambridge, Kate, ‘Alcuin's narratives of evangelism: “The Life of St Willibrord” and the Northumbrian hagiographical tradition’, in Martin Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe. AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2003), 371–81.

Reischmann, Hans-Joachim, *Willibrord: Apostel der Friesen. Seine Vita nach Alkuin und Thiofrid* (Sigmaringendorf, 1989).

Rembold, Ingrid, ‘The Christian message and the laity: the *Heliand* in post-conquest Saxony’, in Nancy Edwards, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Roy Flechner (eds), *Transforming Landscapes of Belief in the Early Medieval Insular World and Beyond: Converting the Isles 2* (Turnhout, 2017), 175–206.

Resmini, Bertram, *Das Erzbistum Trier 13: Die Benediktinerabtei St. Maximin von Trier* (Berlin, 2016).

Rettberg, Friedrich W., *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1846–8).

Reuter, Timothy, ‘Saint Boniface and Europe’, in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter, 1980), 69–94.

Reuter, Timothy, ‘“Kirchenreform” und “Kirchenpolitik” im Zeitalter Karl Martells: Begriffe und Wirklichkeit’, in Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter (eds), *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), 35–59.

Reynolds, Susan, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).

Richter, Michael, ‘Der irische Hintergrund der angelsächsischen Mission’, in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), 120–37.

Richter, Michael, ‘Bede’s *Angli*: Angles or English?’, *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 99–114.

Richter, Michael, 'The young Willibrord', in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 25–30.

Richter, Michael, *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin, 1999).

Rosenwein, Barbara, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, New York, 1995).

Sarti, Laury, 'The digression on Pope Martin I in the *Life of Eligius of Noyon*', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 149–64.

Sauer, Christine, *Fundatio und memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen, 1993).

Schäferdiek, Knut, 'Fragen der frühen angelsächsischen Festlandmission', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 28 (1994), 172–95.

Schäferdiek, Knut, 'Der Schwarze und der Weiße Hewald: Der erste Versuch einer Sachsenmission', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 146 (1996), 9–24.

Schäferdiek, Knut, 'Kilian von Würzburg: Gestalt und Gestaltung eines Heiligen', in Knut Schäferdiek and Winrich A. Löhr (eds), *Schwellenzeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Christentums in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, 1996), 459-86 [Originally published in Hagen Keller (ed.), *Iconologia sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 313-40].

Shaw, Richard, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent in Bede's Ecclesiastical History: Methodology and Sources* (London, 2018).

Scheibelreiter, Georg, 'Audoin von Rouen: Ein Versuch über den Charakter des 7. Jahrhunderts', in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 vols (Sigmaringen, 1989), 195–216.

Schieffer, Rudolf, 'Bonifatius-Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 363–73.

Schieffer, Theodor, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954; second edition Darmstadt, 1972).

Schneider, Olaf, *Erzbischof Hinkmar und die Folgen: Der vierhundertjährige Weg historischer Erinnerungsbilder von Reims nach Trier* (Berlin, 2010).

Scholz, Sebastian, *Die Merowinger* (Stuttgart, 2015).

Schroeder, Jean, 'Echternach im Spiegel der europäischen Geschichtsforschung', *Hémecht*, 31.3 (1979), 339–52.

Schroeder, Jean, ‘Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Echternach und England/Irland im Frühmittelalter’, *Hémecht*, 31.3 (1979), 363–89.

Schroeder, Jean, ‘Echternach in Forschung und Literatur: Besprechung und Hinweise’, *Echternacher Studien/Études Epternaciennes*, 2 (1982), 87–115.

Schroeder, Jean, ‘Echternach in Forschung und Literatur’, *Hémecht*, 35 (1983), 459–81.

Schroeder, Jean, ‘Willibrord und Rom: Zu den beiden Papstbesuchen des Apostels der Friesen’, *Hémecht*, 37.1 (1985), 5–13.

Schroeder, Jean, ‘Willibrord: Erzbischof von Utrecht oder Abt von Echternach? Das Leben und Wirken des angelsächsischen Missionars aus der Sicht der frühmittelalterlichen Hagiographie’, in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 348–57.

Schroeder, Jean and Henri Trauffler, *Die Anfänge der Abtei Echternach: Von der Villa Epternacus zum frühmittelalterlichen Wallfahrtszentrum* (Luxembourg, 1996).

Schuhn, Werner, ‘Die Irminasippe im Mosel-Maas-Raum und ihre Verbindung mit der Mission Willibrords’, *Neues Trierisches Jahrbuch*, 12 (1972), 5–14.

Seiler, Emile, ‘Die Auflösung der Abtei und die Zerstreuung der Klosterbibliothek’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698-1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 283–306.

Semmler, Josef, ‘Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise 714-723’, *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 33 (1977), 1–36.

Semmler, Josef, ‘Episcopi potestas und karolingische Klosterpolitik’, in Arno Borst (ed.), *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1974), 305–96.

Semmler, Josef, ‘Spätmerowingische Herrscher: Theuderich III. und Dagobert II.’, *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 55 (1999), 1–28.

Semmler, Josef, ‘Die Friesenmission und der Eintritt der in der alten Provincia Germania II gelegenen Bistümer in die karolingische Reichskirche’, *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 212 (2009), 1–43.

Smith, Julia M. H., *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005).

Sowerby, Richard, ‘The heirs of bishop Wilfrid: succession and presumption in Anglo-Saxon England’, *English Historical Review*, 571 (2019), 1377–404.

Spang, Paul, ‘Saint Willibrord et l’abbaye d’Echernach dans l’historiographie luxembourgeoise’, *Hémecht*, 42 (1990), 171–83.

Stancliffe, Clare E., ‘Cuthbert and the polarity between pastor and solitary’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 21–44.

Stancliffe, Clare E., ‘British and Irish contexts’, in Scott Degregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 69–83.

Stancfiffe, Clare E., ‘Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen’s Life of Wilfrid and the early proses Lives of St Cuthbert’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41 (2013), 7–39.

Stancliffe, Clare E., ‘Bede and Bishop Acca’, in Scott DeGregoria and Paul Kershaw (eds), *Cities, Saints, and Communities in Early Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Alan Thacker* (Turnhout, 2020), 171–94.

Staud, Richard M. and Joseph Reuter, *Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Echternach* (Luxembourg, 1952).

Stenton, Frank M., *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1943; third edition Oxford, 1971).

Stoclet, Alain J., *Fils du Martel : La naissance, l’éducation et la jeneusse de Pépin, dit “le Bref” (v. 714–v. 741)* (Turnhout, 2013).

Story, Joanna E., *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot, 2003).

Story, Joanna E., ‘Bede, Willibrord and the letters of Pope Honorius I on the genesis of the archbishopric of York’, *The English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), 783–818.

Thacker, Alan T., ‘Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of St Cuthbert’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 103–24.

Thacker, Alan T., ‘*Membra disjecta*: the division of the body and the diffusion of the cult’, in Clare E. Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (eds), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stanford, 1995), 97–127.

Thacker, Alan T., ‘Memorializing Gregory the Great: the origin and transmission of a papal cult in the seventh and early eighth centuries’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 59–84.

Thacker, Alan T., ‘Gallic or Greek? Archbishops in England from Theodore to Ecgberht’, in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 44–69.

Thacker, Alan T., ‘Bede and history’, in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), 170–90.

Theuws, Frans, ‘Maastricht as a centre of power in the early Middle Ages’, in Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2001), 155–217.

Theuws, Frans, ‘Settlement research and the process of manorialization in northern Austrasia’, in Stefano Gasparri (ed.), *774: Ipotesi su una Transizione* (Turnhout, 2008), 199–220.

Theuws, Frans, ‘Early medieval transformations: aristocrats and dwellers in the *pagus Texandria*, A publication programme’, *Medieval and Modern Matters*, 1 (2010), 37–72.

Theuws, Frans, ‘Das mittlere Maastal und wie es zu einem Kerngebiet des Karolingerreichs wurde’, in Frank Pohle (ed.), *Karl der Große, Charlemagne: Orte der Macht* (Dresden, 2014), 200–9.

Tinti, Francesca, *Europe and the Anglo-Saxons* (Cambridge, 2021).

Trauffler, Henri, ‘Die Gründung des Klosters’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 47–52.

Trauffler, Henri, ‘Von der Villa Epternacus zur Abteistadt’, in Michele C. Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffler (eds), *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* (Luxembourg, 1999), 249–62.

Trauffler, Henri, ‘Zur Entstehung der Wallfahrt nach Echternach’, in Michel Polfer (ed.), *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècle)* (Luxembourg, 2000), 525–39.

van Berkum, Augustin, ‘Willibrord en Wilfried: Een onderzoek naar hun wederzijdse betrekkingen’, *Sacris Erudiri*, 23 (1978), 347–417.

van Berkum, Augustin, ‘Réflexions sur la physionomie spirituelle de S. Willibrord et de ses compagnons’, *Echternacher Studien/Études Epternaciennes*, 2 (1982), 7–18.

van Berkum, Augustin, ‘Willibrord, de reizende geloofsverkondiger’, in Georg Kiesel and Jean Schroeder (eds), *Willibrord: Apostel der Niederlande. Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars* (Luxembourg, 1989), 69–95.

van Berkum, Augustin, ‘De Constituering en Mislukking van de friese Kerkprovincie’, in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 159–73.

van Berkum, Augustin, ‘Glaubensverkündigung in einem kunstvoll gestalteten Gewand: Betrachtungen zum Bücherschatz des hl. Willibrord’, *Hémecht* 49.1 (1997), 47–93.

Vanderputten, Steven, *Medieval Monasticisms: Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West* (Oldenbourg, 2020).

van Eck, Xander, ‘Dreaming of an eternally Catholic Utrecht during Protestant rule: Jan van Bijlert’s “Holy Trinity with Sts. Willibrord and Boniface”’, *Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 30.1/2 (2003), 19–33.

van Egmond, Wolfert S., ‘Radbod van de Friezen, een aristocraat in de periferie’, *Millenium*, 19 (2005), 24–43.

Verbist, Garbiël H., *Saint Willibrord: Apôtre des Pays-Bas et fondateur d’Echternach* (Bruges, 1939).

Verbist, Gabriël H., *A l’aube des Pays-Bas: Saint Willibrord* (Bruxelles, 1953).

Verhulst, Adriaan E., ‘Roman cities, “emporia” and new towns’, in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 105–20.

Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane, ‘La *Vita* mérovingienne de Maximin de Trèves à travers sa réecriture par Loup de Ferrières : Hypotexte ou prétexte?’, *Beihefte der Francia*, 71 (2010), 193–217.

Vis, Georgius N. M., ‘De twaalf gezellen van Sint Willibrord’, in Petronella Bange and Anton G. Weiler (eds), *Willibrord: Zijn Wereld an zijn Werk. Vordrachten gehouden tijdens het Wilibrordcongres Nijmegen* (Nijmegen, 1990), 128–49.

Wallace-Hadrill, John M., *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983).

Wallace-Hadrill, John M., *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988).

Wampach, Camille, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des* liber aureus Epternacensis *(698-1222) I.1: Textband* (Luxembourg, 1929).

Wampach, Camille, ‘Willibrord: Seine Umwelt und Mitwelt. Sein Lebenswerk’, in Nikolaus Goetzinger (ed.), *Willibrordus: Echternacher Festschrift zur XII. Jahrhundertfeier des Todes des heiligen Willibrord* (Luxembourg, 1940), 18–50.

Wampach, Camille, *Sankt Willibrord: Sein Leben und Lebenswerk* (Luxembourg, 1953).

Wampach, Camille, ‘Das Apostolat des hl. Willibrord in den Vorlanden der eigentlichen Frisia: Aktuelle Fragen um dessen räumliche Bestimmung’, *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 155/56 (1954), 244-56.

Wampach, Camille, *Sankt Willibrord: Der erste große Angelsachse* (unpublished work, ed. posthumously by Jean Pastoret; Echternach, 1971).

Warntjes, Immo, ‘The role of the church in early Irish regnal succession: the case of Iona’, in *L’Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell’alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 2010), 155–214.

Warntjes, Immo, ‘The *Computus Cottonianus* of AD 689: a computistical formulary written for Willibrord’s Frisian mission’, in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), 173–212.

Warntjes, Immo, 'Victorius vs Dionysius: the Irish Easter controversy of AD 689', in Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout, 2015), 33–98.

Warntjes, Immo, 'The origin(s) of the medieval calendar tradition in the Latin West', in Sacha Stern (ed.), *Calendars in the Making: The Origins of Calendars from the Roman Empire to the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2021), 129–87.

Warntjes, Immo, 'Episkopalisierung und Episkopalisierungsversuche im frühmittelalterlichen Irland' (forthcoming).

Weichlein, Siegfried, 'Bonifatius als politischer Heiliger im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in Michael Imhof and Gregor K. Stasch (eds), *Bonifatius: Vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen* (Petersberg, 2004), 219–34.

Weidemann, Margarete, 'Zur Chronologie der Merowinger im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert', *Francia*, 25.1 (1998), 177–230.

Weiler, Anton G., *Willibrords missie: Christendom en cultuur in de zevende en achtste eeuw. Met een vertaling van de vornaamste literaire bronnen* (Hilversum, 1989).

Weinfurter, Stefan, *Karl der Große: Der heilige Barbar* (Munich, 2013).

Werner, Karl Ferdinand, 'Le rôle de l'aristocratie dans la Christianisation du nord-est de la Gaule', *Revue d'histoire de l'Èglise de France*, 62.168 (1976), 45–73

Werner, Matthias, 'Zu den Anfängen des Klosters St. Irminen-Oeren in Trier'*, Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 42 (1978), 1–51.

Werner, Matthias, *Der Lütticher Raum in frühkarolingischer Zeit: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer karolingischen Stammlandschaft* (Göttingen, 1980).

Werner, Matthias, *Adelsfamilien im Umkreis der frühen Karolinger: Die Verwandschaft Irminas von Oeren und Adelas von Pfalzel. Personengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur frühmittelalterlichen Führungsschicht im Maas-Mosel-Gebiet* (Sigmaringen, 1982).

Werner, Matthias, 'Iren und Angelsachsen in Mitteldeutschland: Zur vorbonifatianischen Mission in Hessen und Thüringen', in Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), 239–318.

Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).

Wickham, Chris, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009; this edition London, 2010).

Wickham, Chris, 'The comparative method and early medieval religious conversion', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity Into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 13-37.

Wood, Ian N., ‘Saint-Wandrille and its hagiography’, in Ian N. Wood and Graham A. Loud (eds), *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (London, 1991), 1–14.

Wood, Ian N., *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (London, 1994).

Wood, Ian N., ‘Before or after mission: social relations across the middle and lower Rhine in the seventh and eighth centuries’, in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden, 2000), 149–66.

Wood, Ian N., *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe. 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001).

Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the continent in the seventh century: part I’, *Peritia*, 26 (2015), 171–98.

Wood, Ian N., ‘Who are the Philistines? Bede’s reading of Old Testament peoples’, in Clemens Gantner, McKitterick, Rosamond and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 172–87.

Wood, Ian N., ‘Columban monasticism: a contested concept’, in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), 86–100.

Wood, Ian N., ‘Reform and the Merovingian church’, in Rob Meens et al. (eds), *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester, 2016), 95–111.

Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the continent in the seventh century: part II’, *Peritia*, 27 (2016), 189–214.

Wood, Ian N., *Fursey and His Brothers: Their Contribution to the Irish Legacy on the Continent* (Fursey Pilgrims, 2016).

Wood, Ian N., ‘What is a mission?’, in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *The Introduction of Christianity Into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles 1* (Turnhout, 2016), 135–56.

Wood, Ian N., ‘Franks and Frisians’, in John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger-van der Pluijm (eds)*, Frisians of the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2021), 203–22.

Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (New York, 2006).

Wycherley, Niamh, *The Cult of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 2015).

Yorke, Barbara, ‘The insular background to Boniface’s continental career’, in Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut and Lutz E. von Padberg (eds), *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken. Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter* (Mainz, 2007), 23–38.

Yorke, Barbara, ‘Adomnan at the court of King Aldfrith’, in Jonathan M. Wooding with Rodney Aist, Thomas O. Clancy and Thomas O’Loughlin (eds), *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker* (Dublin, 2010), 36–50.

Yorke, Barbara, ‘Boniface’s West Saxon Background’, in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), 27–45.

Ziegler, Michelle, ‘The Ripon Connection? Willibrord, Wilfrid, and the Mission to Frisia’, *Heroic Age* 6 (2003) (www.heroicage.org/issues/6/ziegler.html) [accessed: 25 August 2021].

Zimmer, Theresia, *Das Kloster St. Irminen-Oeren in Trier von seinen Anfängen bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Trier, 1956) [Originally published in *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete*, 23 (1954/5), 5-180].

Zingg, Roland, ‘Zur Datierung von Karl Martells Sieg in der “Schlacht bei Soissons”’, *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 68 (2012), 127–36.