

THE ANNALS OF LAMPERT OF HERSFELD



*translated and annotated
with an introduction by
I. S. Robinson*

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translated and annotated with an introduction

by I. S. Robinson

Manchester University Press

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>D H III</i>	<i>Diploma Heinrici III</i>
<i>D H IV</i>	<i>Diploma Heinrici IV</i>
<i>Die Salier und das Reich</i>	<i>Die Salier und das Reich</i> ed. S. Weinfurter, 3 volumes (Sigmaringen, 1991)
<i>Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung</i>	<i>Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung</i> ed. J. Fleckenstein (Vorträge und Forschungen 17: Sigmaringen, 1973)
<i>JE, JK, JL</i>	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum</i> ed. W. Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald (second edition, Leipzig, 1885)
<i>Lamperti Opera</i>	<i>Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera</i> , MGH <i>SS rer. Germ.</i> [38] (1894)
<i>Livy</i>	Titus Livius Patavinus, <i>Ab urbe condita libelli</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Briefe</i>	<i>Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit</i>
<i>Briefsammlungen</i>	<i>Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.</i> , MGH <i>Briefe</i> 5 (1950)
<i>Constitutiones</i>	<i>Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i>
<i>DD</i>	<i>Diplomata</i>
<i>Libelli</i>	<i>Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores</i> (in Folio)
<i>SS rer. Germ.</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
<i>MPL</i>	J. P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i>

MAPS



1 The kingdom of Germany in the lifetime of Lampert of Hersfeld



2 Places mentioned in Lampert of Hersfeld's *Annals*

INTRODUCTION

Lampert of Hersfeld, according to the standard work on the German narrative sources of the Middle Ages, ‘was one of the best stylists and the most erudite authors whom the Middle Ages produced: indeed among the medieval historians of Germany none could come near his linguistic artistry, his great literary elegance. Moreover in terms of content Lampert captivated by his pleasing way of narrating, the charming stories that he knew so well how to tell, the great importance of the events, of which he seemed to have a remarkably accurate, often almost intimate knowledge.’ He was ‘a superb story-teller, who wished to fascinate and to entertain’.¹ Lampert’s principal work, the *Annals*, contains the most detailed account of the minority of King Henry IV of Germany and of the first decade of his personal rule (October 1056 – January 1077), which is indeed the most detailed narrative source of the Central Middle Ages. During the five centuries since the appearance of the first printed edition of the *Annals* Lampert’s work has been more studied and has also been more controversial than any other medieval chronicle.

Biographical information about the author, almost all deriving from his own narrative, is very limited; so limited indeed that there is uncertainty even about his name. The author included autobiographical material in his narrative, as when, in the annal for 1058, he recorded his entry into the monastery of Hersfeld and his subsequent ordination as a priest. The principal textual tradition here reads: ‘I, N., ... abandoned domestic concerns ... and received the sacred garment ...’ and ‘I, N., was ordained priest by Archbishop Liutpold [of Mainz]’. Here the letter N (for *nomen*, ‘name’) appears either through the author’s deliberate reticence or more probably through the intervention at some stage in the transmission of the text of a scribe who either could not decipher the name or considered anonymity more decorous and appropriate to monastic authorship. In the exemplars of the *Annals* in the manuscripts of Würzburg and Göttingen, copied *circa* 1500, however, a name is supplied in the first of these autobiographical references: *Lampertus*.²

1 Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) pp. 463–4, 469.

2 Lampert, *Annals* 1058, below, pp. 72, 73. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. 73 variant *; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 152–4, 170.

The Würzburg manuscript also provides a title for the work: 'The chronicle of Lampert, monk of Hersfeld of the order of St Benedict in the diocese of Mainz'. Furthermore a twelfth-century manuscript of Gotha containing numerous extracts from the *Annals* refers to 'the chronicle of brother Lampert, monk of Hersfeld'. All these manuscripts were linked with the monastery of St Peter in Erfurt, from which the whole of the extant manuscript tradition derives.³

In Erfurt at least the identification of Lampert with the author of the *Annals* survived throughout the Middle Ages, so that *circa* 1490 an Erfurt monk and historian, borrowing from the *Annals*, could cite his source: 'as Lampert, monk of Hersfeld, stated clearly and lucidly in his chronicle'.⁴ Others who owed their knowledge of the *Annals* to St Peter's, Erfurt, however – the fourteenth-century Dominican historian, Henry of Herford, who identified the author as *Egkardus*, the scribes who copied the Dresden manuscript of the *Annals circa* 1500, the distinguished physician and humanist scholar Hartman Schedel, who made lengthy extracts from the *Annals* in 1507 – either did not know or did not trust the attribution.⁵ No contemporary record confirms the existence of a monk named Lampert in the monastery of Hersfeld during the years 1058–77. Indeed since there is no complete necrology and since charters from the abbey survive only in small numbers, the names of very few eleventh-century monks of Hersfeld are known. How reliable, therefore, was the Erfurt tradition that ascribed the *Annals* to Lampert?

In fact the author of the *Annals* himself left a clue to his identity in the autobiographical passages in the annals for 1058 and 1059. In 1059 he recorded that after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 'I returned to the monastery on 17 September'. In the previous annal he reported his ordination to the priesthood 'during the Ember Days of autumn'.⁶ In 1058 these Ember Days fell on 16, 18 and 19 September. It was surely not a coincidence that in these two autobiographical passages the author sought to fix the reader's attention on the date 17 September and the days immediately surrounding that date – which is the Feast of St Lambert, bishop and martyr. This was perhaps the clue that led

³ Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 169–70.

⁴ Nicolaus of Siegen, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* p. 231, cited by Holder-Egger (1894) p. 171.

⁵ Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 154–7, 162–3, 169–71.

⁶ Lampert, *Annals* 1059, below, p. 75; 1058, below p. 73. A. Schmidt in *Lamperti Annales* p. 66 and Struve (1969) p. 12 wrongly translated the date as '17 October'.

the more alert readers of the *Annals* in St Peter's, Erfurt, to the secret of Lampert's authorship.⁷ It should be noted that all the references to the author deriving from the Erfurt tradition render his name in the form *Lampertus* rather than *Lambertus*.⁸ Similarly, in the single instance in which the name occurs in the text of the *Annals* (referring to the church of St Lambert in Liège), it appears in all the manuscripts as *sancto Lamperto*.⁹ It is appropriate, therefore, to call our author *Lampert* of Hersfeld.

The *Annals* offer no clue to the author's birthplace. Historians' favourite conjectures have been Thuringia, Hesse or Franconia.¹⁰ Lampert's explanation of his entry into the monastic life – 'I ... abandoned domestic concerns so as not to be weighed down by them on the road to God' – has been interpreted as evidence that he came from a wealthy and noble family.¹¹ Readers of the *Annals* have found confirmation of this interpretation in the stridently aristocratic viewpoint expressed in Lampert's pronouncements on political and social developments in Germany. This is especially apparent in his denunciation of the advisers of King Henry IV. The king 'raised very many of [the Swabians] – who were descended from low-born ancestors and had virtually no ancestors at all – to the highest offices and made them into men of the first importance in the palace'. He had 'excluded the princes from his friendship and had raised men of the lowest rank and of no ancestry to the highest honours'.¹² These and many similar statements have prompted the judgement that Lampert was a 'reactionary aristocrat'.¹³ For Lampert's birth date we are dependent on the report of his ordination to the priesthood in the annal for 1058. If he had reached the age prescribed by canon law for ordination and was at least thirty years old, he must have been born no later than 1028.¹⁴

7 This was the solution suggested by Ernst Dümmler to Lampert's editor, Oswald Holder-Egger: see Holder-Egger (1894) p. 179.

8 Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 170–3.

9 Lampert, *Annals* 1071, below, p. 142 and n. 684. See Holder-Egger (1894) p. 180.

10 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. IX–X; Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) p. 457; Struve (1969) p. 12.

11 Lampert, *Annals* 1058, below, p. 72. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. IX; Struve (1969) p. 12.

12 Lampert, *Annals* 1073, below, p. 173; 1076, below pp. 335–6.

13 Bosl (1950) p. 70. See also the much more nuanced assessment of Struve (1970a) pp. 39–47.

14 Lampert, *Annals* 1058, below, p. 73. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. IX and n. 2; Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) p. 457; Struve (1969) p. 12.

Lampert reported nothing about his career before his admission to Hersfeld on 15 March 1058. His failure directly to identify his school or his schoolmasters has inevitably led scholars to speculate where he could have acquired the education that made him 'one of the best stylists and the most erudite authors whom the Middle Ages produced'.¹⁵ The most convincing arguments point to the outstanding cathedral school of Bamberg and its remarkable library. That school, richly endowed by Bamberg's founder, Emperor Henry II, and by his Salian successors, educated some of Lampert's most distinguished contemporaries. Among the Bamberg alumni scholars have identified the historian Adam of Bremen, the canonist and pro-papal polemicist Bernard (master of the cathedral school of Constance and subsequently of Hildesheim), Williram of Ebersberg (author of a celebrated metrical paraphrase of the Song of Solomon in Latin and Middle High German) and, in particular, Meinhard of Bamberg, theologian, letter-writer, master of the Bamberg school and a key figure in the history of eleventh-century scholarship.¹⁶ It has indeed been suggested that 'entry into the cathedral school of Bamberg, membership of the Bamberg clergy signified ... in this period the prospect of a great career'.¹⁷ The prosopographical evidence for the eleventh century reveals at least the regularity with which clerks from Bamberg were recruited to the imperial chapel and the imperial episcopate.¹⁸

The evidence for Lampert's education in Bamberg has been found both in the content and in the literary style of the *Annals*. The keen interest shown by the author in events in Bamberg is characterised by detailed local knowledge. For example, writing of Bishop Herman's foundation, the religious house of St James, Lampert noted that it 'was situated in a much frequented place in the midst of streams of people ... and separated from the cathedral church of Bamberg by thirty paces at most and therefore much more suitable for clerks than for monks'. Lampert's estimate, equivalent to about 45 metres, is accurate and suggests a personal knowledge of the topography of the city.¹⁹ Lampert's detailed

15 Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) pp. 463–4.

16 Erdmann (1938) pp. 16–24; Märtl (1991) pp. 327–32.

17 Meyer (1973) p. 35.

18 Zielinski (1984) pp. 84–6, 145–7, 151, 158, 164, 268–9; Märtl (1991) p. 329; Wendehorst (1991) p. 237.

19 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below, p. 244 and n. 1292. See Struve (1969) pp. 29–31, concluding: 'Only someone personally acquainted with the locality could give these precise specifications.'

account of the experiences of Bishop Gunther of Bamberg on 'the great German pilgrimage' to Jerusalem of 1064–5 seems to depend on the testimony of eyewitnesses from the bishop's entourage. The author's admiration for Gunther prompted him to compose one of the very few physical descriptions found in the *Annals*. 'Both in his stature and in the beauty, elegance and health of his whole body he was so superior to other mortals that during that journey to Jerusalem people came running from the cities and from the fields in their eagerness to gaze at him.'²⁰ Equally significant is the central role in the *Annals* of Archbishop Anno of Cologne, to whom Lampert devoted more space than to any other churchman. For, until he was appointed provost of SS Simon and Jude in Goslar in 1054, Anno served as master (*magister scholarum*) 'in the school of Bamberg, which at that time surpassed all the others in Germany in the fervour of its discipline, piety and zeal'.²¹ It is likely that, when Lampert composed the very lengthy eulogy of the archbishop that closes his annal for 1075 (in which he noted that Anno 'was educated both in divine and in secular literature in the school of the church of Bamberg'), it was of his former schoolmaster that he was writing.²²

If Lampert was educated in Bamberg while Anno was master, he is likely to have been the school fellow of Meinhard, whom a younger Bamberg contemporary described as 'virtually second to none in erudition, genius and eloquence'.²³ From a comparison of the style of the *Annals* and that of the letters composed by Meinhard as master of the Bamberg school Carl Erdmann (1938) drew the 'obvious conclusion' that Lampert had received his education in the cathedral school in which Meinhard had also studied. He noted, for example, that both authors used the 'historic infinitive' (the present infinitive used instead of the imperfect indicative in order to convey sudden and rapid action), which is extremely rare in medieval Latin. Both Meinhard and Lampert avoided the rhyming prose fashionable among contemporary writers.²⁴ The detailed comparison by Tilman Struve (1969) of the use of classical quotations by Meinhard and Lampert and of their characteristic idioms

20 Lampert, *Annals* 1065, below, p. 107. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. X; Struve (1969) pp. 28–9.

21 *Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis* I.1, pp. 467–8. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. X–XII; Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) p. 457; Struve (1969) pp. 25–6; Märtl (1991) p. 331.

22 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below, p. 291.

23 Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica* 1085, p. 98.

24 Erdmann (1938) pp. 113–14 and n. 4, noting that the 'historic infinitive' is 'totally un-medieval'.

and word associations strongly supports Erdmann's conclusion. Most convincingly, Meinhard and Lampert used the same *mis*-quotations of classical authors and the same 'mixed quotations', combining two distinct passages on similar topics.²⁵ This cannot have been a coincidence: the two authors had learned the art of composition in the same school. Perhaps there was a further parallel in the careers of the two authors. No record has survived of the name of the master of the Bamberg school in the years between the departure of Anno in 1054 and 1058, the earliest date at which Meinhard is known to have held the office. It is possible that Lampert served as *magister scholarum* in these years and that Meinhard succeeded him when Lampert entered the monastery of Hersfeld.²⁶

The instruction in the art of Latin composition in the school of Bamberg made Lampert 'the unrivalled master among medieval historians: even his critics admit that'.²⁷ Only a library as rich in manuscripts of the Latin classics as that of Bamberg could have introduced him to the poets Horace, Ovid, Vergil and Lucan, to the comedies of Terence and above all to the historians Livy, Sallust, Ammianus Marcellinus, Justinus and Suetonius.²⁸ It was the Latin historians who most strongly influenced Lampert's style (while that of his schoolfellow Meinhard was influenced by the poets).²⁹ How Lampert valued these ancient historians is apparent in an observation about Charlemagne in his biography of St Lul (bishop of Mainz and founder of Hersfeld). 'In fact if [Charlemagne] had acquired either Titus Livy or Crispus Sallust as the writer of his deeds, I should say without violating my faith that he would have equalled the glory of Julius or Augustus Caesar or any of the most illustrious Roman emperors both in war and in the arts of peace.'³⁰ Lampert's editor, Oswald Holder-Egger, identified as the principal influences on Lampert's style Sallust and his imitator, Sulpicius Severus (the author of the *Life of St Martin of Tours*, the pre-eminent model for

25 Struve (1969) pp. 22–5. The most obvious example is the deliberate inversion, *o mores, o tempora* (cf. Cicero, *Orationes in Catilinam* I.1.2) in Meinhard of Bamberg, *Letters* 9, 24, 28, pp. 202, 221, 226; Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 289 and n. 1531.

26 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. XI–XII; Struve (1969) p. 26; Märkl (1991) p. 331.

27 Struve (1969) p. 12.

28 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. XLV; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 415–16; Struve (1969) pp. 25–8. Some of these manuscripts of the classics have survived to the present day: see the exhibition catalogue edited by Fauser and Gerstner (1953).

29 Struve (1969) p. 22.

30 Lampert, *Vita Lulli* c. 14 in *Lamperti Opera* p. 327 ('both in war and in the arts of peace' is a quotation from Livy I.21.6).

medieval hagiography).³¹ It was from Sallust that Lampert imitated the method of composing an apparently objective presentation of events in which opposing figures are each given the opportunity to argue their cases. (This was the method of presentation that would earn Lampert the reputation of a non-partisan historian in the historiography of the early nineteenth century.)³²

The study of Guido Billanovich (1945), however, demonstrated in the most precise detail that Livy's *History* exercised the most important stylistic influence on Lampert's works and especially on the *Annals*. Lampert never quoted extensive passages from Livy (or from any other of his classical models) but instead produced sentences composed of many partial quotations. These were drawn especially from the first decade of Livy – the first books of which Lampert seems to have known by heart – and to a lesser extent from the third and fourth decades. Lampert was also 'the first and perhaps the only' medieval author to show knowledge of the fifth decade. Billanovich suggested that for every situation in the history of his own times Lampert found in his memory an analogous passage in Livy's *History* and in this way he made the language of Livy his own.³³

Livy and his other classical models provided Lampert with his most dramatic effects in the *Annals*. In particular, a scene of political crisis or armed conflict is always narrated with a cluster of quotations from Livy. The most striking examples are the dissensions involving the abbey of Fulda in 1063; the Arab attack on the 'great German pilgrimage' to Jerusalem in 1065; the rebellion of Margrave Dedi I of Lower Lusatia in 1069; the rebellion of Otto of Northeim, duke of Bavaria in 1070–1; the adventurous early career attributed to Count Robert I of Flanders in the annal for 1071; the conspiracy of the Saxons and the march on the Harzburg in 1073; the capture of royal castles by the Saxon rebels in 1073–4; the rebellion of the citizens of Cologne against Archbishop Anno in 1074; the battle of Homburg in 1075; the conflict within the Saxon rebel army, when 'the common people' opposed the princes in 1075; the Saxon and Thuringian debate about continued resistance and their surrender to the king in 1075 and the renewed outbreak of

31 Holder-Egger (1884) pp. 296–7; Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. XLV; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 415–16.

32 See below p. 36.

33 Billanovich (1945) pp. 6–9, 15–16, 39–43, 46, 51. The parallels between Lampert's *Annals* and Livy's *History* are given in full in Billanovich (1945) pp. 55–195.

the Saxon rebellion in 1076.³⁴ The best-known passage in Lampert's *Annals* is also that in which the influence of Livy is most obvious. The account of Henry IV crossing the Alps, intending to intercept the pope in January 1077, borrows frequently from Livy's account of Hannibal crossing the Alps in the *History* XXI.32–8. Many of the 'realistic' details that have convinced historians of Lampert's reliability as a narrator – the hiring of local guides, the treacherous weather conditions and the perils of the journey, the measures taken to transport the horses – were actually taken from Livy.³⁵

Lampert's editor, Holder-Egger, noting the borrowings from Livy in the account of Henry IV's victory over the Saxon rebels at Homburg (9 June 1075), criticised Lampert's narrative severely for its dependence on 'memorised passages' from his classical model.³⁶ In fact Lampert's account of Homburg does not differ in essentials from the parallel sources for the battle, in particular that of *The Saxon War* of Bruno of Merseburg.³⁷ The authentic information about the battle that had reached Lampert was, however, one-sided: it referred only to the conduct of the royal army. Perhaps it came to him in the form of the eyewitness accounts of the knights of the contingent sent by the abbey of Hersfeld or of the contingent of the neighbouring abbey of Fulda.³⁸ Desiring to report also the actions of the Saxon and Thuringian rebel army, with whose cause he strongly sympathised, Lampert gathered his material from the battle scenes of Livy's *History*. Hence at the beginning of the battle Lampert placed the rebel army in a fortified Roman

34 Lampert, *Annals* 1063, below pp. 85–91 (Fulda); 1065, below pp. 99–107 (pilgrimage); 1069, below pp. 118–21 (Dedi); 1070–1, below pp. 131–3 (Otto); 1071, below pp. 138–42 (Robert I); 1073, below pp. 177–84 (Harzburg); 1073–4, below pp. 202–6 (royal castles); 1074, below pp. 222–31 (Cologne); 1075, below pp. 260–6 (Homburg); 1075, below pp. 273–4 (Saxon conflict); 1075, below pp. 279–87 (surrender); 1076, below pp. 319, 328 (renewed rebellion).

35 Lampert, *Annals* 1077, below pp. 346–7. See Billanovich (1945) pp. 5, 189–93.

36 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below pp. 260–6. See Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 533–4; Billanovich (1945) pp. 154–62.

37 Bruno of Merseburg, *Saxon War* c. 46, pp. 44–5. Cf. Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below pp. 261–6 nn. 1369, 1388, 1400, 1401, 1408, 1410. See Holder-Egger (1894) p. 534; Meyer von Knonau (1894) pp. 874–7, 878–9; Struve (1970a) p. 87.

38 Although Lampert did not report this, it seems certain that Abbot Hartwig of Hersfeld participated in person in the Homburg expedition, since Abbot Widerad of Fulda was not exempted from participation despite his extremely poor health. Lampert reported Widerad's presence in the army, adding that 'the king was concerned above all to make this the most impressive of expeditions by including the banners and insignia of all his princes' (*Annals* 1075, below p. 258). See Holder-Egger (1894) p. 194; Struve (1970a) p. 87.

camp; he caused the Saxons to ‘burst out of the gates’ at the approach of the royal army and arranged for them to attack the enemy ‘without waiting for the signal, as is the custom with those about to engage in battle’ – the custom, that is, in Livy’s Roman armies.³⁹ It was in the interests of narrative completeness that Lampert borrowed details from Livy to fill in the gaps in his knowledge of Homburg and Henry IV’s crossing of the Alps.

Lampert’s works seem all to have been written in the abbey of Hersfeld but the classical erudition that characterises them must have owed much to his studies and perhaps also his teaching in the school of Bamberg. Hersfeld indeed possessed a richly endowed library in the eleventh century: Lampert himself reported ‘the great abundance of books’ furnished by Abbot Gozbert (970–84).⁴⁰ Very little of the library survived the fifteenth century, however, and today only fragments of Tacitus, Suetonius and Ammianus Marcellinus remain of the classical holdings of Hersfeld in Lampert’s lifetime.⁴¹ Much more survives of the classical collection of the renowned library of the Bamberg cathedral school, probably the richest in the German kingdom and including manuscripts of Livy’s *History*, a great rarity in eleventh-century Europe. Among the survivals are fragments of a fifth-century codex of Livy’s fourth decade in an uncial script. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Codex Class. 35 also contains Livy’s fourth decade, this time written in several hands of the eleventh century. This manuscript is evidently a copy of the fifth-century codex prepared in the Bamberg scriptorium, presumably because the latter had faded so much that it was difficult to read (not least because of the unfamiliar uncial script). The more competent pupils of the cathedral school could well have been co-opted into the labour of copying and – the conjecture is irresistible – Lampert and Meinhard may have been among their number. Perhaps Bamberg Codex Class. 35 reveals something of the process by which Lampert and his putative schoolfellow so successfully internalised the language of Livy.⁴²

These two distinguished intellectuals, probably the products of the same educational system and so alike in their erudition and their fascination with the classics, would follow markedly different careers. Meinhard of Bamberg, after serving as *magister* of the Bamberg cathedral school

39 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 262 and nn. 1375, 1377. See Struve (1970a) p. 86.

40 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 348.

41 Struve (1969) pp. 31–2.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7. See also Munk Olsen (1985) pp. 13–14. I owe this reference to Dr Stephen Hanaphy.

(1058–71), seems to have achieved a higher rank in the cathedral chapter, perhaps that of provost, and ended his life as a bishop – to be precise, imperial anti-bishop of Würzburg (1085–8), appointed by Henry IV to oust the pro-papal incumbent, Adalbero. His contemporaries, both pro-imperial and pro-papal, connected Meinhard's elevation with his outstanding erudition.⁴³ As we have seen, Lampert – perhaps after serving as master of the Bamberg cathedral school (1054–8) – did not pursue a career in the secular clergy but entered the abbey of Hersfeld in 1058.

This departure from secular life clearly did not involve Lampert's abandonment of secular literature. His near contemporary, the Bamberg-educated Bernard, schoolmaster in Constance and Hildesheim, who ultimately became a monk of Corvey, ceased 'to cherish the frivolous lyre of Horace' and turned instead to 'the mystical cithern of David, to the greater advantage of himself and his pupils'. Bernard, that is to say, renounced the pagan literature that he had studied in the school of Bamberg in favour of Scripture and canon law.⁴⁴ His fellow pro-papal polemicist Manegold of Lautenbach, dean of the house of regular canons in Rottenbuch, denounced the adherents of pagan learning with the same acerbity that he directed against the supporters of King Henry IV, regarding the two sets of opponents as equally heretical.⁴⁵ For Lampert of Hersfeld, however, the highest commendation that he could confer on a distinguished prelate was that he was learned in secular as well as divine literature. Thus Lampert recorded of Anno of Cologne, evidently his own schoolmaster, that 'he was educated both in divine and in secular literature'. Of Abbot Meginher, whose 'renown' had drawn Lampert himself to Hersfeld in 1058, the author wrote that 'he was skilled in all the arts'.⁴⁶

Having 'converted to religion' (to use the medieval expression for entering the monastic life), Lampert would henceforward, according to his own words, live 'enclosed, as it were, in the prison of the monastery'.⁴⁷

43 Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronica* 1085, p. 98; Continuation of Frutolf's *Chronica* 1105, *ibid.*, p. 230. Hostile references to Meinhard: Bonizo of Sutri, *To a Friend* IX, p. 254; Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle* 1088, p. 293. See Erdmann (1938) pp. 16–24; Märtl (1991) pp. 331–40.

44 Bernold of St Blasien, *De damnatione scismaticorum* III, p. 47. For Bernard as the pupil of Meinhard of Bamberg see Erdmann (1938) pp. 218–21, 308–11.

45 Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum* c. 2 (concerning Macrobius, Cicero and Vergil), c. 3 (Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Boethius and fourteen other ancient philosophers), pp. 47–51. See also the summary by W. Hartmann, *ibid.*, pp. 12–32.

46 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 291; 1058, below p. 72; Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 350.

47 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 348.

The renunciation of the world for 'the purity of the monastic way of life' is a recurrent theme of Lampert's *Annals*, which consistently celebrates the desire to live 'as a simple monk and to seek rest forever from all the noise of worldly affairs in the name of voluntary poverty'.⁴⁸ The monk followed 'the holy and apostolic way of life', superior to any other. 'Monks indeed are set apart from the multitude'; 'as the more honourable and the more exalted part of the body of Christ, they cling more closely to God'. Monks abandon the world 'so that, if they sacrifice what laymen revere and regard as of the utmost importance, they do not do so before the eyes of laymen, who would be tempted to evil and would pelt them with the stones of their derision and defame the holy and apostolic life'.⁴⁹ The *Annals* contain a record of the incompatibility of monastic values and those of the world and of 'the hatred directed against monasticism, which secular men always try with deep-seated malice to degrade and crush'.⁵⁰

When he renounced the world in 1058, however, Lampert entered an illustrious institution that had long enjoyed great prosperity and influence. Hersfeld had long been one of the foremost Benedictine abbeys in the German kingdom. Like its neighbour and great rival, Fulda, Hersfeld was an eighth-century foundation, enriched by the Carolingians and Ottonians. An imperial abbey, it enjoyed the protection and patronage of the emperors, received its abbots from their hands and was reformed by them. It was the intervention of the eleventh-century German kings and emperors that introduced to the imperial abbeys the reformed monasticism particularly associated with the Lotharingian monastery of Gorze. Hersfeld experienced monastic reform when Emperor Henry II imposed reforming abbots on the monastery in 1005 (Godehard of Niederaltaich) and in 1012 (Arnold of Tegernsee), just as he imposed reformers on the imperial abbeys of Fulda, Corvey, Reichenau and Prüm. Lampert recorded that Abbot Godehard 'began to reform [the monastery] for the better' and that his pupil and successor, Arnold, was 'a man of the strictest severity'.⁵¹ A far more congenial reformer was Abbot Meginher of Hersfeld, who had received Lampert into the monastery on 15 March 1058. Lampert had come to

48 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 243; 1072, below p. 162.

49 *Ibid.*, 1063, below p. 90; 1075, below p. 244. Cf. 1071, below p. 146: 'the holy and angelic profession of the monks'.

50 *Ibid.*, 1063, below p. 86. Cf., for example, the persecution of Hersfeld by King Henry IV's favourite, Count Werner: *ibid.*, 1064, below p. 97.

51 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, pp. 349, 350. See Hallinger (1950) p. 169; Vogttherr (1991) p. 430.

Hersfeld expressly 'to follow the way of life of Abbot Meginher, which was pleasing to God and renowned throughout the whole world'. 'He was a man of great virtues in Christ and truly – and I say this without offence to all the abbots of modern times – the unique model of correct monastic living in the German territories in his generation.'⁵²

One of the four autobiographical passages in Lampert's *Annals* deals with the author's relations with Meginher. Lampert recorded that after his ordination to the priesthood by Archbishop Liutpold of Mainz in September 1058 he 'immediately set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem' without the permission of his abbot. This 'great crime', as the author called it, an act of disobedience in breach of the *Rule* of Benedict, Lampert explained by reference to the scriptural text Romans 10:2: he had acted 'with *zeal for God*, but would that it was *according to knowledge*!'⁵³ Lampert's motives were perhaps those of two contemporary monastic pilgrims, Werner and Liuthar of Reichenau, who set out for Jerusalem in 1053: 'burning with zeal for a life of greater perfection, [they] secretly undertook a pilgrimage for Christ's sake'.⁵⁴ Like the 'extremely learned' Werner of Reichenau, Lampert seems immediately after the experience of his ordination to the priesthood to have concluded that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem represented 'a life of greater perfection' than the monastic routine of Hersfeld. Nevertheless he began to fear that he would be 'found guilty before God of a great crime, if [Meginher] at his death had been displeased and unreconciled'. To his relief, on his return to Hersfeld on 17 September 1059 the abbot 'joyfully received' him and 'pardoned [his] sin'.⁵⁵

During the abbatiates of Meginher of Hersfeld (1035–59) the wealth and influence of the abbey greatly increased. This was evidently the consequence of the personal friendship of Meginher with Emperor Henry III. According to Lampert, 'Henry revered [Meginher] as a holy man and made him his intimate associate'.⁵⁶ It is known that Henry III visited Hersfeld in 1040 (for the consecration of the new buildings undertaken by Meginher) and in 1051 and that Meginher

⁵² Lampert, *Annals* 1058, below p. 72; 1059, below p. 75.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1058, below p. 73; 1059, below p. 75.

⁵⁴ Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicle* 1053, p. 96 and n. 322. Unlike Lampert, they obtained the abbot's permission, 'which was granted in a letter'. Werner was the younger brother of the chronicler Herman.

⁵⁵ Lampert, *Annals* 1059, below p. 75.

⁵⁶ Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 352.

was present in the imperial entourage in Mainz in 1047 and 1049.⁵⁷ The evidence of Henry III's diplomas reveals that Hersfeld received more imperial privileges than any other imperial abbey during the reign.⁵⁸ Of particular importance are the two diplomas of 1043 and 1044 that link substantial donations of property to Hersfeld with the obligation to institute prayers in perpetuity for the memory of Henry's parents, Emperor Conrad II and Empress Gisela. These Hersfeld diplomas bear witness to the well attested preoccupation of the Salian emperors with the perpetuation of the *memoria* of their dynasty. It was a process in which the clergy of the imperial churches and the monks of the imperial abbeys played an indispensable role and may indeed have been intended to strengthen the ties between the dynasty and the churches.⁵⁹ Certainly the abbots of Hersfeld (as we shall see) remained steadfastly loyal to the dynasty for the rest of the century. In the case of Lampert, however, his writings reveal an individual whose loyalty was given not to the Salian dynasty but to the *memoria* of Henry III.

In Lampert's account of the history of Hersfeld Henry III appears as the generous benefactor who granted the abbey 'the tithes of the lands of the royal fisc as long as he lived'.⁶⁰ Lampert represented Henry as 'like another Charles, virtuous and pious', the equal, that is to say, of Charlemagne, the protector and benefactor of Hersfeld, whose virtues Lampert celebrated in his biography of Lul, the founder of Hersfeld.⁶¹ 'Very many men likened [Henry] to Charles the Great himself: since indeed he possessed that excellent character, that magnificence in his actions, that humility, piety, clemency, affability and generosity in giving alms.'⁶² Lampert, born no later than 1028, grew to maturity in the reign of Henry III and seems ever afterwards to have conceived of that reign as a golden age of harmony in Church and kingdom.

⁵⁷ Vogtherr (1991) pp. 440–1.

⁵⁸ MGH DD.H.III 63, 100, 127, 274. On the significance of the transaction recorded in DD.H.III 302 (by restoring in 1053 property in eastern Saxony that had been alienated by Margrave Ekkehard of Meissen, Henry III was able to redeem a crown that he had previously left in pawn to the abbey of Hersfeld) see Vogtherr (1991) pp. 441–2. See also Kehr (1930) p. 25.

⁵⁹ DD.H.III 100, 127. See Schmid (1984b) pp. 666–726.

⁶⁰ Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 352. No record survives of this grant among the diplomas of Henry III.

⁶¹ Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 351. Cf. Lampert, *Vita Lulli archiepiscopi Mogontiacensis* c. 14, 19, pp. 326–8, 332–3.

⁶² Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, pp. 351–2 (a fragment surviving only in Paul Lang's *Chronicon Citizense*).

What Lampert believed himself to be recording in the *Annals* was the disastrous decline in standards in public life that followed the death of Henry III. Lampert's consistently hostile portrayal of Henry IV was prompted by his idealised memory of the king's father.⁶³ A similar idealisation of Henry III is visible in the revised version of the chronicle of Lampert's contemporary, Berthold, monk of the imperial abbey of Reichenau in Swabia.⁶⁴ Most importantly, this was also the view of 'Emperor Henry of pious memory' held by the papal reform party in Rome. The reformers honoured him as a sincere opponent of the practice of simony in ecclesiastical appointments: Henry III 'had cut off all the heads of the many-headed hydra, simoniacal heresy, with the sword of heavenly virtue'.⁶⁵

The rumours and later the open accusations of simony levelled against the regime of Henry IV in the 1060s and 1070s heightened the contrast between the young king and his reform-minded father. Lampert was keen to emphasise the evil reputation of Henry IV at the papal court: the king 'had been denounced to the apostolic see as guilty of the heresy of simony for having sold ecclesiastical offices'.⁶⁶ It is to Lampert's *Annals* that we owe much of our information about the accusations of simony in the German Church. The annal for 1063 already reports that 'bishoprics and abbacies and all manner of ecclesiastical and secular offices were sold' by the young king's advisers, Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen and his ally, Count Werner.⁶⁷ In 1071 the king's confidant Bishop Charles of Constance was proved by his clergy to have obtained his office by means of 'simoniacal heresy' and lost his office despite the efforts of Henry IV to protect him 'with the majesty of his royal authority'.⁶⁸ The *cause célèbre* in the *Annals* is that of Bishop Herman of Bamberg. Lampert's detailed account of the allegations that Herman became bishop 'by means of simoniacal heresy and the squandering of huge sums of money' and of the protracted proceedings that ended in his deposition by the pope (1075) reveals his keen interest in the affairs of Bamberg.⁶⁹

63 See Struve (1970a) p. 34: 'The reign of Henry III set the standard according to which Lampert henceforward judged the kingdom and the empire.'

64 Berthold of Reichenau, *Chronicle* 1056, pp. 113–14. See Robinson (2008) pp. 25–7.

65 Peter Damian, *Letter* 40, p. 501.

66 Lampert, *Annals* 1074, below p. 232.

67 *Ibid.*, 1063, below p. 92.

68 *Ibid.*, 1069, 1071, below pp. 124, 150.

69 *Ibid.*, 1065, 1070, 1075, below pp. 108, 125–6, 245–51.

Lampert's severest denunciations of simony relate to the appointments of abbots of imperial abbeys. He reported the abbatial election of 1075 in Fulda with the *Schadenfreude* characteristic of his accounts of the troubles of Hersfeld's illustrious neighbour and rival. 'As if in a contest in officially convened public games, each man ran the race to the utmost of his ability. One man promised mountains of gold, another promised vast benefices from the lands of Fulda, a third promised more than the customary services to the State.... What morals, what times!'⁷⁰ Even more polemical is Lampert's account of the two successive abbatial appointments in Reichenau that were tainted by simony. After the resignation of the simoniac Abbot Meginward, 'Abbot Rupert of Bamberg, nicknamed "the money-changer", intruded into his place ... through the underground passage of simoniacal heresy, after paying out 1,000 pounds of the purest silver into the king's treasury'.

Lampert's portrait of Rupert, abbot of St Michael's in Bamberg and subsequently abbot of Reichenau, must owe much to Bamberg gossip, to which the author evidently still had access. 'This man had amassed for himself an enormous sum of money by means of the most squalid methods of profiteering and usury, which he had practised even when he was still an ordinary monk in the monastery.' In 'his unbridled ambition' for high office he longed for the deaths of bishops and abbots and, when they disappointed him by their obstinate longevity, he produced 'the secret gifts by means of which the favour of the confidential advisers of the king must be purchased' and 'promised the king himself 100 pounds of gold' if he would remove the abbot of Fulda and give his abbey to Rupert himself. Henry IV was prevented from agreeing to this proposal by 'a few men who valued the laws of the Church more than money'. The example of Abbot Rupert proved to be contagious. 'This false monk ... so dishonoured, corrupted and injured the holy and angelic profession of the monks that in our times and in these lands ... in the election of abbots the question is not who is the most worthy to hold office but who can purchase the abbacy at the higher price. Thus through the device invented by this man ... this custom has been introduced into the Church, according to which abbeys are prostituted by being offered for sale publicly in the palace.' The hostile portrait of Rupert has broadened into a violent polemic against the prevalence of monastic simony in the reign of Henry IV. 'To lament over these matters as they deserve would,' Lampert concluded, 'in view of their

70 *Ibid.*, 1075, below, p. 289. On the Ciceronian quotation see above p. 6 n. 25.

great importance, necessitate a book devoted to them alone and a tragic work of greater length.⁷¹

Just as Henry III, the generous benefactor of Hersfeld and the active opponent of simony, represented for Lampert the ideal of kingship, so his friend Abbot Meginher of Hersfeld was 'the unique model of correct monastic living in the German territories in his generation', a model from whom the subsequent generation of abbots had sadly deviated. This was certainly true, in Lampert's opinion, of Meginher's immediate successors in Hersfeld, Abbot Ruthard (1059–72) and Hartwig (1072–90).⁷² In his history of his monastery Lampert introduced Meginher as 'a monk [of Hersfeld who] succeeded as abbot, a serious and good man, whose teaching harmonised with his life'. Lampert emphasised that Meginher 'was skilled in all the arts' and 'established a school'. One of the most eloquent passages in Lampert's works is devoted to this school. 'What shall I say of the scholarly exercises? At that time studies were pursued with such passion that other monasteries sent their most promising pupils there to be taught. Everywhere mother Hersfeld diffused the perfume of her fame through the respect shown for the sons brought up in that dwelling-place of philosophy *from*, as they say, *earliest childhood*.'⁷³ Other authors testified to the flourishing condition of the school in the later eleventh century. Hersfeld was 'the fortunate sanctuary of philosophy', 'a royal place, outstandingly excellent in the studies of the liberal arts and of secular knowledge'.⁷⁴

It has been suggested that at some point during the third quarter of the eleventh century Lampert himself was the master of this school.⁷⁵ Lampert's encomium on 'mother Hersfeld' as the 'dwelling-place of philosophy' certainly encourages this conjecture. Its rhetorical exuberance is a pointed reminder of that mastery of the *artes* that seems previously to have qualified him to be *magister scholarum* in Bamberg. Support for this conjecture is found in the writings of the only other known Hersfeld authors of the later eleventh century. Both Ekkebert, monk of

71 Lampert, *Annals* 1069, below p. 124; 1071, below pp. 145–6.

72 See below pp. 21–4.

73 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, p. 350 (the encomium on the school is a fragment surviving in Paul Lang's *Chronicon Citizense*. The quotation is from Horace, *Carmina* III.6.24). Cf. Lampert, *Annals* 1059, below p. 75.

74 The descriptions respectively of Ekkebert of Hersfeld, *Vita sancti Haimeradi*, prologue, p. 598; Rudolf of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* c. 5, p. 232.

75 See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. XIV; Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) p. 458; Struve (1969) p. 56.

Hersfeld, in his *Life* of the hermit Haimerad of Hasungen (composed between 1085 and 1090), and the anonymous monk of Hersfeld who composed the anti-papal polemic *The preservation of the unity of the Church* (composed in 1092–3), were careful imitators of Lampert's style, as well as borrowers from his works.⁷⁶ That such imitation was associated with the relationship of pupil and master has been observed in the case of some of these authors' contemporaries: for example, the chronicler Berthold, pupil of Herman 'the Lame' of Reichenau, and the chronicler Bernold of St Blasien, pupil of Bernard of Hildesheim.⁷⁷ It is possible, therefore, that both Ekkebert of Hersfeld and the Hersfeld anonymous were among the younger pupils taught by Lampert as *magister scholarum* in the abbey.

The respect for Lampert's erudition and his influence in Hersfeld are evident in the last of the autobiographical passages included in his *Annals*. In the annal for 1071 (the penultimate year of the abbatiacy of Ruthard of Hersfeld) Lampert described his visit to the abbeys of Siegburg and Saalfeld, products of the reforming initiatives of Archbishop Anno of Cologne. Lampert 'came there to consult [the monks] about the order and discipline of the monastic life, since popular report ascribed great and distinguished qualities to them'. 'I ... came to them and stayed with them for fourteen weeks, partly in Saalfeld and partly in Siegburg. I observed that our customs corresponded better than theirs to the *Rule* of St Benedict, if we were willing to hold as firmly to our principles and follow as rigorously and zealously the traditions of our predecessors.'⁷⁸ The context of Lampert's visit was a new movement of monastic reform in Germany, originating not in the imperial abbeys like Hersfeld but in the monastic foundations of princes who, like Anno of Cologne, were sympathetic to reform. They were sympathisers like Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, Dukes Rudolf of Swabia and Berthold I of Carinthia

76 On Lampert's stylistic influence in Ekkebert, *Vita sancti Haimeradi* pp. 595–607 see Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. VIII n. 1; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 181, 206, 567–9; Struve (1969) p. 62 n. 14. On Lampert's stylistic influence in the Hersfeld anonymous, *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* pp. 173–284, see Struve (1969) pp. 65–71; Robinson (1978b) pp. 545–6.

77 Berthold identified himself as the pupil of Herman in his biography of his master: Berthold, *Chronicle* 1054, p. 111. On Berthold's imitation of his master's style see I. S. Robinson, introduction, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz* pp. 44–9. On Bernold as the pupil of Bernard see Robinson (1989) pp. 169–70, 177–8; on Bernold's style, *ibid.*, pp. 166–8.

78 Lampert, *Annals* 1071, below pp. 152, 154. Semmler (1959) pp. 217–23 wished to date Lampert's visit to 1077, by which year he believed that the author had moved to the abbey of Hasungen. See the counter arguments of Struve (1969) pp. 86–7.

and Count Adalbert of Calw, who were soon to become the political opponents of King Henry IV.⁷⁹

In his analysis of this monastic reform movement Lampert identified its origins in a reaction against the recent cases of simony in the imperial abbeys that he associated in particular with Abbot Rupert of Bamberg and Reichenau. 'The shameful personal conduct of certain false monks had branded the name of monk with extreme infamy, since they abandoned the study of godliness and devoted all their efforts to money and profit.'⁸⁰ 'For this reason the princes of the kingdom summoned monks from beyond the Alps to establish a school of divine service in Gaul,' who imposed 'a stricter way of life' in their monasteries. Consequently 'the ordinary people' and to an even greater extent the princes 'regarded us' – that is, the monks of the imperial abbeys – 'with whom they had long been familiar, as worthless and thought that these monks – because they seemed to offer something new and unusual – were not men but angels, not flesh but spirit'.⁸¹

These 'monks from beyond the Alps' came from the north Italian abbey of Fruttuaria, the foundation of the distinguished reformer William 'of Volpiano', abbot of St-Bénigne, Dijon, notable for his extreme austerity. The abbey enjoyed royal protection but was not an imperial abbey, owing the services characteristic of the 'imperial Church system'. Lampert recorded that Archbishop Anno of Cologne, while travelling in Italy 'on the business of the State', visited Fruttuaria, where 'he admired the way of life of the monks, which was very strict and accorded with the traditions of the *Rule*, and on his return he brought away with him some of those who were most practised in the service of God'. Anno entrusted the reform of his foundation of Siegburg to twelve monks of Fruttuaria (perhaps in 1068) 'in order', wrote Lampert, 'to transmit the model of that same discipline to Gaul'.⁸² It was the monastic 'customs' (*consuetudines*) of Fruttuaria that also provided the model for the reform of the monastery of St Blasien, which commemorated Duke Rudolf of Swabia as its founder.⁸³ Lampert reported that Anno's innovation was widely

79 See Jakobs (1968) pp. 239–90; Jakobs (1973) pp. 87–115; Schmid (1973) pp. 295–319; Vogel (1984) pp. 1–30; Robinson (1999) pp. 126–7.

80 Lampert, *Annals* 1071, below p. 153. See above pp. 15–16 and n. 71.

81 Lampert, *Annals* 1071, below pp. 154, 152. On 'Gaul' (*Gallia*) as a designation for Germany see Lugge (1960) pp. 132–40 and n. 238.

82 Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 294. See Semmler (1959) pp. 35–50, 60–3, 118–20; Schieffer (1971) pp. 154–6.

83 See Jakobs (1968) pp. 39–42, 160, 266–90; Jakobs (1973) pp. 106–12; Vogel (1984) pp. 1–5, 24–30.

imitated. 'The rest of the bishops of Gaul' recruited monks, 'some from Gorze, some from Cluny, some from Siegburg', 'and each bishop established a new school of divine service in his monasteries'.⁸⁴

The importation into Germany of the monastic 'customs' of Fruttuaria – that is, the precise way in which the *Rule* of Benedict was interpreted in the daily life of the monastery – seemed to offer a challenge to the validity of the 'customs' of the imperial abbeys. Hence Lampert was sent by his abbey to Saalfeld and Siegburg to investigate whether the 'customs' so much admired by Anno of Cologne truly 'accorded with the traditions of the *Rule*'. Lampert's judgement was, as we have seen, unequivocal. 'I observed that our customs corresponded better than theirs to the *Rule* of St Benedict.'⁸⁵ Despite his sincere veneration for the memory of Anno of Cologne, Lampert could not approve of the 'life of the strictest discipline' that he had imposed on his monastic foundations. Lampert's account of the rapid dissemination of the monastic reform, although included in his lengthy eulogy of the archbishop in the annal for 1075, is ironical in tone. 'The desire to imitate this fortunate development so grew in strength that we now see few monasteries in Gaul that have not already submitted to the yoke of this new institution.'⁸⁶ It is not so much the image of submission to the yoke but the adjective 'new' that is damning. In Lampert's vocabulary the terms 'new' and 'modern' always have a pejorative meaning. For example, according to Lampert, King Henry IV was condemned by the pope for his 'new and extraordinary rebellion against the apostolic see' in 1076; while the Saxon rebels in 1073 accused him of having 'defiled our land with unheard-of inventions'.⁸⁷ Lampert characterised 'the common people' (whom he regarded with hostility and contempt) as 'eager for novelties' and noted their enthusiasm for the reformed monks, who 'seemed to offer something new and unusual'.⁸⁸

In the years following Lampert's visit to Saalfeld and Siegburg and his confident rejection of their 'customs' Hersfeld continued to investigate 'this new institution' of monastic reform. The evidence is a letter from the monks of Monte Cassino addressed to Hartwig of Hersfeld, from which it appears that the abbot had written to this most prestigious

⁸⁴ Lampert, *Annals* 1075, below p. 294.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1071, below p. 154.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1075, below p. 294.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1076, below p. 307; 1073, below p. 182.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1071, below p. 152 and n. 751. Cf. *ibid.*, 1074, below p. 224 and n. 1178; 1075, below p. 252 and n. 1329. See Struve (1970a) pp. 51–5, 41–2 and nn. 21–2.

of Benedictine monasteries, regarded as the foundation of St Benedict himself, about the 'customs' of reformed monasteries. Hartwig must have referred specifically to the 'customs' of Cluny, the best known of the reformed abbeys of the eleventh century, since the Cassinese monks replied: 'regarding what you say in particular about the tonsure and habit of the Cluniacs, we can briefly reply that they do not please us nor ought they to please anyone who wishes to live a regular life, for they seem entirely contrary to the *Rule*.'⁸⁹ 'We are amazed in no small degree,' wrote the Cassinese monks, 'that some men, puffed up by immoderate pride and contempt, rashly dare, by means of one [custom], albeit good, to destroy another that is no less good and is perhaps better.' Since it would be difficult to set down all the Cassinese 'customs' and send them to Hersfeld, as Hartwig had requested, one of the Hersfeld monks should be sent to Monte Cassino to spend a year or more, studying the life of the abbey. (It is not known whether such a visit – along the lines of Lampert's visit to Saalfeld and Siegburg – was ever undertaken.)

Meanwhile the attitude of Monte Cassino was: 'we observe the commands of our father, blessed Benedict, and we do not wish to deviate from the path of so great a truth for the sake of any alien and new custom'. The advice to Hersfeld was: 'do not be eager to change your customs and ordinances for any others, unless they differ from the *Rule*.'⁹⁰ This was, of course, the same conclusion that Lampert reached in his annal for 1071. Perhaps he was consciously echoing the letter from Monte Cassino in this annal, which, like the rest of his *Annals*, was written (as we shall see) in the later 1070s.⁹¹ This letter has generally been dated in 1072 or 1073, at the beginning of the abbatiacy of Hartwig⁹² but its precise reference to Cluny might well suggest that the correspondence was prompted by the gradual adoption of the 'customs' of Cluny by the reformed monastery of Hirsau during the later 1070s. This was

89 *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung* p. 15. The editor, W. Bulst, rejected the argument of Hallinger (1950) pp. 175, 450–1, that this was a 'circular letter' from Monte Cassino to the German imperial abbeys, since copies from the abbeys of Fulda and Lorsch also survive. Bulst p. 14 emphasised that the letter was a response to particular questions from Abbot Hartwig and that its further dissemination was the work of Hersfeld. See also Feierabend (1913) pp. 20–1; Semmler (1959) pp. 217–19; Struve (1970a) pp. 68–9.

90 *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung* p. 15.

91 See below pp. 31–4.

92 See Feierabend (1913) p. 20; Bulst (as n. 89) p. 13; Hallinger (1950) pp. 175, 450; Struve (1970a) p. 68 n. 57.

the process that transformed Hirsau into the most important centre of monastic reform in southern Germany during the Investiture Contest.⁹³

The 'customs' of Hirsau are the target of a polemic that reveals the continuation of Hersfeld's preoccupation with monastic reform into the early 1090s. This was *The preservation of the unity of the Church*, the work of the anonymous monk of Hersfeld who (as we have seen) was a careful imitator of Lampert's style and perhaps his pupil in the Hersfeld school.⁹⁴ He defended the traditions of the imperial abbeys against the monastic reformers, whose 'customs, which are the commands of men, carry more weight in their monasteries than the Gospel of Christ and the commandment of God'.⁹⁵ At their head were 'the monks of Hirsau, from whose school came ... that civil war by which that single order of monks has long been split into very many sects'. In an extraordinary escalation of Lampert's criticisms of the 'new' monasticism, the polemic of the anonymous monk of Hersfeld ascribes to the proponents of monastic reform responsibility not only for the disputes about 'customs' in the German monasteries but also for the divisions of the Investiture Contest itself. The reformers were 'the promoters or authors of the schisms that were caused a while ago both in the Church and in the State'.⁹⁶

After the annal of 1071 containing Lampert's defence of the monastic traditions of Hersfeld, the work contains no further autobiographical information. The conjectures of Lampert's editor, Oswald Holder-Egger (1894), about the author's later career focused on the likelihood of his growing estrangement from his abbot and brethren in Hersfeld. Throughout the abbacy of Hartwig (1072–90) Hersfeld remained consistently loyal to the king and indeed the abbey became one of Henry IV's most reliable supporters during the Saxon wars. (Hence the historian Abbot Rudolf of St Trond would subsequently describe Hersfeld as 'the royal place'.)⁹⁷ On the basis of Lampert's narrative of events in Saxony and Thuringia in the *Annals* Holder-Egger suggested that already in 1074 Lampert 'was suspected in the circle of his royalist

93 See Hallinger (1950) pp. 428–42; Büttner (1966) pp. 321–38; Cowdrey (1970) pp. 196–209.

94 See above p. 17.

95 *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* II.41, p. 271.

96 *Ibid.*, II.38, p. 266. See Hallinger (1950) pp. 454–6; Semmler (1959) p. 218.

97 Rudolf of St Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonsium* I.5, p. 232. See Feierabend (1913) pp. 109–20; Vogtherr (1991) pp. 451–3.

brethren of leanings towards the rebellious Saxons and Thuringians'.⁹⁸ That Lampert encountered criticism in the abbey around this time is clear from his preface to his history of Hersfeld, which survives only in fragmentary form. Here he referred to another of his works – no longer extant – 'in heroic metre' (that is, hexameters) concerning the recent history of Hersfeld. For reasons that are not specified the work was not well received: 'I am accused of having written in the verses very many falsehoods instead of truths.' He consequently judged himself to be 'unsuitable' to record 'the deeds enacted in modern times' despite his keen interest in them. (Here Lampert blended his reference to the criticism of his earlier readers with the 'humility *topos*' conventional in the writing of eleventh-century prefaces.)⁹⁹ The divergence in opinion between Lampert and his royalist brethren can only have been intensified by the conflicts between the king and the pope and the king and the princes in 1076, which Lampert attributed in his *Annals* entirely to the malice of Henry IV. It is significant, as Holder-Egger (1894) noted, that 'in the entire long narrative of the events of the year 1076 and the first months of 1077 [Lampert] makes no mention at all of his abbot and his monastery'.¹⁰⁰

Lampert's attitude towards Abbot Hartwig of Hersfeld is indeed mainly to be inferred from the silence of the *Annals*. Reporting the resignation of the ailing Abbot Ruthard (December 1072), Lampert added the briefest of statements about his successor: 'according to his wish, H., a monk of the same monastery, immediately succeeded him'. In all the manuscripts of the *Annals* the abbot's name is represented only by the initial letter, which suggests that Lampert wrote only 'H.' in his autograph.¹⁰¹ In the other four references to Hartwig he appears simply as 'the abbot of Hersfeld' without his name.¹⁰² Three of these references are neutral in tone but the first reference is critical of Hartwig's failure to defend the interests of Hersfeld in the Thuringian tithes dispute. In the synod of Erfurt (March 1073) Hartwig was frightened by the

98 See Holder-Egger (1894) p. 209.

99 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, prologue, p. 345. Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 210–11 suggested that the controversial subject was the Thuringian tithes dispute. On the date of this work see Struve (1969) pp. 38–9. On the 'humility *topos*' see Arbusow (1963) pp. 98, 104–6; Simon (1958) pp. 108–19. I am grateful to Dr Conor McCann for drawing my attention to the latter work.

100 See Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 195–6.

101 Lampert, *Annals* 1072, below p. 162. On the manuscripts see Holder-Egger (1894) p. 205 n. 2.

102 Lampert, *Annals* 1073, below pp. 165–8, 188; 1074, below pp. 207, 211.

king's threats and was 'compelled to pass under the yoke'. His conduct is juxtaposed to that of his neighbour, Abbot Widerad of Fulda, who 'remained steadfast and firm in his purpose for some days' after Hartwig had deserted their common cause.¹⁰³

There is an obvious contrast with the admiring portrait of Hartwig in *The preservation of the unity of the Church*, the work of the anonymous monk of Hersfeld, the imitator of Lampert and possibly his pupil. In this portrait of 1092–3 Hartwig appears as 'extremely educated and learned both in moral disciplines and in the holy Scriptures': 'through the application of his wisdom and ingenuity the unity of the evil men [who opposed Henry IV] was destroyed'.¹⁰⁴ There is a similar contrast between Lampert's view of Hartwig and that of Ekkebert, monk of Hersfeld, another imitator and perhaps also a pupil of Lampert. Ekkebert dedicated his *Life* of Haimerad of Hasungen 'to the unique model of true virtue, his lord and father, Hartwig', in a passage adapted from Lampert's description of Abbot Meginher of Hersfeld in the *Annals*.¹⁰⁵

Meginher, as we have seen, constituted Lampert's ideal of monastic virtue: 'renowned throughout the whole world', he was 'the unique model of correct monastic living in the German territories in his generation'.¹⁰⁶ By comparison, Meginher's successor, Ruthard, 'was rather more negligent in his observance of the holy *Rule* than morals and the times required'. Nevertheless Lampert declared that 'he was extremely learned in the holy Scriptures and so skilful in speaking that no man of that time discoursed of the word of God with more eloquence or with more penetration or with more refinement'.¹⁰⁷ To Hartwig Lampert attributed no qualities whatsoever and he seems to have concealed his full name. It is significant that he included the information that on his deathbed Abbot Ruthard 'repented and deplored' his decision to resign his office. Whether this means that he regretted the succession, 'according to his wish', of Hartwig is not clear.¹⁰⁸

Holder-Egger (1894) conjectured that Lampert himself hoped to become Ruthard's successor.¹⁰⁹ His conjecture was partly inspired by

103 *Ibid.*, 1073, pp. 167–8.

104 *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* II.28, p. 249.

105 Ekkebert, *Vita sancti Haimeradi* p. 598.

106 Lampert, *Annals* 1058, below p. 72; 1059, below p. 75.

107 *Ibid.*, 1074, below p. 236.

108 *Ibid.*, 1074, below p. 236; 1072, below p. 162.

109 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. XVI.

the discrepancy between the two versions of the succession composed by Lampert, that in the history of Hersfeld being written before the account in the *Annals*. The fragmentary earlier version, composed at the request of Abbot Hartwig himself, reads: 'Abbot Ruthard was enfeebled by old age and resigned Hersfeld to Henry [IV] on his arrival. The monk Hartwig was put in his place by the same Henry. This pleased [Archbishop] Anno [of Cologne].' The version in the *Annals* says nothing either of the presence of the king on the occasion of Ruthard's resignation or of Archbishop Anno's approval of Hartwig's succession.¹¹⁰ Holder-Egger suggested that 'Anno had formerly been on friendly terms with Lampert' – that is, as his teacher in the cathedral school of Bamberg – and 'strove then to appoint Lampert abbot'. The king opposed the appointment and Anno was forced to accept the election of Hartwig. Such an event would explain Lampert's intense hostility towards Henry IV and his strained relations with Abbot Hartwig.¹¹¹ The most striking piece of evidence used by Holder-Egger to support his conjecture derives from Lampert's account of the Christmas festivities in Bamberg in 1072, just a fortnight after Ruthard's resignation and Hartwig's succession. 'There also the archbishop of Cologne, who was displeased by much that happened in the palace that was contrary to justice and fairness, requested from the king that he should thereafter be given an exemption from participating in the government of the State.'¹¹² Perhaps Lampert believed that Anno's failure to influence the election in Hersfeld was the factor that prompted his sudden withdrawal from the royal court.

There is considerable agreement with the suggestion of Holder-Egger that the author of the violently anti-Henrician *Annals* could not have remained in the royalist abbey of Hersfeld for the rest of his life. Having failed to persuade his brethren by means of the *Annals* to abandon Henry IV, he departed or was expelled from the congregation.¹¹³ In the opinion of Haller (1938), 'Lampert left Hersfeld voluntarily or under compulsion at the latest in 1077.'¹¹⁴ Apart from these conjectures, in attempting to reconstruct the later career of Lampert we are dependent on a few scraps of evidence from outside the text of the *Annals* that are difficult to

110 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* II, p. 354; Lampert, *Annals* 1072, below p. 162.

111 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. XVI–XVII.

112 Lampert, *Annals* 1073, below p. 163.

113 Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. XIX and n. 1; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 169 and n. 1, 202–4.

114 Haller (1938) p. 422. See also Stengel (1955) p. 251; Struve (1969) pp. 59, 86.

interpret. Firstly, the early sixteenth-century Göttingen manuscript of the *Annals* originally bore the title, 'The chronicle of Lampert, formerly abbot of Hasungen'.¹¹⁵ Secondly, two early sixteenth-century humanist historians referred to Lampert by the same title. Hartman Schedel entitled his extracts from the *Annals*, 'From the chronicle of Lampert, formerly abbot of Hasungen, which is held in the monastery of St Peter in Erfurt in an ancient script'. Schedel seems to be referring here to the lost Erfurt manuscript from which the extant Göttingen manuscript was copied.¹¹⁶ Schedel's contemporary, Andreas of Michelsberg, noted that 'Lampert, monk of Hersfeld and abbot of Hasungen, wrote a very famous chronicle'.¹¹⁷ Finally, there is the problematical evidence of the forged foundation charter of the abbey of Hasungen, claiming to have been granted by Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz in 1082. Although a forgery of *circa* 1100, the charter undoubtedly refers to an actual event, briefly recorded in narrative sources. Archbishop Siegfried is said to have transformed into a Benedictine abbey in 1081 the house of canons that he had founded seven years before in Hasungen (west of Kassel).¹¹⁸ The forged charter represents Siegfried as saying that 'we have chosen the order of most holy religion of Cluny' and 'we have followed this order with Abbot Lampert as the guide'.¹¹⁹

From these unpromising materials Stengel (1955) reconstructed his narrative of the last years of the career of Lampert as abbot of Hasungen. That Lampert, monk of Hersfeld, did indeed become an abbot was confirmed for Stengel by the fragment of the necrology of Hersfeld that commemorated the death of an Abbot *Lambhertus* on 2 October. Since there was no one of this name in the sequence of the abbots of Hersfeld, this must refer to a monk of Hersfeld who exercised the office elsewhere and the 'Abbot Lampert of Hasungen' remembered in Erfurt and identified in the forged foundation charter of Hasungen is the only available candidate.¹²⁰ Stengel deduced that, when Lampert left

115 The place-name was altered by a later hand to 'Hirsau'. See Stengel (1955) p. 248 and n. 30; Struve (1969) p. 85.

116 See Stengel (1955) p. 247 n. 26; Struve (1969) p. 85. On the lost Erfurt codex see Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* p. L; Holder-Egger (1894) pp. 150–1.

117 See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. LVII–LVIII; Holder-Egger (1894) p. 249; Stengel (1955) p. 247 n. 27; Struve (1969) p. 85.

118 Cf. *Annals of Iburg* 1074, p. 436; *Annals of Ottobeuren* 1081, p. 7. See Büttner (1949) p. 46; Hallinger (1950) pp. 260, 267–8; Stengel (1955) p. 249; Struve (1969) p. 85.

119 *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* no. 358, pp. 253–8. See Hallinger (1950) pp. 542–3; Stengel (1955) pp. 250–4; Semmler (1959) pp. 219–20.

120 See Stengel (1955) p. 247 and n. 25; Semmler (1959) pp. 220–1; Struve (1969) pp. 91–4.

Hersfeld, he 'found refuge' in Hasungen, the proprietary monastery of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz. As abbot of Hasungen, Lampert played the leading role in converting the congregation of canons that Siegfried had founded in Hasungen in 1074 into a community following the *Rule* of Benedict.¹²¹

In the pages of Lampert's *Annals* Siegfried of Mainz is seen to act against the interests of Hersfeld in the Thuringian tithes dispute and he is castigated for 'his private hatred of the Thuringians'. The archbishop's demand for the payment of tithes 'was the source and starting-point of all the disasters by which the State had now been very unhappily tormented for very many years'.¹²² Stengel argued that Lampert was reconciled to Siegfried when the latter changed his political allegiance. In 1076 'the archbishop of Mainz and very many others who had hitherto vigorously supported the party of the king, abandoned him and joined the princes' who were conspiring to depose Henry IV.¹²³ In Stengel's opinion, Lampert underwent 'a change of mind, which is very probably to be attributed to a man like him, who ... never had any mental reservations about sacrificing truth to his own inclination'.¹²⁴ Stengel also ascribed to Lampert a more extreme 'change of mind': the acceptance of what the forged foundation charter of 1082 calls 'the order of most holy religion of Cluny' when he became abbot of Hasungen.¹²⁵

There is independent evidence of the presence in Hasungen in the 1080s of monks of Hirsau, whose abbot, the distinguished reformer William of Hirsau, had adopted the 'customs' of Cluny in 1079.¹²⁶ A Hirsau tradition records that 'Abbot Giselbert was sent to Hasungen.' This undated report refers to the distinguished monastic reformer who, before becoming abbot of St Peter's in Erfurt and simultaneously abbot of Reinhardsbrunn (†1101), had been abbot of Hasungen. It is also recorded that he was compelled to leave Hasungen with about fifty monks at some point during the archiepiscopate of the pro-Henrician Wezilo of Mainz (1084–8).¹²⁷ That the Hirsau–Cluniac reform could

121 Stengel (1955) p. 252.

122 Lampert, *Annals* 1073, below pp. 165–8; 1069, below p. 119; 1074, below p. 240.

123 *Ibid.*, 1076, below p. 331.

124 Stengel (1955) p. 252.

125 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

126 See Hallinger (1950) pp. 309, 840; Semmler (1956) pp. 261–76; Jakobs (1961) p. 40.

127 *Codex Hirsaugiensis* p. 263; Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis* c. 16, p. 217. See Hallinger (1950) pp. 260, 384–7; Semmler (1956) pp. 261–76; Semmler (1959) pp. 129, 220, 350–1; Struve (1969) pp. 87–9.

also have been promoted by Lampert has, however, been strongly doubted by scholars.¹²⁸ As we have seen, his analysis in the *Annals* of 'this new institution' of monastic reform patronised by 'the bishops of Gaul' concluded that the traditions of the imperial abbeys were superior to the practice of the reformers. Lampert agreed with the monks of Monte Cassino, who considered that some of the 'customs' of Cluny 'seem entirely contrary to the *Rule*'.¹²⁹

The likely explanation of this discrepancy is that the forged foundation charter of Hasungen – which refers to the introduction to Hasungen of 'the order of most holy religion of Cluny', 'with Abbot Lampert as the guide' – conflated two distinct stages of the history of Hasungen as a Benedictine monastery. The first stage was the introduction of the Benedictine *Rule* into the congregation of canons founded by Siegfried of Mainz in 1074. The second stage was the adoption of the 'customs' of Cluny with the help of monks of Hirsau. As we have seen, Hirsau tradition associates this second stage with the reformer Giselbert. It was probably to this later development that the annalist of Ottobeuren referred in his annal for 1081: 'There began to be monks on the mountain of Hasungen.' For the Ottobeuren annalist, compiling his work in the early twelfth century, principally from the *Annals of Hasungen*, now lost, the arrival of Abbot Giselbert marked the true beginning of the Benedictine observance in Hasungen. The annalist would have known that, although they had been excluded from Hasungen in the mid-1080s, Hirsau monks and Cluniac 'customs' had been reintroduced in the time of Archbishop Ruthard of Mainz (1089–1109).¹³⁰

Before the arrival of Abbot Giselbert and the Cluniac 'customs' in 1081, however, it is likely that there had been an earlier stage of Benedictine observance in Hasungen 'with Abbot Lampert as the guide'. The suggestion is that at a date between 1074 and 1081 Lampert brought to Hasungen from Hersfeld the 'customs' of the imperial abbeys that he defended in the *Annals* as superior to those of the reforming monasteries. There is certainly some evidence of links between Hersfeld and Hasungen both before and after Lampert's abbatiates: notably

128 See Semmler (1956) p. 263; Semmler (1959) p. 220; Hallinger (1958–60) p. 225; Struve (1969) pp. 86–9.

129 See above pp. 17–20 and nn. 77, 80, 88.

130 *Annals of Ottobeuren* 1081, p. 7. See Hallinger (1950) p. 260; Jakobs (1961) p. 41. For the view that the lost *Annals of Hasungen* were a continuation of Lampert's *Annals*, perhaps preceded by an abridged version of Lampert's work, see Robinson (1978b) pp. 538–50.

the concern in Hersfeld with the cult of Haimerad of Hasungen. In his annal for 1072 Lampert reported that the tomb of Haimerad in Hasungen was 'renowned and held in the highest honour throughout Gaul and ... visited every day by great crowds of people because of the divine healing that was granted there again and again to the sick'.¹³¹ Continued interest in the cult is evident in the *Life of St Haimerad* composed between 1085 and 1090 by the monk Ekkebert of Hersfeld at the request of Abbot Hartwig.¹³² It is tempting to connect the commissioning of this *Life* with the suggestion of Holder-Egger (1894) that Hartwig sent Hersfeld monks to Hasungen at the request of Archbishop Wezilo of Mainz after the departure of Abbot Giselbert and his fifty supporters.¹³³ Hersfeld may well have provided Hasungen with a *Life* of its saint on the occasion in the mid-1080s when Hersfeld monks assisted the pro-Henrician Abbot Wigbert in ensuring the continuity of monastic life in Hasungen.¹³⁴ Given the imperialist allegiance of Abbot Wigbert and his patron, Archbishop Wezilo, it seems likely that the 'customs' of the imperial abbeys were followed in Hasungen during the interlude between two periods of Cluniac–Hirsau 'customs'.

Perhaps this was a restoration of the 'customs' of imperial monasticism after the first introduction of the Cluniac–Hirsau 'customs' in 1081. Perhaps indeed this Hersfeld mission of the mid-1080s was Abbot Hartwig's *second* intervention in the history of Hasungen as a Benedictine abbey, the first being the sending of Hersfeld monks with Lampert as their abbot at a date between 1074 and 1081, presumably at the request of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz. Tilman Struve, in his convincing reassessment of the evidence for Lampert's abbatiacy in Hasungen (1969), argued that, despite the anti-Henrician opinions in the *Annals* and the author's coolness in his allusions to his abbot, there was no overt hostility between Hartwig and Lampert. For it was Hartwig who commissioned Lampert's first work, *The Life of Lul, archbishop of Mainz*, and his subsequent history of the abbey (which survives only as fragments), both works devoted to the defence of the rights of Hersfeld. 'Hartwig would never have entrusted Lampert with

131 Lampert, *Annals* 1072, below p. 161.

132 Ekkebert, *Vita sancti Haimeradi* pp. 595–607. See above pp. 17 and n. 76, 23 and n. 105.

133 Holder-Egger (1894) p. 573. See also Semmler (1956) p. 275; Struve (1969) p. 90.

134 Abbot Wigbert of Hasungen (?1085–?1088) is identified in *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* no. 371, p. 270 (praising 'the constancy of Abbot Wigbert of that place, together with his tiny flock'). See Hallinger (1950) p. 260; Struve (1969) pp. 89–90.

the composition of the *Vita Lulli* and the history of the monastery if he had not regarded him as reliable.’¹³⁵ According to this interpretation of the evidence, Lampert neither fled nor was expelled from Hersfeld for his political opinions but was entrusted by Abbot Hartwig with the task of introducing the Benedictine *Rule* to Hasungen. Perhaps it was here that he died in 1081 and was succeeded by Abbot Giselbert.¹³⁶

While much of the monastic career of Lampert remains conjectural, his literary career is well known to us. As we have seen, his first three works were concerned exclusively with the history of his own abbey. The earliest was a hagiographical work, *The Life of Lul, archbishop of Mainz*, the Anglo-Saxon pupil of St Boniface, whom he succeeded as archbishop, and the founder of Hersfeld (†786). Holder-Egger, who was the first to identify the *Life* as the work of Lampert, drew attention to its polemical character, noting the biographer’s emphasis on Hersfeld’s independence and his attack on the pretensions of the abbey of Fulda, the old rival of his own abbey.¹³⁷ Even more evident is the political purpose of the *Life*. The portrayal of Lul of Mainz and Charlemagne as the most active of benefactors and defenders of Hersfeld was clearly intended to serve as a model of correct conduct for contemporaries and doubtless also to provide a contrast with the failure of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz and King Henry IV to imitate the example of their renowned predecessors. Hence Tilman Struve (1969), in dating the *Life*, placed it in the context of the Thuringian tithes dispute, which culminated in 1073.¹³⁸

The tithes dispute was perhaps also the subject of Lampert’s second work, no longer extant: a metrical work dealing with the recent history of Hersfeld. Of this poem we know only that it aroused such sharp criticism from its readers – presumably the brethren of Hersfeld – that Lampert declared that he doubted his ability to report ‘the deeds of modern times’. This declaration appears in the preface of his third

135 Struve (1969) p. 90; see also pp. 48–51.

136 Unless the appearance of the name Lampert in the necrology of the monastery of Helmarshausen (in the diocese of Paderborn) indicates that Lampert of Hersfeld ended his life as a monk of Helmarshausen: see Freise (1981) p. 247. For the date of Lampert’s death in the Hersfeld necrology as 2 October see above p. 25 and n. 120. The same date is given in the necrology of the monastery of Abdinghof (Paderborn): see Semmler (1959) pp. 220–1; Struve (1969) p. 93.

137 Holder-Egger (1884) pp. 283–320; Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. XXV–XXVI.

138 Lampert, *Vita Lulli* c. 19, pp. 332–3. See Struve (1969) p. 37. On the Thuringian tithes dispute see Lampert, *Annals* 1073, below pp. 164–8.

work, the history of Hersfeld commissioned by Abbot Hartwig.¹³⁹ How Lampert treated 'the deeds of modern times' in this work is not known since the history survives only in excerpts made in the early sixteenth century. The prologue and the greater part of book I were excerpted by a monk of Hamersleben in 1513, who called the work *Libellus de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae*, a title that draws attention to the foundation of the abbey, recorded in the opening pages of book I.¹⁴⁰ Book II, which begins in 1056, survives only in fragments in the chronicles of the humanist historians Paul Lang and Wigand Gerstenberg, of which the latest refers to the year 1076.¹⁴¹

The *Annals* was Lampert's final work. Like his three previous works, it seems to have been undertaken to meet the needs of Hersfeld: in this instance, as a continuation of the old Hersfeld Annals (no longer extant).¹⁴² Hence Tilman Struve (1969) suggested that, like the *Life of Lul* and the history of the abbey, the *Annals* was commissioned by Abbot Hartwig.¹⁴³ Since, unlike the two previous works, the *Annals* contains no prologue explaining the circumstances of its composition, it must remain a matter of speculation whether Hartwig actually prompted the composition of a work, the opinions of which were to prove so much at odds with his own views. It is clear from the resultant work that Lampert saw himself as a *contemporary* historian, concerned above all with 'the study of deeds enacted in modern times'.¹⁴⁴ Although he retained from the old Hersfeld Annals the traditional format of the 'world chronicle', a historical narrative beginning with the Creation, he did not share the interest in antiquity of, for example, his older contemporary, Herman of Reichenau, or his younger contemporary, Bernold of St Blasien.¹⁴⁵

The centuries preceding Lampert's own lifetime receive the most perfunctory treatment in the *Annals*. Lampert added very little to the

139 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, prologue, p. 345. See above p. 22 and n. 99.

140 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, pp. 345–7.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 353–4. See Holder-Egger in *Lamperti Opera* pp. XXIX–XXXIV. Additional fragments were identified by Struve (1969) pp. 40–2.

142 The old Hersfeld Annals have been reconstructed from their numerous derivatives: see the edition of G. H. Pertz under the title *Annales Hildesheimenses, Quedlinburgenses, Weissenburgenses et Lamberti pars prior*, *MGH SS* 3, 18–102. See also Wattenbach-Holtzmann-Schmale (1967) p. 463; Struve (1969) pp. 51–4.

143 Struve (1969) p. 51.

144 Lampert, *Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae* I, prologue, p. 345.

145 Robinson (2008) pp. 9, 11, 50.