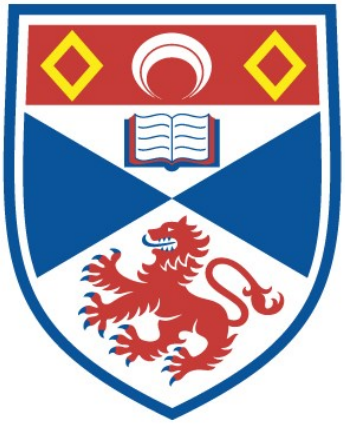
JONAS OF BOBBIO AND THE *VITA COLUMBANI*
SANCTITY AND COMMUNITY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Alexander O'Hara

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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16 April 2009

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Abstract

The seventh century was a formative period in the history of western monasticism. It was during this period that a monastic culture became more entrenched on the Continent with the foundation of new monasteries that were more closely tied to royal and aristocratic power. The catalyst behind this development was the Irish abbot and monastic founder, Columbanus (c. 550-615), and his Frankish disciples, the Columbanians. Columbanus's ascetical exile to the Continent in 590 and his founding of monasteries in the Vosges forests of Burgundy and at Bobbio in Lombard Italy had a deep impact on Frankish and Lombard societies. Luxeuil in Burgundy became the nexus of the Hiberno-Frankish monastic movement in Merovingian Gaul in the years following Columbanus's death, while Bobbio became an important centre of Catholic orthodoxy and influence in Lombard Italy.

This thesis considers our principal source for Columbanus and the Columbanian familia, Jonas of Bobbio's Vita Columbani abbatis et discipulorumque eius, written between 639 and 642. This is arguably the most important hagiographical work produced in the seventh century and one of the most significant of the early Middle Ages. I propose that the work was principally a Bobbio production meant to re-vindicate Columbanus's saintly reputation amongst the Frankish communities and to criticize the dissent and disunity that had led to a change in Columbanian practices a decade after the saint's death. I also consider whether it was addressed to a wider royal and aristocratic audience in Merovingian Gaul and propose new insights into the structure of the work. In addition to a close textual study of the Vita Columbani and Jonas's other, lesser-known saints' Lives, the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis, I explore the career of Jonas himself, seeing him as an individual whose life reflected many of the changing political, cultural, and religious circumstances of his age.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to a number of scholars and friends for their helpful comments and support over the last few years. I particularly wish to thank: Dr Barbara Crawford, Dr Albrecht Diem, Dom Adalbert de Vogüé, Professor Patrick Geary, Mr Christian Harding, Professor Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Dr James Palmer, M. Jacques Prudhon, Professor Michael Richter, Dr Clare Stancliffe, and Mr Alex Woolf. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Professor Robert Bartlett, who has inspired my studies since I was an undergraduate. The award of a Carnegie Scholarship from 2005 to 2008 enabled me to undertake my doctoral research at St Andrews and I feel especially privileged and thankful to have been a recipient of this scholarship.

Contents

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Archivum Bobiense
AASS	Acta Sanctorum
Adomnán	Adomnán of Iona. Life of St Columba
Biographie	W. Berschin. Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, ii, Merowingische Biographie, Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CDB	Codice diplomatico del monastero di S. Colombano di Bobbio fino all'anno MCCVIII
CLA	Codices Latini Antiquiores
Decem Libri	Gregory of Tours, Decem Libri Historiarum
Diplomata	Diplomata, chartae, Epistolae, Leges ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia
EHR	The English Historical Review
EME	Early Medieval Europe
Ep.	Epistula
Fredegar	The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar
Frühes Mönchtum	Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich
Ionae Vitae	Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis
HL	Pauli Historia Langobardorum
Instructio	Instructiones, in Sancti Columbani Opera, pp. 60-120
LVP	Liber vitae patrum
Master	The Rule of the Master

McNamara	Sainted Women of the Dark Ages
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SS	Scriptores (in folio)
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
n.s.	new series
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series latina
PP	Passio Praeiecti
RC	Regula coenobialis, in Sancti Columbani Opera, pp. 142-68
RM	Regula monachorum, in Sancti Columbani Opera, pp. 122-42
SCO	Sancti Columbani Opera
Settimane	Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo
VC	Vita Columbani abbatis et discipulorumque eius, in Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis, pp. 144-294
Versus	Versus de Bobuleno abbate,
VG	Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis
Vie de Saint Columban	Vie de Saint Colomban et de ses disciples
VIoh.	Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis, in Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis, pp. 326-44
VPJ	The Life of the Jura Fathers
VS	Vita Sadalbergae abbatissae Laudunensis,
VVed.	Vita Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis, in Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis, pp. 309-20
VW	Vita Wandregiseli

Wood ‘Jonas of Bobbio, The Abbots of Bobbio. From the Life of St Columbanus’, trans. I. Wood, in Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology, pp. 111-35

INTRODUCTION

The three saints' Lives of Jonas of Bobbio constitute the most important corpus of hagiographical writing of the seventh century. Jonas is unique in this period as an author of multiple saints' Lives. The Vita Columbani abbatis et discipulorumque eius, written between 639 and 642, is Jonas's best known and most ambitious work. Although it was commissioned by the abbot and community of Bobbio in Lombard Italy, the work was also intended for the extended Columbanian familia of monasteries and their patrons in Merovingian Gaul. The Vita concerns the Irish abbot and monastic founder, Columbanus (d. 615), and three monastic communities – Bobbio, Luxeuil, and Faremoutiers – in the period between the death of Columbanus and the time Jonas was writing.

The Vita Columbani is a composite saint's Life with an unusual two-book structure. Book I deals with the saintly career of Columbanus from his birth in Ireland to his death at Bobbio in 615. It is a conventional narrative account of one of the most remarkable monastic figures of the early Middle Ages and provides a wonderful panorama of the monastic and political landscape of early medieval Europe in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. It charts Columbanus's education and monastic formation in Ireland, his departure for the Continent as an ascetical exile (peregrinus), his monastic foundations of Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaine in the Vosges forests of Burgundy, his conflict with his royal patrons, Queen Brunhild and King Theuderic II, and his subsequent banishment and travels through the royal courts and aristocratic households of northern Gaul to Germania and across the Alps into Italy where he settled at Bobbio. The

second part of the Vita, Book II, is more unconventional in structure as it deals with Columbanus's successors as abbots of Bobbio and Luxeuil, their communities, and the female religious community of Faremoutiers. The first six chapters concern Athala (d. 625), Columbanus's successor as abbot of Bobbio, chapters 7-10 with Eustasius (d. 629), abbot of Luxeuil, chapters 11-22 deal with Faremoutiers and, in particular, the miraculous deaths and otherwordly experiences that took place there, while chapters 23-25 cover Athala's successor as abbot of Bobbio, Bertulf (d. 639), and a number of Bobbio monks. Book II can, therefore, be read as a gesta-abbatum style narrative and as a hagiographical-history of the early period of the Columbanian monastic movement.

Jonas's two other saints' Lives are much shorter and more conventional than the Vita Columbani. The Vita Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis is a short account of the first Bishop of Arras, Vedastus (d. 540), who was an important ecclesiastical figure in northern Gaul in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Along with his more famous contemporary, Bishop Remigius, Vedastus was influential in the conversion of the Franks. The Vita begins dramatically with the conversion of Clovis after he turns to the Christian God of his wife for help in defeating the Alemanni. Jonas sets his narrative in the historical and political background to the Franks' Christianization. Clovis meets the holy man after the battle on his way from Toul and they travel together to Rheims where Clovis is baptized by Bishop Remigius. Although the Vita Vedastis is better known from Alcuin's rewriting of it in the eighth century, Jonas's original text is important for its early use of the Histories of Gregory of Tours and for its independent information that the Frankish king was baptised at Rheims. The Vita Vedastis can thus be seen as a conversion narrative of

the Franks. The work was probably commissioned around the same time that Jonas was writing the Vita Columbani. It is likely that the Bishop of Cambrai-Arras, Autbert, commissioned Jonas to write the work for the cathedral. Autbert was a Luxeuil-trained monk who had close connections with Amandus, the missionary bishop with whom Jonas was working.

The Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis is Jonas's last known work of hagiography. Due to a Prologue added to the Vita we know how this work came to be written and when, while it provides important information about Jonas. The Prologue reports that in November 659 Jonas, who was now an abbot, was travelling south to Chalon-sur-Sâone having been summoned there by Queen Balthild. Due to the hardship of the journey he stopped for a few days at the ancient monastery of Réomé in Burgundy, not far from Chalon, where he was asked to write the Life of the founder saint, John, by the abbot and community. Réomé was a reformed Columbanian communtiy and the abbot, Chunna, like Autbert of Cambrai-Arras, was a quondam monk of Luxeuil.

Jonas was again writing about a figure in the distant past. The Burgundian saint, John, like Vedastus, was active in the late fifth and early sixth centuries and can be seen as a representative of the old Gallic monasticism. Jonas recounts John's founding of the monastery of Réomé and how he later fled to the famous island-monastery of Lérins to avoid the great burden of being abbot and in order to live the life of a humble monk. His identity was revealed and he was persuaded to return to Réomé where he continued to live and work miracles until his death. The Vita Iohannis is particularly interesting for

Jonas's use of Athanasius's Vita Antonii, other Lives of the Desert Fathers, and the Conferences of John Cassian. It also reveals that John brought the Rule of Macharius from Lérins to Réomé. But while the Vita bears a strong imprint of ancient monastic works and shows Jonas's use of these important sources it is, nonetheless, a distinctly Columbanian work as revealed by the terminology Jonas uses and for its anachronistic accounts of how the monastic church was prohibited to the laity, reflecting Columbanian concerns about access to the inner confines of monastic space.

Jonas's three saints' Lives are unique historical documents that allow valuable insights into the ecclesiastical and political worlds of the early Middle Ages. The Vita Columbani is remarkable as a near-contemporary source for the socio-political and religious history of Merovingian Gaul and Lombard Italy in the seventh century and as a biographical source for the career of Columbanus. The Vita Vedastis and Vita Iohannis likewise present a seventh-century perception of the Christianization of the Franks and of the establishment of an ancient monastic culture in Gaul. But aside from the literary value of these works, Jonas is an historical figure in his own right and thanks to his writings we know more about him than most early medieval hagiographers. Jonas's career and writings can be seen as illustrative of the significant transformations that took place during the seventh century. Jonas was born at the beginning of this century in the ancient Roman town of Susa in a frontier zone between Gaul and Lombard Italy. As a young man and after only a few months of Columbanus's death, he entered the monastic life in Bobbio. Although an Italian he, like Anselm of Bec in the eleventh century, would later be drawn north of the Alps to work as a missionary and an abbot in the Merovingian

kingdom. The Vita Columbani can also be seen as reflecting many of the major developments of Jonas's age: the advent of Irish monks on the Continent; the dissemination of a penitential mentality; the expansion and transformation of monasteries in the West; a heightened preoccupation with the fate of the soul in the afterlife; the Christianization of the heathen; the consolidation of the Frankish kingdoms; the rise in power of the landed aristocracy. The implantation of a monastic culture in northern Gaul during this period and its integration into royal and aristocratic power structures heralds the beginning of the change in the role of monastic foundations as political, economic, and cultural centres, and the Vita Columbani is one of our major sources for this development.

We are fortunate in that many of Columbanus's writings still exist which allow us to see something of Columbanus the man beyond Jonas's prism of Columbanus the saint. We can thus approach Jonas's principal subject more directly and the catalyst behind the new monastic movement in which Jonas was intimately involved. Both Jonas and his hagiographical writing are products of this monastic movement, a movement that received its impetus from the maverick figure of Columbanus. Neither Jonas nor his hagiography can be understood without first considering Columbanus and the Columbanians. The Irish saint and his monastic disciples, the Columbanians, were the principal subjects of the Vita Columbani, while his two other saints' Lives were written for Columbanian ecclesiastics in Merovingian Gaul. Both the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis reflect the extensive monastic network of which Jonas was a part, a network that extended from the English Channel to the Apennines. The first part of this study,

therefore, considers the important issue of the monastic context in which Jonas was writing as well as looking at the career of Jonas himself. In chapter 1, aspects of Columbanus's monasticism are explored in order to provide a better context for understanding Jonas's principal work and the possible motivations for its production. In chapter 2, I argue that the Vita Columbani was written following a period of crisis within the Columbanian familia and that it was largely in response to this crisis and change that the Bobbio community commissioned Jonas to write the Vita. Jonas's task was to rehabilitate the image of Columbanus as a powerful and orthodox saint following a period in which he and his monastic practices had been attacked as being heretical. The third chapter then explores the career of Jonas himself, considering such aspects as the historical and cultural background of his time, the town in which he grew up, his level of education, his sense of identity and ethnographical awareness, the question of when he became a monk at Bobbio, his career as a missionary, and finally the question of his later career as an abbot. The intention of the chapter is not only to focus on Jonas as one of the most important writers of the seventh century, but as an individual and historic figure in his own right whom it is possible to frame within the wider social and political developments of his lifetime. In the second part of this study, I turn to look at Jonas's hagiography in more depth. In chapter 4, I consider such aspects as the motivations for the writing of these texts, the problems surrounding the structure of the Vita Columbani as edited by Bruno Krusch, the range of oral and written sources used by Jonas, his language and style, and finally the important question of audience. Finally, Chapter 5 looks at the broader theme of sanctity and community in the Vita Columbani. It addresses the question of whether we can see the Vita Columbani as marking a fundamental shift in

the writing of hagiography in the West and one that was instrumental in creating a new conceptualization of sanctity. It also considers the prominent political and polemical element in the Vita Columbani and whether we can see this as reflecting the emerging use of hagiographic texts in a more public sphere during the course of the seventh century. Linked to this feature is the issue of the prominence of the aristocracy in Jonas's hagiography. The close association between monasteries and the aristocracy that led to monasteries becoming aristocratic centres of power and identity is a feature that we clearly see in the Vita Columbani. The aristocracy occupy a noticeably more prominent role in Jonas's hagiography and this feature is also considered. Lastly, I address the central component of any work of hagiography, the miracle accounts, and the source that was most influential in Jonas's writing, the Bible. I approach these features from a new functionalist perspective in an attempt to delineate the various ways in which Jonas used miracle accounts and citations from the Bible to communicate notions of sanctity, community, morality, and dissent.

1

COLUMBANUS AND THE COLUMBANIANS

While the principal subject of this study is the hagiography of Jonas of Bobbio and, in particular, his magnum opus, the Vita Columbani, neither Jonas nor his principal work can be adequately understood without first considering Columbanus and his monasticism. Historians and philologists studying Columbanus have, on the whole, looked to Jonas's account of Columbanus for information on the saint and his writings.[1] Some of those studying Jonas, on the other hand, have tended to focus on Jonas's literary Columbanus rather than on what the saint's own writings can reveal about the man and his monastic philosophy.[2] Columbanus's writings are, however, central to an understanding of Jonas and his Vita Columbani. While Jonas can be read as a source for Columbanus, we can equally use Columbanus as a source for Jonas.

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[1] See, e.g., D. Bullough, 'The career of Columbanus', in M. Lapidge (ed.), Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 1-28; J. O'Carrol, 'The Chronology of St Columban', Irish Theological Quarterly 24 (1957), pp. 76-95; J. Roussel, Saint Colomban et L'Épopée Colombanienne (2 vols., Besançon, 1941-42).

[2] This is the case, for example, in the recent article by Albrecht Diem: 'This article focuses on the saint as created by Jonas of Bobbio rather than on the historical person.' 'Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man', Speculum 82 (2007), pp. 521-59, at p. 524. Both Clare Stancliffe and Ian Wood, however, take into consideration the evidence of Columbanus's writings for understanding Jonas's representation of the saint: C. Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', in J. Carey et al. (eds.), Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars (Dublin, 2001), pp. 189-220; I. Wood, 'The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiograpy', Peritia 1 (1982), pp. 63-80.

ST COLUMBANUS AND HIS HAGIOGRAPHER

In 610 Columbanus wrote to his monastic community in the Vosges forests of Burgundy. As he wrote, a ship lay at anchor nearby on the western coast of Gaul ready to take him back to Ireland. He never imagined he would see the coasts of Ireland again. 'I confess that I am broken on this account while I wished to help all, who when I spoke to them fought against me without cause, and while I trusted all, I have been almost driven mad', he wrote.[3] He would soon be deported back to Ireland. Then, his letter was interrupted by a messenger who came to tell him that the ship was ready to sail. The news triggered a desperate thought and a last-minute hope, as there were no guards there to prevent an escape. He suspected that his military escort might actually want him to get away; 'for they seem to desire this, that I should escape.'[4] The imminent perils of the ocean flooded his mind and he recalled the biblical tale of the prophet Jonah who was thrown into the sea, swallowed by a whale and safely returned to land after three days and nights through the mercy of God.[5] He could identify with Jonah's plight and prayed, were he to suffer the same fate, that 'someone may take the place of the whale to bring me back in safe concealment by a happy voyage, to restore your Jonah to the land he longs for.'[6]

We know that 'Columba the Sinner', as he styles himself in this letter,[7] never did see Ireland again. Somehow, he managed to escape. From Nantes, near the estuary of the

[3] Ep. IV. 3, p. 29.
[4] Ibid. IV. 8, p. 35.
[5] Jonah 1-2.
[6] Ep. IV. 8, p. 35.
[7] Ibid. IV. 1, p. 27.

Loire, he had five more years to live in which to continue his continental travels.[8] He would cross the breadth of Merovingian Gaul to the frontiers of Germania, sail up the Rhine into the forests of Alemannia, cross the Alps into Lombard Italy, traverse the plains of the Po valley, and arrive at the foothills of the Apennines, about 50 kilometres inland from the Ligurian coast, in 614. He would die at Bobbio, his last monastic foundation in the Apennines, on 23 November 615 at the age of around 65.[9]

In the hagiographical account written about two decades after his death by Jonas, the circumstances of Columbanus's escape from deportation are portrayed as miraculous. In this account, the saint and his companions embarked on the ship, but when it made for the open sea a kind of tsunami (undarum moles) drove it back to shore.[10] It was evident from this miracle that the saint should not return to Ireland. The skipper then allowed his troublesome cargo to leave[11] and Columbanus returned unobstructed to Nantes where he was presented with gifts and supplied with food.[12] The hagiographer thus presents us with a potentially more miraculous scenario than the more mundane and furtive one suggested by Columbanus's letter.

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[8] The year and place in which the letter was written can be inferred from Jonas: VC I. 20, 23 at pp. 197 and 205. That it was in the area around Nantes is confirmed by Columbanus who notes at the end of the letter that he and some of his monks are 'here in the neighbourhood of the Britons' (in vicina Brittonum): Ep. IV. 9, p. 37.

[9] Jonas notes the day of the saint's death as 'VIII. Kl. Decembris': VC I. 30, pp. 223-4. Columbanus is now considered to have been born in around 550, which would mean he was in his mid-sixties when he died. See Bullough, 'The career of Columbanus', p. 3.

[10] VC I. 23, pp. 205-6

[11] It is interesting that Jonas notes how the ship was stranded for three days before Columbanus was permitted to leave, the same amount of time in which Jonah was trapped inside the whale's stomach before being cast up on shore. On biblical stylisation and Jonas's use of the Bible, see chapter 5, pp. 247-68.

[12] VC I. 23, p. 206.

It is perhaps ironic that the saint's hagiographer should share the same name as his subject in Hebrew and that of the biblical prophet Columbanus most readily associated himself with in that uncertain moment on the western coast of Gaul.[13] But Jonas (a form of the biblical name Jonah) was a man bound to Columbanus in more ways than a name. Having entered Bobbio within a few months after the saint's death,[14] Jonas would have been familiar with stories about Columbanus long before he began to write about him. Men who had known the saint were still alive and even some of the Irish monks who had accompanied him from Bangor. Jonas was in a privileged position as the personal assistant (minister) to Abbot Athala (d. 625) – the man to whom Columbanus entrusted the leadership of the Burgundian communities on his expulsion in 610 and who had, in turn, been the saint's personal assistant – to hear his abbot or the elders of the community reminiscing about the saint's feats of asceticism in the Vosges or his conflicts with Merovingian kings and queens.

Although Jonas provides invaluable biographical details about Columbanus that would otherwise be unknown,[15] he was also silent on a major issue of concern to Columbanus, the controversy over the correct method of calculating the date of Easter, while

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[13] On the possible significance of Jonas's name and whether it was his adopted name in religion, see pp. 103-5.
[14] For a reconsideration of the dating of Jonas's entry into Bobbio, see p. 102.
[15] This is particularly the case when it comes to the saint's Irish background, as Columbanus was not commemorated in the early Irish genealogies of saints. Jonas seems to have been exceptionally well informed of Columbanus's early career in Ireland. He mentions, for example, the region of Ireland in which the saint was born, while we can infer something about his family background and early education. We also know who Columbanus's scriptural teacher was and the name of the abbot and monastery in which he became a monk. Bullough has commented on how: 'Ionas showed a greater interest in the political and social context of his hero's career and included fuller biographical detail than is normally the case in early mediaeval hagiography': 'The career of Columbanus', p. 1.

misleading in a number of other aspects.[16] Such historical tweaking is, however, to be expected in a hagiographical work such as Jonas's. It betrays, like any literary work, an artistic license and can tell us a lot. When these silences and obfuscations, for example, are read in relation to what Columbanus himself reveals in his own writings then we can use these sources to illuminate aspects of Jonas's work.

Jonas was familiar with the saint's own writings: a number of letters, poems, sermons, two monastic Rules, a Penitential, an exegetical work on the Psalms, and a tract against the Arians.[17] He was probably the archivist at Bobbio and as such may have been responsible for preserving Columbanus's writings.[18] He incorporated in his account of Bobbio at the end of Book I clauses from a charter of King Agilulf for the Bobbio community – thus showing knowledge of the diplomatic sources at Bobbio[19] – and, in one instance, used the rare term micrologus,[20] a term used by Columbanus in his letters.[21] Jonas furthermore mentions the saint's literary works a number of times during his

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[16] See J. Wilson, 'The reliability of Jonas', in Mélanges Colombaniens: Actes du Congrès International de Luxeuil, 20-23 juillet 1950 (Paris, 1950), pp. 81-6.

[17] There are ten echoes of Columbanus's writings in the VC, only five of which are explicit citations. Cited from B. H Rosenwein, Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages (Ithaca, 2006), p. 157, n. 122. Both the commentary on the Psalms which, Jonas tells us, was written by Columbanus while still in Ireland, and the tract against the Arians, written in Milan, have both been lost: VC I. 3 and I. 30, pp. 158 and 221. On the corpus of Columbanus's writings, see SCO; J. W. Smit, Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger (Columbanus) (Amsterdam, 1971); M. Lapidge (ed.), Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings. The current scholarly consensus is that we cannot ascribe the quantitative poems Ad Sethum, Ad Hunaldum, and Columbanus Fidolio to Columbanus (the poems have, instead, been attributed to a later, Carolingian Columbanus). For a review of the debate concerning the authorship of these poems and for a defence of Columbanian authorship, see M. W. Herren, 'Some quantitative poems attributed to Columbanus of Bobbio', in J. Marenbon (ed.), Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke (Leiden, 2001), pp. 98-112.

[18] VC II. 9, pp. 247-8.

[19] The phraseology of Jonas's 'basilicam beati Petri apostolorum principis … Quem locum veterum traditio Bobium nuncupabant' (VC I. 30, p. 221) echoes that of Agilulf's foundation charter. Noted by M. Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus (Dublin, 2008), pp. 17-18.

[20] VC II. 10, p. 251.

[21] Ep. I. 2, p. 2; Ep. V. 1, p. 36.

account and, at the end of Book I, refers his readers to Columbanus's own writings should they wish to find out more about the saint.[22]

The discrepancy between the historical Columbanus and his textual representation was, for one recent commentator, particularly apparent. 'Confronting Columbanus as we know him from his own writings … with the saint we meet in Jonas's narrative shows how much Jonas's "Columbanus" has to be regarded as a careful and elaborate construction', wrote Albrecht Diem.[23] Diem was more interested in Jonas's "construction" of Columbanus than with the historical personality. Yet we must address the reasons as to why the hagiographer chose to obscure a number of important facts about the saint's career. Columbanus's writings reveal Jonas's silence and the most informative of these sources are the saint's letters.

TRIBULATIO ET PERSECUTIO PROPTER VERBUM: THE EVIDENCE OF COLUMBANUS'S LETTERS

The six surviving letters of Columbanus, which were written between 600 and 613, provide the best insight into the career and thought of the saint.[24] Like his formidable hero, St Jerome, Columbanus was an avid and gifted letter writer. We know from the correspondence and from Jonas that Columbanus wrote more letters than have survived. In his letter to Pope Gregory the Great, written probably in 600 and primarily concerned

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[22] VC I. 30, p. 224.
[23] 'Monks, Kings', p. 524.
[24] On the letters and dates of composition, see N. Wright, 'Columbanus's Epistulae', in Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings, pp. 29-92.

with the Easter reckoning, it is evident that Columbanus had previous contact with Rome.[25] This is confirmed in another letter which was sent to one of Gregory's successors during a vacancy in the papacy, either in 604 or 607, also concerning Easter, where Columbanus bemoaned the machinations of Satan in preventing 'the bearers of our letters' from reaching Gregory, copies of which he attached to the letter.[26] Easter, again, was the subject of a short treatise (brevi libello) sent to one of the saint's chief opponents, Bishop Arigius of Lyons,[27] while in an edificatory letter to a young monk who had served as the saint's assistant (minister), Columbanus notes a previous letter he sent him 'on the subject of seriousness and modesty'.[28] Moreover, Jonas mentions two letters sent by the saint to two kings, Theuderic II and Chlothar II. The letter to Theuderic, written while Columbanus was still in Burgundy, threatened the king with excommunication, while the one sent to Chlothar from Bobbio – possibly the last written by Columbanus – was 'full of reprimanding remarks' (castigationum effamine plenas).[29] None of these letters survive but, when the corpus is considered as a whole, they suggest an active man of letters.

The letters that survive display both the same forceful brazenness and persuasive conviction as Jerome's and the ardent humanity of a weary and vulnerable man. They

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[25] Ep. I. 9, 12, pp. 11 and 13. We know from the register of Pope Gregory that a copy of his Pastoral Rule was sent to 'the priest Columbus' in 594. In Ep. I. 9 Columbanus mentions that he has read the Pastoral Rule and asks the Pope to send him some of his exegetical works. On the plausible identification of 'Columbus' with Columbanus, see R. Flechner, 'Dagán, Columbanus, and the Gregorian Mission', Peritia 19 (2005), pp. 65-90, at pp. 72-4. I am grateful to Dr Flechner for sending me an offprint of his article.
[26] Ep. III. 2, p. 23.
[27] Ep. II. 5, p. 17.
[28] Ep. VI. 1, p. 57. Domoalis is the likeliest candidate for the recipient of these letters. Columbanus refers to his addressee as 'puer amande ministerque dulcis'. Jonas mentions Domoalis as a 'puerolus' who was the saint's minister at his cave-hermitage near Annegray. He is also mentioned in VC I. 19, p. 192.
[29] VC I. 19, I. 30, pp. 189, 223.

present us with the most personal glimpse of Columbanus, while revealing the main issues and concerns that occupied the saint in his final years in Merovingian Gaul and Lombard Italy. Moreoever, when read in comparison with Jonas's account, the letters tell a somewhat different story. Fundamental in understanding Columbanus's expulsion from the Burgundian kingdom in 610, the decisive turning-point in his career and in that of his communities, are the two letters that Columbanus wrote to a synod of bishops assembled in Chalon-sur-Saône in 603 in lieu of attendance and to his community in the Vosges while waiting for deportation back to Ireland in 610. Let us first return to the dramatic letter written in Nantes with which we began this chapter.

Letter IV is, according to one commentator, 'one of the most moving documents of early medieval history'.[30] Addressed to the monks in Burgundy and to the community's prior, Athala, the missive is a stirring call for unity at a moment of personal and institutional crisis. The absent abbot commands the community to remain under Athala's authority and to persevere in the face of adversity, 'for it is no new thing that the kingdom of heaven should be the object of strife and contention.'[31] He alludes, for example, to Christ's parable of the sower in declaring that 'tribulation and persecution have arisen for the word's sake', and warns his monks not to become the stony ground of the parable: those Christians who do not persevere in adversity.[32]

Columbanus in general paints a picture of a community under strain from both external and internal agents. The community was apparently by this time sufficiently affluent to

[30] T. M. Charles-Edwards, Early Christian Ireland (Cambridge, 2000), p. 358.
[31] Ep. IV. 2, p. 27.
[32] Ep. IV. 2, p. 27: Matt. 13. 21.

arouse the envy of an unspecified group of men whom Columbanus depicts as possessed by demons.[33] These are presumably the same group to whom Columbanus refers when addressing Athala directly. The abbot fears for Athala that 'through the devil's tricks, they wish to divide you, if you do not keep peace with them; for now without me you seem to stand less firmly there.'[34] It would appear that Columbanus is referring to the Gallic bishops as he explicitly states that the issue of disagreement was over Easter, an ecclesiastical matter on which Columbanus and the bishops had long been in conflict.[35] The Easter reckoning was of such importance that if Athala detected any dangers of disagreement over this, he was to leave the community and come join Columbanus on the coast.[36] It was precicesly on this issue that Columbanus feared the bishops would try to divide the community.

Indeed, unity is an aspect that is repeatedly stressed in the letter and there are indications that within the community itself there were unresolved problems. Columbanus tells Athala that he should expel 'those who are a trouble to your feelings', but in a way that was 'in peace and agreement with the rule'.[37] It would, therefore, appear that Columbanus's organization of the monastic life was a contentious issue for some of his monks. Columbanus tellingly writes how 'we have been more harmed by those who were not of one mind amongst us'[38] and how he has felt 'the desires of many to differ in

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[33] Neque speretis quod homines per se vos persequantur; daemones sunt in his qui invident bonis vestris: Ep. IV. 2, p. 26.
[34] Ep. IV. 3, p. 29.
[35] On this, see now C. Stancliffe, 'Columbanus and the Gallic Bishops', in G. Constable and M. Rouch (eds.), Auctoritas: Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot (Paris, 2006), pp. 205-15.
[36] Ep. IV. 3, p. 29.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ep. IV. 2, p. 29.

respect of maintaining the strictness of the rule'.[39] The impression is of Columbanus as a disillusioned and disappointed man whose efforts at 'instilling character' – which has a somewhat draconian ring to it – have not altogether been successful.[40] He realises all too well the dangers inherent in authority: 'there are troubles on every side, my dearest friend; there is danger if they hate, and danger if they love. You must know that both are real, either hatred or love from their side; peace perishes in hatred, and integrity in love.'[41] Athala thus faced a community in crisis, having lost its abbot and the senior, Insular members of the community, and one, moreover, on the brink of fundamental divisions. This was in addition to the opposition Athala now faced from the bishops who would try to undermine him and the community. Columbanus knew well that it might be too much for Athala, in which case he was to abandon the community and come seek his exiled abbot.[42] Jonas mentions that when Columbanus reached the court of Theudebert in Austrasia following his expulsion from Burgundy many of his monks from Luxeuil were already there awaiting him. It is likely that Athala was among them as he eventually succeeded Columbanus as abbot of Bobbio.[43] Columbanus's departure from Luxeuil may thus have served to splinter the remaining community into factions for and against some of the more draconian and doctrinal features of Columbanus's teachings, a crisis that may only have been resolved by some of the monks leaving to follow their master. This is one reading of Jonas's statement that some of the monks later joined Columbanus.

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[39] Ibid. IV. 4.
[40] Ibid. IV. 3.
[41] Ep. IV. 4.
[42] Ep. IV. 2, p. 29.
[43] VC I. 27, p. 211.

Columbanus describes Athala as 'my true follower',[44] an ideological tag that Jonas was also at pains to emphasize in his account of Columbanus's successor.[45] Does this imply that there were followers of Columbanus who were not 'true'? Columbanus implies as much. He notes how many of his monks were at odds over the strictness of the rule and how, 'in their frailty they have fallen from my small degree of strictness, that is, have departed from the truth of my instruction.'[46] For Jonas, what characterised Athala was his faithful adherence to Columbanus's teachings. It was obedience to the saint's ethos that denoted a true follower of Columbanus.[47] Obedience was of paramount importance for Columbanus, a man by nature autocratic and domineering, and this meant conformity to his vision of the monastic life and to important doctrinal matters such as Easter.

Columbanus's letter is, therefore, significant because it exposes tensions already latent in the community during Columbanus's lifetime. The expulsion of Columbanus and the Insular members had a considerable impact on the community but, from what we can gather from Columbanus's letter, it would appear that at least some monks were not so sorry to see their abbot leave. We can contrast this to Jonas's emotional account of Columbanus's expulsion from the monastery in which he departed amidst 'the shrieks and grief of everyone'[48] while his monks followed him for some while 'as if it were a funeral.'[49] Although Jonas mentions nothing about any opposition Columbanus faced within his own communities in the Vosges, he does detail an episode of monastic

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[44] Ep. IV. 2, p. 27.
[45] Cumque ergo venerabilis Columba de hac luce migrasset, eius in locum Athala suffectus est omni religione laudabilis, cuius post magistrum virtutes clarae fulserunt, … per vestigia magistri secutus: VC II. 1, p. 230.
[46] Ep. IV. 4, p. 31.
[47] Ibid.
[48] cum omnium eiulatu atque merore: VC I. 20, p. 195.
[49] universis fratribus velut funus subsequentibus: Ibid. p. 195.

rebellion at Luxeuil in the period just after Columbanus's expulsion when Athala was prior. The dispute concerned some monks who wished to leave the community to live eremitical lives by themselves.[50] The abbot's consent, however, was not forthcoming. The rebel monks, under the leadership of Roccolenus, could well have been the same protagonists mentioned by Columbanus.[51] Jonas notes that one of their complaints concerned the harsh monastic way of life at Luxeuil:

> Therefore, when he [Athala] was ruling the aforesaid monastery with distinction in succession to the blessed Columbanus and was guiding it in every discipline consonant with the tenor of a monastic rule, the subtlety of the old serpent began to spread the fatal virus of discord with injurious blows, exciting the heart of some of his subordinates against him so that they claimed that they could not bear the precepts of excessive ardour and that they were unable to sustain the weight of harsh discipline.[52]

The image of the early Columbanian community that Jonas was at pains to present, however, was of a group of hardened pioneers living a difficult rural existence though one nonetheless idyllic in terms of its communal camaraderie.[53] In essence, it resembled

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[50] VC II. 1, p. 231.
[51] Ep. IV. 3, p. 29.
[52] Ergo cum egregie post beatum Columbanum supradictum coenubium regeret et in omni disciplina regularis tenoris erudiret, contra eum antiqui anguis versutia loetiferum discordiae virus noxiis ictibus laxare coepit, excitans aliquorum contra eum corda subditorum, qui se aiebant nimiae fervoris auctoritatem ferre non posse et arduae disciplinae pondera portare non valere: VC II. 1, p. 231 (Wood, p. 119).
[53] See, e.g., VC I. 5, pp. 161-2.

the apostolic community in Jerusalem, the idyllic model of the monastic life.[54] Another perspective, however, could be drawn from a close reading of Letter IV.

There were more issues behind Columbanus's departure from Burgundy than Jonas was prepared to reveal. In the Vita Columbani, the saint's expulsion from the Burgundian kingdom in 610 is attributed to his falling out with his patrons, King Theuderic II, and his influential grandmother, Queen Brunhild. Chapters 18 and 19, the lead up to Theuderic's decision to deport Columbanus back to Ireland, are the dramatic high points of the whole work.[55] Here, Jonas describes in turn the saint's conflict with Brunhild over refusing to bless the king's illegitimate children and with Theuderic over his unwillingness to allow lay access to the inner sanctum of the monastery. Theuderic, moreover, accuses Columbanus of obstinately refusing to conform to standard ecclesiastical norms.[56] Essentially, however, the finger of blame is squarely pointed at Brunhild, the 'second Jezebel', whose evil machinations turned the young king against the saint.[57] Both Brunhild and Theuderic were, however, convenient scapegoats as the villains of Columbanus's victimization because both were dead and were vilified by the current Merovingian regime.[58] Brunhild has recently been termed 'the bugaboo of the Neustrian dynasty.'[59] We have little reason to doubt the dowager queen's role in orchestrating Columbanus's exit from the Vosges, but when we consider the evidence of the letters that Columbanus wrote to ecclesiastical leaders, particularly Letter II to the Burgundian

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[54] A parallel Jonas consciously sought to make in his implicit reference to Acts 4. 32: VC I. 5, p. 161.
[55] VC I. 18-19, pp. 186-193.
[56] VC I. 19, p. 190.
[57] VC I. 18, p. 187. For a more rounded assessement of Brunhild, see J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in idem. Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe (London, 1986), pp. 1-48.
[58] See I. Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751 (London, 1994), p. 196.
[59] Rosenwein, Emotional Communities, p. 149.

bishops, it would seem that the bishops played a greater role in Columbanus's exile than Jonas cared to admit.

From very early on Columbanus faced considerable opposition from the bishops. His earliest surviving letter addressed to Gregory the Great and written in around 600 implies that by this time he was already facing opposition over Easter. The letter was, in part, an appeal to Gregory to exonerate Columbanus's position: 'I beg you to favour me with the support of your approval, for the quelling of this storm that surrounds us'.[60] Gregory does not seem to have intervened in Columbanus's difficulties over Easter. Columbanus was left to face the bishops alone and in 603 was summoned to a synod at Chalon that seems to have been specifically convened to deal with the Easter question. But Columbanus brazenly refused to attend and instead wrote a bombshell of a letter to the bishops in which he questioned their moral authority to judge him while implying that by their very opposition to him they were in danger of becoming like the Pharisees.[61] Rather, he outlined that the authority and example of the Scriptures was above that of their episcopal powers. He was, by his rigid imitation of Christ and adherence to scriptural teaching, beyond their jurisdictional scope. He pleaded for toleration and simply to be left alone.[62] He appealed to their sense of Christian charity and once again called for unity within the Church.[63]

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[60] Ep. I. 4, p. 7.
[61] Ep. II. 7, p. 21.
[62] Ep. II. 5, p. 17.
[63] Ep. II. 9, p. 23.

The bishops were, at this point, powerless to persecute Columbanus over what must have seemed a humiliating snub. The holy man was still under the protection of the royal family. Bishop Arigius of Lyons, to whom Columbanus sent a treatise in three books on Easter,[64] seems to have been the leading architect of episcopal opposition to the saint. He was an influential figure at court and played an important part in the condemnation and execution of Bishop Desiderius of Vienne. In this instance the bishop had lost favour with Queen Brunhild, was duly condemned by a synod of his fellow bishops, and stoned to death.[65]

When Columbanus eventually fell out with his royal benefactors, the bishops probably had a more prominent role in Columbanus's banishment than Jonas reveals. It is unquestionable that the Easter controversy was a central defining feature of Columbanus's continental career and was of immense importance to the abbot. It is also clear that the Gallic bishops presented a persistent menace to Columbanus in Burgundy. Yet both aspects are absent from Jonas's account. Did the hagiographer consciously omit these issues precisely because they had been so divisive within the Burgundian communities? By the time Jonas was writing in the early 640s, the bishops were leading patrons of the Columbanian communities. The image of Columbanus his hagiographer was eager to portray was of a saint whose orthodox credentials were impeccable. By airing the saint's doctrinal differences and the condemnation of the bishops, he may have felt that this would tarnish the orthodox image that was his task to construct. Moreover,

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[64] Ep. II. 5, p. 17.
[65] Sisebut, Vita Desiderii episcopi Viennensis, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), pp. 630-7. On this work, see J. Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography', in E. James (ed.), Visigothic Spain: New Approaches (Oxford, 1980), pp. 93-130.

by this time both Luxeuil and Bobbio had adopted the Victorian calendar, the very method of calculating Easter that Columbanus had been so opposed to. Indeed, the Vita Iohannis begins with a dating clause in which the author notes: Anno centesimo post explicionem numeri sancti Victori episcopi, ciclum recaptitulantem.[66] This unusual reference to the Easter table (ciclus recapitulatio) of Victorius in which Jonas's visit to Réomé is dated in terms of one hundred years after the formulation of Victorius's computus is clear evidence that, by the mid-seventh century, the Columbanian communities had abandoned the 84-year cycle favoured by Columbanus.

The Three Chapters or Aquilean Schism was another aspect of Columbanus's doctrinal views ignored by Jonas.[67] The Three Chapters was a complex theological dispute concerning the natures of Christ and refers to the condemnation of the theological writings of three fourth-century Syriac bishops, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa at the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553. The emperor, Justinian, subsequently forced Pope Vigilius to likewise condemn the writings of the three Syriac bishops. This led to a schism within the Church in Northern Italy that remained unresolved until the end of the seventh century. Columbanus became involved in this dispute on his arrival in Lombard Italy as he disagreed with the papacy's condemnation of the Three Chapters. This may have been an important factor in his gaining royal support on his entry into Italy in 612. Agilulf and probably most of his court were either pagans or Arian Christians, although Columbanus's views on the Three Chapters may have won him favour with the queen, Theodelinda, a schismatic Catholic.

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[66] VIoh. Prologue, p. 326. It is unlikely, however, that Jonas wrote this short prologue. On this, see p. 122.
[67] On this, see P. T. R. Gray and M. W. Herren, 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy – a New Approach', Journal of Theological Studies ns. 45 (1994), pp. 160-70.

Again, the letters reveal a side to Columbanus not found in Jonas: in this case, his disagreement with Rome on this thorny theological debate. Letter V, which was written to Pope Boniface IV in 613 at the bequest of King Agilulf and Queen Theodelinda, is Columbanus's longest and most complex letter.[68] It is, again, a call for unity within the Church, an appeal to the Pope to resolve the divisions brought about by the papacy's condemnation of the Three Chapters and to reassert its doctrinal orthodoxy. 'Thus the king asks, the queen asks, all ask you that as soon as may be, all should be made one, that as peace comes to the country, peace should come quickly to the Faith, that everyone may in turn become one flock of Christ. Let the king follow the King, do you follow Peter, and let the whole Church follow you.'[69] Columbanus, perhaps because of his perceived neutrality as a 'stranger', was thus acting as the mouthpiece for the Lombard polity in an effort to establish closer links with the papacy, an institution long seen by the Lombards as an agent of Byzantine imperial claims in the peninsula.[70] The granting of the site of Bobbio to Columbanus by the royal couple in 613 near the frontier between Lombard and Byzantine held territories may well have come about because of his role as a mediator between Rome and the Lombard court.

Jonas mentions nothing of Columbanus and the Three Chapters controversy in his work, yet, ironically, it is one of his criticisms of the rebel monk, Agrestius, who accused Columbanus and his monastic practices as being heretical at a synod in 626/27.[71] As one

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[68] Ep. V, pp. 37-57.
[69] Ibid. p. 57.
[70] Although Gray and Herren have pointed out that 'Columbanus appears to be an honest broker and not – wittingly at least – a partisan in the initiatives undertaken by the Lombard court.' 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Contoversy', p. 170.
[71] VC II. 9, p. 247.

commentator has pointed out, Agrestius was, in this respect, closer to Columbanus's views (at least with regard to the Three Chapters) than were the saint's professed disciples.[72]

The letters are thus an important source for what they reveal about Columbanus in the last two decades of his life. They are, moreover, revealing when we compare them to Jonas's account of the saint and in one sense function as a kind of control to the image of the saint that Jonas was keen to portray. Jonas's omissions on controversial aspects of Columbanus's career reveal a hagiographer at work while we are fortunate that at least six of the saint's letters have survived which provide a more personal insight into this remarkable and complex man.

COLUMBANUS AND THE CREATION OF MONASTIC COMMUNITY

While the letters reveal the most personal side to the saint and expose the editing touch of Jonas, Columbanus's other writings, his sermons, monastic legislation, and poems, provide the best insight into the saint's thought and view of monastic life. Columbanus had a radical understanding of the Christian life that was translated into the way he organized his monastic communities. His concept of how the monastic life ought to be lived was codified in two monastic rules, the Regula monachorum and the Regula coenobialis, which he wrote for his Burgundian communities. Both of these texts and the Paenitentiale reveal Columbanus's punitive and elite form of monasticism. In their

[72] Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 196.

overall nature the works are in keeping with the character of Columbanus: draconian, autocratic, and unwavering in their ascetic severity.

The concept of peregrinatio pro Christo as understood by the Irish substantially shaped the way Columbanus conceived of his own identity and the new world he found himself in on his arrival on the Continent.[73] He was a stranger and the world was now even more estranged to him. By becoming a peregrinus, an act which the Irish saw as such an extreme form of asceticism that it was on a par with martyrdom,[74] Columbanus essentially cut the umbilical cord tying him to the normal bonds of human society.[75]

This aloofness or detachment also indelibly shaped Columbanus's monasticism. It has been astutely remarked that ascetical exile gave the middle-aged monk an opportunity of creating his ideal community.[76] Columbanus was intimately familiar with the monastic philosophy of John Cassian to know that separation from the world was possible through the conquering of oneself and through the purging of sexual desire. But what was novel

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[73] Jonas shows that he was familiar with the two degrees of peregrinatio in his account of Columbanus's encounter with the female anchorite. One could be a pereginus in Ireland although leaving one's country was seen as the higher form of peregrinatio: VC I. 3, pp. 156-7. On this, see A. Angenendt, 'Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800', in H. Löwe et al. (eds.), Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1982), 1, pp. 52-79, at pp. 52-3. Columbanus explicitly identifies himself as a pereginus a number of times in his writings. See, for example, his letter to Pope Gregory where he says that he is writing to him 'more as a stranger than a savant' (magis peregrino quam sciolo), or his letter to the bishops where he tells them that it was 'for the sake of Christ the Saviour … that I have entered these lands a pilgrim' (pro Christo salvatore … in has terras peregrinus processerim): Ep. I. 4, p. 7 and Ep. II. 6, p. 17. On Irish peregrinatio and its influence, see T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio', repr. in Jonathan Wooding (ed.), The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: An Anthology of Criticism (Dublin, 2000), pp. 94-108; Angenendt, 'Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent', pp. 52-79.

[74] Columbanus would have seen it as a form of martyrdom. See, e.g., Instructio X. 2, p. 103. On Irish concepts of bloodless martyrdom, see C. Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in D. Whitelock et al. (eds.), Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 21-46.

[75] On the legal status of the peregrinus, see Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background', p. 103.

[76] P. Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000 (2nd ed. Oxford, 2006), p. 247.

about Columbanus was his utter conviction that this would work by undergoing a regulated monastic regime of considerable difficulty. 'This is in fact the training of all trainings and at the price of present sorrow it prepares the pleasure of unending time', as he told his monks in one of his sermons.[77] The monastery was still for Columbanus a locus desertus in which the monk sought God through prayer and contemplation, but it was above all a purgative arena in which the soul would be stripped of sin. His was primarily a punitive rather than a contemplative monasticism.

Sin, in Columbanus's thought, was a pervasive preoccupation. The purgation of sin through penance, prayer, and mortification lies at the core of Columbanus's monastic experiment and these 'medicines of penance' had an impact. In Merovingian Gaul during the course of the seventh century we encounter Frankish aristocrats turned monks, men such as Wandregisel and Barontus, who were clearly influenced by this doom and gloom Christianity. In the case of Wandregisel, his hagiographer mentioned how the saint, after having a wet dream, immersed himself in a freezing stream and recited Psalms with arms outstretched in the manner of an Insular monk.[78] In the account of Barontus's vision of the afterlife, on the other hand, the dying monk is seen as someone who is made up solely of his various sins.[79]

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[77] Instructio IV. 1, p. 79.
[78] VW 8, p. 17.
[79] Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SRM 5 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), pp. 377-94. On this work, see Y. Hen, 'The Structure and Aims of the Visio Baronti', Journal of Theological Studies n.s. 47 (1996), pp. 477-97.

The fervour with which Columbanus pursued his peregrinatio and the starkness of his vision of the monastic life may also have been fuelled by a strong apocalyptic belief.[80] Like Gregory the Great, Columbanus saw in the contemporary political and religious instability, evidence for the rise of the otherworld. He wrote, for example, to Pope Boniface IV of how 'already we stand almost at the end in the midst of perilous times. See, the nations are troubled, the kingdoms are moved; therefore soon shall the Most High utter His voice, and the earth shall be shaken.'[81] In these waning years, when Europe was 'in her decay'[82] the monastery arose as the salvific space in which the soul would be best prepared for the afterlife.

These aspects of Columbanus's monastic philosophy – his peregrinatio and vocation of alienation, a profound sense of sin, and his apocalypticism – are central to understanding the paradigm of monastic life – a paradigm which drew heavily on his training in Ireland – that Columbanus imposed on his communities on the Continent. This vision of how the monastic life ought to be led is reflected in two texts, the Regula monachorum and the Regula coenobialis, which Columbanus wrote in Burgundy and which encapsulate his monastic thinking.[83] The two rules are quite different. The Regula monachorum is a short treatise in ten chapters which has been characterized as a 'series of meditative essays on

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[80] On apocalyptic fears during this period, see R. Landes, 'Lest the millennium be fulfilled: apocalyptic expectations and the pattern of western chronography 100-800 CE', in W. Verbeke et al. (eds.), The use and abuse of eschatology in the middle ages (Louvain, 1988), pp. 156-60; M. McNamara, Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic realms (Dublin, 2003); idem. 'Early medieval Irish eschatology', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds.), Irland und Europa: Bildung und Literatur (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 42-75.
[81] Ep. V. 7, p. 43.
[82] Ep. I. 1, p. 3.
[83] Both the Rules are edited and translated in SCO, pp. 122-168. On these, see J. B. Stevenson, 'The monastic rules of Columbanus', in Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings, pp. 203-16.

the control of the self, and the character of the ideal monk.'[84] The topics covered range from obedience and silence to chastity and mortification. It has been said that the Rule primarily concerns the individual monk and is a fairly general document on the monastic virtues.[85] Although this is on the whole the case, Columbanus also stipulates practical regulations concerning diet and communal prayer that were to be followed by the community. 'Let the monks' food be poor and taken in the evening, such as to avoid repletion, and their drink such as to avoid intoxication, so that it may both maintain life and not harm; vegetables, beans, flour mixed with water, together with the small bread of a loaf lest the stomach be burdened and the mind confused.'[86] He was similarly particular when it came to the liturgy, the chapter on which is the longest and most detailed of the Rule. Columbanus's statement to let a monk 'come weary to his bed and sleep walking, and let him be forced to rise while his sleep is not yet finished' was literally true.[87] The demands of communal prayer, which varied in length according to the seasons, were such that the eight offices every three hours left little time for sleep. In the Regula coenobialis, the penalty for a monk who was too slow coming to choir was a severe fifty lashes.[88]

The Regula coenobialis is longer at 15 chapters than the Regula monachorum and deals with the penalties that were to be inflicted on monks who broke its precepts. Thus, while we can see the latter as largely dealing with the internal disposition of the monk, the Regula coenobialis concerns the monk's conduct within the community. The focus of this

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[84] Stevenson, 'The monastic rules', p. 206.
[85] Ibid. See also, A. Diem, Das Monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des Westlichen Klosterwesens (Münster, 2005), p. 250; Walker, SCO, xlvii.
[86] RM 3, pp. 126-7.
[87] Ibid. 10, p. 141. Stevenson illustrates the daily hours of the Office that left little time for sleep: 'The monastic rules', p. 209.
[88] RC 14, p. 163.

Rule is on regulating the strict ritual of communal life and is our principal source of what life was like in the early Columbanian community. It gives a picture of a strictly regulated and ritualized community. Confession was to be made regularly each day, especially 'before meat or before entering our beds'[89] and we know from Jonas that confession was required of the nuns at Faremoutiers three times a day.[90] Columbanus was particularly harsh when it came to bad table manners: 'Thus him who has not kept grace at table and has not responded Amen, it is ordained to correct with six blows … And him who has not blessed the spoon with which he sups, and him who has spoken with a shout, that is, has talked in a louder tone than the usual, with six blows.'[91] Even the most mundane actions such as entering or leaving a building were imbued with ritual.[92] The monks had to wear a chrismal containing a consecrated host and there were a variety of penalties for those who lost or damaged it, including the remarkable provision that if a worm had gotten into the chrismal through neglect but the host was still intact, the monk was to 'burn the worm with fire and hide its ashes in the earth near the altar, and himself do penance forty days.'[93] Jane Stevenson has remarked that, 'The most common problem which the community faced, if this regula is anything to go by, were related to anger and failure of absolute obedience.'[94] In this regard, it is interesting that according to Walker the Regula coenobialis may never have left Burgundy, as on the manuscript evidence there is no indication that the document was in use in Bobbio.[95] The evidence, however, is too inconclusive to make such a statement. This Rule does seem to have been

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[89] Ibid. 1, p. 145.
[90] VC II. 19, p. 272.
[91] RC 1, p. 147.
[92] See, e.g., RC 3, pp. 147-9.
[93] Ibid. 15, p. 163.
[94] Stevenson, 'The monastic rules', p. 207.
[95] Walker, SCO, l.

interpolated which would suggest that it was being used. The Regula coenobialis is fundamentally a testament to the punitive nature of Columbanus's monasticism and is indicative of the draconian regime that Columbanus sought to implement in his communities.

The third piece of Columbanus's monastic legislation is his Paenitentiale.[96] This manual of penance sets out in considerable detail the various penances that were to be imposed for a wide range of sins. The work, which was addressed not only to monks but also to the clergy and the laity, was composed in parts at different times by Columbanus and would appear to predate the Regula coenobialis with which it shares a number of features.[97] It drew on existing penitential thinking, particularly that of Vinnian, and Columbanus acknowledges at the beginning of the work that he is following a scheme as 'handed down by the holy fathers'.[98]

The system of tariffed penance, by which every sin could be atoned for by an appropriate punishment, developed in monastic circles in western Britain and Ireland during the sixth century. With Columbanus and his Paenitentiale this practice was introduced to the Continent. Although earlier Christian writers such as Augustine and Cassian had realised the importance of accounting for all sins, both mortal and venial, it was the clinical precision with which Insular moral teachers brought to the problem of sin that marked a

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[96] SCO, pp. 169-81.
[97] Walker, SCO, lii-lv; T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Columbanus' in Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings, pp. 217-39, which discusses the complex textual issues of this work.
[98] Paenitentiale 1, p. 169.

'revolution in the old forms of pastoral supervision.'[99] Hitherto penance had been a very public and humiliating experience performed once in a lifetime. The success of tariffed penance lay in the sinner's ability to repeat the ritual of penance that served to mark his or her reintegration into the Christian community.

Columbanus stipulated exacting and lengthy penances for a plethora of sexual, social, and institutional misdemeanours. The canons range from prescribing penalties for sexual acts such as bestiality and homosexuality to social sins such as homicide, infanticide, and theft. Even the institutional faux pas of those who left the monastic enclosure open during the night[100] or those with nudist tendencies are addressed in detail: 'But if any, even while sitting in the bath, has uncovered his knees or arms, without the need for washing dirt, let him not wash for six days, that is, let that immodest bather not wash his feet until the following Lord's Day.'[101]

The Paenitentiale is thus remarkable not only as a monastic text but also as a source for social history. As the work, in contrast to the two rules, is concerned not only with a monastic audience but with the wider Christian community it provides interesting insights into social practices condemned by ecclesiastical authorities. In the section concerning both clerics and monks, the penance for those who used harmful magic to destroy someone was three years on bread and water followed by a further three years without wine and meat. Only in the seventh year was the penitent to be received back into

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[99] Walker, SCO, lii.
[100] Paenitentiale 26, p. 179.
[101] Paenitentiale 28, p. 181.

communion.[102] The penalty was more lenient if the magic had been used for amorous purposes, half a year for a layman or three years in the case of a priest, although 240 days were to be added if the magic produced an abortion.[103] The canons concerning penances for the laity, seen as Columbanus's most original contribution,[104] mention such offences as parents murdering their young children and laymen frequenting pagan cult sites. The penance for those who 'smothered their child' was one year on bread and water and a further two without wine and meat while there were varying penances for those who have 'eaten or drunk beside the temples'.[105] A penance of 40 days on bread and water was to be imposed on men who through ignorance frequented a pagan site. Those, however, who, contrary to the admonitions of a priest, 'communicated at the table of demons' were to do penance for 120 days if this was done through avarice but for three years 'if he did it in worship of the demons or in honour of idols'.[106]

The Paenitentiale, like the Regula coenobialis, is equally specific concerning the penalties for monastic offences. It likewise reveals some of the problems with which a monastic community was beset and the harsh measures which were in place to combat recalcitrant monks. In the first part of the work addressed to monks, Columbanus treats such issues as sodomy, fornication, masturbation, theft, perjury, assault, and the vomiting of the host as a result of over-eating or over-drinking.[107] These he refers to as 'ordinary cases'! As in the Regula coenobialis, he was similarly concerned with addressing the

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[102] Paenitentiale 6, p. 173.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential', pp. 218, 238.
[105] Paenitentiale 18, 24, pp. 177, 179.
[106] Ibid. 24, p. 179.
[107] Ibid. 3, pp. 169-71.

disruptive effects caused by anger in the community and with ensuring an almost obsessive reverence for the consecrated host. 'If any has struck his brother in a quarrel and spilt blood, let him do penance three years', Columbanus declared, while the monk who vomited the host while drunk was to do penance for forty days.[108]

Having outlined the penances for these ordinary cases, Columbanus turned to consider the lesser sins of 'disorderly characters'. Again he addressed the problem of insubordination and pride. 'He who has despised his immediate superior in pride, or has spoken evil of the rule, is to be cast out, unless he has said immediately, I am sorry for what I said; but if he has not truly humbled himself, let him do penance forty days, because he is infected with the disease of pride.'[109] Indeed, in the next canon, he stipulates how the proud should be imprisoned. In this Columbanus anticipates Luxeuil's use as a detention centre for political prisoners in the seventh century when such powerful figures as the Neustrian mayor of the palace, Ebroin, were incarcerated in Luxeuil.[110] But the significance of Columbanus's Paenitentiale lies in the fact that it was also concerned with the wider Christian community beyond the confines of the monastic enclosure. Jonas himself lauds Columbanus as having reintroduced the penitentiae medicamenta into Gaul[111] and G. S. M. Walker has observed that 'in its influence upon the growth of ecclesiastical institutions the Penitential has been of more lasting importance than either of the Rules.'[112]

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[108] Ibid. 5, 6, p. 171.
[109] Paenitentiale 11, p. 171.
[110] On this, see M. de Jong, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in M. de Jong et al. (eds.), Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages (Leiden, 2001), pp. 291-328.
[111] VC I. 5, p. 161.
[112] SCO, lii.

An important question arising from a consideration of both of these Rules, and indeed with early medieval legislation in general,[113] is to what extent were they prescriptive. Albrecht Diem has queried whether the Regula Columbani mentioned by Jonas in the Vita Columbani and in other hagiographic and diplomatic sources was actually the same thing as the Rules written by Columbanus.[114] He understands the term as referring to a more general process linked to the founding of monasteries by aristocrats and with maintaining the privileged status of these monasteries from lay and episcopal interference. Columbanian monasticism, he argues, relied on three interrelated factors for its development: 'an abstract, not even necessarily codified, regula', coupled with the internal obedience of its members and the cooperation of the lay community.[115] The sketchy and unsystematic nature of both of Columbanus's Rules could hardly have served as the programmatic texts for the extensive monastic network that developed under the aegis of Columbanus's disciples during the course of the seventh century.[116]

Diem analysed the contexts in which the 12 occurrences of the term regula Columbani appear in the Vita Columbani as well as the 20 further references to such terms as regula, norma, disciplina regularis, tenor regularis, and regulariter.[117] He found that 11 of the 12 references to the regula Columbani occurred in relation to the foundation of Columbanian

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[113] On this issue, see P. Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (eds.), Early Medieval Kingship (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-38.
[114] A. Diem, 'Was Bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (eds.), Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und Soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter (Vienna, 2002), pp. 63-89; idem. 'Monks, Kings', pp. 527-9.
[115] Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 558.
[116] Diem, 'Was Bedeutet', pp. 64-5; idem. 'Monks, Kings', p. 528.
[117] 'Was Bedeutet', pp. 67-71.

monasteries by nobles. The aristocrat, Romaric, for example, after he had received instruction in Luxeuil founded Remiremont on his own property 'in which he gave the rule of the blessed Columbanus to be observed' (in quo et regulam beati Columbani custodiendam indidit).[118] The exception to such instances was in the case of the rebel monk, Agrestius, whose attack on Columbanian practices is termed as one that was adversum regulam beati Columbani.[119] Diem acknowledges that in two other instances it is clear that Jonas is referring to a written text.[120] In the case of Columbanus's debacle with Brunhild and Theuderic, Jonas depicted the Merovingian queen as challenging the status regulae[121] of the Burgundian communities while Columbanus warned the king that if he threatened the disciplina regularis, he and his dynasty would be destroyed.[122] The second instance can be found in Jonas's account of Abbot Bertulf of Bobbio's attempt to secure a papal privilege that would prevent the local bishop of Tortona from infringing on the jurisdictional autonomy of Bobbio. Jonas notes that when Bertulf met Pope Honorius in Rome, the abbot was asked to explain the customs of the Rule.[123]

In the majority of instances, however, Jonas's use of regula Columbani, regula, and similar terms occurs in conjunction with the founding of monasteries. Diem concludes that Jonas did not have in mind the written Rules of Columbanus when he refers to the regula Columbani but to 'the general concept of Columbanian monasticism'.[124] This then was a more general notion than any to do with an internal monastic programme and

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[118] VC II. 10, p. 252.
[119] VC II. 9, p. 249.
[120] 'Was Bedeutet', p. 69.
[121] VC I. 19, p. 190.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Cui cum rei causam patefecisset, ille de industria quaerit, quae sit consuetudo regularis disciplinae: VC II. 23, p. 282.
[124] 'The Rule of an Iro-Egyptian monk', unpublished paper forthcoming in Revue Mabillon, p. 8.

manifested itself in the foundation of monasteries by nobles in cooperation with Columbanus's disciples, by the inaccessibility of monastic space from the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and in the performance of intercessory prayer for society at large.[125] If a written version of this abstract regula exists, Diem suggests, it is not to be found in the Regula monachorum or the Regula coenobialis, but in the Vita Columbani itself.[126] Many of the features Diem sees as constituting the regula Columbani are evident in Jonas's text, which, he argues, shows little trace of Columbanus's two written Rules.[127] Ian Wood has also expressed similar views. Saints' Lives such as the Vita Antonii and the Vita patrum Iurensium could contain detailed commentaries on a saint's legislation or on the particular way of life followed in a community.[128] Wood also noted the discrepancies between some of Jonas's accounts of the early Columbanian community and Columbanus's legislation. Columbanus is very specific regarding diet. There was only to be one meal a day in the evening and this was to consist of some vegetables and bread.[129] Yet Jonas tells of how Columbanus permitted his monks to eat wild fowl and fish.[130] This leads Wood to query whether 'these are deliberate citations of traditions introduced by Columbanus's successors but not included in the additions to his monastic legislation.'[131] However, there may be a simpler explanation. The instances mentioned by Jonas all occur during the days of the early community when there was a shortage of food. The situation was so severe that some of the monks even ate tree-bark,[132] while in one of his letters Columbanus mentions that 17 of his community had died in the first 12

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[125] 'Was Bedeutet', p. 71.
[126] 'Monks, Kings', p. 528.
[127] 'Was Bedeutet', p. 67.
[128] Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', p. 66.
[129] RM 3, p. 127.
[130] VC I. 11, 27, pp. 170-2, 215.
[131] Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', p. 66.
[132] VC I. 7, p. 164.

years in the Vosges. In such circumstances, Columbanus may have been more lenient on such matters while, as in the Regula Benedicti, meat may have been occasionally permitted on feast days and special occasions. The difference between what Jonas reported and what Columbanus stipulated need not imply new customs.

Diem's argument that the Regula Columbani refers not to a series of prescriptive texts but to a general concept of Columbanian monasticism that was most fully expressed in the Vita Columbani needs to be queried. Although the term regula in the early Middle Ages need not in all cases imply a written text,[133] Columbanus clearly wrote and intended his two Rules to be followed, while there is evidence that Jonas conceived of the Regula Columbani as written legislation. It is obvious from other works from the same period, such as the Regula Benedicti and the Regula Magistri, that these Rules were prescriptive and detailed texts. Such texts set out a programme of how the monastic life was to be lived in their respective communities. Although Columbanus's legislation was much less detailed than either those of Benedict or the Master – one of its principal problems – it nevertheless did provide concrete provisions. Columbanus set out a complex liturgical programme and stipulated what and when the monks were to eat and drink. Other practices, as is typical with medieval legislation, were outlined in those decrees stipulating the penalties for their contravention. Initially, these provisions may have been conveyed orally but as Columbanus was in the habit of spending his time between the communal life of the monastery and the solitude of a hermitage the codification of these practices would eventually have been necessary. Jonas mentions how, when the

[133] See, e.g., J. F. Angerer, 'Zur Problematik der Begriffe: Regula – Consuetudo – Observanz und Orden', in Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige 88 (1977), pp. 312-23.

community was expanding, Columbanus sought out a new place in which to found a community. This became the monastery of Fontaine over which Columbanus placed gubernatores and for which he wrote a Rule:

> He appointed superiors whose religious way of life was not in question. When, therefore, the mass of monks had been settled in these places, he was again in the midst of all and the Rule, which they should keep, he brought together, full of the Holy Spirit, in which a sensible reader or hearer recognizes what kind of man and of how great learning the holy man was.[134]

It is evident here that Jonas is referring to a written text as is also the case with the instances already mentioned of Brunhild and Theuderic's conflict with the saint and Agrestius's opposition to the Rule.

Columbanus was, as is apparent from his writings, uncompromising and authoritarian as a monastic leader. He wrote his Rules to be followed and they embody the paradigm of the monastic life he constructed for his communities. Unhesitating obedience, a rigorous asceticism, and a penitential regime lie at the heart of these Rules and, from what we can tell from his other writings, he would have looked askance at attempts to alter or modify his teaching. 'Let those who are obedient become my heirs' he wrote to Athala while he also advised him to expel those monks who were causing trouble in the community. He

[134] Dedit gubernatores praepositus, de quorum religione nihil dubitabatur. His ergo in locis monachorum plebes constitutas, ipse vicissim omnibus intererat regulamque, quam tenerent, Spiritu sancto repletus condedit, in quam, qualis et quantae disciplinae vir sanctus fuerit, prudens lector vel auditor agnoscit: VC I. 10, p. 170.

was to do this, however, 'in peace and agreement with the rule.' There may be an echo of this conflict in Jonas's account of those monks who left Luxeuil because 'they could not bear the precepts of excessive ardour and were unable to sustain the weight of harsh discipline.'[135] Jonas here describes Athala as the successor to Columbanus and one who maintained the tenor regulae of his master.

Columbanus's monastic legislation thus presents us with an image of a tightly regulated and ritualised community in which thoughts, words, and deeds were subject to close scrutiny. It was also a place disciplinarian in the extreme. In this respect Columbanus was the product of his Irish training. Columbanus's abbot at Bangor, Comgall, was notorious for the severity of his Rule. Although there is no evidence for what monastic life may have been like at Bangor in the mid-sixth century, the later Hiberno-Latin Vita S. Comgalli preserved a tradition of the founder of Bangor as a man who 'left behind him a memory of appalling severity outstanding even for the heroic age of Irish monasticism.'[136] When Comgall was dying, the hagiographer reports, 'he was tormented by immense and various infirmities … some people said that such great infirmities were visited on him by God on account of the rigour and harshness of his rule over his monks'.[137]

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[135] VC II. 1, p. 231 (Wood, p. 119).
[136] Stevenson, 'The monastic rules', p. 205; Vita S. Comgalli abbatis de Bennchor, ed. C. Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (2 vols., Dublin, 1997), 2, pp. 3-21.
[137] immensis et uariis doloribus ipse torquebatur … alii iam dicebant, quod tanti dolores super eum a Deo dati sunt propter duriciam et asperitatem regule eius in monachis suis: Vita S. Comgalli 56, p. 20 (trans. Stevenson, 'The monastic rules', p. 205).

The monastic way of life that Columbanus constructed for his communities was therefore one that was inspired by the stringent rigours of Irish monastic practices. In both the Regula coenobialis and the Paenitentiale Columbanus noted that he was following the practices of the monastic teachers in Ireland. Elsewhere, in his letter to the bishops in which he defended his Irish idiosyncrasies, he wrote how he sought to maintain these practices for 'these are our weapons, shield and sword, these are our defence; these brought us from our native land; these here too we seek to maintain, though laxly; in these we pray and hope to continue up till death, as we have seen our predecessors do.'[138] Columbanus was thus deeply conservative and doggedly strove to continue in his continental communities the monastic practices of his native land, even if it was not possible to do so to the same extent.

There is no sense in Columbanus's Rules of the Mediterranean moderation that would eventually ensure the success of the Regula Benedicti. Although Columbanus may have known the Regula Benedicti, it had little influence on his Rules. When we consider the harshness of Columbanus's monasticism we must wonder what the appeal of this monasticism was for the Frankish aristocracy. How did they adapt to such an austere lifestyle? We can never dismiss the charisma of Columbanus in attracting followers, nor the force of fashion that royal patronage brought about. Yet the monastic life in Columbanus's community must have been extremely difficult for Frankish aristocrats who were, perhaps, more assured of their world and their position in the world than Columbanus had been. Columbanus and his Irish monks were well accustomed from a young age to such an ascetic existence, but it must have been much more difficult for

[138] Ep. II, 6, pp. 17-19.

adult converts. As we have seen, there are indications of dissent concerning the harshness of Columbanian practices from an early stage, dissent which would eventually lead to a change in Columbanian practices a decade after the saint's death.

2

THE CRISIS OF COLUMBANIANISM

The period following Columbanus's death was one of profound change for the Columbanian familia. It was characterized on the one hand by a remarkable expansion in Columbanian monasticism, but on the other by changes in the very fabric of that monasticism. Both developments were interdependent. There would have been no Columbanian or Hiberno-Frankish monastic movement without some sort of compromise in the penal nature of Columbanus's monastic practices. This change came about from within the Columbanian communities and this chapter, therefore, deals with these developments and what effect they had on Jonas's writing.

THE COLUMBANIAN MONASTIC NETWORK

The Columbanian or Hiberno-Frankish monastic movement developed from a cluster of monasteries in Burgundy, communities whose existence was in doubt with Columbanus's expulsion in 610, but which substantially transformed the monastic map of Merovingian Gaul.[1] The movement would also alter the nature of monasticism in the Latin West. It

[1] The literature on the Columbanian or Hiberno-Frankish monastic movement is extensive. See principally, Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 121-85; idem. 'Die Rolle der Iren beim Aufbau der merowingischen Klosterkultur', in H. Löwe (ed.), Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1982), 1, pp. 202-38; idem, 'Columbanus, the Frankish nobility and the territories east of the Rhine', in H. B. Clarke and M. Brennan (eds.), Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, BAR International Series 114 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 73-87; P. Riché, 'Columbanus, his followers and the Merovingian Church', in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, pp. 59-72; and the long-winded, A. Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles britanniques et le continent pendant le haut moyen âge: La diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VIIe siècle

was from this period that saw the proliferation of monasteries throughout Europe and their incorporation into royal and aristocratic power structures.[2] Within a century of Columbanus's death more than a hundred monasteries were founded which were modelled on Luxeuil, Columbanus's principal foundation in Burgundy.[3] These were mostly located in the northern part of the Merovingian kingdom, a region previously devoid of monastic foundations. Such monasteries were bound up in the web of interpersonal ties between the royal court at Paris, powerful aristocratic families, and the abbots of Luxeuil. Aristocrats founded monasteries such as Fontanella (St Wandrille), Rebais, and Solignac on land given by the king and whose first abbots were monks from Luxeuil.[4] The most powerful men in the Merovingian kingdom were now founding monasteries for they recognized their spiritual and temporal benefits. These 'powerhouses of prayer', whose land and possessions were protected by royal and episcopal privileges were the spiritual centres of the kingdom whose function was to pray for the kingdom, its benefactors, and for society at large. These privileges of immunity that protected the land also had practical benefits for those eager to keep the land in the family. By founding communities on family land whose abbots or abbesses were members of that family, these monasteries effectively acted as 'land banks' ensuring that the land remained in the hands of the family so long as they could maintain control over the community.

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et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in H. Atsma (ed.), La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850 (2 vols., Sigmaringen, 1989), 2, pp. 371-94.

[2] On this transformation, see, e.g., Brown, Rise of Western Christendom, pp. 219-66, esp. pp. 246-66; M. Dunn, The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages (Oxford, 2000), pp. 158-90.

[3] Prinz, 'Columbanus, the Frankish Nobility and the Territories East of the Rhine', p. 77.

[4] On this process and the web of Columbanian royal and aristocratic contacts, see Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 124-41.

Columbanus's expulsion from the Burgundian kingdom along with the Insular members of his community only accelerated the 'Frankishization' of Luxeuil[5] and meant that Luxeuil developed differently to Bobbio. Although Bobbio likewise enjoyed the patronage of royalty, it did not become the prototype for a monastic movement in Lombard Italy as Luxeuil did in Merovingian Gaul. Bobbio may, literally, have been more Insular. This was not the case with Luxeuil. Under the aristocratic abbots, Eustasius and Waldebert, Luxeuil became the pre-eminent monastery in the Merovingian kingdom. As had once been the case with Lérins, so, during the seventh century, Luxeuil became the centre from which the Gallic episcopacy drew its members. Monks from Luxeuil now became bishops and abbots of new foundations. These were predominantly the elite of Frankish society, an aristocratic element that was a direct consequence of Columbanus's initial patronage by the Merovingian family. These were men with close links to the new regime of Chlothar II, who united the Merovingian kingdoms in 613, and his son, Dagobert I, who cemented royal power, whose court at Paris became the platform for the expansion of Columbanian monasticism.[6]

Men like Dado, Desiderius, and Eligius, who had served as royal officials at court, were influenced by this new monasticism and founded monasteries while still laymen. They were later appointed bishops: Dado, of Rouen; Desiderius, of Cahors; and Eligius, of Noyon. In contrast to the bishops of Columbanus's day, these ecclesiastics, products of the court or of the monastic school at Luxeuil, were the 'driving force'

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[5] Frühes Mönchtum, p. 123.
[6] Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 124-41.

(Durchschlagskraft) behind the movement.[7] They provided privileges of immunity giving unprecedented rights to these communities.[8] The most famous of these was the one Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux gave to the community of Rebais in 637.[9] The Rebais privilege illustrates the heightened autonomy of such institutions and the close personal relationships that bound the Columbanian monastic network together. Rebais was founded by Dado a few years previously while he was still a court official and the land was donated by King Dagobert I. Jonas mentions the foundation in the Vita Columbani (although not the fact that it was a royal foundation nor does he mention the Burgundofaro privilege) as he does Dado's family with whom Columbanus had connections.[10] Dado asked Burgundofaro, in whose diocese Rebais was situated, to grant a privilege of immunity to the community. This forbade either ecclesiastics or the king to alienate the property of the monastery, stipulated that the abbot was to be chosen by the monks themselves, and no bishop was to enter the inner precincts of the monastery until invited by the community nor was he to demand payment for his services.[11] But as Sarah Tatum has pointed out, Jonas's omission of any mention of the privilege may have been due to reservations over the ultimate motives of both Dado and Burgundofaro. She has astutely remarked that there were no provisions in the privilege that prevented aristocrats from alienating the community's lands or of intervening directly in the affairs of the monastery. While prohibiting everyone else access, the privilege may have sought to

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[7] Frühes Mönchtum, p. 124.
[8] On the development of these monastic privileges, see B. H. Rosenwein, Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe (Ithaca, 1999).
[9] Diplomata 2, 275, pp. 39-41.
[10] VC I. 26, pp. 209-10.
[11] Diplomata 2, 275, pp. 39-41.

protect the land for the aristocratic families who had founded the community.[12] Jonas may have been concerned that men such as Dado, who as bishop of Rouen would later interfere in Columbanian communities such as Jumièges, would use these privileges for their own personal needs instead of for the good of the community. Rebais was just one of a host of such communities that were founded by aristocrats such as Dado with close connections to the Columbanians and were protected by grants of immunity that sprang up in French forests and wildernesses during the course of the seventh century. Jonas notes the foundation of a number of these communities and in this sense can rightly be regarded as the chronicler of the Columbanian monastic network.[13]

THE AGRESTIUS AFFAIR AND THE MIXED RULE

The expansion of Columbanian monasticism in Merovingian Gaul also brought about modifications in Columbanian monastic practices. A decade after Columbanus's death it appears that Luxeuil modified the Rule and abandoned the Easter reckoning favoured by Columbanus and adopted that of Victorius of Aquitaine, the method used in Gaul since 541 and against which Columbanus had been so opposed.[14] The catalyst for these changes was the aristocrat-monk, Agrestius, who had been a notary of King Theuderic II

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[12] S. D. Tatum, Hagiography, Family and Columbanan Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2007), pp. 63-4. I am very grateful to Professor Paul Fouracre for sending me a copy of this thesis.
[13] Diem, 'Was bedeutet', pp. 71-5.
[14] 'Crucial though the pseudo-Anatolius may have been for the Irish in their reckoning of Easter and important though it was in stirring up opposition to Columbanus both within his monastery and from outside, it was to lose significance soon after the saint's death with the acceptance of the Victorian calendar by Luxeuil and Bobbio.' Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', p. 72. See also B. Krusch, 'Die Einführung des greichischen Paschalritus im Abendlande', Neues Archiv 9 (1884), pp. 101-69, esp. p. 132.

and had entered Luxeuil when Eustasius was abbot.[15] Jonas details the affair in considerable detail, dedicating two chapters in Book II to describing Agrestius's opposition and defeat. The amount of coverage Jonas gives to this crisis (these chapters are the longest in the entire Vita) reveal what a major event this was for the Columbanian familia.

Jonas cast Agrestius in the guise of Cain and Judas (novum Cain … vel etiam novum proditorem), the worst of traitors, qui magistri dicta scinderet.[16] The initial fervour of the monastic life clearly gripped Agrestius who sought permission from Eustasius to undertake missionary work. The abbot tried to dissuade him on the grounds that he was not experienced enough in the religious life. Disobeying this advice, Agrestius undertook a missionary journey to the Bavarians.[17] After the failure of this mission, Agrestius continued into Italy where he became involved in the Aquilean Schism (the Three Chapters Controversy) by siding with the group of North Italian bishops in their opposition to the papacy's condemnation of the Three Chapters.[18] Jonas thus portrays him as a schismatic, which is ironic given that Columbanus also shared similar views.[19] Agrestius then set about attempting to persuade the abbots of Bobbio and Luxeuil to side with the Aquilean party in the schism. Jonas mentions that he sent a 'poisonous letter' (epistola venosa) through Aureus, a notary in the service of the Lombard king, to Athala

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[15] VC II. 9, p. 246.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid. p. 247.
[19] Socius statim scismatis effectus, Romanae sedis a communionem seiunctus ac divisus est totius orbis communione: VC II. 9, p. 247. Jonas also cites Matt. 16: 18 as scriptural support for the supremacy of the Petrine Office. On Columbanus's views on the controversy, see above, pp. 23-4.

in Bobbio and returned to Luxeuil to try and persuade Eustasius personally.[20] When Eustasius failed to change the rebel monk's mind, Agrestius was expelled from the community.[21] Jonas then describes how Agrestius turned against Columbanian practices and gained the backing of his kinsman, Bishop Abelenus of Geneva, who in turn rallied the support of other bishops. Even the king, Chlothar II, was asked to condemn Columbanus's teaching (doctrina sanctita beati Columbani et discipulorum).[22] Although this proved unsuccessful, the king gave permission for a synod to be convened. This was held on the outskirts of Mâcon in 626/27 where an assembly of Burgundian bishops met to consider the issue. The mayor of the palace and an enemy of Abbot Eustasius, Warnachar, appointed Bishop Treticus of Lyons to preside over the synod.[23] It thus seems to have been biased in Agrestius's favour and provides an interesting analogy to the synod to which Columbanus was summoned, but refused to attend.[24] However, this time the abbot of Luxeuil was present to defend both his own authority and the legitimacy of Columbanian practices.

Agrestius levelled the charge of heresy against Columbanus's doctrinal and institutional practices. The Easter reckoning and the Celtic tonsure were obvious points of contention, although Jonas only goes so far as to say that Agrestius attacked a number of practices that were against canonical teaching.[25] Agrestius also attacked aspects of the Rule and what he saw as unnecessary liturgical practices. He complained about the excessive ritual

[20] VC II. 9, pp. 247-8.
[21] Ibid. p. 248.
[22] Ibid. p. 248.
[23] VC II. 9, p. 249.
[24] See Ep. II.
[25] VC II. 9, p. 249.

customs of the community such as blessing spoons before eating, having to seek a blessing from another monk every time one entered or left a building, and the addition of extra prayers during the Mass.[26] As Warnachar died just before the synod – seen as divine punishment by Jonas – the synod may have been more lenient towards Eustasius than may otherwise have been the case.[27] Although the abbot prevailed against the charges and the bishops reconciled both parties,[28] it is very likely that this was only done after Luxeuil conformed on the Easter and the tonsure issues.[29]

Following Agrestius's failure to have Columbanian practices condemned, he then tried to undermine the familia from within. He succeeded in gaining the support of the abbot and founder of Remiremont, Amatus and Romaric, who had recently been reprimanded by Eustasius 'for neglecting certain things'.[30] They were, therefore, more likely 'to propagate his madness in contempt of the Rule of the blessed Columbanus.'[31] Agrestius also tried to enlist the support of Burgundofara, the abbess of Faremoutiers, but was spurned.[32] The series of calamities that then befell Remiremont in which rabid wolves killed two members of the community and a lightning bolt ripped through the monastery killing more than fifty were ample proof that the community had backed the wrong

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[26] Ibid. pp. 249-50.
[27] Ibid. p. 249.
[28] VC II. 9, p. 251.
[29] See Krusch, Ionae Vitae, p. 38; Stancliffe comments: 'Given Jonas's readiness to pass over Columbanus's summons to the synod of Chalon without a word, his silence here certainly does not mean that the Easter question was not raised. Rather, Krusch must be right in arguing that the bishop would never have made peace with Luxeuil unless it had first conformed on Easter – and perhaps, we should add, on the tonsure too.' 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', pp. 212-3.
[30] ob quibusdam neglectis tam Amatus quam Romaricus ab Eusthasio obiurgati fuerant: VC II. 10, p. 252.
[31] in contemptu regulae beati Columbani propriam vesaniam propagare: Ibid. pp. 252-3.
[32] VC II. 10, p. 253.

side.[33] After the murder of Agrestius by a man whom he had freed from slavery (although he made the mistake of taking liberties with the man's wife),[34] Amatus and Romaric were reconciled with Eustasius.[35] It may have been around this time, sometime in 628, that the more draconian aspects of Columbanian practices were modified by the introduction of the Regula Benedicti.

Paradoxically, the outcome of the Agrestius affair was a strengthening of Columbanian monasticism. Once the less acceptable features such as the Easter reckoning and tonsure had been dropped or modified, bishops and aristocratic families were more eager to promote it. Even Abelenus, Agrestius's kinsman and bishop of Geneva, was now named as among those bishops who were now backing the movement.[36] Clare Stancliffe has noted that:

> in view of Agrestius's behaviour after the synod of Mâcon … it appears more likely that, for all his attacks, the Rule was not changed at Mâcon itself, but shortly afterwards, presumably at the time when Amatus and Romaricus made their peace with Eustasius. For it is at this point in the story, and not at the synod, that Jonas places the approbation of Abelenus and other bishops for Columbanus's instituta. This would have occurred

[33] VC II. 10, pp. 253-4.
[34] Jonas is laudably prudish on the circumstances of Agrestius's death although he reports hearsay: Occasio criminis dicebatur uxoris permixtio; quod quamvis multi dixerint et vera adserere velint, nostrum tamen firmare non est. Ibid. p. 254.
[35] Ibid. p. 255.
[36] This change is noted by Jonas when, immediately after describing the controversy and its reconciliation, he notes the support that was given then given to Columbanian communities and the growth in new foundations: Abelenus vero vel ceteri Galliarum episcopi post ad roboranda Columbani instituta adspirant. Quam multi iam in amore Columbani et eius regula monasteria construunt, plebes adunant, greges Christi congregant. VC II. 10, p. 255.

> about a year after the synod of Mâcon, and it may be that there was some form of (episcopal?) mediation between Eustasius, on the one hand, and Amatus and Romaricus, on the other, which has gone unmentioned by Jonas, but which led Eustasius to modify the severity of Columbanus's Rule by admixture with that of Benedict.[37]

The Agrestius affair, while damaging the saintly reputation of Columbanus, also led to changes in his monastic practices.

There are a number of contemporary diplomatic sources that bear witness to the incorporation of the Regula Benedicti into new Columbanian communities. The so-called 'Mixed Rule' of Benedict and Columbanus is first mentioned in the 632 foundation charter of Eligius which he granted to the community he founded at Solignac, near Limoges.[38] The goldsmith of Dagobert and court official was not yet a bishop, so the grant of immunity can be seen as the forerunner to the episcopal privileges that became common in the second half of the seventh century. Eligius, in forbidding the property of the community to be alienated by bishops or other potentates or for such persons to have control over the monastery, stipulates that the community was to follow in the manner of the 'most holy men of Luxeuil' and to maintain the regula beatissimorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani.[39] The community, however, was directly answerable to the king who had granted the land and the abbot of Luxeuil was given permission to intervene if it

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[37] Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', p. 213.
[38] Charta Eligii, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), pp. 746-9. On the Mixed Rule and its significance, see Diem 'Was bedeutet', pp. 77-89 and Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 263-92.
[39] Charta Eligii, p. 747.

were seen that the Rule was being neglected. Solignac's first abbot, Remaclus, had been a monk at Luxeuil. The role of the community was also made clear – it was to pray for the king and the remission of Eligius's sins.[40] The Rebais privilege of 637 which Dado, likewise still a court official at the time, obtained from Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux also mentions that the community was founded sub regula Benedicti, et ad modum Luxoviense.[41] As monks who misbehaved were to be disciplined secundam regulam ipsius B. Benedicti vel B. Columbani it is clear that the modus Luxoviensis can be equated with the regula Columbani.[42] In addition to the Rebais privilege, there are nine privileges, three saints' Lives, a charter of monastic foundation, and a will that all mention the Mixed Rule.[43] The Vita Sadalbergae, for example, which was written in Laon around 680 probably by a nun, lauds the growth of monasticism during the abbacy of Waldebert of Luxeuil: 'In his time, bands of monks and holy maidens began to spring up through all the provinces of Gaul. They thronged not only through the fields, farms and villages and castles, but even in the lonely wilderness. Monasteries began to blossom just from the rules of the blessed Benedict and Columbanus where only a few had appeared in the area before that time.'[44] The rules for nuns composed by Donatus, a quondam monk of Luxeuil and bishop of Besançon, and Waldebert also show the extent to which the Regula Benedicti was used in conjunction with the Columbanian Rules in

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[40] Ibid. p. 748.
[41] Diplomata 2, 275, pp. 39-41. On this important privilege, see E. Ewig, 'Das Formular von Rebais und die Bischofsprivilegien der Merowingerzeit', in H. Atsma (ed.), Spätantikes und Fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften (1952-1973) (2 vols., Munich, 1976), 2, pp. 456-84.
[42] Diem, 'Was bedeutet', p. 81.
[43] Diem, Was bedeutet', pp. 78-9.
[44] Huius tempore per Galliarum provincias agmina monachorum et sacrarum puellarum examina non solum per agros, villas vicosque atque castella, verum etiam per heremi vastitatem ex regula dumtaxat beatorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani pullulare coeperunt, cum ante illud tempus monasteria vix paucis illis repperirentur in locis: VS 8, p. 54. (McNamara, p. 183.) On the Vita Sadalbergae, see now H. Hummer, 'Die Merowingische Herkunft der Vita Sadalbergae' Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 59 (2003), pp. 459-93.

the creation of new monastic legislation. It was thus through the Columbanian familia, and by being combined with the Regula Columbani, that the Benedictine Rule was introduced into Merovingian Gaul.[45]

EVIDENCE FOR THE MIXED RULE IN BOBBIO

The introduction of the Regula Benedicti from the 630s onwards into the monastic practices of the Frankish communities raises the question of whether a similar process had taken place in Bobbio. The evidence for such a development is more circumstantial due to the paucity and the problematic nature of the sources. Depending on complex criteria of source criticism and interpretation, there are potentially three sources that may reveal a similar monastic reform in Columbanus's Lombard foundation. The evidence from a papal privilege, a commemorative hymn, and a monastic Rule may all indicate a change in monastic practices, but each source presents considerable problems.

The 643 privilege of Pope Theodore I to the Bobbio community in which its special status – it was exempt from the jurisdiction of the local bishop and directly under the protection of the papacy – was reconfirmed provides the best evidence for the introduction of the Regula Benedicti in Bobbio. The Pope, at the request of King Rothari and Queen Gundiberga of the Lombards, granted the privilege to Abbot Bobulenus and his community of 150 monks who, he notes, followed the Rule of Benedict and

[45] On the possible channels through which the Regula Benedicti was introduced into these communities from Italy, see Charles-Edwards, Early Christian Ireland, pp. 385-8 and D. Ó Cróinín, 'A Tale of Two Rules: Benedict and Columbanus', in M. Browne and C. Ó Clabaigh (eds.), The Irish Benedictines: A History (Blackrock, 2005), pp. 11-24, esp. pp. 22-3. I am grateful to Dr Ian Fisher for supplying me with an offprint of this article.

Columbanus: sub regula sancte memorie Benedicti vel predicti reverentissimi Columbani fundatoris loci illius.[46] This referred not to two separate pieces of legislation, but clearly to a single Rule.[47] In content and aims, the privilege is similar to the Frankish immunities in that it severely restricted the influence of bishops on the community. Bishops were not to interfere in the affairs of the monastery and, were they invited by the community to celebrate Mass or to perform consecrations, they were to leave as soon as they had performed their duties and not to demand any payment.[48] If both the abbot and the community became lax in monastic discipline, the Pope alone had the right to intervene.[49] The 628 privilege of Pope Honorius I (whereby Bobbio was first brought under the protection of the Holy See)[50] is also mentioned in order to underline further concessions.[51]

The authenticity of the privilege is questionable and has been rightly queried.[52] It is, however, very difficult to establish precisely.[53] The possibility that the privilege is a forgery revolves around a number of unusual concessions and in the manner in which the privilege was preserved. A major reservation concerns the anachronism that conceded to

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[46] CDB i. XIII, p. 109.
[47] uno regule spiritu superna inspiratione conmotus: Ibid. p. 109.
[48] Ibid. p. 110.
[49] Ibid. p. 111.
[50] CDB i. X, pp. 102-03. Jonas describes in detail Bertulf's efforts in acquiring the privilege from Rome, efforts in which he was personally involved: VC II. 23, pp. 281-3.
[51] CDB p. 109.
[52] Bullough, 'Career of Columbanus', p. 27. See also H. H. Anton, Studien zu den Klosterprivilegien der Päpste im frühen Mittelalter (Berlin, 1975), pp. 58-9. Bullough's statement that 'Neither the plausibly authentic bull of 628 nor the probably false bull of 643 links Columbanus with Bobbio's original dedication to St Peter in its address clause' is incorrect. The dedication to St Peter is mentioned in the 643 bull. D. Ó Crónín, 'A Tale of Two Rules', p. 22, n. 48 notes that the authenticity of the bull has been 'thoroughly vindicated by Ewig.' On this, see E. Ewig, 'Bemerkungen zu zwei merowingischen Bischofsprivilegien und einem Papstprivileg des 7. Jahrhunderts für merowingische Klöster', in A. Borst (ed.), Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel (Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 215-49.
[53] See the comments of Carlo Cipolla in his edition of the Bobbio charters, CDB pp. 105-08.

the abbot of Bobbio the right to wear the mitre, to bless the lay congregation during the liturgy, and to use other episcopal regalia.[54] Mitred abbots are not a feature of the seventh century but of the eleventh century and later. This may indicate a forgery, or that later additions were made to the original privilege. Problems are also posed by the manner in which the document was preserved. The original privilege has not survived, only a transcription made by the notary Leo de Turre in 1172 during a period of contestation between the abbot and bishop of Bobbio.[55] It thus shares common characteristics with other forged charters. Leo, however, added to his copy of the charter a detailed account of the manner in which the document was authenticated. Manfred, Cardinal of San Georgii ad Velum aureum and papal legate to the region, along with the bishop of Piacenza, inspected the privilege and pronounced it to be a genuine papal document.[56] Then, in the presence of a number of named witnesses, Leo, the notary to the bishop of Piacenza, was instructed to transcribe a copy for the Bobbio community: ad postulacionem domni Iohannis de Ansaldo monachi et sindici monasterii Bobiensis.[57] Cipolla, in weighing up the evidence for and against the privilege's authenticity, considers the mention of carta, which here he understands as meaning 'papyrus',[58] and to the leaden bull used by the papal chancery as evidence in favour of an original document. He further points to the fact that the privilege refers to the original dedication of Bobbio to St Peter and not to St Columbanus, as well as to the detail that Columbanus is not termed a saint but simply vir

[54] Ibid. p. 109.
[55] See M. Tosi, 'La presenza della Regula Benedicti nel Monastero di S. Colombano in Bobbio', AB 3 (1981), pp. 7-58, at p. 16.
[56] dixit ipsum esse sine ulla reprehensione carte, stilli, bulle vel littere … con vera bulla plombea pendente: CDB p. 112.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid. p. 106.

venerabilis, as further evidence for its authenticity.[59] His general conclusion is it that the privilege, although not altogether original, cannot be completely dismissed as a forgery: 'Non sembra assolutamente possibile escludere l'autenticità del privilegio papale, presso nel suo insieme; ma è parimente probabile che questo non ci sia pervenuta nella sua integrità, ma sia stato ritoccato affinchè potesse riuscire praticamente utile al monastero nella sua lotta secolare contro il vescovo di Bobbio.'[60] According to this privilege, therefore, the Mixed Rule had been implemented in Bobbio by May 643.

The Italian scholar, Michele Tosi, suggested that Bobulenus, the fourth abbot of Bobbio and the recipient of the papal privilege, was responsible for a project of reform at Bobbio. Indeed, he argues that the papal privilege can be seen as the official approval of this reform.[61] According to Tosi, there was a crisis concerning the Columbanian Rule at Bobbio under Abbot Athala that was not fully resolved until Bobulenus introduced a modified Rule.[62] The basis for this assumption rests on Jonas's account of the rebel monks who leave the community under Athala's leadership due to the harsh monastic practices.[63] Tosi and a number of other scholars,[64] however, mistakenly read this account as having taken place at Bobbio, whereas from a close reading of the text it is clear that it

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[59] Ibid. p. 105.
[60] CDB p. 108.
[61] Tosi, 'La presenza', p. 18.
[62] Ibid. pp. 8-12.
[63] VC II. 1, pp. 231-2.
[64] Tosi, 'La presenza', pp. 11-12; See also, e.g., P. Erhart, 'Contentiones inter monachos – Ethnische und politische Identität in monastischen Gemeinschaften des Frühmittelalters ' in R. Corradini et al. (eds.), Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages (Vienna, 2006), pp. 373-88, at pp. 380-1; Dunn, Emergence of Monasticism, p. 181; Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages, p. 56.

occurred at Luxeuil when Athala was prior.[65] There is, therefore, no evidence in Jonas of monastic dissent at Bobbio.

Tosi furthermore conjectures that Athala's successor at Bobbio, Bertulf, was unable to address the problem of the Rule because of the more pressing threat of episcopal interference posed by Bishop Probus of Tortona.[66] Instead, Bertulf may have appointed Bobulenus to investigate how the Rule might be revised and such problems as concerning it resolved.[67] There is no evidence for this whatsoever. A source, however, Tosi saw as indicating that Bobulenus implemented a programme of monastic reform is the encomium written in memory of the abbot at Bobbio.

The commemorative hymn, the Versus de Bobuleno abbate,[68] which was written by an unknown monk of Bobbio sometime after Bobulenus's death in 654, is notable for its use of Hiberno-Latin versification and for showing the influence of Jonas in its use of many motifs and phrases found in the Vita Columbani.[69] The hymn, which consists of twenty-six verses arranged according to the alphabet, survives in two luxury tenth-century

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[65] Jonas describes how Athala left Lérins because he felt that the discipline was not strict enough and went to Luxeuil where he was trained by Columbanus. Then he writes: Ergo cum egregie post beatum Columbanum supradictum coenubium regeret and proceeds to narrate the episode of the rebel monks. The supradictum coenubium refers back to Luxeuil, not to Bobbio: VC II. 1, p. 231.
[66] Tosi, 'La presenza', p. 12.
[67] Ibid. pp. 12-13.
[68] The hymn has been published as an appendix to Bruno Krusch's earlier edition of the VC in MGH, SRM 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), pp. 153-6. More recently, Dag Norberg provided a detailed critical analysis of the hymn: 'Une hymne de type irlandais en Italie', in R. Cantalamessa and L. F. Pizzolato (eds.), Paradoxos politeia: Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati (Milan, 1979), pp. 347-57, at pp. 347-50. Norberg also discuss the hymn in the context of the development of literary Latin in Italy from the end of the sixth to the end of the eighth centuries. In this case it is seen as a product of the Hiberno-Latin influences which were introduced into Italy by Irish monks: 'Le dévelopment du Latin en Italie de Saint Grégoire le Grand à Paul Diacre', in Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente (2 vols., Spoleto, 1958), 2, pp. 485-503, at pp. 498-500. All citations here are taken from Krusch's edition.
[69] The various instances are given in Norberg, 'Le dévelopment du Latin', pp. 498-99, n. 28.

manuscripts produced at Bobbio,[70] both of which contain the Vita Columbani. As can be expected from such a source, it does not tell us much about the biography of its subject. Instead, it focuses on Bobulenus's qualities as abbot. In this respect, however, it is important for the manner in which it portrays Bobulenus and his relations with his community.

Bobulenus was the current abbot of Bobbio when Jonas completed his Vita Columbani and had succeeded Bertulf, the abbot who commissioned Jonas, in 642. He is, along with the abbot of Luxeuil, Waldebert, one of the dedicatees of the Vita. We know from Jonas that he was the son of Winioc, a priest in Burgundy who knew Columbanus personally. Winioc is mentioned in two miracle accounts.[71] Apart from addressing the abbot in the letter of dedication and noting his relationship to Winioc, Jonas reveals nothing further about Bobulenus. We may presume the abbot had been a monk at Luxeuil before joining the Bobbio community and that, as the son of a priest he was, in contrast to the Luxeuil abbots, not an aristocrat. Yet, interestingly, the encomiast opens his hymn by noting Bobulenus's noble origins: Atticorum ex genere oriundus nobilis. No mention is made of his father, Winioc, which is surprising given that he is mentioned a number of times in the Vita Columbani. The ethnic-term Atticus has led to some confusion. Krusch considered it to mean that Bobulenus was of Greek origin,[72] but Ewig has more plausibly

[70] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. IV. 26, fols. 70v-72r; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. IV. 12, fols. 101v-103r.
[71] VC I. 15, I. 17, at pp. 177-8, 182-3.
[72] Versus, p. 153.

identified it as referring to the Frankish tribe, the Chattuarii or Attoarii,[73] which may appear in Beowulf as the Hetwaras.

The portrait of Bobulenus presented by the encomiast was of a man who has successfully preserved and fulfilled (patravit) the teachings of 'the fathers'.[74] He is held up as a worthy heir to Columbanus, one, who, having been taught by the saint, faithfully followed his teaching.[75] Indeed, he is lauded as the regula conservator.[76] His pastoral qualities are also praised. He is the bonus pastor who has 'sensibly' (commude) led his flock into the sheepfolds of Christ.[77] He not only taught by his words but by example,[78] while his prowess as an ascetic is also praised. He subjected his body to sacra mortificata,[79] spent the nights in vigil, devoted himself to prayer and to fasting,[80] and he worked hard like the rest of the monks.[81] He was strict on those who were disobedient and is seen as safeguarding the community from the Devil by expelling dissenters.[82]

The egalitarian portrayal of Bobulenus as an abbot who took part in manual labour alongside his monks is the most interesting feature of this hymn. This is especially so when one considers the aristocratic depiction of some Columbanian abbots in Frankish

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[73] E. Ewig, 'Volkstum und Volksbewusstsein im Frankenreich des 7. Jahrhunderts' in H. Atsma (ed.), Spätantikes und Fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften (1952-1973) (2 vols., Munich, 1976), 1, pp. 231-73, at p. 235, n. 17.
[74] Versus 4, p. 154.
[75] Edoctus a sancto Dei Columbano praesule, | cui post quarto in loco meruit succedere, | ipsius doctrinam sequens rectum tenet tramite: Ibid. 5, p. 154.
[76] Ibid. 19, p. 155.
[77] ad regendas oves sibi creditas | … | ipsas inlesas ad caulas Christi ducit commude. Ibid. 2, p. 153.
[78] Versus 4, p. 154.
[79] Ibid. 15, p. 155.
[80] Ibid. 7, p. 154.
[81] Ibid. 6, 8, p. 154.
[82] Ibid. 19, 20, p. 155.

hagiography from the same period.[83] The encomiast emphasizes how the abbot joined his monks in manual labour and took his food in common with them while a praecessoribus regulariter vivendo omnia communiter.[84] This sense of communal accord is similarly a feature of Jonas's portrayal of the early Columbanian community in Merovingian Gaul.[85]

The hymn is a complex encomium and indicates that the community regarded Bobulenus as a saint in the years following his death, but it reveals little about a change in monastic practices in Bobbio. One could in fact argue the opposite. The encomiast underlines that Bobulenus was taught by Columbanus and followed in his teachings while he is lauded as the regula conservator. He even performed a miracle similar to the one Columbanus worked on his father when he healed Winioc's wounded forehead.[86] All of this could be read as underlining Bobulenus's doctrinal continuity with Columbanus's teachings. It may suggest a conservative stance concerning the change in Columbanian monastic practices. Verse 20, in which the author refers to a 'snake lurking in the bushes' may indicate that there had been some form of dissent at Bobbio, but the abbot expelled those monks and is portrayed as healing the ulcer so that no wound appeared.[87]

It would appear, however, from the evidence of the 643 privilege, that Bobulenus introduced the mixed Rule into Bobbio. The way the abbot is praised as preserving

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[83] On the increasing emphasis on the noble origins of saints in hagiographic works from this period in comparison with earlier works, see H. Keller, 'Mönchtum und Adel in den Vitae patrum Jurensium und in der Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis: Beobachtungen zum frühmittelalterlichen Kulturwandel im alemannisch-burgundischen Grenzraum' in K. Elm et al. (eds.), Landesgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte: Festschrift für Otto Herding zum 65. Geburtstag (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 1-23.
[84] Versus 12, p. 155.
[85] VC I. 5, p. 161.
[86] Versus 21, p. 155.
[87] mox sanavit ipse ulcus, cicatrix nec paruit: Ibid. p. 155.

Columbanus's teachings could also be read in the sense that Bobulenus preserved the essence of Columbanus's monastic practices following a period in which these were seriously contested. The allusion to the devil, the leitmotif of monastic dissent, might be indicative that a similar reaction as had taken place in the Frankish communities had affected Bobbio. That Bobulenus resolved these issues by accommodating Columbanian monastic practices with those of Benedict's could, as Tosi reads it, be the underlying meaning behind the phrase regula conservator.[88]

Although the Versus de Bobuleno is a problematic source in the sense that it is open to conflicting interpretations concerning a monastic reform at Bobbio, it is of considerable interest for its portrayal of Bobulenus and his role as abbot. But it ultimately tells us little about the introduction of the Regula Benedicti into Bobbio. However, based on the premise that there was a dispute in the community over the Rule which was resolved by Bobulenus, Pierre Blanchard, Michele Tosi and Marilyn Dunn have argued that Bobulenus's reformed or mixed Rule is a text known as the Regula Magistri or Rule of the Master. This is a controversial and highly problematic hypothesis. The Regula Magistri was traditionally believed to have been composed after the Regula Benedicti, but in 1937 the Benedictine scholar Dom Augustin Genestout claimed that the Benedictine Rule relied on that of the Master. In so doing, he initiated what has been called 'one of the greatest surprises in the history of medieval scholarship'.[89] Genestout's

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[88] 'la soluzione piú logica sarebbe quella di una rielaborazione della primitiva regola di Bobbio, che ne conservasse lo spirito e ne addolcisse le prescrizioni. In ogni caso, era necessario un testo scritto che avesse ricevuto la necessaria approvazione da parte dell'autorità competente.' Tosi, 'La presenza', p. 15.
[89] R. W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 221; see also D. Knowles, 'The 'Regula Magistri' and the Rule of S. Benedict', in Great Historical Enterprises – Problems in Monastic History (London, 1963), pp. 135-95.

thesis gained widespread acceptance and in the 1960s the Benedictine scholar, Dom Adalbert de Vogüé, published a three-volume critical edition of the Regula Magistri in which he argued that the work was composed in the 520s south of Rome in Campania.[90] Dunn reopened the debate in the 1990s and, following Blanchard and Tosi, has forcefully argued for a Bobbio provenance for the Rule.[91] She has advanced a number of liturgical, ritual, linguistic, and institutional features as evidence for a later date and place of composition. These features raise serious questions about the Regula Magistri, but which it will be impossible to explore in greater depth here. I shall confine myself to some of the problems the Regula Magistri raises and whether it displays any features that might be suggestive of the Columbanian mixed Rule.

The Regula Magistri is arguably the most unusual monastic Rule of the early Middle Ages. It is also, at four-times longer than the Regula Benedicti, a remarkably detailed work of legislation. Its ninety-five chapters cover a range of topics, which, beyond the standard subjects, include such matters as courtesy towards angels and what was suitable monastic underwear.[92] The Rule portrays a small, highly ritualized and rural community, a place that was a centre of craft and book production. Two deans were appointed to supervise ten monks each and these were to keep a close eye on their wards at all times.[93] But it was not a community cut off from the outside world. Monks went on journeys and

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[90] La Règle du Maître, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 105-7, (3 vols., Paris, 1964). All citations are from The Rule of the Master [hereafter Master], trans. L. Eberle, Cistercian Studies 6 (Kalamazoo, 1977).
[91] On the debate, see M. Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict: monastic rules and their authors in the early medieval West', EHR 105 (1990), pp. 567-94; A. de Vogüé, 'The Master and St Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn', EHR 107 (1992), pp. 95-103; M. Dunn, 'The Master and St Benedict: A Rejoinder', EHR 107 (1992), pp. 104-11; Dunn, Emergence of Monasticism, pp. 182-4.
[92] See, e.g., Master 47, p. 207; Master 81, p. 245.
[93] See Master 11, pp. 141-8.

guests were received in the monastery. Indeed, it would seem that some guests took advantage of monastic hospitality. The Master is particularly scathing about wandering monks and priests who avail of food and lodging without participating in the manual labour of the monks.

In terms of ritual, it shares some features with Columbanus's legislation. As in Columbanus's Regula monachorum, the Regula Magistri follows an increasing and decreasing system of liturgy for the night office based on the seasons whereas the night office in the Regula Benedicti is fixed. And, as in the Columbanian communities, monks were required to follow rituals of blessing[94] and to collect the crumbs after meals that, at the end of the week, were blessed and cooked. Based on these and other features, Dunn has argued that the Rule was composed at Bobbio in the second half of the seventh century. Her main arguments centre on computistical and linguistic evidence. She terms as 'definitive proof of Irish influence' the fact that the Master uses the same spring and autumn equinoxes, that of 25 March and 24 September, used by Columbanus and the Irish in their reckoning of the date of Easter.[95] These, she argues, were already antiquated systems of computus on the Continent in the early sixth century when the Alexandrian date of 21 March was adopted as the date of the spring equinox. She furthermore sees some of the terminology used by the Master as indicative of composition in Lombard Italy.[96] The Master uses a number of technical legal terms found in the Lombard laws of the seventh century. These are: rogus, a petition, used by both the Master and by Jonas in

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[94] 'so it may be seen that they are observing the rule about requesting prayer when they enter the outside threshold of the monastery's exterior portal.' Master 67, pp. 232-3.
[95] Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', p. 583.
[96] See M. Dunn, 'Tánaise Ríg: the Earliest Evidence', Peritia 13 (1999), pp. 249-54.

the sense rogus Dei meaning an intercessory prayer; saltuarius, an official subject to a Lombard judge; and maiordomus, or mayor of the palace, a royal official appointed by Merovingian and Lombard kings.[97] She has also argued that the use of the term secundarius reflects Insular influence.[98] There was no office of prior, but the secundarius was the man appointed as the designated successor at the time when the abbot was dying. It was the abbot himself who chose his successor, not the community.[99] This would also seem to have been the case in the Columbanian communities. Such a practice parallels Insular royal custom whereby a successor was chosen by a ruler while he was still alive. In the Life of Alfred, the term secundarius is used by Asser to denote that Alfred was the heir-apparent during the kingship of his brother, Ethelred.[100] This may be the Latin rendering of the vernacular royal terms ætheling in English and tánaise ríg in Irish.[101] The Master, therefore, had a similarly autocratic and monarchical concept of the abbatial office as had Columbanus.[102]

The debate has clearly been reopened by Dunn who has presented compelling evidence for the later date and place of composition of this enigmatic text. The matter is furthermore not made any easier by the two earliest manuscripts that fail to provide a

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[97] Ibid. p. 251.
[98] Ibid. pp. 251-2.
[99] Master 92, 93, pp. 272-81.
[100] Dunn, 'Tánaise Ríg', pp. 252-3.
[101] Ibid. p. 253.
[102] If the abbot recovered after his secundarius was appointed and consecrated by a bishop then he was termed a Caesar designatus: Master 93, pp. 278-80. Jonas uses the term monarchiae in relation to the office of abbot: VC II. 10, p. 252. On this magisterial terminology, see A. de Vogüé, 'En lisant Jonas de Bobbio: Notes sur la Vie de Saint Colomban', Studia Monastica: Commentarium ad Rem Monasticam Investigandam 30 (1988), pp. 63-103, at p. 94.

terminus ante quem.[103] Different scholars have given the manuscripts variant dates from both the sixth and the seventh centuries.[104] François Masai argued for a sixth century date which would obviously exclude the possibility that the Rule was written at Bobbio,[105] but Tosi has argued for a later seventh-century dating.[106]

When we consider some of the internal evidence that might be suggestive of the geographical area in which the Rule was written we are similarly faced with problems. De Vogüé strongly argued for an area south of Rome in Campania.[107] But in the text we read that when monks were setting out on a journey the abbot was to consider the hardships of the journey and the heights of the mountains and to provide them with an extra meal before they left if he thought it appropriate.[108] The reference to mountains may indicate a more northern area than Campania, which is relatively flat. There is also the stipulation that monks were to wear hobnailed boots during winter, perhaps suggestive of a colder clime than southern Italy.[109] Most unusual, however, is the Master's rant against wandering monks at the beginning of the work where he states that if:

> they find a monk's cell, they stop there, saying they have come from far-off Italy (porro a finibus aduenire Italiae). With head bowed as if in

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[103] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12634 (CLA 5, 646); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12205 (CLA 5, 633).
[104] On the dating and the different views proposed by scholars, see Appendix 2 in Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', pp. 591-2. The palaeographical complexities of these manuscripts are aptly illustrated from R. W. Hunt's personal copy of the CLA volume in which Lowe gave a dating of the seventh century but which Hunt crossed out and inscribed a sixth-century date above.
[105] H. Venderhoven, F. Masai, P. B. Corbett, La Règle du Maître, édition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 et 12634 de Paris (Brussels, 1953).
[106] Tosi, 'La presenza', pp. 27-40
[107] La Règle du Maître, 1, pp. 225-33.
[108] Master 59, p. 226.
[109] Ibid. 81, p. 246.

> humility, they lie again about pilgrimage and captivity to this new host, forcing the good man out of sympathy for their long journey to use up his whole scanty means in cooking and serving them food, most certainly only to be left destitute and plundered by these gluttons after a couple of days.[110]

The gyrovagues assertion that they have come from 'far-off Italy' seems odd if the Rule was composed in Italy. De Vogüé noted that this could be understood as referring to the environs of Rome rather than to Gaul,[111] but perhaps it could also be read as evidence for composition in the Lombard controlled part of Italy.

These are only a few of the complicated issues surrounding the date and place of composition of this Rule and which deserve fuller treatment. It has only been possible to sketch some of these problems in dealing with the specific question of whether the Regula Magistri arose out of an amalgamation of the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus under the aegis of the abbot of Bobbio. But there are difficulties with locating the Rule in a Columbanian milieu, as de Vogüé has argued.[112] The Rule is much more moderate in its penal code and more liberal in its provisions of food and drink. It betrays very little of the severity of Columbanus's Rules and of his penitential practices. Particularly, in the Master's conception of penance, de Vogüé's thesis for an early date appears justified. In a detailed chapter on how a monk who has been excommunicated should do penance, the Master notes what the abbot should say to the penitent when he has been reconciled: "See

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[110] Master 1, p. 107
[111] La Règle du Maître, 1, p. 232, n. 5.
[112] 'The Master and St Benedict', pp. 95-103.

to it, brother, see to it that henceforth you sin no more so as to be obliged to do penance for this vice a second time, for the obligation to do penance a second time would cut you off into heresy."[113] This concept of one-off penance indicates an early date, as it does not show influence of the system of repeatable penance introduced by Columbanus. This could be seen as conclusive evidence in favour of a pre-Columbanian date.

Similarly, Tosi's assertion that the Versus de Bobuleno can be read in the light of a reform undertaken by Bobulenus at Bobbio and that the Regula Magistri was the product of this reform is at odds with the Master's portrayal of the abbot in the Rule. What is notable about the Versus is the egalitarian depiction of Bobulenus, one example of which is the author's assertion that the abbot ate in common with his monks. This is not the case in the Regula Magistri where the abbot was to have his own "high table" where senior members of the community, visiting outsiders, and 'taking turns as the abbot wishes, those who know the psalter' were permitted to share their meal with the abbot.[114] The presence of guests in the refectory is also at odds with what we know of Columbanian monasteries. It would have been inconceivable that lay guests ate in common with the monks in the refectory, as Jonas makes clear in his account of how Columbanus reacted when King Theuderic stepped into the refectory at Luxeuil.[115] Such aspects, however small, raise doubts concerning the Rule's composition at Bobbio.

The Regula Magistri, therefore, while sharing some similarities with Columbanian practices, is fundamentally different in its conception of penance. We should be hesitant

[113] Master 14, p. 157.
[114] Master 84, p. 250.
[115] VC I. 19, pp. 190-1.

to see it as evidence for the introduction of the Regula Benedicti into Bobbio. This is similarly the case with the Versus de Bobuleno that provides inconclusive evidence for a monastic reform at Bobbio. It is only on the slender thread of the 643 papal privilege, itself by no means devoid of textual difficulties, that we may conjecture that Bobbio had adopted similar reforms as the Frankish communities. It is only when we consider the evidence from the Columbanian communities in Merovingian Gaul where they adopted the Italian Rule in the 630s that we can consider that Bobbio too might have incorporated it into its monastic practices around this time.

The reader may wonder why I have discussed a matter that might at first seem of but minor importance. The issue, however, is important as it concerns significant changes in Columbanian practices. We might see these changes as a natural consequence arising from the incomplete nature of Columbanus's Rules. The Regula Benedicti provided the communities with more comprehensive guidelines on how to live the monastic life. But this development could also be viewed as a fundamental break with the monastic vision of Columbanus. Columbanus was an autocratic abbot with a very definite idea of how the monastic life ought to be lived. He would have looked askance at any attempts to modify the punitive nature of his monasticism, which was what the introduction of the Regula Benedicti was essentially about. The instances in the Vita Columbani where Jonas discusses monastic dissent all concern the harshness and pedantic nature of the Rule; he does not imply that it was an incomplete work of legislation.

The problem moreover becomes important in the light of Jonas's silence on the matter. He in no way mentions the introduction of the Mixed Rule even though he records the foundation of monasteries, such as Solignac, where we know that the Regula Benedicti was implemented. These are simply founded, he notes, ex regula Columbani. [116] Like the problems over Easter and the tonsure, which must have been contentious issues during the Agrestius affair, Jonas is also silent about the modification of Columbanian practices. He gives the impression of seamless continuity between Columbanian monastic practices of his own day and that of the founding abbot. One reason for this might be that, apart from the work's purpose of rehabilitating the saintly reputation of Columbanus, Book II was intended to illustrate to the Columbanian communities the effects of monastic dissent and what happened to those who attempted to undermine Columbanus's instituta.[117] The Vita could have been intended as a subtle and clever critique of the changes that had taken place in Columbanian monastic practice, particularly in the Frankish communities. It is interesting that no miracles in Book II occur in Luxeuil and Eustasius is the only one from Luxeuil who works miracles, but in all cases away from the community. In contrast, a number of Bobbio monks work miracles while Athala, Columbanus's closest disciple, is the only one in Book II to be called vir Dei.[118] Jonas uses this term ninety-five times in Book I for Columbanus, but only once in Book II.[119] Athala for Jonas is shown as the true follower of the founder-saint, while Eustasius, the abbot most likely responsible for the changes in Columbanus's instituta, is not termed vir Dei and moreover suffers thirty-days

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[116] VC II. 10, pp. 255-6.
[117] The term instituta was skillfully chosen by Jonas as it recalls Cassian's great work, a major influence on Columbanus, while also stressing that Columbanus's monastic teachings were orthodox. On Jonas's use of Cassian, see below, pp. 160-2.
[118] VC II. 1, p. 232. Noted by Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 550.
[119] Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 550.

of penitential suffering before his death.[120] Athala, in contrast, has a vision of heaven before he dies.[121] It is also noteworthy that in referring to Bertulf, the abbot of Bobbio who commissioned Jonas but who received his monastic training at Luxeuil, Jonas mentions that at the time when Bertulf entered Luxeuil the community was still at that time following the holy rule (quo diu subiectus sanctae regulae).[122] This would suggest that at the time of writing it no longer followed such a rule. The sacredness of Columbanus's Rule is moreover strongly emphasised by Jonas in his account of its composition where he notes that the saint composed a rule that was full of the Holy Spirit, a rule that was to be preserved by his monastic 'people' (plebes): ipse vicissim omnibus intererat regulamque, quam tenerent, Spiritu sancto repletus condedit.[123]

In the letter of dedication to the abbots we can perhaps detect a reprimanding note where Jonas, in referring to Bobulenus and Waldebert, comments that they, the successors of Athala and Eustasius as abbots of Bobbio and Luxeuil, ought to preserve the instituta of Columbanus, here termed the master: 'while I have also learned things from the venerable men, Athala and Eustasius, the first of whom succeeded him at Bobbio, the second at Luxeuil, monasteries now ruled by you, and they passed on to his followers those institutes of the master which ought to be preserved.'[124] The use of the gerund servanda implies something that 'should' or 'ought to be preserved'. It is also possible that Jonas was concerned about how his work would be received. He has an unusual

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[120] VC II. 10, pp. 256-7.
[121] VC II. 6, pp. 238-40.
[122] VC II. 23, p. 281.
[123] VC I. 10, p. 170.
[124] vel quae etiam nos per venerabiles viros Athalam et Eusthasium didicimus: quorum primus Ebobiensis, secundus Luxoviensis coenobii, quo vos praesules existitis, eius successores fuerunt, qui magistri instituta suis plebibus servanda tradiderunt: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 145 (Wood, p. 117).

passage in which, amongst the usual deprecatory remarks about style, he comments that those who first praised the work might take a different view on reading the finished piece:

> And appreciation of the work that has been commissioned, of the properly venerated (venerandi) abbot and of your judgment will be such that if anything lacks elegance of speech, having been set out with inadequate ceremony, it will be clothed in your virtues, so that it seems fitting to the readers, and since the deeds are not equaled by the account of them, and the virtues of holy men are not imitated by bearing oneself proudly, they should not be appalled by my lack of skill in composing and having been appreciative in their applause at the first appearance of the work, soon strive to withdraw their hands, stained with blood by the hardship of the path. It is right to say to them that swimmers thrown back onto the bank, exhausted by the waves of the sea, when all other help is lacking, are accustomed to seize thorn bushes with a sudden effort.[125]

It is difficult to get a sense of what Jonas is getting at here, although his reference to those who withdraw their hands stained with blood from the hardship of the path and his image of the swimmer thrown up on the bank from a storm might be read as an oblique

[125] Erit tamen commissi operis, venerandi patris, vestri arbitrii cultus, ut si aliqua minus rite prompta decorem faciditatis caruerint, vestris faleramentis decorentur, ut legentibus apta fiant: ne dum meam imperitiam in eloquio exhorrent, cum facta dictis non exsequentur, sanctorum virtutes fastidiose ferendo non imitentur, et cum ad partum opus ovantes manum tetenderint, mox sentium asperitate cruentam nitantur subtrahere. Quibus dicendum est, nantes solere, reuma gurgitum fractis viribus, ripe redditos, cum alia defuerint subsidia, festino conamine sentes adprehendere: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 146 (Wood, p. 117).

criticism of those who could not live up to the strictness of Columbanus's monastic vision.

What is more certain is that the Vita Columbani was written following a period of crisis within the Columbanian familia and it was arguably in response to this crisis and change that the Bobbio community comissioned Jonas to write the work. Jonas's task was to rehabiliate the image of Columbanus as a powerful and orthodox saint, but also to show to his monastic contemporaries what happened to those who sought to undermine or disobey the saint's teachings.

3

JONAS OF BOBBIO

Jonas is considered the pre-eminent hagiographer of the seventh century and one of the most important of the early Middle Ages. Dom Adalbert de Vogüé has seen him as a unique and towering figure among seventh-century writers,[1] while the German historian, Walter Berschin, described him as one, who, writing as a representative of the classical canon of biography, became himself a classic in his genre.[2] Jonas is unique in the seventh century as an author of multiple saints' Lives. His longest and greatest work, the Vita Columbani, and, to a lesser extent, his occasional works, the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis, have been the subject of scholarly enquiry since the seventeenth century. Historians of Insular and Continental medieval history have studied the Vita Columbani for biographical details on Columbanus and for the political and monastic history of the Frankish and Lombard kingdoms, while Jonas's idiosyncratic and complex Latin has attracted the dissecting eye of philologists. But aside from his literary gifts, Jonas is also exceptional in that we can to some extent frame him in a biographical profile. Although there is much we do not know about him, we know enough. For a start, we know his name. We also know where he was born, the year and place he became a monk, and the general outlines of his later life. This is solely because Jonas himself tells us these things. Although he was sensitive about literary pride, he fortunately could not refrain from

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[1] 'Dans le désert du VII siècle, où ne poussent que des arbres nains, il fait figure de géant.' Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 34.

[2] 'Jonas, der den repräsentativen Klassikerkanon der Biographie im VII. Jahrhundert schrieb, ist selbst bald ein Klassiker in seinem Genre geworden. Seine Wirkung ist groß. … Als einziger im VII. Jahrhundert hat er ein mehrere Viten umfassendes Œuvre aufzuweisen.' Biographie, p. 41.

occasionally talking about himself. In his letter to the abbots, for example, he writes vividly about his experience as a missionary on the northeast frontier of the Frankish kingdom.[3] Such personal glimpses allow us a unique window into the life of a seventh-century monk. It was an exciting life. As an important figure in the Columbanian monastic movement, Jonas's monastic life was an active one. The affairs of his monastery took him to Rome, while his missionary work brought him near the shores of the English Channel. As a companion of Bishop Amandus, he was intimately involved in the missionary efforts of the time, while his activities as a hagiographer and later as an abbot brought him into contact with a wide network of ecclesiastical and political figures. But it is in approaching Jonas as an individual voice of the seventh century that we become fully atuned to the historical significance of this author.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Jonas was born around the turn of the seventh century in the Alpine town of Susa, at that time, part of the Frankish kingdom of Burgundy. The ancient Roman town, situated on the banks of the Dora Riparia below the Alpine passes that, for centuries, had allowed travellers to cross to and from Gaul and Italy, was a frontier outpost of the Franks.[4] It was a border town that straddled a political and cultural divide. Although located south of the Alps in Italy and had, from its foundation, been part of the Mediterranean world of the

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[3] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, pp. 145-6.

[4] The eleventh-century monk Rodolfus Glaber praised Susa as 'the oldest of Alpine towns': Historiarum libri quinque, IV. 7, ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989), p. 182. For the history of the Susa region in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see M. Gallina, G. Sergi, G. Casiraghi, and G. Cantino Wataghin, 'Dalle Alpes Cottiae al ducato longobardo di Torino', in G. Sergi (ed.), Storia di Torino I: Dalla preistoria al commune medievale (Turin, 1997), pp. 351-78; G. Sergi, 'La Valle di Susa medievale: area di strada, di confine, di affermazione politica', in Il patrimonio artistico della Valle di Susa (Turin, 2005), pp. 37-43.

Romans, by the time Jonas was born its horizons had shifted to the ascendant barbarian kingdoms beyond the Alps.

Jonas grew up with the remnants of the classical past all around him. The public monuments erected by the Romans in so many towns throughout the Empire dotted the civic landscape.[5] A triumphal arch erected in honour of Augustus stood over the main road leading to Gaul on the edge of the town. It was built in around 9 B.C. by the local Celtic leader, Cotius, to celebrate an alliance with the Romans. The ornate frieze above the arch depicted the sacrifice of animals that sealed the pact between the Romans and the local dynasty. Just beyond it stood a castrum and an aqueduct that provided water for the town's baths, the Gratian thermae, which were restored in the late fourth century. There was also a small amphitheatre built towards the end of the second century on the southern outskirts of the town, but which had been abandoned by Jonas's day. The administrative, commercial, and cultic centre of the town was the old Roman forum, which was situated in front of the present eleventh-century cathedral of San Giusto and the imposing Roman gate, the Porta Savoia, built in the third century. A large pagan temple surrounded on three sides by a portico had stood here until a Christian basilica dedicated to the martyr Justus, killed during the Diocletian persecutions, was constructed

[5] On Susa's Roman past, see the collected volume of essays, Romanità valsusina, La Biblioteca di Segusium 2 (Susa, 2004).

on the site towards the end of the fourth century.[6] It was likely here that Jonas received his first religious formation and education.[7]

Surrounded as he was by the ruins of Roman civilization, Jonas could not help but be imbued with a keen sense of the classical past and of the history of place. He notes, for example, how, during the Second Punic War of 218 B.C., the Carthaginian general Hannibal suffered heavy losses of men, horses, and elephants during the harsh winter following his victory by the banks of the Trebbia. In this Jonas relied on the Roman historian, Livy, and he mentions it in passing as he describes the site of the future monastery of Bobbio situated above this river.[8] Jonas also vividly evokes the pagan past of Luxeuil in his description of the deserted Roman castrum, converted by Columbanus into his second monastery. He mentions the baths built with the finest craftsmanship over the natural hot springs (aquae calidae), a place that was, until Columbanus's arrival, haunted by wild beasts and where pagan stone images littered the surrounding woods.[9] Moreover, in his decision to describe the rugged terrain of Besançon, Jonas followed the precedent of Julius Caesar, who gave a description of the town in his De Bello Gallico.[10] But Jonas's classicism is perhaps most apparent from his reading of ancient Roman authors and from his display of that most classical of characteristics, civic pride, which

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[6] We know almost nothing about the religious and monastic life in the Susa valley prior to the foundation of the Benedictine abbey of Novalesa in 726. Excavations in 2005-06 confirmed that the ancient Roman forum was situated in the area of the square in front of the cathedral. The structure of a Roman temple was also discovered. I am grateful to Dom Gianluca Popolla for sharing his expertise on the early history of Susa with me and for providing helpful bibliographical details.
[7] Gilles Roques remarked that, 'L'étude des œuvres de cet auteur tend à montrer que le VIIe siècle n'est pas totatelment le siècle d'obscurantisme qu'on voulu dépeindre et que, dans certains regions, à Suse notamment, s'était maintenue une école d'un niveau de culture assez estimable.' 'La langue de Jonas de Bobbio, auteur latin du VIIe siècle', Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature 9 (1971), pp. 7-52, at p. 52.
[8] VC I. 30, p. 221 (Livy, Historiae, XXI. 58. 11).
[9] VC I. 10, p. 169 (De Bello Gallico I. 38). On Jonas's use of classical sources, see below pp. 162-5.
[10] VC I. 20, p. 193.

we can detect in his reference to the town of his birth as Sigusia, urbs nobilis, quondam Taurinatum colonia.[11]

Growing up amidst what must have seemed to him monuments of a more stable age, the Roman remnants of Susa may have struck the young Jonas as poignant witnesses to the vanities of Empire. In many ways, his was a world of ruins. Jonas's accounts of the sites chosen by Columbanus for his monastic and missionary efforts read like an inventory of dilapidated buildings. Annegray was a castrum dirutum[12] as was Luxeuil, while Columbanus's stay around the shores of Lake Constance was centred on Bregenz, an oppidum dirutum – and Bobbio was founded from the basilica semiruta dedicated to St Peter. His contemporary, Gregory the Great, whose pontificate was drawing to a close in 604, saw in the ruins of Rome and the Lombard menace evidence for the approaching end of time and the imminence of the otherworld.[13] Italy, ravaged by the Gothic wars of Justinian and the Lombard conquests of the sixth century, was indeed misera et deiecta.[14]

The military optimism of Justinian's reign was, by the beginning of the seventh century, replaced by a wearisome deadlock, as Italy became an arena of competing polities and fluctuating frontiers.[15] The Lombards, whose invasion of Italy in 568 has been seen as

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[11] VC II. 5, pp. 237-8.
[12] VC I. 6, p. 163.
[13] On Gregory's apocalyptic fears, see R. A. Markus, Gregory the Great and His World (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 51-67.
[14] S. Gregorii magni opera. Registrum epistularum: Libri 1-7, 8-14, IX, 240, ed. D. Norberg (2 vols., Turnhout, 1982), CC 140-140 A, 2, p. 823. 5
[15] In contrast to the universal pretensions of Empire and imperialist Christianity in Late Antiquity there was, in the early medieval West, a greater perception of frontiers. See Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Concepts of realm and frontiers from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages: Some preliminary remarks', in W. Pohl et al. (eds.), The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians (Leiden, 2001), pp. 73-82.

'the beginning of the long history in Italy of particularism and of occupation by foreign powers', controlled about two-thirds of the peninsula by 600.[16] Italy was thus divided between Lombard warlords, dispersed in the cities of the Po plain and in Spoleto and Benevento and the Byzantine forces with their stronghold at Ravenna. Following the assassinations of the kings Alboin and Cleph in 572 and 574 respectively, and the subsequent fragmentation of power amongst the Lombard dukes, the Byzantines had unsuccessfully attempted to drive the Lombards out of Italy. The period from 574 to 590 was one in which the Lombards went on the defensive as they faced invasions from both Frankish and Byzantine armies. The election of Authari to the kingship in 584 was in response to the concerted military threat faced by the dukes. It was only the reign of Agilulf, the duke of Turin who married Authari's widow, Theodelinda, and who was raised to the kingship in 590, that saw the stabilization and consolidation of the Lombard kingdom. Agilulf, characterised by Paul the Deacon as a man 'energetic and warlike and fitted as well in body as in mind for the government of the kingdom',[17] went on the offensive, recovering some of the territory lost to the Byzantines and wresting additional cities from imperial control. By 605 the Byzantines had reconciled themselves to the fact that the Lombards were not a transient problem and stalemate set in as both sides consolidated their positions. A series of truces resulted in a stable peace that was only broken twice in the next 120 years.[18]

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[16] C. Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400-1000 (London, 1981), p. 28. On Lombard history and archaeology, see also N. Christie, The Lombards: The Ancient Longobards (Oxford, 1995); idem. From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300-800 (Aldershot, 2006); W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (eds.), Die Langobarden: Herrschaft und Identität (Vienna, 2006); C. Wickham (ed.), The Lombards from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century (Woodbridge, 2007).
[17] HL III. 35, p. 140. For English translation, see Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards, trans. W. D. Foulke (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 149.
[18] Wickham, Early Medieval Italy, p. 33.

It is in this politically and religiously fractured Italy that we must locate Jonas. He grew up in the early years of Agilulf's reign when the Lombard kingdom was being consolidated, while the completion of his masterpiece coincided both with the conquest of the Byzantine territories along the Ligurian coast by the Arian Lombard king, Rothari, and the promulgation of this king's famous edict in 643. Jonas's Vita Columbani and the Edict of Rothari 'constitute', according to one scholar, 'a modest renaissance for Lombard Italy.'[19] Both were, moreover, products of a frontier society and are illustrative of profound transformations. Now 'a son of classic Italy',[20] was writing about the life of a barbarian, while barbarians were codifying their laws modelled on Roman legal practice. The Edict of Rothari, consisting of 388 titles, was extremely comprehensive and attempted to provide a complete code of legislation for the Lombards. The aim of the law code, besides being a manifestation of the power and prestige of the king, was to codify into one volume pre-existing oral and new law 'so that everyone may lead a secure life in accordance with law and justice, and in confidence thereof will willingly set himself against his enemies and defend himself and his homeland.'[21] A more law-abiding and peaceful society would be stronger in combating its enemies. It is clear that, although the edict envisages the Lombard kingdom as a distinct political and territorial unit, those who drew up the code were well aware of the dangers that threatened this relatively recent and

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[19] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West 400-1000 (London, 1967), p. 57.
[20] G. Metlake, 'Jonas of Bobbio, the Biographer of St. Columbanus', Ecclesiastical Review 48 (1913), pp. 563-74, at p. 563.
[21] Edict of Rothari, Prologue, in The Lombard Laws, trans. Katherine Fischer Drew (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 39.

constructed entity.[22] Some of the first statutes concern those who tried to flee from or undermine the kingdom. Those who attempted to flee 'outside the country' or who invited 'enemies into our land' were to be killed and their property confiscated.[23] Likewise, those who were found harbouring a spy were either to be killed or to pay a large compensation to the king.[24] Such statutes betray a wariness of external powers and a fear of subversion felt by elites in a frontier society. More generally, the edict gives us an insight into the Lombard kingdom of Rothari and Jonas.

While the Edict of Rothari is a document testifying both to the political and ethnic fragmentation of Italy, the experience of Susa in the decades before Jonas's birth can also be seen as illustrative of this frontier world. It was a town situated on the boundaries of Byzantine, Frankish, and Lombard territories and was contested by all three. However, it does not appear to have been part of the Lombard kingdom. It was still in Byzantine hands in the early 570s, a military outpost that had withstood the Lombard conquest. In this respect it was like a handful of other strategic positions in Northern Italy, such as Aosta and the fortified island of Comacina in Lake Como, which had remained imperial garrisons. In 574, Susa was under the control of Sisinnius, the imperial military commander in the region (magister militum). However, Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, and Paul the Deacon all mention how Susa was ceded to the Franks following an incident in which Lombard warlords took refuge in the town after a failed invasion of Gaul. Gregory tells how two of the Lombard leaders, Zaban, and Rodan, following their severe defeat at

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[22] On this defensive and frontier mentality of the Lombards during the eighth century, see W. Pohl, 'Frontiers in Lombard Italy: The laws of Ratchis and Aistulf', in W. Pohl et al. (eds.), The Transformation of Frontiers: from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians (Leiden, 2001), pp. 117-41.
[23] Edict of Rothari 3, 4, p. 53.
[24] Ibid. 5, p. 53.

Embrun by the Gallo-Roman general, Mummolus, retreated to Italy where they took refuge in Susa. He adds that they received a harsh welcome by the locals but, nonetheless, Sisinnius – for a reason unknown to us – gave them asylum. Mummolus pursued the fugitives and sent a messenger on to Susa to inform Sisinnius of his imminent arrival, the news of which prompted the Lombards to leave. When Amo, the third member of the raiding party who had been more successful, heard the news of his companions' defeat, he likewise fled Gaul 'looting every place he came to on his route.'[25] Neither Gregory nor Paul, who relied on Gregory's account, mentions the outcome of this incident, which was the cessation of Susa to the Franks. For this we rely on Fredegar's account which relates how, 'as retribution for their audacity', the Lombards 'ceded the cities of Aosta and Susa, with all their lands and inhabitants, to King Guntramn' as well as agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 gold solidi to the Franks whose over-lordship they also acknowledged.[26] Fredegar was mistaken in thinking that Aosta and Susa were Lombard cities (an understandable error if most of the surrounding territory was under Lombard control). He also, unlike Gregory and Paul, mentions nothing about Sisinnius or his decision in aiding the fleeing Lombards (despite the fact that Gregory's Histories was one of his major sources). Wallace-Hadrill suggested that Fredegar must have meant that the Lombards acquiesced in the town's surrender, but there is no evidence for this.[27] Rather, the Franks may have either seized or claimed Susa from the Byzantines for having given refuge to the Lombard dukes. In any case, the possession of

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[25] Decem Libri IV. 44, pp. 178-9. For English translation, see Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 240-1.
[26] Fredegar IV. 45, p. 38.
[27] Fredegar, p. 38, n. 1.

such a strategic stronghold was expedient after the recent Lombard invasion. It remained in the regnum Francorum for centuries thereafter.

By the time of Jonas's birth, therefore, Susa was in Frankish control. Although cisalpine, its political orientation had shifted northwards as it reflected the growing rise to dominance of the Franks. That it was still in imperial hands until 574 is important when assessing the level of Jonas's education. Some semblance of the ancient school system may have continued in Susa, as it had in Rome and Ravenna. It is very unlikely that Jonas received his liberal education at Bobbio where the fledgling monastery would not have had a sufficient library by the time of Jonas's entry.[28] Pierre Riché has stated that Jonas 'undoubtedly' received his education at Susa, as Bobbio could not have 'provided the monks with anything more than a religious culture.'[29]

Susa's nodal position at the conflux of competing polities is also important when we come to consider Jonas's ethnicity. Early medieval ethnicity is, of course, a highly problematic area, the study of which has been described as 'a dangerous and difficult undertaking.'[30] It remains a subject of much debate. The issue revolves around whether the ethnic identity of early medieval population groups was fixed and inherent or whether it was something that could be constructed and changed over time. Was it a primordial or a constructionist phenomenon; did early medieval people have a fixed sense of their own

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[28] On the Bobbio library, see P. Engelbert, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Bobbieser Skriptoriums', Revue Bénédictine 78 (1968), pp. 220-60; A. Zironi, Il Monastero Longobardo di Bobbio: Crocevia di uomini, manoscritti e culture (Spoleto, 2004), pp. 47-76; and now Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages, pp. 72-86.

[29] Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: Sixth through Eighth Centuries (Columbia, S.C., 1976), p. 344.

[30] Patrick J. Geary, 'Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages', Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 113 (1983), pp. 15-26, at p. 16.

identity as a particular gens, or was this a fluid concept that could change depending on circumstance?[31] Recent scholarship has tended to veer towards the latter view,[32] a concept termed "ethnogenesis", and perhaps this is the most useful way to approach Jonas's complex ethnic situation. Paul the Deacon in the late eighth century would include a remarkable account of his own family history in which his sense of Lombard identity is clearly apparent. He related how one of the sons of his great-great-grandfather Leupchis, who took part in the Lombard invasion of Italy, escaped from captivity amongst the Avars and made his way back to Italy where, he remembered, the people of the Lombards had settled (quo gentem Langobardorum residere meminerat).[33] After describing his great-grandfather's eventful journey back to Italy, to the ruined house in which he was born, Paul gives the names of his grandfather, father, mother, and brother. Son of Warnefrid and brother of Arichis, there was no doubt as to Paul's Lombard heritage. With Jonas we are less certain. His biblical name gives us no clue as to his ethnic identity and perhaps we should be hesitant to give him a fixed ethnicity. He wrote of Bertulf, third abbot of Bobbio and the man who commissioned him to write the Vita, that he was 'of noble, though barbarian, origin' (genere nobilis, licet gentilis) and a relative of Bishop Arnulf of Metz.[34] Might we read such a statement as suggesting that Jonas was not of barbarian origin? In Fredegar, writing slightly later than Jonas, we see a

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[31] The debate is summed up by Geary in The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe (Princeton, 2002). See also W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.), Strategies of Distinction: The Creation of Ethnic Communities (Leiden, 1998), and Part I of T. F. X. Noble (ed.), From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms (London & New York, 2006) on 'Barbarian ethnicity and identity'.
[32] See, e.g., J. M. H. Smith, Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000 (Oxford, 2005), pp. 260-7, and C. Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800 (Oxford, 2005), pp. 82-3.
[33] HL IV. 37, p. 165.
[34] VC II. 23, p. 280.

similar differentiation between 'Roman' and 'barbarian'.[35] This is probably no indication of ethnic allegiances,[36] but it is noteworthy nonetheless that Jonas makes the differentiation. He was, after all, a man conscious of the classical past and of Italy's pre-eminent position in the ancient world. This is fully seen in the hymn he wrote in praise of Columbanus and which is full of classical allusions. With skilful hyperbole, Jonas praises Columbanus's saintly fame as eclipsing the great deeds and figures of Antiquity. Neither the deeds recounted by Homer and Virgil or the great men of ancient Rome – Scipio, Sulla, Gracchus, not even 'the man of iron', Caesar (ferreus Caesar) – could equal Columbanus's saintly deeds.[37] We can also detect what, perhaps, may be described as Jonas's Italian sense of identity – his cultural ethnicity – when he notes, 'to us of Ausonia there are, according to the poet' (nobis Ausoniae iuxta poetam sunt) in reference to Virgil.[38] Here Jonas borrows the poetical term for Italy used by Virgil while he uses the term Italia a total of eight times in his hagiography. A similar cisalpine orientation is also seen in Jonas's interesting comments on beer where it is apparent that he was writing from the perspective of those whose habitual drink was wine. Beer, he explained, was a fermented beverage 'boiled from the juices of grain or barley' which, apart from people in the Balkans, was drunk 'by all the people in the world who live beside the Ocean, that is Gaul, Britain, Ireland, Germany, and others who are not dissimilar from them in their

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[35] Fredegar, for example, mentions Merovingian kings such as Chlothar I taking possession of cities rito barbaro while he sometimes differentiates between those of Frankish and Roman birth. The patrician, Quolen, is presented as genere Francus as is Bertoald, mayor of the palace, while Protadius, the lover of Queen Brunhild, was genere Romanus: Fredegar IV, 17, 18, 24, at pp. 11, 14, 15.
[36] See Ewig, 'Volkstum und Volkbewusstsein', pp. 231-73.
[37] Vel comparantur sanctis seclorum gesta factis? … Nihil dignum simile horum gessere gestis: VC, Versus ad mensam canendi, p. 225.
[38] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 148.

customs.'[39] Dom de Vogüé has seen this as one example that the Vita was primarily intended for an Italian audience.[40] Jonas's comments, which he makes in the context of narrating a beer miracle that took place in Luxeuil, are also illustrative of his ethnographic awareness. Not all people drank beer. The Scordisci and the Dardanian peoples (gentes) in the Balkans didn't. It was only those northerners living by the Ocean – Gauls, Britons, Irish, and Germans – who were characterised by their drinking of beer. This, therefore, was an ethnic indicator. We see a similar ethnographic awareness throughout the Vita and this is the more notable because it contrasts to other narrative sources from this period where, on the whole, it was rare for people to be identified by their ethnic group.[41] The table illustrates the variety of ethnic terms used by Jonas in his three saints' Lives:

The Ethnic Terms in Jonas of Bobbio's Hagiography

TERMS	FREQUENCY
Aethiopes	1
Alemanni	3
Baioarii	2
Britto genere	1
Burgundionorum genere	1

[39] ex frumenti vel hordei sucos equoquitur, quamque prae ceteris in orbe terrarum gentibus preter Scordiscis et Dardanis gentes quae Oceanum incolunt usitantur, id est Gallia, Brittania, Hibernia, Germania, ceteraeque ab eorum moribus non disciscunt: VC I. 16, p. 179. This observation is possibly based on an unidentified ethnographical source.
[40] Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 50, n. 41.
[41] Geary, 'Ethnic identity as a situational construct', p. 21.

Dardani gens	1
Franci	6
Neustrasi Franci	1
Francorum reges	2
Galli	1
Hiberus	1
Populus Israhel	5
Israhelitae	1
Langobardi	4
Poenus	1
Sabaei	1
Saxonorum genus	1
Scordisci gens	1
Scottorum gens	4
Scytha gens	1
Sicambri	2
Suevi	2
Syrorum genus	2
Venetii qui et Sclavi dicuntur	2
Warasqui gens	2

Jonas thus characterizes various people as ‘Lombard’, ‘Frankish’, ‘Burgundian’, ‘Irish’, ‘Brittonic, ‘Saxon’, ‘Suebian’, and ‘Syriac’. In some cases, specifically when writing about the Lombards and Franks, Jonas used these terms when designating kings while in

others he was less status specific. Athala, for example, was ex Burgundionorum genere[42] while the nun Willesuinda was ex genere Saxonorum.[43] Columbanus, while gathering the harvest during bad weather at Fontaine, placed four monks at each corner of the field: Cominus, Eunocus, and Equonanus were, Jonas notes, ex Scottorum genere, while the fourth, Gurganus, was genere Brittonem.[44] His few references to the Lombards all concern their kings. Although Jonas (in contrast to Paul the Deacon) viewed them as Arian heretics, he does not display the pejorative rhetoric found, for example, in Gregory the Great's letters.[45] He did not identify with the Lombards in any way. Neither did he with the Franks, although he attested to their pre-eminence in Gaul. 'Their name', he wrote, 'is considered foremost before all the other peoples who live in Gaul'.[46] He was writing as an outsider. In narrating the time when one of Columbanus's gloves was stolen and returned by a raven at Luxeuil, he noted that the Gallic name for 'gloves' (tegumenta manuum) was wantos.[47] This piece of linguistic trivia indicates a differentiation Jonas was making between what he called a 'glove' and that of the Gauls who called it something else. Another instance is his reference to the Neustrian Franks. Jonas mentions Chlothar as a king who ruled over the Neustrian Franks who, he adds, were those Franks who lived in 'the furthest confines of Gaul by the Ocean'.[48] There would have been no need to give a geographical idea of where the Neustrian Franks lived for a Frankish audience, but maybe there was for Jonas's Italian audience. These examples are

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[42] VC II. 1, p. 230.
[43] Ibid. II. 17, p. 268.
[44] VC I. 13, p. 174.
[45] Gregory disliked the Lombards and spoke of them as 'the unspeakable nation of the Lombards' while the phrase 'swords of the Lombards' repeatedly appears in his letters. See Markus, Gregory the Great, p. 99.
[46] quorum eximium nomen prae ceteris gentibus quae Gallias incolunt habetur: VC I. 6, p. 162.
[47] VC I. 15, p. 178.
[48] qui Neustrasis Francis regnabat, extrema Gallia ad Oceanum positis: VC I. 24, pp. 206-7.

indications that Jonas was primarily writing from an Italian perspective.[49] In any case, what these examples reflect is Jonas's awareness that he and those he wrote about lived in a multi-ethnic society, a perception that would have been reinforced by his monastic life in a community of Irish, Frankish, and Lombard monks. Nevertheless, these distinctions were not highlighted by more precise descriptions of the ways in which different peoples could be distinguished.[50] In speaking of the Suebians, for instance, he does not refer to the distinctive way in which they wore their hair, the 'Suebian knot',[51] nor does he mention the famed long hair of the Frankish kings.[52] He was also silent on Lombard habits of hairstyle and dress such as we find in Paul the Deacon.[53] Thus, while Jonas was conscious of different ethnic groups he was not concerned to further illustrate their differences.

Although Jonas was not as revealing as Paul about his ethnic and family background (Paul's case is rather exceptional), he did include an account of a journey he made back to Susa to visit his family after nine years as a monk in Bobbio. It is thanks to this account that we know Jonas came from Susa and can approximately date his entry into Bobbio. It is also remarkable for the fact that Jonas was writing about himself and specifically about an unusual miracle that had occurred to him when his abbot, Athala,

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[49] Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 128, n. 6 and p. 153, n. 1.
[50] On the various ways in which Jonas could have distinguished those ethnic groups he wrote about see, W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: signs of ethnic identity', in T. F. X. Noble (ed.), From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms, pp. 168-88.
[51] Jonas describes how Columbanus, while walking in the forests around Annegray, heard the voices of 'many Suebians', who were raiding in the area. He also notes that the neighbouring peoples of Columbanus and his monks in Bregenz were nationes Suaevorum: VC I. 8, p. 167; I. 27, p. 213.
[52] His account of King Theudebert's deposition and forced clericalization would have been a perfect opportunity to mention the long hair of the Frankish kings, but Jonas mentions nothing about this: VC I. 28, p. 219.
[53] HL IV. 22, p. 155.

was about to die. Jonas tells us that often his kinsfolk (parentes) in Susa had asked Athala to allow Jonas to see them but the abbot had always refused. Then, unexpectedly, Athala told Jonas to return to Susa to visit his mother and brother and, having admonished them, to return quickly to the monastery.[54] As it was February, however, and excessively cold, Jonas protested, saying that he would rather undertake the journey another time, but the abbot insisted. He was accompanied on the journey by the priest Blidulf and the deacon Hermenoald, men, 'whose religious commitment was in no doubt' (de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur).[55] Jonas's quintessential attention to detail, especially when it came to topography, is evident here where he notes the distance (140 miles) that separated Susa from his monastery.[56] Upon arrival in Susa, Jonas speaks of his mother's joy in seeing him again after so many years. But joy soon turned to concern as that night he was seized with a severe fever and began to shout out that the prayers of his abbot were tormenting him (me viri Dei precibus torqueri). He could no longer remain in his family home in defiance of his abbot's wishes and would die if he did not quickly return to the monastery: 'if they did not move me quickly and if I could not retreat to the monastery by whatever effort, I would soon be taken by death.'[57] His mother resigned herself to the view that it was better for him to be alive in a monastery than dead at home. When dawn finally came – 'I say that it was a long wait until the coming of day'[58] – Jonas and his companions set out on the return journey. He notes that, in their haste, they ate nothing for three days until they reached the midpoint of their travels. Then, the closer they came

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[54] "Vade festinus, fili, et matrem fratremque visita; mone et nulla mora praepediente revertere." VC II. 5, p. 237.
[55] This habit of chaperoning is also stipulated in the Regula Magistri.
[56] VC II. 5, p. 238.
[57] si non me cito submoveant, quocumque potuissem conamine, ad monasterium repedare, me cito morte preventum: VC II. 5, p. 238. (Wood, p. 123).
[58] Fateor, longum fuit diei expectare adventum: Ibid. (Wood, p. 123).

towards the monastery, the better Jonas became. When they finally arrived back in Bobbio the reason for Jonas's sudden fever became apparent; Athala himself was on the point of death and Jonas's illness had been a way to get him to return to the monastery in time for him to bid farewell to his abbot. Jonas attributed to Athala's prayers his near-fatal experience in Susa.

This unusual miracle account tells us something about Jonas's family. It tells us of the affection his family, particularly his mother, felt for him in their persistent efforts to persuade the abbot to allow them to see Jonas again. This was something that would have been frowned upon in the monastery and it is surprising that Athala permitted it. Unlike Columbanus who, on deciding to become a monk, jumped over his prostrate mother and bluntly told her she would never see him again,[59] it seems that amicable maternal relations were maintained in Jonas's case. Yet, as with Columbanus, Jonas makes no mention of his father. We also know that, like Paul the Deacon, he had a brother whom he does not name. However, the most valuable information we learn from this account is that Jonas was born and grew up in a town. This fact is perhaps an important clue as to his family background as during this period many aristocrats in Lombard Italy lived in towns rather than in the countryside.[60] If we furthermore consider Jonas's liberal education and what we know of other Columbanian monks from this period, many of who were aristocrats, it is very likely that Jonas also came from a noble family.

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[59] VC I. 3, p. 157. cf. Jonas's similar account of how John of Réomé treated his mother: VIoh. 6, pp. 332-3.
[60] See Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages, pp. 605-6. On the importance of cities in Lombard Italy, see R. Harrison, The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy 568-774 (Lund, 1993).

In attempting to sketch the local political, ethnic, and familial contexts in which we can approach Jonas we should not lose sight of the fundamental changes that took place during his lifetime and of which, to some extent, he was a part. His Vita Columbani, for example, can be seen as encapsulating many of the major developments of his age: the advent of Irish monks on the Continent and the dissemination of a penitential mentality; the expansion and transformation of monasticism in the West; a heightened preoccupation with the fate of the soul in the afterlife; the Christianization of the heathen; the consolidation of the Frankish kingdoms; and the rise in power of the landed aristocracy. Even the three-year period, between 639 and 642, in which the Vita was written, can be seen as emblematic of the profound changes that were taking place during the seventh century. In 638 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, had surrendered the holy city to Caliph ’Umar and the Arab tribes united under the new religion of Islam. In 641 Alexandria fell and by the end of 642 Egypt was under Arab control. The conquests of Islam, described by some contemporaries in apocalyptic terms, shattered the ancient Roman world centred on the Mediterranean.

Not only did a political and cultural reorientation occur at this time, but also a religious one. Not only did Islam emerge during this period as a new world religion, but the Arab conquests of Egypt and the Holy Land also signalled the nadir of ancient Christianity while, at the same time, a new Christendom was being forged in the West. This was a Christendom that was beginning to distinguish itself from its ancient Mediterranean roots. The term ‘Europe’ was now beginning to be used not in a vague geographical sense but as an expression of a new sense of identity. Columbanus was one of the first to voice this

developing consciousness. He wrote to Pope Gregory the Great as the head of the Roman Church, 'a most honoured Flower of all Europe in her decay' and to Pope Boniface IV as 'the most fair Head of all the Churches of the whole of Europe'.[61] Between Columbanus and the Carolingians, Europe was taking shape as an entity that was coterminous with Latin Christendom. 'In the course of the seventh century', wrote Peter Brown, 'northwestern Europe found its own voice.'[62]

In the writings of Columbanus and of Gregory the Great we can, moreoever, detect a more 'otherworldly' spirituality, one more focused on sin and the fate of the soul in the afterlife. We see the effects of this throughout the seventh century with the introduction of new penitential practices, in the foundation of numerous monasteries, in a more widespread programme of missionary activity, and in the writing of visionary texts such as the Vita Fursei and the Visio Baronti.[63] These features are also evident in Jonas's life, a monk and missionary in Merovingian Gaul, and in his Vita Columbani, chronicling as it does Columbanus's career and the beginnings of a monastic movement. Indeed, Jonas can be seen as an individual whose life reflected the changing political, cultural, and religious circumstances of his age. He was an Italian born on the edge of the Alps into a frontier society. The Roman town in which he was born and which was until recently a Byzantine outpost was in the hands of new Frankish masters. As a young man he became a monk in a monastery founded by an Irishman and would later dedicate his literary skills to writing the life of a man who Dom Jean Leclercq pithily characterized as 'a barbarian

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[61] Ep. I. 1, p. 3; Ep. V. 1, p. 37.
[62] Brown, Rise of Western Christendom, p. 265.
[63] On this seventh-century development, see, e.g., I. Moreira, Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul (Ithaca, 2000), esp. ch. 5.

among barbarians'.[64] His writing was also imbued with the otherworldliness of Gregory's Dialogues and the penitential mentality of Columbanus. But, like his earlier compatriot, Venantius Fortunatus, Jonas's career would ultimately lie in the ascendant barbarian kingdom of the Franks north of the Alps. These are the individual yet nonetheless important indicators of a shift in power from the ancient Mediterranean world to that of transalpine Europe. The life and work of Jonas is thus an individual example that mirrors the transitions between two very different worlds.

MONK AND MISSIONARY

Within a few years of its foundation and the death of its founder, Jonas became a monk at Bobbio. We know nothing about his conversion or what led him to join the community at Bobbio, although one Edwardian commentator imagined how tales of the adventurous and austere monks might have impressed the young Jonas. 'We can imagine', he wrote, 'the eagerness with which young Jonas listened to the account given by some traveller from Milan or Pavia of the strange appearance and the austere manner of life of the foreign monks, of their adventures in Gaul and Alemannia, of the royal welcome extended to them by King Agilulf and Queen Theodolinda, of the holy life and death of their leader, and of the miracles performed at his tomb. The boy's mind was soon made up: he would go to Bobbio and become a monk.'[65] Although we can well imagine such a scenario, we are on firmer ground when we come to the monastery in which Jonas became a member. This is due, in large part, because of what Jonas wrote about it.

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[64] 'L'univers religieux de S. Colomban et de Jonas de Bobbio', Revue d'ascetique de de mystique 42 (1966), pp. 15-30, at p. 29.
[65] Metlake, 'Jonas of Bobbio', p. 564.

Jonas's vivid accounts of Bobbio abbots and monks provide us with the most detailed picture of the early monastic community. This information can be supplemented with a number of other sources – diplomatic, literary, codicological, and archaeological – that together reveal more about the political, religious, cultural, and material character of one of the most important monasteries of the early Middle Ages.[66]

As we have seen, Jonas was born into a frontier society on the edge of the Lombard kingdom. His decision to become a monk at Bobbio brought him from one edge of the kingdom to another while still remaining within a frontier zone. He now found himself in a monastery strategically located close to the Byzantine-controlled coast of Liguria (which, in 643, was to be conquered by the Lombard king, Rothari) and on a communications network between the Lombard capital at Pavia and Rome. Agilulf's donation of the basilica of St Peter at Bobbio to Columbanus on 24 July 613 was, apart from the spiritual benefits expected, a political act.[67] The foundation of Bobbio between Pavia and Rome was an extension of the Lombard polity's rapprochment with the papacy, while it proved mutually beneficial for the Popes as it provided them with an influential voice inside the Lombard kingdom.[68]

Columbanus had entered an Italy that was divided both politically and religiously. Bobbio in turn reflected these fault lines as it straddled political and religious divides.

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[66] On Bobbio, see now Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages; Zironi, Il monastero Longobardo; and, on the archaeology, E. Destefanis, Il monastero di Bobbio in èta altomedievale (Florence, 2002).
[67] The king states that no one was to transgress the precepts of the charter as the monastery was founded 'pro salute et stabilitate regni nostri Dominum valeatis die noctuque deprecare': CDB III, p. 89.
[68] 'Da una parte la corte longobarda vede nell'abbazia una presenza fondamentale per il controllo del territorio appenninico confinante con la Liguria che, sino ai tempi di Rotari, resta bizantina; il papato dall'altra ha in Bobbio un fedele ambasciatore presso i re longobardi': Zironi, Il monastero, p. 5.

Situated near the confines of two rival polities and in a society that was largely pagan, but where Christians were either Arian heretics or schismatic Catholics, Bobbio has rightly been characterized as an anomaly.[69] A monastery patronized by successive Lombard kings, it was unique in Northern Italy at this time. It assumes, moreover, added significance when we consider that the Lombards had destroyed Montecassino, Benedict's famous monastery in Campania, in the 570s.

The monastery in which Jonas became a monk was, therefore, an important royal foundation, strategically located on the edge of the Apennines. Jonas's account of his monastery's foundation is the most detailed and evocative of his descriptions of Columbanus's monastic sites.[70] Running through the account is a sense that Bobbio was a sacred place chosen by God, the culmination and fulfilment of Columbanus's peregrinatio. In none of Jonas's other accounts of Columbanus's foundations do we get a similar sense of divine predestination. Columbanus's decision to go to Italy in the first place is attributed by Jonas to an angelic vision Columbanus experienced in Alemannia in which he was persuaded not to go east to the Slavs but to head south into Italy.[71] This divine intervention sets the tone for Columbanus's encounter with the Lombard king, Agilulf, in Milan and his choice of Bobbio as the site for his last foundation. Interestingly, Jonas describes the process in which Columbanus came to choose Bobbio as a site not as one that was decided upon by the king but as coming about through divine circumstance. Columbanus, notes Jonas, was honourably received by Agilulf and was given permission to settle anywhere he wished within his kingdom. His decision to settle

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[69] Zironi has referred to Bobbio as 'un sede monastica particolare': Il monastero, p. 5.
[70] VC I. 30, pp. 220-22.
[71] VC I. 27, pp. 216-7.

at Bobbio is portrayed as taking place through divine aid (Dei consultu actum est) and, incidentally, through information he heard from a certain man named Jocundus.[72] Jocundus, who had come to the king in Milan, revealed that he knew of a church in the Apennine countryside where miracles took place. This was, therefore, a holy place and, as was standard in describing such loci sancti, it was visually apparent, a place 'bountifully fruitful, with refreshing waters and with an abundance of fish.'[73] When Columbanus came to this site, situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Bobbio and the Trebbia, he found the dilapidated basilica (semiruta basilica), which he set about renovating. The project of rebuilding was accompanied by miracles. Jonas notes how the saint and his monks received Samsonesque strength when they succeeded in carrying on their backs huge trunks of timber felled from the surrounding slopes. Trunks, which scarcely thirty or forty men could lift, were now being carried by a few monks, 'with steady steps and with all the ease of ramblers.'[74] It was evident that the will of God was behind Columbanus's efforts.[75]

It is clear from Jonas's description of Bobbio's foundation that this was a place chosen by God, a place that, even before Columbanus's arrival, was sanctified by miracles. This is very different to his accounts of Columbanus's other monastic sites, places that Jonas evokes as haunted by a pagan presence. In none of the other accounts does Jonas report miracles that accompanied the building of the monastery. All of this enhances his depiction of Bobbio as a locus sanctus. Furthermore, as with the case of Luxeuil, Jonas

[72] VC I. 30, pp. 220-21.
[73] loca ubertate fecunda, aquis inrigua, piscium copia: VC I. 30, p. 221.
[74] firmis vestigiis, velut otio vagantes ovantes irent: VC I. 30, p. 222.
[75] Videns itaque vir Dei tanti auxilii supplimentum, suos hortatur, ut arreptum opus laeti perficiant, animoque roborati, eo consistere in heremo studeant; Dei in hoc voluntatis esse adfirmat: Ibid.

downplays the role of the king as an active agent in the foundation process. He does not, for example, mention Agilulf's charter of foundation of 613 nor indeed any of the other royal charters subsequently granted to the community. Agilulf's charter provides additional information not found in Jonas's more atmospheric account. It reveals the extent of the endowment, four square kilometres of cultivated and uncultivated land, but also that the site was not as isolated as Jonas's in solitudine ruribus would have us believe; the community had to share a well (puteus) with a previous beneficiary of royal largesse, Sundrarit.[76] This Sundrarit has been identified as a Lombard warlord, termed a maximus dux Langobardorum in a contemporary chronicle and a vir magnificus in a later royal charter for Bobbio.[77] Sundrarit is reputed to have defeated the Exarch Eleutherius so decisively that, as a result, the Byzantines petitioned for peace with the Lombards. The community, therefore, shared the adjacent territory with a prominent Lombard leader and there may also have been a Lombard military presence in the area.[78] Moreover, Alessandro Zironi has suggested that Jocundus was probably a royal official of Agilulf's who consciously chose the site for its strategic location. The phrase optione loci largita, which appears in some of the manuscripts, could, in this sense, mean a place that was more suitable to Lombard interests than it was to Columbanus's.[79] Although Agilulf's charter makes clear what the principal function of the monastery was – the community had been established for the welfare and stability of the kingdom and the monks were to pray day and night for this purpose – there were possibly other political motivations. As we have seen, Jonas was more concerned with giving an idyllic account of Bobbio's

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[76] CDB III, p. 89.
[77] See J. Jarnut, Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Langobardenreich in Italien (568-774) (Bonn, 1972), p. 369.
[78] Zironi, Il monastero, pp. 17-8.
[79] Ibid. pp. 10-11.

foundation than he was with enumerating what has been termed the politico-religious policy of Agilulf. He mentions nothing, for example, of the visit of Queen Theodelinda and later her son, King Adoald, to Bobbio when the community acquired a nearby mountain in addition to having their possessions reconfirmed.[80] For Paul the Deacon it was specifically this royal and aristocratic largesse that made Bobbio noteworthy.[81] In contrast, Jonas was not interested in Bobbio as a royal foundation and with the close ties to the Lombard court that this entailed.

When we imagine the kind of monastery that Jonas came to we should not envisage an impressive foundation. In terms of land it was relatively small. Elnone, Amandus's monastery on the northeast frontier of the Frankish kingdom, where Jonas would later travel as a missionary, had, in comparison, nearly 25,000 acres.[82] Situated on a cleared slope above the river Trebbia, Bobbio was a modest foundation, a compound consisting of an outer enclosure and a number of wooden buildings grouped around the church. In appearance and layout it would have resembled a contemporary Irish monastery and Columbanus's other foundations in Burgundy.[83] There would have been a clear demarcation of space into progressively more sacred zones as one went from the vallum towards the church. In contrast to the Burgundian monasteries, however, Bobbio does not appear to have been built within a pre-existing stone enclosure that, in Annegray and Luxeuil, functioned as the vallum. Some sense of what the early monastery looked like

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[80] CDB VII, pp. 95-6.
[81] HL IV. 41, pp. 168-9.
[82] Cited by Richard Fletcher, The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371-1386 AD (London, 1997), p. 151.
[83] On the layout of early Irish monasteries, see M. Herity, 'The Building and Layout of Early Irish Monasteries before the Year 1000', Monastic Studies 14 (1983), pp. 247-84.

can be got from Jonas and from a later tenth-century Bobbio work, the Miracula Sancti Columbani. We know from Jonas that the core of the monastery was the semi-ruined basilica dedicated to St Peter, which Columbanus spent the last year of his life renovating. Jonas's specific designation of this building as a 'basilica' is interesting, as it would suggest that this was previously a substantial and significant church site.[84] The fact that it was in ruins tells us something about the state of Christianity in the area and Zironi has even speculated that it may have been adopted for pagan use.[85] The remains of this church were presumably in stone although the author of the Miracula Columbani mentions that Columbanus used wood in his building.[86] It was not until the time of Abbot Agilulf in the ninth century that this wooden structure was replaced by a stone church with a bell tower.[87] In his account of the dying abbot, Athala, Jonas reveals more details about the monastery and some of its possessions. Before his death the abbot had been warned in a vision to prepare for an impending journey. Not sure if this vision portended his death or if it actually meant a more terrestrial journey, he made preparations for both. He increased his mortifications with gusto 'so that', Jonas notes, 'he had never before seen to perspire so much while praying.'[88] But, at the same time, he put the affairs of the monastery in order in case he would be absent for some time. The enclosure was thickened, roofs repaired, everything fortified (omnia roborat), 'so that if he were absent, he might leave nothing weak'. Horses were attended to, books rebound and their bindings

[84] VC I. 30, p. 221.
[85] Zironi, Il monastero, p. 17.
[86] Miracula S. Columbani, 1, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH, SS 30/2 (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 993-1015, at p. 998.
[87] Ibid.
[88] ita ut numquam intentius antea in oratione visus fuisset desudari: VC II. 5, p. 237 (Wood, p. 122).

cleaned, tears mended, and shoes made.[89] The impression is one of hectic activity as the conscientious abbot busied himself and his monks over the portentous vision. In revealing these preparations, Jonas gives us some idea of how his monastery looked like.

A similarly idyllic account of Bobbio as a locus sanctus is seen from another hagiographical account from around the turn of the eighth century. This account also provides us with a view of Bobbio, albeit not a very detailed one. A monk of Fontanella, a monastery near the English Channel, described how the community's founder, Wandregisel, a Frankish aristocrat, was converted to the monastic life sometime in the mid-seventh century. He was, according to his hagiographer, conducted in spirit by an angel to Bobbio 'in the region of the Lombards which is called Italy' where he was given a tour of the monastery and its various buildings (ostendens ei omnis habitacionis eius, quomodo aut qualiter adessent).[90] This experience had a profound effect on Wandregisel. He left behind everything he had and set off south towards Italy. Having been shown the way by an angel, he eventually arrived at Bobbio where, seeing the community dwellings, he knew for certain that this was the place shown to him by God.[91] Wandregisel stayed in the monastery for some time until he decided to go on pilgrimage to an even holier place, Ireland. Although Wandregisel never fulfilled his desire to go to Ireland, the account is interesting for its portrayal of Bobbio as an idealized monastic

[89] Septa monastirii densat, tegumenta renovat, omnia roborat, ut, si abeat, nihil inbecille dimittat; vehicula quiete fovet, libros ligaminibus firmat; suppellectilia ablui, dissuta adsui, corrupta conponi, calciamenta parari, ut omnia praesto sint, iubet: Ibid.
[90] VW 9, p. 17.
[91] Cum autem introisset et vidisset omnis habitacionis monasterii, certissime cognovit, quod antea Dominus in extasi aeducto demonstraverat, et conversatus est ibi aliquantum tempus: Ibid.

community – an ideal that was still current in distant Fontanella at the beginning of the eighth century.

By the time Jonas came to write the Vita Columbani he had been a monk for about twenty years although not all of this time had been spent in Bobbio. However, it is clear that Bobbio had a special place in his mind. He would have entered the community as a young man perhaps in his late teens or early twenties. The date of his entry can be well established thanks to his account of his visit to Susa shortly before the death of Abbot Athala where he notes that he had been a monk at Bobbio for nine years.[92] Although he does not mention the year of the abbot's death this can be worked out independently. Either 618 or 617 are the dates generally given by scholars as the year of Jonas's entry.[93] This dating, however, is incorrect. As Athala became abbot on the death of Columbanus in November 615 and as 10 March is considered the date of his death we can work out that he died in 625. As we know that Jonas had been a monk for nine years when Athala died we can deduce that in November 624 Athala would have been abbot for nine years. He must therefore have died in 625. This is supported by diplomatic evidence. A charter of King Adaloald (616-26) was issued on 17 July of the sixteenth year of his reign to Athala's successor, Bertulf, by the Lombard king from his palace at Pavia.[94] As Adaloald was deposed for being insane in 626 we can date the king's charter to the summer of 625.[95] This also leads to the conclusion that Athala died on 10 March 625 and, as Jonas

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[92] VC II. 5, p. 237.
[93] See, e.g., Bullough, 'The career of Columbanus', p. 1; and de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 19.
[94] Cipolla has dated this charter to 625, although it is odd that it is dated to the sixteenth year of Adaloald's reign. It appears from Paul the Deacon that he had been raised to the kingship by his father, Agilulf, at the circus in Milan in 604: HL IV. 30, p. 159.
[95] CDB VII, pp. 91-6.

mentions that he was sent home in February, this therefore implies that Jonas became a monk early in 616. This is only a few months after Columbanus died in the monastery on 23 November 615. Although Jonas never met his hero his entry into the monastery so soon after the saint's death is important when considering the quality of his information about his subject. We can, therefore, justifiably see the Vita Columbani as a work of a near contemporary.

Jonas's entry into the monastery also raises the question of whether he took a religious name on becoming a monk. The Hebrew name Jonas is very rare in the Middle Ages and so we need to consider whether this had a particular significance for its bearer: did his family single him out from birth for an ecclesiastical career by giving him such a name or did he himself choose it to mark a new religious identity? Names are, of course, potent indicators of identity, whether individual, ethnic, devotional, or familial, and this was especially true of the early Middle Ages.[96] In early medieval society where the vast majority of people bore Germanic names, Jonas would have stood out alone by his name. At Bobbio, for instance, he would have been in the company of men such as Baudacharius, Blidemundus, Fraimeris, Hermenoaldus, Meroveus, and Theudoaldus, all of who bore Germanic names.[97] Christian names were much less prevalent during this period than they were from the eleventh and twelfth centuries when a revolution in the

[96] On this see, e.g., S. Wilson, The Means of Naming: A social and cultural history of personal naming in western Europe (London, 1998), esp. pp. 86-114 (on Christian names); J. Jarnut, 'Avant l'an mil', in M. Bourin et al. (eds.), L'Anthroponymie: Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux (Rome, 1996), pp. 7-18.

[97] On the sixteen Bobbio monks mentioned by Jonas and the areas in which they may have come from see Zironi, Il monastero, pp. 28-46. Zironi argued on this evidence that Irish monks were not prominent in the early community. This was likewise the conclusion of Engelbert who considered the evidence of the earliest manuscripts and noted that the Irish presence does not appear until the beginning of the eighth century: 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Bobbieser Skriptoriums', p. 260. However, Richter (Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages) has recently revindicated the Irish presence in and influence on Bobbio.

Christianization of naming practices took place. In sixth-century Ravenna, for example, only 6% of names were Christian while the peasants of Saint-Martin of Tours in the seventh century, with the exception of Peter, bore no scriptural names.[98] Thus, while Christian names were on the whole rare, Old Testament names were extremely rare.[99] What then do we make of our monk who bears the Hebrew name of the Old Testament prophet, Jonah? Jonas's is the only instance of this name from Lombard Italy.[100] An idea of how rare the name was can also be shown from later monastic books of commemoration that became popular from the Carolingian period.[101] Remiremont, a Columbanian foundation in Burgundy and which Jonas mentions, began commemorating its dead by writing their names in a book in the early ninth century.[102] This Liber memorialis lists about 11,500 names, most of which are Germanic. The name 'Ionas' appears three times. Likewise, the island monastery of Reichenau on Lake Constance, which had close ties to St Gallen, lists ten instances of the name 'Ionas' in its famous necrology containing about 40,000 names.[103] This gives some idea of the rarity and hence significance of the name.

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[98] Wilson, The Means of Naming, pp. 86-7.
[99] Ibid. p. 88.
[100] Jarnut, Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien, p. 150. On Lombard naming practices in general, see Maria G. Arcamone, 'Die langobardischen Personennamen in Italien: nomen und gens aus der Sicht der linguistischen Analyse', in D. Geuenich et al. (eds.), Nomen et gens: Zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlicher Personennamen (Berlin, 1997), pp. 157-75.
[101] On these sources, see N. Huyghebaert, 'Les documents nécrologiques', Typologie des sources du moyens âge occidental 4 (Turnhout, 1972).
[102] Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, ed. E. Hlawitschka, K. Schmid, and G. Tellenbach, MGH, Libri Memoriales 1 (Dublin and Zurich, 1970).
[103] Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, ed. J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich, and K. Schmid, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia n.s 1 (Hannover, 1979).

We have already mentioned how Columbanus himself identified with the plight of Jonah when he was about to embark from Nantes to Ireland.[104] The Irish saint on other occasions clearly associated himself with the prophet. In letters to two popes he emphasised the spiritual nature of his name: in Latin (Columba) and Hebrew (Jonah) it meant "the dove". In his letter to Gregory the Great he used the Hebrew version, ego, Bar-iona (vilis Columba), in Christo mitto Salutem,[105] while in his letter to Boniface IV, written from Milan, he wrote: 'I am called Jonah in Hebrew, Peristera in Greek, Columba in Latin, yet so much is my birth-right in the idiom of your language, though I use the ancient Hebrew name of Jonah, whose shipwreck I have also almost undergone.'[106] It is tempting to see in Jonas's name a conscious decision of the monk to identify himself with his hero. However, it is unlikely that Jonas took this name on becoming a monk. This practice was not yet established during this period as can be seen from the list of Bobbio monks, none of whom have religious names. There was not yet a marked distinction in terms of nomenclature between the clergy and laity. It is more probable that, like Paul the Deacon, Jonas's family gave him a biblical name at birth. In Italy and elsewhere the sons of the nobility destined for the Church could be given particular religious names. We can only speculate as to how Jonas came to have this name and, if it was his from birth, as seems likely, why his family chose to give him this particular name. We are more certain, however, of the particular significance that this name would have had within the monastic community at Bobbio and the wider Columbanian familia.

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[104] See below, p. 9.
[105] Ep. I. 1, p. 1.
[106] mihi Ionae hebraice, Peristerae graece, Columbae latine, potius tantum vestrae idiomate linguae nancto, licet prisco utor hebraeo nomine, cuius et pene subivi naufragium: Ep. V. 16, p. 54.

Jonas had a privileged position within the Bobbio community. He was the minister, or personal assistant, to two Bobbio abbots, Athala and Bertulf, a position which may have included the tasks of archivist and librarian in the monastery. Jonas's learning would have singled him out as an obvious candidate for minister to the abbot and later as the hagiographer of the community's founder. He was thus in a unique position to acquire information about the life of Columbanus. He had access not only to the saint's writings but also to the men who had known him personally. This was particularly true of Athala who had been Columbanus's minister and to whom Columbanus had entrusted Luxeuil on his banishment in 610. It was primarily to Athala, 'my true follower', that Columbanus addressed his moving letter from Nantes.[107] Following Athala's death in 625, Jonas continued as minister to Bertulf, but it is uncertain for how long. As Jonas cites the abbot of Luxeuil, Eustasius, as one of his sources, this might be seen as evidence that Jonas spent some time in Luxeuil before Eustasius's death in 629. However, this need not have been the case. Jonas notes that 'we have learnt' (didicimus) things about Columbanus from both Athala and Eustasius,[108] while he also names Eustasius as the informant of a miracle that occurred at Bregenz. His precise words are that 'we have heard mention' (cognovimus referentem) from Eustasius.[109] Jonas could have accompanied Athala when he visited Luxeuil, as there seems to have been a fluid interchange of monks between both monasteries.[110] We know that Jonas travelled to Rome in the summer of 628 in the company of his abbot, Bertulf.[111] He gives a detailed account of the circumstances behind the journey and of a miraculous event that occurred

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[107] Ep. IV.
[108] VC prol., p. 145.
[109] VC I. 27, p. 215.
[110] VC II. 23, p. 281. Jonas's contacts with leading Columbanian figures was extensive.
[111] VC II. 23, pp. 282-4.

on their return. Following attempts by the local bishop, Probus of Tortona, to gain control over the monastery the abbot decided to appeal directly to Pope Honorius I in Rome. Both the bishop and the abbot had tried unsuccessfully to enlist the support of the Lombard king, Arioald, but he had refused to become involved in ecclesiastical affairs. The king, however, although an Arian heretic,[112] agreed to fund the abbot's journey. Fitted out 'in royal style' (regio cultu), Bertulf and a number of Bobbio monks, including Jonas, set out for Rome.[113] Having been well received by Honorius who granted them their request and issued a privilege freeing the community from episcopal control,[114] they decided to leave soon afterwards as the abbot had fallen ill. When mid-way through the journey, 'having set behind us the fields of Tuscany, we reached the countryside of the Apennines',[115] Bertulf was seized with fever. The party stopped for the night in the ruined hilltop fort of Bismantum near Modena. Jonas's detailed eye-witness account of what happened on the night of 28 June 628 is worth quoting in length:

> Both the sorrows of the long journey and the hardships of the ailing abbot oppressed all, nor did anyone have any more hope for his recovery. When the tent had been pitched in a harsh location, hemmed in on all sides with sorrow, and not at all confident in the abbot's recovery, we were fearful. It was then the vigil of the passion of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul. And when black night had already fallen he summoned me, tormented by the blazing fever as he was, and his mind given over to cares enquired

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[112] quamvis a barbaro et Arrianae sectae credulum: VC II. 23, p. 282.
[113] VC II. 23, p. 282.
[114] Ibid. p. 283; CDB X, pp. 102-3.
[115] 'peracto itineris spatio, Tuscana arva postposita, Appennina attigimus rura'. VC II. 23, p. 283.

> about the nocturnal vigil. And when I said that it was already arranged, he said, "Lie before my bed for the whole measure of the night, until the dawn of day breaks through." And when I had lain down, as the dead of night fell, so great sleep overcame me that I was not able to lift up my head, and all who lay in the tents, by the baggage or horses, were similarly overcome by sleep. And therefore when complete silence fell, the blessed prince of the apostles Peter came and stood over the bed of the sick abbot, "Rise," he said, "and give your help to your companions." And when Bertulf asked who he was, he said, "Peter. My glorious festivities are celebrated throughout the world today."[116]

This dramatic miracle in which St Peter heals the sick abbot is latent with symbolic significance. It took place on the eve of the saint's feast day as the abbot was returning to his monastery dedicated to the same saint having obtained a papal privilege from the successor of St Peter. The account could be seen as the supernatural ratification of Bobbio's newly won immunity. It is, moreover, a good example of the vividness of Jonas's writing – such personal writing as this is rare in hagiographical works – and an illustration of the close relationship Jonas had with his abbot. Jonas would remain

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[116] Oppresserat omnes maestitia tam longevi itineris quam labor aegri patris, nec prorsus eius de sospitate spem habentes, tenso tentorio, aspera in loca, undique vallati maestitia nec omnino de sospitate paterna fidentes, metati sumus. Erat enim vigilia passionis beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum. Cumque iam atra nox inruerit, ille inter ignes febrium me arcessivit ac curis mens dedita de nocturna vigilia sciscitavit. Cumque ego dicerem omnia iam esse disposita, ille ait: 'Tu meum ante stratum tota per noctis meta, quousque diei prorumpat crepusculum, excuba'. Cum ergo excubassem, quousque intempesta nox ruerit, tantus me spoor oppressit, ut sursum caput attollere non valerem, omnesque qui erga tentorium sarcinas vel aequos excubant, simile sunt oppressi sopore. Cumque ergo cuncta silentia operissent, beatus apostolorum princeps Petrus advenit ac super stratum aegri patris adstetit: 'Surge', inquid, 'et sospes tuos ad sodales perge'. Cumque ille inquireret, quis esset, ille ait: 'Petrus; mea hodie clara in toto orbe celebrantur sollemnia': VC II. 23, pp. 283-4 (Wood, p. 126).

committed to Columbanus's belief that monasteries should remain separate from episcopal and lay control. Monasteries had to rely on aristocratic, ecclesiastical, and royal patronage, but, at the same time, the spiritual integrity of these places needed to be ensured. This was the thinking behind the trend in obtaining these new diplomatic warrants and of which the papal privilege of 628 was an important precedent.[117]

Contact with Rome is also important when considering Bobbio as a missionary centre. Although there is no reference to it in the privilege, Jonas mentions Honorius's desire that Bertulf and his monks continue their work in combating the Arian heresy amongst the Lombards.[118] It is clear from Jonas that the Arian heresy was a divisive problem that had to be tackled. There was nothing ambiguous, for example, about the encounter between the Bobbio monk, Blidulf, the priest who had accompanied Jonas home to Susa, and the thugs of Arioald, duke of Turin and future king of the Lombards.[119]

Jonas relates how Blidulf, having been sent to Pavia by Abbot Athala, encountered Arioald with some of his men on a street. The monk refused to greet the duke as he was a heretic, but did give him a short lesson in trinitarian theology.[120] Arioald then complained

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[117] On the importance of this privilege and Jonas's interests in such monastic immunities, see I. Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: Diplomata and the Vita Columbani', in A. C. Murray (ed.), After Rome's fall: narrators and sources of early medieval history: essays presented to Walter Goffart (Toronto, 1998), pp. 99-118.

[118] Tenuit ergo eum quantisper, et cottidiano effamine Bertulfum roborare nisus, ut cepti itineris laborem non relinqueret et Arrianae pestis perfidiam euangelico mucrone ferire non abnueret: VC II. 23, p. 283.

[119] VC II. 24, pp. 286-9. Pohl ('Deliberate Ambiguity: The Lombards and Christianity', pp. 47-58, at pp. 57-8) argues that the confessional ambiguities during this period 'were the basis of political and religious compromise that kept the troubled situation in Italy from exploding and made it possible that there different Christian confession coexisted over one hundred years without excessive unrest or bloodshed, a rare occurrence in the history of the Church.' Fanning ('Lombard Arianism Reconsidered', pp. 241-58) has also downplayed the Lombards' adherence to Arianism.

[120] 'Salutem', inquid, 'optabam tuam, si tu non tuis seductoribus et veritate alienis faveris doctrinis, quos et sacerdotes adhuc vocatis, mendacio sibi adlatum nomen; porro melius esse ineffabilem Trinitatem una

why none among his servants was cruel enough to kill the monk. That night one of his men and an accomplice ambushed Blidulf and beat him to death. When the monk's host, a priest in the town, became worried over Blidulf's late return, and concerned 'that he might have fallen among the Arians',[121] he set out to look for him. Finding him lying in the street as if asleep, Blidulf miraculously awoke unharmed with little sign of the violence that had been inflicted on him. On being questioned by his host he was unaware of what had happened and swore that he had never slept so well. The culprit, however, became possessed.[122] Fearing a similar fate, Arioald sent the possessed man and some of his men to Bobbio to seek pardon from the abbot and to assuage him with gifts. The demoniac was healed but Athala refused to accept the gifts 'of the impious and heretical man'.[123] The healed would-be murderer later showed no remorse and bragged of his deed whereon he was instantly struck dead. He was not given communal burial but was buried in a solitary place, where, Jonas tells us, those passing by were wont to say, "Here lies buried that wretched man, who acted cruelly against a monk of Bobbio following his own lascivious nature."[124]

The account vividly illustrates the religious divisions of Jonas's Italy and the potential violence that this could spark. It also complements Paul the Deacon's statement that in the cities there were both Arian and Catholic clergy.[125] Moreover, Blidulf's presence in Pavia may indicate that Bobbio continued an active anti-Arian policy, although Jonas is

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deitate confiteri, non tres potestates, sed tres personas, nec unam trium nominum personam, sed tres in veritate Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti personas, una potestate, voluntate, essentia'. VC II. 24, pp. 286-7.
[121] VC II. 24, p. 287 (Wood, p. 128).
[122] VC II. 24, p. 288.
[123] munera impii hac heretici hominis numquam in perpetuum suscipere: Ibid. p. 288.
[124] Hic ille miser tumulatus iacet, qui Ebobiensi monacho sua lascivia crudelitatem administravit: VC II. 24, p. 289.
[125] HL IV. 42, p. 169.

not explicit on this, [126] a policy that Columbanus had adopted in Milan where he preached and wrote a polemical tract against the heresy.[127] The Bobbio community was thus an influential presence of Catholic orthodoxy in a kingdom where some of the elite remained Arian Christians.

It has also been suggested that the Bobbio community were active in missionary work in the countryside where paganism was still practised.[128] Zironi has suggested that the monastery's missionary efforts may have been primarily targeted towards the pagan Lombard militia stationed in the area.[129] We have already mentioned how the community had to share half a well with the Lombard warlord Sundrarit. As Bobbio was situated near the frontier, the community would have had some contact with the troops stationed in the Apennine valleys. During the seventh century the monastery established a number of cells along communication networks between Pavia, Tortona, Voghera, Lucca, and Chiavari, strategic areas where Lombard troops were posted.[130] With Lombard military expansion into Liguria in 643 the monks followed suit establishing further cells in the newly conquered areas and are even accredited with introducing new agricultural methods into the region.[131] Again, Jonas provides an example that reveals this missionary side to his community and one active method in which it combated paganism. The abbot

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[126] He says that Blidulf had been sent to Pavia by his abbot on some business.
[127] See VC I. 30, p. 221.
[128] The Dialogues of Gregory give ample testimony to the pagan practices still prevalent in Italy during the sixth century. See also G. Cracco, 'Chiesa e cristianità rurale nell'Italia di Gregorio Magno' in V. Fumagalli and G. Rosetti (eds.), Medioevo rurale. Sulle tracce della civiltà contadina (Bologna, 1980), pp. 361-79.
[129] 'È pressoché certo che i Longobardi stanziati nell'alta valle del Trebbia non fossero cristiani: l'abbandono della chiesa di S. Pietro, attorno alla quale sores poi il cenobio bobbiese … lascia condurre in questa direzione.' Zironi, Il monastero, p. 17.
[130] Zironi, Il monastero, p. 18.
[131] M. Tosi, 'I monaci colombaniani del secolo VII portano un rinnovamente agricolo-religioso nella fascia littorale Ligure', AB 14 (1992), pp. 5-106.

(Athala) sent Meroveus, whose name has aroused speculation as to whether he was of Merovingian royal origin,[132] to the nearby town of Tortona on some unspecified business (ob conditionem). The monk, however, went some distance past the town to a country estate situated by the river Staffora where he noticed a pagan temple among the trees.[133] He duly set about burning it. The 'temple's disciples' (fani cultores) responded by apprehending the monk, beating him severely 'for a long time' (diu) and then tried to drown him in the river. When their initial attempts at drowning proved futile – even though the monk was willing to suffer martyrdom, the river would not accept him[134] – the pagans again threw him into the river and weighed him down. They left what they thought was his corpse although Meroveus predictably rose from the waves unharmed and made his way back to the monastery. As in the other account, Jonas then describes the divine punishment inflicted on the culprits: 'Some went blind, some were burned by fire, the knees of some contracted, some were struck by debility in all their limbs, different men were tormented in diverse ways.'[135] Again, they made their way to Bobbio where some were healed. This account, therefore, like that of Blidulf's encounter with the Arians in Pavia, is instructive not only for revealing the religious tensions latent in Northern Italy at this time but also for what it indicates about Bobbio's role as a missionary centre. Although Bobbio might not have been as influential as its Frankish

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[132] See Charles-Edwards, Early Christian Ireland, p. 351, n. 37.
[133] longius ab urbe progressus ad quondam villam super Hiram fluvium accessit, in qua fanum, arboribus intersitis, progrediens vidit: VC II. 25, p. 289.
[134] Ibid.
[135] alios caecitas, alios ignis urens, alios contractio poplitum, alios omnium membrorum debilitas, diversi diversa perceperunt tormenta: VC II. 25, p. 290 (Wood, p. 129.).

twin, Luxeuil, it too was clearly concerned with evangelization and we should not underestimate its missionary activity.[136]

In turning to consider Jonas's missionary experience in the Frankish borderlands in the late 630s we should bear in mind that Jonas may have had prior missionary experience in the Apennines. This might account for his remark in his letter to the abbots where he notes that when he was asked to write the Vita by Bertulf and the Bobbio community he was 'spending time with them in the countryside of the Apennines',[137] and gives the impression that he was only staying at the monastery. This was before Bertulf's death, thus sometime in 638 or 639, and before he became a missionary in the Merovingian kingdom. It might thus indicate that Jonas was already a missionary working in the valleys of the Apennines. If Jonas had missionary experience this might further explain why he was enlisted to work with Bishop Amandus in the northeast of Merovingian Gaul. It has been suggested that Jonas may have become involved with Amandus's mission through Bishop Acharius of Noyon-Tournai, a quondam Luxeuil monk and close associate of the missionary.[138] A less indirect channel could also be proposed. We know that Amandus visited Rome on two occasions and it is almost certain (given his Columbanian background) that he would have stopped at Bobbio. Jonas, therefore, could have been recruited directly from Bobbio as a missionary on the frontier of the Frankish kingdom.

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[136] Wood, for example, downplays Bobbio as a missionary centre in comparison to Luxeuil's more wide-ranging activity: The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400-1050 (Harlow, 2001), p. 39.
[137] 'cum apud eos Appenninis ruribus vegans in Ebobiensem cenobium morarer'. VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 145.
[138] De Vogüé in his introduction to Vie de Saint Colomban, pp. 20-1; Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', p. 191.

Jonas's missionary activity is a major feature of his career and of his development as a writer. It was as a missionary that he wrote the Vita Columbani while his Vita Vedastis, concerning a bishop whose see was in the same area where Jonas worked as a missionary, looked back at the first attempts to Christianize the Franks around the turn of the sixth century. Moreover, the methods Jonas might have employed would not have been ones based on subtle theological arguments but rather sensationalist ones. He would have tried to impress on his hearers the superiority of the Christian God through exempla, tales of miraculous deeds such as those of Blidulf and Meroveus. The drudgery of missionary work and the recording of miracle stories were thus complementary. Jonas's interests in evangelization, which he shared with his Columbanian contemporaries, were mirrored in his hagiography.

It has been argued that Jonas did his best to try to make Columbanus cut a more dynamic missionary figure than in reality he was.[139] Columbanus's views on evangelization were ambiguous.[140] As a peregrinus, the concept of mission does not appear to have been forefront in the saint's mind, although he expressed an interest in it and clearly his influence had a major impact.[141] Some of his disciples were certainly imbued with a

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[139] See Wood, The Missionary Life, pp. 31-35, and pp. 35-9 on Jonas as a missionary.
[140] Columbanus notes that he wished to visit the heathen to preach the gospel to them but when he learned that they were less than enthusiastic, he decided not to preach to them: Ep. IV. 5, p. 30.
[141] The concept of peregrinatio and evangelization however were closely tied to one another. See Angenendt, 'Die irische Peregrinatio', pp. 52-79, esp. pp. 63-6; G. S. M. Walker also stressed the missionary element in Columbanus's peregrinatio: 'St Columban: Monk or Missionary?' in The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith, Studies in Church History 6 (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 39-44; while Richard Fletcher noted that 'The ideal of pilgrimage was absolutely central to the missionary impulse of the early Middle Ages': The Conversion of Europe, p. 232.

missionary zeal and this was undoubtedly due, in part, to Columbanus's influence.[142] The 'penitential mentality' of Columbanus was essentially the expression of a greater sensitivity towards the fate of the soul and in this Columbanus was truly a contemporary of Gregory the Great. It was a concern for the salvation of souls that both led to the development of the penitentials and a concept of universal mission at this time. The two developments were linked and both found their fullest expression in the life and work of Amandus, born around the time of Columbanus's arrival in Gaul and who died in around 675.[143]

Amandus combined the Columbanian ideal of peregrinatio with a Gregorian sense of mission and is seen as a key figure in the development of a concept of a universal mission to all peoples.[144] This is apparent from his surviving will, written at his monastery at Elnone shortly before his death, which states: 'No one is ignorant of how I have travelled far and wide through all provinces and nations for the love of Christ, to announce the word of God and administer baptism, and of how Divine Clemency has saved me from many dangers and has deigned to preserve me down to the present day.'[145] The concepts of peregrinatio and evangelization are also the dominant features in the account of his life

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[142] Riché, 'Columbanus, his followers and the Merovingian Church', pp. 59-72.
[143] On the life and work of Amandus, see E. de Moreau, St. Amand. Apôtre de la Belgique et du nord de la France (Louvain, 1927); Fletcher, The Conversion of Europe, pp. 147-54.
[144] See W. Fritze, 'Universalis gentium confessio. Formeln, Träger und Wege universalmissionarischen Denkens im 7. Jahrhundert', Frühmittelalterliche Studien 3 (1969), pp. 78-130.
[145] Proinde omnibus non habetur incognitum, qualiter nos longe lateque per universas provintias seu gentes propter amorem Christi seu verbo Dei adnuntiare vel baptismum tradere discursum habuimus, et nos de multis periculis pietas Dei eripuit et usque tempore isto perducere dignatus est: Testamentum Amandi, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 5 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1910), pp. 483-5, at p. 484. The will is translated in Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe, ed. J. N. Hillgarth (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 149.

written at Elnone in the second half of the eighth century.[146] The hagiographer tells of how the young Amandus 'left his country and his parents' for Christ and went to an island monastery on the Ile d'Yeu, situated in the Atlantic forty miles off the west coast of Gaul.[147] After spending some time there, and having expelled a serpent from the island, he went to the tomb of St Martin at Tours and vowed to 'spend his whole life in exile.'[148] He then spent fifteen years as a hermit in Bourges, a town where there were a number of Columbanian foundations.[149] He lived in a cell in the city wall where he subjected himself to mortifications: 'Clothed in a goat's skin and covered in ashes, worn down by fasts and hunger, he was content with barley-bread and a little water. Abstaining entirely from beer and wine, he supported rather than nourished his body.'[150] This was Columbanian penance at its most extreme. It was on pilgrimage in Rome, however, that Amandus's asceticism was re-channelled into evangelization. His hagiographer describes how Amandus attempted to spend the night in vigil in St Peter's but was found out and evicted by the sacristans. Loitering on the steps of the basilica, he had a vision in which St Peter told him to return to Gaul as a missionary.[151] Amandus was undoubtedly

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[146] Vita Amandi I, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 5 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1910), pp. 428-49. The Life is also translated in Christianity and Paganism, pp. 139-48. On the Life, see E. de Moreau, 'La Vita Amandi Prima et les Fondations monastiques de S. Amand', Analecta Bollandiana 67 (1949), pp. 447-64. There is some difficulty with the dating of the Life, on which see Wood, The Missionary Life, pp. 40-42. Despite its probable eighth-century date, Wood (p. 42) sees it as providing 'a plausible image of a Merovingian missionary of the middle of the seventh century.'

[147] Vita Amandi I, 1, p. 432 (Hillgarth, p. 140).

[148] Ibid. 2, 4, pp. 432 and 433 (Hillgarth, pp. 140-1).

[149] Ibid. 5, 6, pp. 433-4 (Hillgarth, p. 141). Cf. VC II. 10, pp. 255-6.

[150] In qua cellula multis diebus ob amorem aeternae vitae cilicio tectus et cinere, ieiuniis attritus atque inedia, ordeaceo tantum contemptus pane atque aquae perpaululum, corpus suum sustentavit potius quam aluit, sicque ibidem tribus ferme militans lustris, a sicera et vino omnino abstinuit: Vita Amandi I, 6, pp. 433-4 (Hillgarth, p. 141).

[151] Ibid. 7, p. 434 (Hillgarth, pp. 141-2). Wood comments that the influence of St Peter on Amandus in the Vita might appear anachronistic as 'on the whole the Merovingian Chruch is not known for its association with Rome': The Missionary Life, p. 42. But, of course, this is not surprising given Amandus' Columbanian connections and their strong devotion to St Peter. The principal Columbanian monasteries were all dedicated to the saint and Columbanus's views on the Petrine cult and office are well known from his letters. See, for example, his assertion that the Irish 'are bound to St. Peter's chair; for though Rome be

influenced by papal notions of evangelization and his missionary work had papal sanction (the hagiographer notes that he received the apostolic benediction and was provided with relics).[152] For the rest of his life Amandus displayed as a wandering bishop (episcopus vagans) the same commitment to evangelization as he had given to the ascetic life at Bourges. His main missionary area was the northeast borderlands of the Frankish kingdom, although he also conducted expeditions to the Slavs beyond the Danube and to the Basques, as well as undertaking a second pilgrimage to Rome and founding a number of monasteries.

Though the most exceptional example, Amandus was part of a wider network of Columbanian figures who were active in missionary work during the seventh century.[153] Eustasius and the first abbot of Rebais, Agilus, were both involved in missionary expeditions to Bavaria and the establishment of a monastery at Weltenburg near Regensburg, the most eastern Columbanian foundation.[154] The Columbanian-influenced bishops, Dado of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon, were also instrumental in the

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great and famous, among us it is only on that chair that her greatness and her fame depend.' Ep. V. 11, p. 49. His sincere respect for the bishop of Rome did not, however, prohibit him from speaking out on doctrinal matters when he thought it necessary, but this should not be seen as contempt of papal primacy. On this, see D. Bracken 'Authority and Duty: Columbanus and the Primacy of Rome', Peritia 16 (2002), pp. 168-213. Jonas even included an assertion of the primacy of the Petrine office that is perhaps one of the first of its kind in a hagiographical work: VC II. 9, p. 247.

[152] Vita Amandi I, 7, p. 434 (Hillgarth, pp. 141-2).

[153] Fritze termed this network 'Die nordfränkische Missionarsgruppe columbanischer Prägung' and has illustrated it with an elaborate chart showing the principal figures linked by a series of bold and dotted arrows to show their connection and influence: 'Universalis gentium confessio', pp. 84-96 with the chart at p. 87.

[154] Jonas mentions Eustasius' mission and also Agrestius' failed mission to the Bavarians: VC II. 8, 9, pp. 244, 246. The missionary efforts of Eustasius and Agilus are furthermore outlined in the ninth-century Vita Agili, ed. J. Stilting, AASS, Aug. VI (Paris, 1868), pp. 574-87. Fletcher (The Conversion of Europe, p. 143) comments that Weltenburg, on the borders of Christendom, 'performed some of the functions of a mission station.'

evangelization of the rural population in their dioceses.[155] The Vita Eligii, written by Eligius's friend and fellow bishop, Dado, describes how the bishop of Noyon was appointed to his see, which included the territory in which Jonas worked, 'because the inhabitants were still caught in the errors of the Gentiles. Given over to vain superstition, they were wild peasants who could in no way comprehend the word of salvation.'[156] The Life also includes a sermon that the bishop is reputed to have delivered to his congregation and which is full of reprimands to pagan practices which some were evidently still doing.[157] In his zeal in attempting to fully Christianize the rustici in his diocese, Eligius can be seen a central figure in the Columbanian missionary network while his Vita gives us some idea of the trenchant paganism in the area.

Jonas is also an important representative of this group. From the late 630s his career lay in the northern part of the Frankish kingdom and it was missionary work that took him there. He writes briefly in the dedicatory letter about being asked to write the Vita and of his experiences as a missionary:

> I recall that about three years ago, while I was staying with them in the monastery of Bobbio and wandering in the countryside of the Apennines, I

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[155] See P. 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 in D. Baker (ed.), The Church in Town and Countryside, Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 77-91.

[156] quod incolae eiusdem regionis magna adhuc ex parte gentilitatis errore detinebantur et vanis superstitionibus satis dediti errant, quique velut agrestes ferae nullius uspiam salutare verbum recipere poterant: Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis, II. 2, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), pp. 663-741, at p. 695. The Life is translated by Jo Ann McNamara in Medieval Hagiography, ed. T. Head (London, 2001), pp. 141-67, here at p. 152.

[157] Ante omnia autem illud denutio atque contestor, ut nullus paganorum sacrileges consuetudines observetis, non caragos, non divinos, non sortilogos, non praecantatores, nec pro ulla causa aut infirmitate eos consulere vel interrogare praesumatis, quia qui facit hoc malum, statim perdit baptismi sacramentum: Vita Eligii, II. 16, p. 705.

> promised that I would undertake to narrate the deeds of the beloved father Columbanus at the pressing entreaty of the brothers and at the bidding command of the blessed abbot Bertulf. … If, however, I had not had any doubts at all about my own unworthiness for this work I would have begun writing it at once, although impulsively. Yet for three years I sailed along the Ocean's shore and along the river Scarpe in skiffs, while the Scheldt often wet me as the boat cut its course through the calm waterways as did the muddy marsh of the Elnon my feet as I assisted the venerable bishop Amandus, who had been appointed to these regions in order to check the old errors of the Sicambrians with the cauterizing blade of the Gospel.[158]

As the letter is addressed in part to the new abbot of Bobbio, Bobulenus, who succeeded Bertulf in 639, Jonas must have been writing no later than 642. It means that for those intervening three years, in which the Vita Columbani was written, Jonas was a missionary with Amandus.[159] This is the only mention Jonas makes of his own missionary activity and he does not go into any detail about it. It is most likely that during

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[158] Memini me ante hoc ferme triennium, fratrum conibentia flagitante vel beati Bertulfi abbatis imperio iubente, cum apud eos Appenninis ruribus vagans in Ebobiensem cenobium morarer, fuisse pollicitum, ut almi patris Columbani meo studerem stilo texere gesta … Si enim me in hoc opere nequaquam indignum iudicassem, olim iam ad ea texenda temerario quamvis conatu adgressus fuissem, quamquam me et per triennium Oceani per ora vehit et Scarbea lintris abacta ascoque Scaldeus molles secando vias madefacit saepe et lenta palus Elnonis plantas ob venerabilis Amandi pontificis ferendum suffragium, qui his constitutus in locis veteris Sicambrorum errores euangelico mucrone coercet: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, pp. 145-6.

[159] A conclusion also reached by Zironi (Il monastero, p. 28) although he suggests that while the first part concerning Columbanus reflects the classical influences ('un'influenza diretta della cultura classica') that Jonas would have obtained from Bobbio manuscripts, the second part, concerning the saint's disciples, shows much less influence of classical authors and that, therefore, this section was most likely written while Jonas was a missionary. While we cannot ascribe Jonas's knowledge of the classics to his monastic formation at Bobbio, the implication from Jonas's letter to the abbots is that the work was written in three years and that it was during those three years that he was working as a missionary.

this period Jonas was based at the recently founded monastery at Elnone (indeed, he mentions the marsh there) that, in the Vita Amandi, is described as 'a fit place for preaching'.[160] It is interesting that the hagiographer of Amandus also mentions that many of the monks who worked for Amandus there 'we have seen later become abbots or leading men',[161] as was the case with Jonas.

We get an insight into the difficult and dangerous nature of this missionary work from the Vita Amandi. The region of Flanders in which Amandus and Jonas were active was, we are told, 'so caught up in the devil's nets that its inhabitants offered worship to trees and pieces of wood instead of to God; they built shrines and adored idols. Because of the savagery of its people and the infertility of the soil no bishop had preached there nor had anyone dared to proclaim the word of God.'[162] The scarcity of food resulted in all of Amandus's early assistants leaving and returning home.[163] Later, when he was appointed to the see of Maastricht, the bishop travelled for three years around the small towns and fortified places preaching, but even many ecclesiastics refused to listen to him.[164]

The area in which Jonas was working was again a frontier borderland where, in this instance, mission and Frankish imperialism went hand in hand. One of Amandus's most spectacular miracles, for example, was the resurrection of a hanged man in Flanders who

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[160] locum praedicationis aptum: Vita Amandi I, 22, p. 445 (Hillgarth, p. 146).
[161] ex eisdem fratribus plures postea abbates vel honorificos vidimus viros: Ibid.
[162] diaboli laqueis vehementer inretitum, ita ut incolae loci illius, relicto Deo, arbores et ligna pro Deo colerent atque fana vel idola adorarent. Propter ferocitatem enim gentis illius vel ob terrae infecunditatem omnes sacerdotes a praedicatione loci illius se subtraxerant, et nemo audebat in eodem loco verbum adnuntiare Domini: Vita Amandi I, 13, pp. 436-7 (Hillgarth, p. 143).
[163] Ibid. p. 437 (Hillgarth, p. 143).
[164] Vita Amandi I, 18, pp. 442-3 (Hillgarth, 145-6).

had been executed under the orders of a Frankish count and an assembly of Franks.[165] Amandus was initially made a bishop and given license to preach in Flanders by Dagobert I: 'Provided with power from the king and blessing from the Church the man of God Amandus went intrepidly forth',[166] as the hagiographer put it. Not for the last time were Christianization and colonization compatible twins. The bishop was able to draw on secular backing when he obtained from the king letters that stated that those who did not accept voluntary baptism would be compelled by the secular power to do so.[167] He does not seem to have resorted to military force even though, notes the hagiographer, women and rustics often threw him into the river Scheldt! The Vita Amandi, therefore, although an eighth-century source, gives us a portrait of the remarkable missionary figure of Amandus and some sense of the difficulties Jonas may have encountered in the region.

ABBOT

In the prologue to the Vita Iohannis Jonas is styled 'abbot'.[168] It also mentions how Jonas came to write the Life of this Gallic saint. The monastery of Réomé, whose abbot, Chunna, had been a monk at Luxeuil,[169] had provided a welcome respite from the hardships of the road. In mid-winter, Jonas had been summoned to Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy by Queen Balthild and her infant son, Chlothar III, and it was on his way south that he had stopped at the monastery. There, the community had taken advantage of their

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[165] Ibid. 14, pp. 438-9 (Hillgarth, 143-4).
[166] Perceptaque a rege potestate vel benedictione a pontifice, illuc vir Domini Amandus perrexit intrepide: Vita Amandi I, 13, p. 437 (Hillgarth, p. 143).
[167] Ibid.
[168] VIoh. Prologue, p. 326.
[169] Referred to as magnae religionis vir ex genere Burgundionum who together with Germanus entered the community at Luxeuil: VG 6, p. 35.

literary guest to ask him to write the Life of their founder. As it was November it must have been a matter of some importance for the queen to summon him, although Jonas remains silent as to what that was.[170] The view that the prologue gives us is thus an interesting one, although I doubt that Jonas wrote the prologue. The two references to Jonas in the third person have an impersonal tone that suggests the prologue was not written by the author himself and I suspect that it was added to the Life by a member of the Réomé community to explain how the work came to be written and by whom. However, it nevertheless reveals that by 659 Jonas had become an abbot, probably of a northern foundation (as he was travelling south to Chalon) and had contact with kings and queens. Like Venantius before him, literary accomplishment and ecclesiastical advancement had come together for this foreigner in Merovingian Gaul.

In the mid-eleventh century, the hagiographer of the Vita Walarici abbatis Leuconaensis also preserved the memory of Jonas as an abbot.[171] This late Life concerned a Frankish monk and monastic founder of Leuconaus near the Somme who had been trained at Luxeuil under Columbanus and Eustasius. It provides evidence for the reading of the Vita Columbani in a northern French foundation in the eleventh century and gives an enthusiastic blurb for the work. It also mentions Jonas as an abbot and his skills as a

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[170] We may reasonably presume Jonas was summoned to discuss some ecclesiastical matter, as Balthild was an astute monastic patron. On the Queen's monastic policy ('Klosterpolitik'), see E. Ewig, 'Das Privileg des Bischofs Berthefrid von Amiens für Corbie von 664 und die Klosterpolitik der Königin Balthild', Francia 1 (1973), pp. 62-114. Gilles Cugnier has speculated that Jonas may have been summoned to Chalon by Balthild to investigate the murder of Bishop Aunemund of Lyons, a friend of Waldebert of Luxeuil, which he gives as taking place there in 659: 'Notice sur Jonas: Biographe de Saint Colomban (600-666), Cahiers Colombaniens 3 (1965), pp. 8-12, at pp. 9-10. There is no evidence to support such a conclusion, however, as Aunemund was martyred after 660.

[171] Ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), pp. 160-75.

writer. Having praised Columbanus's influence in Europe in shining terms,[172] the hagiographer recommends his readers to read the Vita Columbani and refers to its author as, 'Abbot Jonas, a great man, full of eloquence and accomplished in writing' (Ionas abba, vir magnus, eloquentiae plenus et dictandi peritus).[173] There is, moreover, evidence from two important early manuscripts which attest to Jonas's status as an aboot. At the beginning of the oldest manuscript, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 553, written at St Gallen by eight scribes in a fine Caroline of the first half of the ninth century, Jonas's Preface to the Vita Columbani is preceded by a note in majuscule script: Incipit Praefatio super librum qui de vita atque virtutibus sancti Columbani abbatis a iona quondam preceptore editus est.[174] The reference here to Jonas as a quondam praeceptor is interesting as it indicates that Jonas was later remembered at St Gallen as someone of importance above that of his skills as a writer. Praeceptor in classical usage means a teacher or instructor but, in medieval Latin, it can also mean a manager of a monastery. Another, later manuscript, produced at Bobbio in the eleventh century, also preserved the memory of Jonas as an abbot. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. III. 15 has, at the beginning of Jonas's letter to the abbots which prefaces the Vita, a decorated initial containing the figure of a mitred Jonas with abbatial staff above which is written in rubrics: Incipit prologus Ione abbatis in Vita Sancti Columbani.[175]

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[172] quasi sol ab occidente ortus retrogradiens, sic ille partes Europae sparsim gyrando sua doctrina splendida et clara inlustravit: Vita Walarici, 6, p. 163.
[173] Ibid.
[174] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 553, fol. 2v.
[175] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. III. 15, fol. 21r. Krusch attributed this manuscript to the eleventh century, but Cipolla ascribes it to the end of the tenth, beginning of the eleventh century. On this manuscript, see C. Cipolla, Codici Bobbiesi nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino (Milan, 1907), pp. 166-7.

In the Vita Columbani Jonas refers to himself as Ionas peccator,[176] which does not preclude the possibility that Jonas was an abbot at the time of writing the Vita Columbani, as we shall see. Columbanus, for example, although an abbot, referred to himself as peccator in his letters and this became standard practice.[177] It is possible that Jonas became abbot of one of Amandus's foundations that the bishop had founded in the missionary areas of the northeast of the kingdom. This was Dom Jean Mabillon's conclusion in the seventeenth century as he identified Jonas with a certain Jonatus, first abbot of Marchiennes, a monastery close to Elnone and founded by Amandus.[178] Marchiennes was a double-monastery and may have been closely associated with Hamage, only a few kilometres away, which has recently been excavated.[179]

Although the forms of the names are not exactly the same, they are nonetheless similar. Both names, moreover, are very rare so the probability that two men named Jonas and Jonatus who both worked with Amandus and who both became abbots in the same area is slim. A series of scholars since Mabillon have either accepted or rejected his hypothesis.[180] The most recent scholar to address the issue, Ileana Pagani, in 1988, characterized the debate as 'un curioso episodia di storia erudita'[181] while concluding that the hagiographer and the abbot of Marchiennes were two separate individuals.[182] Her conclusion rests on the seeming disparities between how both men are represented in the

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[176] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 144.
[177] See, e.g., Ep. II. 1, p. 12.
[178] Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, ed. J. Mabillon et al. (4 vols., Paris, 1703-39) 1, pp. LXXIX ff.
[179] See E. Louis, 'Hamage (Nord): espaces et batiments claustraux d'un monastere merovingien et carolingien', Histoire Medievale et Archeologie 9 (1998), pp. 73-97.
[180] On this scholarly debate, see I. Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio', Studi Medievali, 3rd ser. 29 (1988), pp. 45-85.
[181] Ibid. p. 45.
[182] 'personaggi radicalmente differenti nella tradizione medievale'. Ibid. p. 85.

medieval literary tradition. The sources from the tenth century and later that mention Jonatus do not refer to him as a writer, while the earlier sources that refer to Jonas all mention him in the context of his authorship of the Vita Columbani. Jonatus, on the other hand, is lauded as a saint, an epithet that was never applied to Jonas. It was Jonas's learning and skill as a writer that were praised by the early hagiographers who mention him, not his sanctity. However, Pagani's arguments for two individuals are not convincing enough to dispel Mabillon's identification. The seventeenth-century antiquarian's hypothesis seems the more plausible given the unreliability and late date of the sources, the similarity in names, and the proximity of both figures to Amandus.

The group of texts that mention Jonatus were all local products, written either at Marchiennes or Saint-Amand (Elnone) between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. The earliest sources that mention him are a series of saints' Lives written by Hucbald, a monk and teacher at Saint-Amand. Hucbald, one of the most accomplished hagiographers of this period, was a learned and intelligent writer who considered his compositions important tools of Christian education while his keen historical awareness did not impede a wry sense of humour.[183] In the three works that mention the abbot of Marchiennes, the Vita Rictrudis, the Vita Amati, and the Vita Ionati, all written during the first half of the tenth century, Jonatus is represented as a disciple of Amandus who had been given charge of the new foundation by the missionary-bishop and who was responsible for

[183] See J. M. H. Smith, 'The Hagiography of Hucblad of Saint-Amand', Studi Medievali 3rd ser. 35 (1994), pp. 517-42.

making it into a double community.[184] When we consider the lengthy section on the Faremoutiers nuns in the Vita Columbani, somewhat incongruous as the largest section of Book II, Jonas's decision to include a section on female ascetics might make better sense if he were an abbot of a double monastery such as Marchiennes-Hamage.

In his Life of Rictrude, which he wrote in 907 at the request of the Marchiennes community, Hucbald took as his subject the first abbess, a noble woman who had retired to Marchiennes to avoid an unwanted second marriage. Amandus had appointed his discipulus, Jonatus, abbot of this community not far from Elnone on the river Scarpe who joined female members to the community over which Rictrude duly became abbess.[185] Hucbald was initially unwilling to write the Life of Rictrude because of the lack of concrete evidence and insufficient sources. The tradition of the monastery had been disrupted by the Viking invasions of the late-ninth century that seem to have caused genuine disturbance as his own personal experience testifies.[186] He was persuaded to write the work only after the community showed him a little book of history – the veracity of which was sworn to him by members of the community. Writing over two hundred years after the foundation of the monastery, Hucbald does not inspire confidence as a chronicler for the early history of the monastery. This dearth in information and the severance of tradition over time and the onslaught of the Vikings might account for the

[184] Vita S. Rictrudis, AASS, Mai. III, pp. 81-89; Vita Amati episcopi Sidunensis, ed. in Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis, 1, 2 (Brussels, 1889), pp. 44-55; Vita S. Ionati, likewise ed. in Catalogus codicum, pp. 273-75. On these sources, see Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 46-55.
[185] Vita S. Rictrudis, p. 84.
[186] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 46-7. Smith has noted that 'Hucbald shared the dislocations and temporary exiles forced on the community by the Vikings.' 'The Hagiography of Hucbald', p. 518.

disparities in the spelling of the name of the abbot and for the absence of any mention of Jonatus as a famed writer.

In the Vita Amati episcopi Siduensis, Jonatus is likewise characterized as a discipulus of Amandus while his standard attributes as a good abbot are praised.[187] This lack of concrete biographical detail is further apparent from Hucbald's Vita Ionati, which, although purporting to deal with Jonatus, is in fact more about Amandus. The work was written as a series of lections for the saint's feast-day, although it was later interpolated. It recounts Amandus's missionary activity in the area and his foundation of churches and monasteries the leadership of which he parcelled out to his disciples. In this Hucbald derives most of his information from the older Lives of Amandus. At Marchiennes Hucbald notes sanctum virum et per cuncta laudabilem Jonatum was appointed abbot while he also praises Jonatus's abbatial qualities and his virtues in such a way that we can detect little trace of individuality.[188] The Vita, moreover, includes a later account of Jonatus's translation that came about after the saint appeared to a certain priest called Malgerus complaining to him that his tomb had been forgotten, even though it was situated in front of the altar in the church, and asking him to be moved to a tomb that was more visible.[189]

Hucbald's hagiography, which re-established a communal tradition at Marchiennes, was supplemented by new writings by members of the community between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. A monk of Saint-Amand put Hucbald's Vita Rictrudis into verse

[187] Vita Amati, p. 52.
[188] Vita Ionati, p. 73.
[189] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 51-2.

towards the end of the tenth century while in the twelfth century Galbert of Marchiennes wrote the Miraculum sancti Ionati.[190] These and other hagiographical works were supplemented from the twelfth century by the production of chronicles at both Marchiennes and Saint-Amand in which Jonatus is briefly mentioned. The chroniclers, however, faced the same problems as had Hucbald when it came to the early history of the communities as the original library and documents had been destroyed by the Vikings.[191] Hucbald's scarce information is, however, added to with regards chronology. From the Annals of Marchiennes, Jonatus appears as the first abbot under the year 641.[192] The Chronicle of Marchiennes adds that not long after this, he added a female community to the monastery to accommodate the entry of Rictrude and her daughters into the religious life.[193] The Chronicle further notes that Jonatus was a vir fidelis et simplex who was formed through the sacred learning of Bishop Amandus.[194]

The formation of a double community where the female proportion of the members was soon dominant was in essence a re-foundation ('una vera e propria rifondazione').[195] The wealth brought to the monastery by Rictrude led to the construction of a new church, which, like the majority of Columbanian foundations, was dedicated to St Peter and was consecrated by Amandus and Autbertus, bishop of Cambrai-Arras.[196] The presence of Autbertus at Marchiennes and his links to the Columbanians (he himself had been trained

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[190] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', p. 55.
[191] Ibid. p. 57.
[192] Annales Marchianenses, ed. L. C. Bethmann, MGH, SS 16 (Hanover, 1859), pp. 609-17, at p. 610.
[193] Chronicon Marchianense, ed. E. Sackur, 'Reise nach Nord-Frankreich im Frühjahr 1889', in Neues Archiv 15 (1890), pp. 455-69.
[194] qui beati pontifics discipulorum unus eius sacra eruditione admodum informatus ad hoc officium idoneus inventus est: Cited by Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', p. 59, n. 42.
[195] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', p. 59.
[196] Ibid. p. 60.

at Luxeuil)[197] lend further credence to Jonatus's identification with Jonas. As the bishop of Arras, Autbert may have translated the relics of his ancient predecessor, St Vedast,[198] and thus was the one who probably commissioned Jonas to write the Vita Vedastis.

One explanation as to why we know so little about the first abbot may be due to the prominence of Rictrude who, as the abbess of the community, appears to have overshadowed her male colleague.

As Pagani has noted, these chronicle sources do not provide new information on the abbot apart from the date of 641 as the year in which he became abbot.[199] The ephemeral outline sketched by Hucbald remains the same. Yet this is important as it may indicate that Jonas became an abbot while he was still composing the Vita Columbani. Indeed, the security that this office may have given him as well as his close relationship with the influential Amandus may have emboldened him to write his novel Book II which would appear to have been an independent decision; it is unlikely that Book II was part of the initial Bobbio commission. This security may have allowed him to write this appendix to the original Vita that both cleverly critiqued the changes in Columbanian monasticism while chronicling its successes and provided an edificatory text for the male and female communities at Marchiennes. As I have already commented, I see this as the most obvious explanation for the Faremoutiers chapters; it must have been written with a double-community in mind.

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[197] Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 188.
[198] See http://www.bbkl.de/a/autbert_v_c.shtml [6 June 2008].
[199] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', p. 61.

While the memory of Jonatus/Jonas had to be resurrected by the Marchiennes community from the tenth century onwards, the abbot also appeared in a number of sources written at Elnone (Saint-Amand), the neighbouring monastery only some ten kilometres away. Although the abbot is not mentioned in the earliest accounts dealing with Amandus, he is noted in a series of documents dating from the twelfth century.[200] Moreover, he appears as the third abbot of Elnone after Amandus and Ursus. He is designated as such in the Series abbatum S. Amandi Elnonensis.[201] Another source, also from the late twelfth century, expands on this. It notes that when Amandus was appointed to the see of Maastricht he ordained his disciple, Ursus, litteris sufficienter edoctus, who was abbot for some time until his death. Then Amandus appointed as his successor Jonatus whom the author notes was vir modestiae singularis, ipsius monasterii monachus, cui in sanctitate vitae, morum probitate, praeclara scientia et exemplari vita vix consimilis tunc reperiebatur.[202] This is somewhat similar to the description of Jonas found in the Vita Walarici. Jonatus is also lauded as the specialis alumnus of Amandus and adds that when the bishop founded Marchiennes, Jonatus was appointed its first abbot. What this reveals is the close trust Amandus obviously had in this man while it is interesting that here, in this case, the abbot's learning is alluded to.[203] The author further notes that when Amandus went on pilgrimage to Rome for the third time[204] (in this he departs from the older Lives of Amandus which state that Amandus went to Rome only twice) Jonas was

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[200] Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 62-3.
[201] Ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SS 13 (Hanover, 1881), p. 386.
[202] Chronica brevis de fundatione et abbatibus Elnonensibus o Catalogus abbatum S. Amandi Elnonensis uberior, ed. de Reiffenberg in Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes 1 (Brussels, 1836), p. 519. Cited in Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 62-3.
[203] Pagani here, anticipating one argument against her case that Jonatus was never identified as an author and so should not be identified with Jonas sates that this 'praeclara scientia' probably alludes to a monastic and spiritual knowledge although why this should not include a literary knowledge I do not know: 'Ionas-Ionatus', p. 63.
[204] Ibid.

given the charge of Elnone and Marchiennes to rule during the bishop's absence. When Amandus returned, Jonatus lived at Marchiennes for some time after Amandus's death (ubi post mortem etiam B. Amandi aliquot lustris regulariter vivens, diversos utriusque sexus ad religionem indixit et castitatem).[205] Pagani also notes that the local cult to Jonatus survived into the early modern period. The dates of his death (1 August) and his elevatio (8 April) were recorded in missals and breviaries from Marchiennes.[206]

In terms of chronology the year in which the abbot died is not known for certain. As the above source notes, Jonatus died after Amandus. A date, therefore, after c. 675, the approximate date for Amandus's death, can be postulated. This is in keeping with the evidence from Jonas's Vita Iohannis where we know that Jonas was still alive in 659. The malevolent date of 666 sometimes given as the year of Jonas's death and first proposed by Dom Rivet in the eighteenth century cannot be accepted as there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest Jonas died in that particular year.[207] A number of antiquarian scholars since the seventeenth century have also speculated that Jonas died in the 680s or early 690s, again without evidence to support such a conclusion. All we can reasonably say is that Jonas died sometime after 675 which, given a date of birth of c. 600, is plausible. According to a local historian from Marchiennes, Jonas died in 678 and was buried in the chapel of St John the Baptist in the abbatial church at Marchiennes on 1 August 678.[208]

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[205] Ibid.
[206] 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 63-4.
[207] On the various dates proposed as the year of Jonas's death proposed, see Pagani, 'Ionas-Ionatus', pp. 72-3.
[208] This is based on the evidence of a 1755 plan of the abbatial church drawn up from manuscripts belonging to the abbey of Marchiennes. I am very grateful to M. Thierry Teneul, Président de la Société des Amis de Marchiennes, for passing on this information to me found in the private notes of Dom de Vogüé

Although Pagani has looked closely at this material, she has drawn different conclusions. She has seen the absence of any reference to Jonatus as a writer or to Jonas as a saint as suggesting that we have here two individuals. The similarities in name she also dismisses as inconclusive evidence of identification. Yet we must remember that when Hucbald wrote in the early tenth century, the tradition at Marchiennes had been disrupted, as he himself lamented. During those three hundred years it is unsurprising that Jonas's name became bastardized or that his reputation as a writer faded. It was, after all, his role as abbot that mattered to the Marchiennes community. I am convinced that we are dealing with the same individual and that Mabillon's original hypothesis is correct. The identification is also one that de Vogüé has considered likely: 'Jonatus, abbé de Marchiennes, n'est-il pas notre Jonas de Bobbio? La proximité des deux noms, dans l'entourage immédiat d'Amand, rend l'identification très vraisemblable. Dès l'époque où il écrivait la Vie de Colomban, Jonas montrait un vif intérêt pour la vie religieuse féminine, à laquelle il consacre la section centrale de son second Livre. N'est-ce pas le même intérêt qui l'aura poussé à modifier les plans de son évêque, en faisant de Marchiennes une communauté de moniales?'[209] The coincidental evidence is too strong to suggest otherwise. Both had similar names, names that were, moreover, highly unusual in this period, both were contemporaries, both were working in the same geographical area, both had close ties to Amandus, and both seem to have had an interest in promoting female monasticism. Jonas and Jonatus were, in conclusion, the hagiographer and the saint who became abbot of Marchiennes.

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on the subject of 'Saint Jonas, premier Abbé de Marchiennes, biographe de Saint Colomban, disciple de Saint Amand, sous le nom de Jonas de Bobbio'. Personal correspondence, 10 October 2008.

[209] Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 22.

In this chapter, therefore, we have considered the outlines of Jonas's life and how we can perceive in his career many of the transformations of the seventh century. He was born at the beginning of the century in a frontier society in a town that still resonated with its classical heritage. As a young man and after only a few months of Columbanus's death, he entered the monastic life in a cosmopolitan community that mirrors the multi-ethnic complexities of this period. His later career in the Merovingian kingdom was symptomatic of a more profound shift in power from the Mediterranean world to transalpine Europe, a transformation poignantly epitomized by his composition of his Vita Columbani between the fall of Jerusalem and Egypt to the Muslims. His monastic career in the Frankish kingdom and his chronicling of the expansion of the Columbanian monastic movement was, moreover, indicative of a transference of spiritual power and of a growing penitential and otherwordly mentality that received its fullest expression in the missionary impulse. The implantation of a monastic culture in northern Gaul during this period and its integration into royal and aristocratic power structures heralds the beginning of the change in role of monastic foundations as political, economic, and cultural centres. As such, Jonas emerges not only as one of the most important writers of the seventh century, but as an individual and historic figure in his own right whom it is possible to frame within the wider social and political developments of his lifetime.

4

STILO TEXERE GESTA: THE WRITING OF THE HAGIOGRAPHY

MOTIVATIONS

A consideration of Jonas's saints' Lives must first begin by taking into account the reasons for their production. Jonas's letter to the abbots and his verbose prefaces provide the most explicit expressions of the author for the motivations behind the writing of these texts.

Jonas is explicit in each of his prefaces that his texts were written with two main purposes in mind. The first can be characterised as commemorative, while the second can be termed didactic. Jonas stressed the commemorative function at the beginning of each work. In his letter to the abbots he characterises the Vita as the gesta of the founder-saint, a term with connotations of a historical dimension as distinct from that of exclusively sacred literature. The term was generally not used in earlier works dealing with the saints and can be seen as reflecting Jonas's historical consciousness. This is also evident in his laying emphasis (as was standard) on the historical veracity of his information. His work contained nothing false, only reliable information obtained from eyewitness accounts:

> I promised to attempt to compose an account of the deeds of the blessed father Columbanus, especially since those who were with him during his

> lifetime and were present to see what he did, many of whom have survived among you, have described to me things that they did not merely hear about, but actually saw, while I have also learned things from the venerable men, Athala and Eustasius … Therefore I have included those things which I have found to have taken place according to reliable authority and which I have considered are being forgotten out of negligence, and I have passed over many things, which I have not been able to remember completely and I have decided to write down nothing where I have an incomplete record.[1]

In his preface to the work Jonas, moreover, characterises saints' Lives as 'monuments of powerful deeds' (virtutum monimenta) and says that he was undertaking 'to construct with elaborate care the deeds of our father Columbanus which shine so brightly in our age.'[2] This motivation to commemorate past saintly deeds is reiterated in Jonas's other works. He notes in his Vita Vedastis that he is writing about the saint: memoriam posteris commendare ratum ducimus, ut, unde originem duxerit, vel sane vitae cursum peregit, quamque finem habuerit, prosequi studiamus verbis.[3] In the preface to his Vita Iohannis, moreover, he again refers to a gesta religiosa christiana.[4] This sense of sacred Christian history that Jonas alludes to in his prefaces is further underlined in his remarkable poem,

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[1] fuisse pollicitum, ut almi patris Columbani meo studerem stilo texere gesta; praesertim cum hii qui eo fuerunt in tempore et poenes ipsum patrata viderunt quam plurimi vos suprestis sint, qui nobis non audita sed visa narrent, vel quae etiam nos per venerabiles viros Athalam et Eustasium didicimus … Inservimus ergo illa quae veris assertionibus experti sumus fuisse patrata et praetermittere neglegentiae deputavimus, multoque praetermissa, quae ex totum nequaquam meminimus et pro parte scribere nullatenus ratum duximus: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, pp. 145, 147 (Wood, pp. 117-8).
[2] VC I. 1, p. 152.
[3] VVed. 1, p. 309.
[4] VIoh. Preface, p. 327.

full of classical allusions, which he inserted at the end of Book I of the Vita Columbani.[5] Here he proclaims that the great deeds of antiquity are incomparable to those of the saints. Not even those epic tales related by Homer or Virgil were equal to those of Columbanus.[6] Such historical hyperbole reflects Jonas's conviction that saints' Lives were records of sacred history.

Yet equally important to Jonas was his belief that these works should serve as contemporary media of edification. Above all, these texts were religious, and served a religious function. The terminology Jonas uses repeatedly to express this didactic function is exemplum and supplimentum. In the preface to the Vita Columbani he wrote that hagiographers 'have preserved the glowing life of the leading saints and fathers of monks' so that their 'nourishing examples' might influence future generations.[7] Those who strove to imitate the saints and preserve their memory would receive salvation.[8] His texts were not only records of the deeds of holy men, but also meditative reflections that attempted to inspire their readers to persevere in the religious life. In the Vita Vedastis he wrote that these works sought to provoke the delinquentium animus to imitate the saints,[9] while in the Vita Iohannis he reveals that his intended audience was also the laity: tam

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[5] VC, Versus ad mensam canendi, pp. 224-7.
[6] Nihil dignum simile | horum gessere gestis | Zmirneus Omerus | et Mantuanus Maro: Ibid. p. 225
[7] Rutilantem atque eximio fulgore micantem sanctorum praesulum atque monachorum patrum solertia nobilium condidit vitam doctorum, scilicet ut posteris alma redolerent priscorum exempla: VC I. 1, p. 151. Like Gregory of Tours, Jonas used the singular vitam to express the unity of the shared religious life in Christ. In the Vita Iohannis he would further emphasise this unity: Nec inmerito eorum virtutes ac gesta religiosa christiana laude fulciuntur, qui uno spiritu diversitate virtutum florentes, diversis quoque donorum muneribus adornantur: Preface, pp. 326-7.
[8] VC I. 1, p. 151.
[9] VVed. 1, p. 309.

mentis hominum caelesti desiderio innexas, quam etiam simplicium animos hominibus profanis ad vitam provocemus aeternam.[10]

The desire to commemorate and imitate the saints was nothing new and Jonas's explicit comments, although interesting with regards to the language he uses and for his forthright statements on the purposes of such literature, are nevertheless commonplace. But what was unique to Jonas was that he was writing for an extensive network of monastic communities (and their patrons). He was writing at the beginning of the Columbanian monastic movement and his saints' Lives were written for specific communities. The Vita Columbani was commissioned by the Bobbio community, although it was clearly also intended for Luxeuil and the extended Columbanian familia; the Vita Vedastis for the Columbanian-trained bishop of Cambrai-Arras; and the Vita Iohannis for the reformed monastery of Réomé in Burgundy. These texts, therefore, in contrast to many other earlier hagiographical works, such as Sulpicius Severus's Vita Martini and the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, were inherently institutional. In recording the gesta of the saints, Jonas bestowed on these communities an institutional identity. This identity was distinctly Columbanian. In the Vita Columbani Jonas set out to present the impact that Columbanus had as a monastic founder and how his monastic communities contributed to a re-evangelisation in Merovingian Gaul and Lombard Italy. In the Vita Iohannis, Jonas turned to the early days of the monastic movement in Gaul to show that Columbanus had merely re-established a venerable tradition that had gone into decline, while in the Vita Vedastis he looked to the period in which the Franks were Christianized through the efforts of such bishops as Vedastus and Remigius and how this was achieved

[10] VIoh. Preface, p. 326.

through close relations with the Merovingian dynasty. Columbanus, whose scepticism of the moral authority of the Gallic bishops is evident from his letters, had been wary of the bishops and strove to maintain the independence of his monastic communities. In the Vita Vedastis, Jonas presents an image of the ideal saintly bishop that was perhaps intended for the new breed of ascetic-bishops, many of whom had been trained at Luxeuil. The bishops, some of whom Jonas names, were now, in contrast to Columbanus's time, the key patrons in the expansion of Columbanian monasticism and the Vita Vedastis, commissioned by one of these, could be seen as a model for these new patrons. The image that Jonas presents of Vedastus is of a holy bishop with strong connections to the court, but who has nothing to do with monastic affairs. It is no coincidence that some of the miracles worked by John and Vedastus were similar to those worked by Columbanus. These two ancient saints were thus given a Columbanian imprint and the older monastic and episcopal traditions of Merovingian Gaul were rewritten for Columbanian communities.

While Jonas's two occasional saints' Lives were produced to bestow on ancient foundations a new institutional identity, Jonas's task in the Vita Columbani was much more complex. Jonas could not pass over the recent crises within the familia, although he could repress some, less acceptable, aspects of Columbanus's career. The image he presents in his hagiographical-history is one of seamless continuity since the days of Columbanus. Undoubtedly, one of Jonas's aims was to give the geographically distant communities and their patrons a shared Columbanian identity. But perhaps more important than this was the apologetic aim of the Vita Columbani, namely to rehabilitate

the saintly reputation of Columbanus and his monastic practices. This was necessary following the Agrestius affair of 626/27 when the rebel monk had publicly slandered the saint at the Synod of Mâcon. Not only did Agrestius accuse Columbanus of heresy, but also the saint's instituta or monastic practices. As we have discussed in Chapter 2, Eustasius successfully defended these accusations at the Synod but not without some concessions that saw Columbanian monastic practices modified with the introduction of the Regula Benedicti and the community's conformance over Easter. It was only once these reforms had been adopted that the expansion of Columbanian monasticism in Merovingian Gaul really began. The Bobbio community (who commissioned the Vita) were outside this expansionary movement, although it is possible that they too had modified the severity of the original Rule. We can imagine that in ethos it may have been more conservative in its practices than the Frankish communities. Having the relics of the saint, the Bobbio community may have felt more keenly the necessity to preserve the memory of Columbanus and to defend his saintly reputation. This traditionalism may also have stemmed from the Insular contingent that followed Columbanus after their expulsion from Luxeuil and under Athala, who probably left Luxeuil to follow Columbanus after doctrinal differences. As Athala's minister, we may wonder if Jonas also followed the conservative stance of Athala as opposed to the reformed Frankish communities. Although Jonas is never explicit about such matters, we could read the Vita Columbani as a defence of Columbanus's sanctity and as a critique of the crises of disobedience that characterised the period following the saint's death. Albrecht Diem, for example, has noted that Columbanus is called vir Dei ninety-five times (more than any

other early-medieval saint) and that the only one lauded as such in Book II is Athala, whom Jonas considered Columbanus's true abbatial successor.[11]

The apologetic motivation behind the writing of the Vita Columbani is elsewhere suggested, although never explicitly. This is most apparent in Jonas's letter to the abbots. He tells Waldebert and Bobolenus that he has included 'those things which I have found to have taken place according to reliable authority and which I have considered are being forgotten out of negligence'[12] and that 'these things should be weighed in your scales so that, approved by you with wise examination, they may drive uncertainty from others'.[13] The impression here is that there were still lingering doubts over Columbanus's saintly reputation and that his achievements were in danger of being forgotten.[14] Jonas, in alluding to Columbanus's monastic practices as 'those institutes of the master which ought to be preserved' may also suggest that he felt the core ethos of Columbanus was being lost. His later reference to Columbanus's writing of the Rule under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit may have sought to underline the sanctity of the original monastic practices.[15]

In constructing a rehabilitated image of Columbanus and in presenting a novel hagiographical-history of the Columbanian familia in the period following the saint's

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[11] 'Monks, Kings', p. 550 and n. 166. Diem also notes that Athala is the only figure in Book II who performs a significant number of miracles, many of which are similar to those performed by Columbanus.
[12] Inseruimus ergo illa quae veris assertionibus experti sumus fuisse patrata et praetermittere neglegentiae deputavimus: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 147 (Wood, p. 118).
[13] Ea ergo vestro libramine pensanda censemus, ut a vobis sagaci examinatione probata, a ceteris ambiguitatem pellant: Ibid. p. 148 (Wood, p. 118).
[14] Jonas reiterates a similar sentiment at the beginning of his account of Abbot Bertulf where he mentions how 'we are overcome by the silent sleep of negligence': VC II. 23, p. 280.
[15] ipse vicissim omnibus intererat regulamque, quam tenerent, Spiritu sancto repletus condedit, in quam, qualis et quantae disciplinae vir sanctus fuerit, prudens lector vel auditor agnoscit: VC I. 10, p. 170.

death, Jonas was naturally apprehensive as to how his work would be received. Maybe those who were initially in favour of the work would be critical on reading it. He refers to an unspecified group of readers who 'should not be appalled by my lack of skill in composing and having been appreciative in their applause at the first appearance of the work, soon strive to withdraw their hands, stained with blood by the hardship of the path.'[16] This and the final paragraph of the letter in which Jonas hopes that, with the imprimatur of the abbots, the Vita will drive 'uncertainty' (ambiguitatem) from others are key to understanding the underlying apologetic motivation behind Jonas's writing. Clare Stancliffe has likewise commented on the significance of these passages:

> the most interesting passage is that where Jonas asks abbots Waldebert and Bobolenus to vet his work, so that his account can be 'approved' by them, and 'drive out uncertainty from everyone else'. When set against the long history of opposition to Columbanus and his monasticism, …, the full import of this sentence begins to emerge. It looks as though Jonas has taken on the task of producing an 'official' version of the story of Columbanus and the monastic movement that he founded, and that he here seeks the approval of the current abbots of Luxeuil and Bobbio for his selective and skilfully slanted account. Other versions of the story (which might, for instance, have cast Agrestius as a figure with some points in his favour) are to be displaced. The reference to Jonas's version driving out uncertainty from ceteris perhaps implies that the ructions of past disputes were still reverberating. Jonas has thus tried to retell the story in a way

[16] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 146.

> that brings together, into a common enterprise, both Columbanus, and many of those who had originally opposed him.'[17]

In these tantalizing passages, we get an intimation of the central objective of Jonas's mission.

By focusing on three communites in the period following Columbanus's death in Book II, Jonas could illustrate the fates of those who remained faithful to or transgressed the saint's teachings. The structure and function of Book II is thus a central component of Jonas's overall aim in the Vita Columbani and it should be emphasised that the concept behind Book II was unique.[18] Due to the unusual structure of Book II and the complexities of the manuscript evidence, however, the structure of the work has been queried. A number of scholars have argued that because no manuscript contains all the sections in the order that Krusch edited the Vita, Jonas may have intended Book II as different sections written for their respective communities.[19] According to this interpretation, the Faremoutiers chapters were written for Faremoutiers, the Bobbio chapters for Bobbio, and the Luxeuil chapters for Luxeuil. The entire unity of the text is thus brought into question because of the complexity of the manuscript evidence. Yet such arguments cannot stand up under scrutiny. It is first of all clear from the text itself that Jonas conceived of the Vita as a whole in two volumes and that it was to be read as

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[17] 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', p. 218.
[18] Diem notes the unique structure of the Vita Columbani in comparison to other early medieval saints' Lives also in two parts. 'Monks, Kings', p. 549, n. 160.
[19] See, e.g., C. Rohr, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle: Ereignisgeschichte und Wunderberichte in der Vita Columbani des Ionas von Bobbio', MIÖG 103 (1995), pp. 229-64, at pp. 243-44; Biographie, pp. 37-8; and Tosi's comments to his edition of the Metz manuscript: Jonas, Vita Columbani et discipulorumque eius, ed. M. Tosi (Piacenza, 1965), pp. xxvi-vii. Krusch's reconstruction of the text is supported by C. Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', pp. 192-201.

such. Jonas specifically states 'I have divided the material into two volumes to remove the excess of putting all in one volume for the readers: the first sets out the deeds of the blessed Columba, and the second has recorded the life of his disciples Athala, Eustasius, and others whom I have remembered.'[20] There are also cross-references within the text that make it clear Jonas conceived of both parts as one unit. In relating Columbanus's reception at the villa of Chagneric and the blessing of his daughter, Burgundofara, Jonas notes that he will narrate more things about Burgundofara later in the work.[21] He also mentions the establishment of Faremoutiers in the Eustasian section of Book II. Jonas refers here to the miracles that took place in this monastery and that he will relate these if he should live long enough.[22] The term Jonas uses here is si vita comes fuerit and this has caused some confusion. Tosi thought it unusual that Jonas should write this if he were only to deal with Faremoutiers four chapters later and, as such, it supported his argument that the Faremoutiers chapters were not part of Jonas's original work (the Metz manuscript lacks these chapters).[23] This hypothesis has been dismissed by Stancliffe who has seen the expression as being, 'commonplace for Jonas, reared on Columbanus's teaching that a monk should live as though he died daily; and I regard it as more justifiable to stand this argument on its head, and point out that already, in the Eustasian section, Jonas was planning to include material on the Faremoutiers miracles.'[24] The expression, however, has nothing to do with any fears Jonas might have had about dying

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[20] Quae sunt ergo posita duobus libellis intercisi, ut uno volumine legentibus fastidium amputarem: primus beati Columbae gesta perstringit, secundus discipulorum eius Athalae, Eusthasi vel ceterorum quos meminimus vitam edisserit: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 147 (Wood, p. 118).
[21] Benedixit ergo vir Dei domum eius, filiamque illius nomen Burgundofara, quae infra infantiae annis erat, benedicens, Domino vovit, de quo postea in subsequentibus narrabimus: VC I. 26, p. 209 (referring to II. 11-22).
[22] VC II. 7, p. 243.
[23] Tosi, Vita Columbani, p. xxvii.
[24] 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', p. 198.

or about the monastic notion that a monk should live as though he died daily, but is rather an innocuous borrowing of a phrase frequently used by St Jerome in his works. This, one of Jonas's few explicit citations to a patristic source, shows how a simple phrase can mislead.

The textual threads concerning Burgundofara and her community are finally tied together when Jonas reminds the reader at the beginning of his section on Faremoutiers how he has previously made mention of Burgundofara's community.[25] There should be no doubt, therefore, that the Faremoutiers section was an integral part of the Vita Columbani and that Jonas conceived of both parts as a single work. Yet because Book II dealt with a number of different figures and communities it was easy for those copying the work to select those sections that most interested them, thus losing the unity of Book II. This is the natural suggestion for the complicated manuscript evidence in the absence of any manuscripts from the seventh and eighth centuries. We can, however, also demonstrate that the Vita was initially disseminated in two volumes because of citations to both parts of the Vita in other hagiographical works written in seventh-century Merovingian Gaul. The Passio Praeiecti, written in the Auvergne around 676, shows knowledge of both books of the Vita Columbani. In the prologue, for example, the hagiographer explicitly praises Jonas's work, 'In living memory too the eloquent Jonas produced his very splendid life of St Columbanus and his disciples Athalus, Eustasius, and Bertulf.'[26] This shows that by the end of the seventh century the Vita was being circulated in both its parts but that, as it makes no mention to the Faremoutiers section, it was already being

[25] Meminisse lectorem velim me superius fuisse pollicitum de coenubio supra memoratae Burgundofarae, quem Evoriacas vocant: VC II. 11, p. 257.
[26] PP, p. 225.

selectively copied. The Vita Sadalbergae, written c. 680, likewise shows evidence that both books were being disseminated together as the author has copied out verbatim whole passages from Books I and II.[27] Although these sources prove the unity of both parts of the Vita Columbani, it also reveals that very early on Jonas's text was being selectively copied. We could infer from this that Jonas's vision of the unity of the Columbanian familia was, by the end of the seventh century, an unrealised one. Perhaps we can also see it as symbolic of the fragmentation and decline of Columbanian monasticism following the death of Waldebert, abbot of Luxeuil, in 670.

The structure and function of Book II was, therefore, an integral part of Jonas's conception for the Vita and served his apologetic purpose. It allowed him to show to the present generation of Columbanians the effects of disobedience and the importance of maintaining Columbanus's ethos. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, Jonas may have felt more autonomous as he was probably the abbot of the double-community of Marchiennes at the time he was writing the Vita. This position may also have influenced his inclusion of the Faremoutiers chapters that would have served to edify the female community at Marchiennes. What does seem apparent is that the idea to write a second book was Jonas's own decision and not part of the original commission. It has been observed that, 'Jonas's decision to write a second book devoted to the doings of Columbanus's disciples cannot be set down either to Abbot Bertulf's original request, or to Jonas's adoption of any model; rather, it appears to be entirely his own, original choice.'[28] Jonas, therefore, displays an independence of thought and originality of

[27] VS, pp. 40-66.
[28] Stancliife, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', p. 201.

conception in his Vita Columbani, an originality that is also evident when we come to consider his sources.

SOURCES

Jonas used a range of both oral and written sources that reveal his breadth of knowledge and skill as a writer. His principal source for Columbanus came from those who had known the saint. At the beginning of his letter to the abbots he explains how he was asked to write the Life by the Bobbio community and how this was especially opportune as those who had not only heard but seen what Columbanus had accomplished were still alive to tell him their stories.[29] Throughout the Life he names some of his sources who provided him with information such as the abbots Athala, Eustasius, and Waldebert,[30] Chagnoald, bishop of Laon and Columbanus's quondam minister,[31] Burgundofara, his sister and abbess of Faremoutiers,[32] Burgundofaro, bishop of Meaux,[33] Gall, Columbanus's famous Irish disciple left behind in the valley of the Steinach in Switzerland,[34] and Theudegisilus, a monk of Luxeuil who showed Jonas the severed finger that Columbanus had healed.[35] These oral acounts provided the kernel around which the Vita Columbani was constructed while revealing that Jonas undertook a

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[29] praesertim cum hii qui eo fuerunt in tempore et poenes ipsum patrata viderunt quam plurimi poenes vos suprestis sint, qui nobis non audita sed visa narrent, vel quae etiam nos per venerabiles viros Athalam et Eusthasium didicimus: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 145.
[30] Ibid. and VC II. 21, p. 277.
[31] VC I. 17, p. 185.
[32] Presumably one of his sources as Jonas stayed at Faremoutiers during the time of the nun Gibitrudis's death: VC II. 12, p. 262.
[33] VC II. 21, p. 277.
[34] VC I. 11, p. 172. It is an interesting question as to how Jonas communicated with Gall as he notes that he was often told the story: Haec nobis supra dictus Gallus sepe narravit. Does this imply that Jonas travelled via Gall's hermitage in the Steinach or did they communicate by letter?
[35] VC I. 15, p. 177.

considerable amount of research in contacting important Columbanian figures geographically distant from one another. Moreover, Jonas's knowledge of Columbanus's Irish background must have come from one or more of the saint's Irish companions who had accompanied him from Bangor. Gall or possibly some of the surviving Irish monks who had settled at Bobbio with Columbanus were mostly likely Jonas's informants. This is born out by the orthogoraphy of Irish place and personal names used by Jonas such as Lagenorum terra, Sinilis,[36] Benechor, and Commogellus[37] which in their pre-syncope forms suggest native informants. The strange poem on Ireland which Jonas inserted at the beginning of the Vita was also certainly written by an Irishman, possibly by an Irish monk of Bobbio or even by Gall himself.[38] Jonas would not have inserted it if he did not think it important. Furthermore, we cannot state, as Ian Wood has done, that there are no Irish elements in the Vita.[39] Specifically Irish features are apparent, for instance, in Jonas's account of Columbanus's peregrinatio, in the saint's penchant for retreating to hermitages, in his refusal of commensality and fasting against King Theuderic, in the rigid demarcation of sacred space, and in the incessant ritual blessings. The oral sources and near-contemporary nature of the Vita Columbani are what makes it such an exceptional and imporatant work and which distinguish it from the Vita Vedastis and Vita Iohannis. Because Vedast and John were saints long since dead, Jonas had to rely more on written sources and, as we shall see, he turned to the historical works of Gregory of Tours to provide a context around which he could construct these Lives.

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[36] VC I. 3, p. 157.
[37] VC I. 4, p. 158.
[38] VC I. 2, pp. 152-3.
[39] 'Any search for specifically Irish elements in the work is inevitably doomed to failure.' Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', p. 72. Wood, however, here contradicts himself as in the previous year he stated, 'in the Vita Columbani there are strong Irish influences'. Wood, 'A prelude to Columbanus: the monastic achievement in the Burgundian territories', in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, pp. 3-32, at p. 3.

But Jonas was also writing in a genre that, by the mid-seventh century, was well established. The writing of hagiography had now existed for over three hundred years and Jonas was well aware that a canon of works existed. The triumvirate which would have such an influence on the writing of medieval hagiography, Athanasius's Vita Antonii, Sulpicius Severus's Vita S. Martini, and Gregory the Great's Dialogues, had already made their mark. In his preface Jonas specifically mentions a number of important monastic saints' Lives, Athanasius's Vita Antonii, Jerome's Vita Pauli and Vita Hilarionii, Sulpicius Severus's Dialogues on St Martin, as well as those of authoritative patristic figures, Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine by Venantius Fortunatus, Paulinus of Milan, and Possidius respectively.[40] Jonas was, therefore, well aware that he was writing within a hagiographical tradition. Yet these works had little influence on his writing of the Vita Columbani. Although the Vita Antonii and Sulpicius's Vita S. Martini, as authoritative works, may have provided Jonas with some inspiration as to how a vir Dei ought to be portrayed, the textual imprint was minimal. This has prompted one commentator to suggest that Jonas's citing of these works, rather than serving as models, was meant to place Columbanus in the tradition of the great monastic saints as well as emphasising that he was a figure of unassailable orthodoxy, hence Jonas's reference to the 'columns of the churches', Hilary, Ambrose and Augustine. Stancliffe has observed, 'The precedents which Jonas invokes in this prefatory chapter are thus precedents for Columbanus's significance as an ecclesiastical figure, as Jonas sees it, not precedents for the type of saint's Life which he proposes to write.'[41] Yet there are also instances where

[40] VC I. 1, pp. 151-2.
[41] 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', p. 200.

we can detect some evidence of intertextuality. As an appendix to his French translation of the Vita Columbani, Dom Adalbert de Vogüé has provided a comprehensive list of sources, although it should be noted that not all of these were known or used by Jonas.[42]

De Vogüé has also shown Jonas's knowledge of Gregory the Great's Dialogues and especially the influence of Book IV on Jonas's accounts focusing on death and the afterlife in Book II of the Vita Columbani.[43] Although there are no explicit textual borrowings that show Jonas's dependence on Gregory, there are some literary similarities. Jonas's account of Theuderic's soldiers who come to Luxeuil to expel Columbanus but who could not see the invisable saint although they brush against him, and of the fox who dies for its disobience to a Bobbio monk both recall similar episodes in the Dialogues.[44] Likewise, there are similarities in Jonas's accounts of the miraculous deathbed scenes of the Faremoutiers nuns such as the way Sisetrudis and Wilsinda addressed their supernatural visitors and the surprised reaction of the dying nuns to those around them who failed to register the otherworldly omens.[45] Although Jonas does not cite the Dialogues in his preface, this is not evidence that Jonas did not know the work. As de Vogüé has noted, Jonas likewise did not mention Sulpicius's Vita S. Martini, a work that he certainly knew and used (he alludes instead to Sulpicius's Dialogues on St

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[42] Vie de Saint Colomban, Appendix 2, pp. 258-66.

[43] 'La mort dans les monastères: Jonas de Bobbio et les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand', in Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont (1920-1986), Studia Ephemeridis 'Augustinianum' 27 (Rome, 1988), pp. 593-619. See also R. Vogeler, 'Jonas und die Dialogi Gregors des Grossen', in Biographie, pp. 43-8; A. O'Hara, 'Death and the Afterlife in Jonas of Bobbio's Vita Columbani', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds.), The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul, Studies in Church History 45 (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 64-73.

[44] VC I. 20, p. 194 resembles Dialogues I, 2, 4. Jonas, however, developed on Gregory's account as de Vogüé notes, 'Jonas dit en deux phrases ce que Grégoire dit en une. Il détaille: les pieds des soldats touchent ceux de Colomban, leurs vêtements frôlent les siens, tandis que le saint les regarde avec amusement. L'hagiographe colombanien semble se souvenir du sobre récit des Dialogues et le développer.' 'En lisant Jonas', p. 81. The incident of the disobedient fox in VC II. 25, p. 293 recalls Dialogues I, 9, 18.

[45] See A. de Vogüé, 'La mort dans les monastères', pp. 597-99 and 600-03.

Martin).[46] Jonas's dedicatory letter followed by a first chapter which is a preface is in fact similar to the Vita S. Martini,[47] while Columbanus's healing of a demoniac recalls Martin's healing of a leper, also at the gates of Paris, while the manner in which Columbanus exorcises the demon, by putting his hand into the man's mouth, is similar to another miracle worked by Martin.[48]

Jonas also relied on the seminal monastic saint's Life, Athanasius's Vita Antonii, which was disseminated in the West through the Latin translation of Evagrius. This seems to have had more of an influence on Jonas's writing of the Vita Iohannis than on the Vita Columbani, where its discernible influence was minimal. Albrecht Diem has noted how, although Antony may have served as the model of the vir Dei for Columbanus, Jonas made much more explicit use of motifs from the Vita Antonii in his Life for the monks of Réomé: 'John's life does not only generally follow the line of the monastic fathers but John is depicted similar to Anthony in so many respects that we can assume that Jonas wanted to present his readers as a new Anthony transposed into a Gallic setting.'[49] The age of twenty that Jonas gives as the age in which Columbanus undertook his peregrinatio and which, in the Vita Iohannis, John entered the religious life is surely modelled on that of the Vita Antonii whose hero was likewise twenty when he decided to lead a religious life. We know that Columbanus must have been in his forties when he left Ireland, so this is a nice example of the rhetoric of hagiographical precedent.

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[46] 'La mort dans les monastères', p. 615.
[47] Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus', p. 200.
[48] VC I. 25, p. 208 and Vita S. Martini 18, 3 and 17, 6-7. De Vogüé considers this episode to be the most explicit case of Jonas's use of Sulpicius, 'manifestement calqué sur deux passages de Sulpice Sévère.' Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 33, n. 81.
[49] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 23.

Similarly, the conversion of John and Antony both came about after hearing certain passages of the Gospel read out during Mass. There are a number of further similarites between John and Antony. Like Antony, John first settled near his home before retreating into the wilderness. Both sought ascetic training by visiting other more experienced ascetics (in John's case by going to the pre-eminent monastic community of his day, Lérins) and both settled at places that had to be cleansed of snakes. Both lived to remarkable old age, Antony dying when he was around 105 years old while John is said to have died when he was 120, the same age as Moses. Also both saints are notable, like Columbanus, for not working posthumous miracles. Most of their miracles were healing and visionary miracles.[50] However, Diem also highlights important differences between Jonas's and Athanasius's accounts. Notably, Jonas omits three key features of the Vita Antonii concerning Antony's epic fights with demons, his teachings on demonology, and his struggle against pagans and heretics. 'By omitting the theme of demon fights and temptations and reducing demons to easy targets and victims of the saint's exorcisms, Jonas followed a general trend in Merovingian hagiography. As impressive as Athanasius' Anthony may have been, Merovingians were not interested in saints who had to fight temptations.'[51] This difference in the representation of the supernatural is an important characteristic of Jonas's work and one that distinguishes it from earlier monastic and later Carolingian hagiography. This is certainly not the case in Irish and Anglo-Saxon hagiography from slightly later in the seventh and eighth centuries where

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[50] These features are noted by Diem, 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', pp. 24-5.
[51] Ibid. p. 25. See also A. Diem, 'Encounters between monks and demons in Latin Texts of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in K. E. Olsen et al. (eds.), Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Germanic and Latin Literature (Leuven, 2004), pp. 51-67; F. Graus, 'Hagiographie und dämonenglauben – zu ihren funktionen in der Merowingerzeit', in Santi e Demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI), Settimane 36 (2 vols., Spoleto, 1989), 1, pp. 93-120.

demons and angels are much more prominent and active participants.[52] Instead, in the Vita Columbani, as in the Vita patrum Iurensium, it is the Devil and his demons who are held responsible for stirring up monastic dissent. It is the Devil, generally referred to by Jonas as the antiquus anguis, who stirs up Agrestius to attack Columbanus's instituta, the Luxeuil monks to rebel under Athala, and some of the Faremoutiers nuns to flee their monastery. In the case of the latter the nuns are deceived by the Devil who is portrayed by Jonas as a clever trickster. Having successfully tempted some of the more inexperienced nuns to leave the community, the Devil, standing to the left (astitit ad levam), waits for them at night outside the enclosure where they intend to make their escape. However, as the night is dark and foggy the nuns become lost and the Devil 'by a trick simulated a light in the form of an oil lamp' (diabolus ac lumen in modum lucernae arte qua valuit assimulavit) by which ruse he led them not back into the world, but to the monastery.[53] Bizarrely, the Devil brings about their destruction in this way as on returning to the community the nuns refused to confess and soon died impenitent. Their deaths were attended by a group of demons in the guise of Ethiopians, a representation of the demonic also found in the Vita Antonii and in Rufinus's Historia monachorum. The episode essentially allowed Jonas to tell a moral tale about monastic dissent and the importance of confession. The Devil, although seen as a real entity and as the instigator of dissent, is nonetheless portrayed in a rather passive way. Unlike in the Vita Antonii where demons traumatize and assault Antony, here the Devil does not physically harm the nuns, but actually leads them back to the monastery. This is generally the case also in

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[52] See, e.g., J.-M. Picard, 'The marvellous in Irish and continental saints' Lives of the Merovingian period', in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, pp. 91-103; C. Stancliffe, 'The Miracle Stories in seventh-century Irish Saints' Lives', in J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (eds.), The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity (London, 1992), pp. 87-115.
[53] VC II. 19, p. 273.

Book I where in no instance do the Devil or demons tempt Columbanus, but rather the demons are the passive victims of his powers as an exorcist. In earlier monastic hagiography such as the Vita Antonii demons were much more active antagonists and constant companions of holy men in their desert hermitages. In the Vita Columbani and other Merovingian saints' Lives demons play a much more passive role and are seldom met within the monastic confines. Their expulsion from the possessed or from wild places in which monasteries are to be situated serves to demonstrate the power of a saint or of the sanctification of a particular place. As Diem has commented, it is the new monastic saint who 'chases the demons away and proves his sanctity by performing spectacular exorcisms, or by cleansing a space of demons and thus creating a locus sanctus.'[54] The change in the representation of the demonic can thus be seen as indicative of a more general change in monasticism: 'This profound change in discourse is rooted in a fundamental shift of the monastic concept. In contrast to the communities of desert monks in the eastern Mediterranean, Frankish monasteries were … not so much to give ascetic individuals an opportunity to gain perfection in an ascetic struggle, but to shape places of institutionalised sanctity where monks and nuns prayed for the earthly well-being and the eternal salvation of the founders and their families.'[55] The characteristically undemonic Vita Columbani as well as Jonas's other saints' Lives can be seen as part of this pheonomenon and is one important element of difference between Jonas and the Vita Antonii.

[54] Diem, 'Encounters between Monks and Demons', p. 66.
[55] Ibid. pp. 66-7.

The minor role played by demons in Jonas's hagiography is also true of other supernatural beings. Angels, for example, only appear once in the Vita Columbani and are conspicuosly absent in the Vita Vedastis and Vita Iohannis. Although many of the deaths that Jonas relates in Book II are accompanied by angelic singing, angels generally do not appear at the death-bed scene. Angels remain firmly in the celestial spheres where the souls of a select few do encounter them. Jonas reports that the soul of Gibitrudis was conducted to heaven by angels,[56] while the Bobbio monk Agibodus had a similar experience before he died in which his soul left his body and he saw 'eternal light prepared for itself and the sun shining with a sparkling gleam.'[57] An angel then told him that he would enter heaven that day and that he should say farewell to his brothers. These visions of angels only occur, therefore, in an otherwordly context. They are not present in a mundane sense. The only instance of this happening is when an angel appears to Columbanus and persuades him not to undertake missionary work to the Slavs but to go instead to Italy.[58] This bizarre scenario seems to have been a way for Jonas to justify Columbanus's decision not to preach to the Slavs while showing that his foundation of Bobbio was divinely ordained. The lack of prominence of the supernatural in Jonas's work could, in one sense, be seen as a 'realist' element in Jonas's writing.

Jonas's knowledge of the desert monks, so admired by Columbanus, is also apparent in his use of a number of St Jerome's saints' Lives, the Vita Hilarionis and the Vita Pauli, which he names in his preface. His reference in his letter to the abbots about how a literary work can in no way match the deeds it relates is a borrowing from a well-known

[56] See VC II. 12, p. 261.
[57] vidit aeternam lucem sibi paratam solemque rutilo fulgore micantem: VC II. 25, p. 291 (Wood, p. 129).
[58] VC I. 27, pp. 216-7.

phrase of Sallust's also used by Jerome at the beginning of his Vita Hilarionis. Jonas here is more probably drawing on Jerome than Sallust. [59] There is also some similarity in a few miracle accounts that may reflect Jonas's reading of Jerome's hagiography. The demon that announces Columbanus's arrival in Paris has a parallel in the Vita Hilarionis where a demon also announces the arrival of the saint.[60] Columbanus's miraculous changing course of the boat in which he is being sent into exile in order to visit the shrine of St Martin at Tours is analogous to an episode in the Vita Hilarionis, while Jonas's characterisation of the boat's course in the water 'as if by feathered flight' (pennigero ceu volatu) is an explicit borrowing from the Vita Pauli.[61] There is also evidence of knowledge of Jerome's letters and exegetical works, which is interesting in the light of Columbanus's great respect for the authority of Jerome. His phrase si vita comes fuerit, the interpretation of which has led to some confusion, is a common phrase used by Jerome in his letters and exegetical writings such as in his commentary on Isaiah. There were copies of Jerome's Epistulae and his In Isaiam in the early Bobbio library. A Bobbio manuscript now in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O 210 SUP, contains these works (CLA III. 358 and CLA III. 365). Likewise, his reference to the Persians and to the silver of Darius Medus in his poem at the end of Book I is borrowed from Jerome's Commentary on Daniel who makes a similar connection.[62] Jerome's influence is also reflected in Jonas's citations from the Bible that are, on the whole, taken from Jerome's translation, the Vulgate, even though this was not yet the sole authoritative translation at

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[59] Jonas has cum facta dictis non exsequentur: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 146. Sallust, Catilina 3 has primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt while Jerome, Vita Hilarionis 1, 1 has ut facta dictis exaequentur. See VC, p. 146, n. 3.
[60] See Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 154, n. 4.
[61] VC I. 22, p. 201 and n. 2.
[62] VC, Versus ad mensam canendi, p. 225. See Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 169, n. 5.

this time. Columbanus's biblical citations show a more diverse pattern. He drew on a number of different versions as his citations from the Vulgate account for 36% of his citations although it was, nonetheless, the individual source from which he drew the most.[63] The Bible was the source that influenced Jonas the most but, as I will deal with this in the final chapter, I shall not consider it here.

The only hagiographical source to which Jonas's specifically alludes apart from those in his preface to the Vita Columbani is that dealing with Desiderius, the early-seventh-century bishop of Vienne who, like Columbanus, was exiled for criticizing the sexual morals of King Theuderic II but who, unlike Columbanus, was martyred in 607. Remarkably, the hagiographical account of Desiderius's life and martyrdom was written by a Visigothic king of Toledo, Sisebut, between 613 and 621, and has been described as 'perhaps the most enigmatic work in all Visigothic literature'.[64] It would seem that the king wrote this as part of the damnatio memoriae of Theuderic and Brunhild and as an ideological vehicle to forge new and better relations with a united Merovingian kingdom under Chlothar II. It thus shares close similarities with the Vita Columbani, also intent on blackening the image of Theuderic and Brunhild and legitimizing the rule of Chlothar and, as such, shows how hagiographical works during this period were used as political propaganda. Like Jonas, Sisebut was also aiming at a 'plurality of publics'.[65] The downfall of Brunhild and her progeny was for Jonas and Sisebut the direct result of the shameful treatment they inflicted on the holy men, Columbanus and Desiderius. Both authors, by vilifying the previous regime, thus sought to win favour with the new one.

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[63] See Biblical Index of Walker, SCO, p. 220.
[64] Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii', pp. 93-130, at p. 93.
[65] Ibid. p. 101.

Jonas mentions the martyrdom of Desiderius as taking place during the period that Columbanus was in Bregenz, thus around 612. He notes: 'At this time Theuderic and Brunhild were acting crazily not only against Columbanus, but were also even against the most holy Desiderius bishop of the city of Vienne. First, having been condemned to exile, they strove to ruin him by many acts of injustice. Next they crowned him with glorious martyrdom. His deeds have been written down by which and by so great adversities he merited to have a glorious triumph with the Lord.'[66] It has generally been thought that Jonas here is referring to Sisebut's account that likewise dates the martyrdom around this time, as the death of Theuderic II in 613 is mentioned as having occurred as a consequence of this not long after the martyrdom. However, Ian Wood has queried whether Jonas actually drew on Sisebut's version. He suggests instead that Jonas relied on another version, a later Life dated by Bruno Krusch to the eighth century and written by an anonymous cleric of Vienne.[67] Wood comments:

> Ever since Krusch's edition of the Passiones Desiderii it has been assumed that the Vienne version is eighth-century and, therefore, that Jonas's brief reference is to an account of the martyrdom that must relate to that written by Sisebut. The key point in Krusch's case for a late date for the anonymous text was that it misdated the martyrdom to c. 610, whereas

[66] Eo itaque tempore Theudericus atque Brunichildis non solum adversum Columbanum insaniebant, verum etiam et contra sanctissimum Desiderium Viennensis urbis episcopum adversabantur. Quem primo exilio damnatum multis iniuriis adfligere nitebantur, ad postremum vero glorioso martyrio coronarunt; cuius gesta scripta habentur, quibus et quantis adversitatibus gloriosus apud Dominum meruit habere triumphos: VC 1. 27, p. 214.

[67] Vita altera Desiderii episcopi Viennensis, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), pp. 638-48.

> Fredegar provides a firm date of 607. Fredegar, however, does nothing of the sort; all he does is provide a date for Desiderius's return from exile. Moreover Jonas supports a late date of c. 610 for the martyrdom. There is no good reason for thinking that the Vienne Passio is a late text nor that Jonas saw Sisebut's account; more likely, therefore, the text that he claims to have seen was the former.[68]

He concludes that the Vienne Passio was Jonas's source. However, Wood is entirely mistaken concerning Fredegar. It is very clear that Fredegar dates Desiderius's martyrdom to 607.[69] Wood provides no evidence to suggest an earlier date for the Vienne Passio and there is no reason why Krusch's eighth-century dating should not be accepted. It is, therefore, more likely that Jonas did rely on Sisebut's Vita. This has interesting implications as Fontaine argues that this Vita was principally intended for the Merovingian royal court.[70] As such, Jonas may have had access to this source through court circles.

There are a number of other hagiographical sources where we can detect literary similarities with some of Jonas's miracle accounts. The appearance of a man with a cartload of provisions for the community at Annegray is similar to accounts in the Historia monachorum and the Vita Frontonii. There are verbal echoes of the Historia monachorum's repente ante fores … astare vident homines quosdam to Jonas's subito

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[68] 'The Vita Columbani', pp. 70-71.
[69] Fredegar IV. 32, p. 21.
[70] 'It inaugurated and suggested, in fact, a 'new deal' for relations between Visigothic Spain and the reunified Gaul, thanks to a tacit complicity between Sisebut and Clothar'. Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii', p. 125.

conspiciunt virum quendam … ante fores adstare.[71] Also the account in the same chapter of how provisions sent by a neighbouring abbot, Carontoc, miraculously arrive in Annegray has verbal similarities with an episode in the Vita Frontonii.[72] There are also some similarities with Gregory of Tours's hagiography. Albrecht Diem has argued that Jonas's account of Columbanus's dispute with Brunhild and Theuderic may have been modelled on Gregory's account of Bishop Nicetius of Trier in his Vita patrum who likewise excommunicates a Merovingian king for his immoral behaviour.[73] Diem has remarked that, 'Gregory of Tours's influence on Jonas has never been thoroughly investigated despite the fact that it sheds new light on the early reception of Gregory's work and gives us a deeper understanding of how Jonas both used and invented tradition. The Life of Nicetius, in particular, helped Jonas to place Columbanus's deeds and behaviour – especially his disrespect and claim of moral superiority towards rulers and his demand that the monastery be respected as a sacred space – in a line of well-accepted exempla from the past.'[74] The Life of Nicetius is the only other Merovingian hagiographical text that relates the excommunication of a king,[75] and as such could have provided Jonas with a model (although there are no verbal parallels). Furthermore, the miracle in which water was produced from the side of a rock by Columbanus's minister has a parallel in the Vita patrum as well. Gregory writes, Statim igitur ad huius orationes gutta lattices a caute prorumpens. Jonas has statim … orationibus Dominum deprecatur

[71] VC I. 7, p. 164, cf. Historia monachorum 7. Noted in de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 113, n. 1 and idem. 'En lisant Jonas', p. 73.
[72] VC I. 7, p. 165, cf. Vita Frontonii 7. See de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 115, n. 5 and idem. 'En lisant Jonas', p. 74.
[73] See 'Monks, Kings', pp. 538-42.
[74] 'Monks, Kings', p. 538.
[75] Ibid. p. 540.

… moxque latex producta.[76] Similarly, the unusual miracle where Columbanus placed four Insular monks at the corners of the harvest field which resulted in the rain falling outside the limits of the field but not within the harvest recalls a similar miracle in Gregory's Decem libri historiarum.[77]

These instances, which are not a conclusive account of the hagiographical sources used by Jonas, nevertheless give an impression of Jonas's wide knowledge of other hagiographical writings. The influence and the textual borrowings from these works, however, can be said to be minimal. His reference to authoritative saints' Lives in the preface was primarily intended to emphasize that his subject was as important and orthodox as the great monastic fathers and patristic authorities. None of these provided him with a real model. Jonas's work was significantly different and original.

Diem has also shown the original way in which Jonas used the work of John Cassian in his Vita Iohannis.[78] Next to Jerome, Cassian is the most important patristic author used by Jonas. Jonas cites explicitly from the Conferences (Conlationes) in his Vita Iohannis, while Cassian's other work, the Instituta, may have inspired Jonas's use of the term instituta for Columbanus's doctrine. Both works were represented in the early Bobbio library although in fragments.[79] In the Vita Iohannis, Jonas dealt with John's teaching in chapter 18 where he drew heavily on Cassian's Conlationes, a series of 24 interviews with famous desert fathers in which Cassian attempted to convey the spiritual wisdom of

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[76] VC I. 9, p. 168, cf. Vita patrum 11, 2. See de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 118, n. 5 and idem. 'En lisant Jonas', p. 75.
[77] VC I. 13, pp. 173-4, cf. Decem libri 4, 34. See de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 124, n. 3.
[78] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', pp. 39-45.
[79] See Zironi, Il monastero longobardo, p. 163. CLA I 41, IV **44, IV 455.

the desert fathers to the nascent monastic culture in Gaul. But woven into these stories was Cassian's own vision of how monks could strive to overcome sinfulness. In Cassian's view, the ascetic struggle for perfection and the contemplation of God was a constant one that could never be completely attained. Jonas's use of Cassian is interesting because, as Diem notes, 'In hagiographical texts John Cassian left incidental traces. Yet no Merovingian hagiographer used Cassian as intensely as Jonas of Bobbio did in the Vita Iohannis.'[80] Jonas adapted Cassian's thoughts to reflect his own views on the monastic life and so revealing the two men's different perceptions on how the monastic life ought to be lived. Jonas essentially used two ideas of Cassian relating to the inherent sinfulness of man and the techniques to overcome it.[81] The first concerned the sins of 'gluttony' (gula/ castrimagia), 'vainglory' (xenodoxia/ aelatio), and 'pride' (arrogantia/ superbia). John told his monks that such sins led to Adam's Fall and expulsion from Paradise.[82] This idea is taken from the fifth book of the Conferences.[83] Secondly, Jonas turns to the issue of how the monk can achieve saintly virtues. This section is closely based on a passage in Cassian and Diem compares the similar vocabulary in both works, showing Jonas's dependency.[84] This is where we can see Jonas parting from Cassian's philosophy. As already mentioned, for Cassian monastic perfection was an elusive goal that could never be fully attained. It was different for Jonas where such qualities as humility that had to be strived for by Cassian's monks were an inherent, given, quality of his saints. In this sense Jonas had a more idealistic vision of the monastic life than Cassian's. Yet, as Diem comments, 'Jonas's reading of Cassian was typical of early

[80] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 41.
[81] Ibid. p. 42.
[82] VIoh. 18, p. 340.
[83] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 43.
[84] Ibid. p. 44.

medieval reception of Cassian. While seeing him as a great monastic authority early medieval readers did not register the central thesis behind Cassian's writing, that of the constant and ultimately futile struggle of the ascetic to achieve spiritual perfection … By quoting him while avoiding him, Jonas dealt with Cassian just as most other early medieval monastic authors did.'[85]

While the patristic imprint on Jonas is largely confined to Jerome and Cassian it is surprising that Augustine's influence is hardly apparent. The only instance where a possible verbal echo may be detected is in the cries of the impenitent Faremoutiers nuns of 'tomorrow, tomorrow' (Cras, cras) that may have been drawn from Augustine's Ennarationes in Psalmos.[86] It is peculiar that the influence of Augustine is not greater as the early library at Bobbio contained many of his writings including his De Civitate Dei, De Doctrina Christiana, and his Ennarationes in Psalmos. But this is also apparent in Columbanus's own writings where the influence of Jerome and Cassian is much more prevalent than that of Augustine's.[87]

The allusion to a phrase of Sallust, already mentioned, although probably derived from Jerome, brings us to a very important feature of Jonas's writing and use of sources, his knowledge and allusions to classical literature. For a writer of this period, Jonas shows a remarkable knowledge of the classics. In this he is again comparable to his fellow Italian, Venantius Fortunatus, in the previous century who was more outré with his classical

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[85] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 45.
[86] VC II. 19, p. 274, cf. Ennarationes in Psalmos 102, 16. De Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 222, n. 11 and idem. 'En lisant Jonas', p. 100.
[87] See the 'Classical and Patristic Index' in Walker, SCO, p. 221, who lists only 2 instances of Columbanus's use of Augustine compared to 16 instances where he cites Cassian and 15 of Jerome.

knowledge. Jonas grew up in an ancient Roman town in Northern Italy and he was clearly imbued with a keen sense of the classical past. His classical knowledge must have been the product of a liberal school education in Susa. His use of a range of classical Roman authors such as Virgil, Ovid, Caesar, Pliny the Elder, and Livy provides important evidence for the reception of classical texts in the period prior to the Carolingian Renaissance. Richter has remarked how the Vita Columbani is 'an important and hitherto unappreciated source for the evaluation of essential elements of other sources transmitted independently and often not in the original.'[88] Jonas's explicit citation of Livy, for example, 'as Livy says, nothing is so sacred in religion and so enclosed in a protected place that sexual desire cannot enter' (ut Livius ait, nihil esse tam sanctum religione tamque custodia clausum, quo penetrari libido nequeat) is important because Jonas is citing from one of the lost books of Livy's Histories.[89] Livy is also used implicitly in Jonas's account of Bobbio where he mentions the famous Battle of the Trebbia where Hannibal defeated the Romans.[90] However, while mentioning Hannibal's loss of men and animals to the harsh winter conditions he fails to note that the Carthaginian general won the victory over the Romans. His failure to acknowledge the Roman defeat may, as Krusch has plausibly suggested, have been due to patriotic pride.[91] This, like Cassian, is another instance where we can detect Jonas tailoring his sources. We can also observe Jonas's patriotism and sense of identity in his use of 'Ausonia', the poetical name for Italy used by Virgil whom he even refers to as 'the poet of our Ausonia' (nobis Ausoniae

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[88] Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages, p. 51.
[89] VC I. 3, p. 156 and n. 1.
[90] VC I. 30, p. 221.
[91] sed notissimam Romanorum cladem Ionas silentio praeteriit amore patria, nisi fallor, ductus. Ibid. p. 221, n. 6.

iuxta poetam).[92] Perhaps Jonas's use of this archaic term for his country (he also uses it twice in his chapter on Abbot Bertulf)[93] reflects an unwillingness to acknowledge the contemporary divisions and conquest of Italy brought about by the Lombard invasion. He certainly shows no attachment to the Lombard polity. Unsurprisingly, Virgil is the classical author Jonas cites the most. His Illi poma palmarum magnopere peregrina dirigunt, … sunt mitia molles castaneae poma echoes Eclogues I, 80: sunt nobis mitia poma, | Castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis.[94] His poetical description of dawn, Erat enim mane, priusquam aurora funderet gratia lumina terris recalls Aeneid IV, 584, novo spargebat lumine terras.[95] Also his characteristic use of rerum reppertor as a synonym for God[96] recalls a similar phase used by Virgil, but for the pagan God Jupiter.[97] A similar case of Jonas borrowing pagan mythological terms for Christian entities is apparent in his reference to the Devil who incites Agrestius to attack Columbanus's reputation (fama) as a chelidrus, a snake given as the first of the malevolent reptiles in Georgics III, 415.[98] In addition to Virgil, Jonas also shows knowledge of Ovid's Metamorphoses, a work that was not well known before the Carolingian Renaissance,[99] possibly Caesar's Bellum Gallicum,[100] Pliny the Elder's Historia Naturalis,[101] and Varro's De lingua Latina.[102] It

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[92] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 148.
[93] VC II. 23, p. 281.
[94] VC, p. 148 and n. 3.
[95] VC II. 2, p. 233 and n. 4.
[96] See, e.g., VC II. 5, p. 236.
[97] See Aeneid XII, 829: hominum rerumque repertor. Noted by Krusch, p. 239. n. 1.
[98] VC II. 9, p. 246. Noted by de Vogüé, Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 193, n. 1.
[99] Haec genetrix, postquam sopor membra laxavit et caecas mundo surgens aurora pepulit tenebras: VC I. 2, p. 154. cf. Metamorphoses VII, 703: Lutea mane videt pulsis Aurora tenebris.
[100] Jonas's description of the site of Besançon is similar to that of Caesar's (Bellum Gallicum I, 38) although this could be from personal observation and not necessarily from reading Caesar: VC I. 20, p. 193 and n. 1.
[101] Illi dites balsami lacrimam ex Engaddi floresque aromatum ex Arabia: VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 148. Pliny mentions that balsam is a speciality of Judea and Engaddi was, after Jerusalem, the most fertile place for this: Historia Naturalis V, 17 and XII, 25. Also Jonas mentions a plant called saliunca (VC, p. 148) which is found in the Alps around the Saint-Bernard Pass (north of Susa) and which

should be noted that these classical allusions are confined to the Vita Columbani and are not found in Jonas's other works. Might this suggest that Jonas used such sources in his Vita Columbani to give an added style and pretension that he felt was not needed in his more conventional Vita Vedastis and Vita Iohannis? Whatever the reason, Jonas's use of such sources is all the more remarkable in a Christian culture where the profane literature of the classical past was increasingly dismissed as irrelevant and irreligious.

Jonas was also exceptional for his use of another source material often neglected by hagiographers. His use of Gregory of Tours's Decem libri historiarum, completed in 594, provides one of the earliest instances for the reception and use of Gregory's great work of history. It also shows us another instance of how Jonas used history. Although Jonas states in his letter to the abbots that he has been meticulous in including accurate information, he was not averse to changing historical facts. The Vita Columbani was a near-contemporary account that relied in large part on eyewitnesses who were still living so Jonas had to be particularly skilful in what he chose to write about or leave out. Jonas was less constricted in his two other works, but this lack of information meant that he resorted to Gregory of Tours for the historical background. As such the imprint of the Decem libri is more noticeable in these saints' Lives than in the Vita Columbani. At the opening of his Vita Vedastis, for example, Jonas copied passages from Gregory about how Clovis defeated the Alemanni. This was essentially about the beginnings of the

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is mentioned in the Historia Naturalis XXI, 43. This could also have been derived from personal knowledge.

[102] Jonas mentions a particular bird (alitem) which he notes the vulgus call a 'duck' from its' swimming: a nando anatem vulgo vocant. Varro has: Rana a sua dicta voce, anas a nando. Isidore of Seville in his Etymologies (XII, 7, 51) also gives a similar explanation so it is possible that Jonas relied on Isidore here, although there is no other indication that he knew the Etymologies.

Christianization of the Franks and was intended to contextualise Vedastus's role in this.[103] Likewise, in the Vita Iohannis Jonas turned to Gregory to provide a historical context for his subject. Although there is less direct textual borrowing from Gregory in the Vita Iohannis, Diem has shown how Jonas used a range of information from Gregory despite some historical inconsistencies. Some of the names can be traced back to one of Gregory's works. 'Jonas of Bobbio's Vita Iohannis cannot be used as a historically accurate report of events', concludes Diem, 'but rather as an example of applying available historical knowledge for giving a predominantly constructed narrative some historical background. The text, written more than two centuries after the events, can hardly be read as source on Lérins, and is probably not a very reliable source on the historical founder of Réomé, but it certainly shows how a seventh century hagiographer made use of the work of Gregory of Tours.'[104] Diem has also argued that Jonas may have based his account of Columbanus's dispute with Theuderic II and Brunhild on that of Gregory's account of Nicetius of Trier's with successive Merovingian kings where both conflicts are similar to one another in how they depict the moral superiority of holy men over rulers.[105] Also, Jonas's note at the beginning of his account of Columbanus's rift with Brunhild that Sigibert was killed at a villa at Vitry may echo Gregory's account of this in the Decem libri (V. 1). But Jonas's localisation of Vitry in the vicinity of Arras (apud Victuriacum villam publicam, quae in suburbano Atravitensis urbis sita est) is not mentioned by Gregory and is thus an independent addition by Jonas who, of course, knew

[103] VVed. 2, pp. 310-11.
[104] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 22.
[105] Diem, 'Monks, Kings', pp. 538-40.

the area well from his missionary work.[106] It is another example of the way Jonas, while being influenced by other writers, exerted his own independence on his sources.

Jonas's use of Gregory is, moreover, significant in the context of the earliest reception of the Decem libri and the political climate in Merovingian Gaul during the second half of the seventh century.[107] In the last four books of the Decem libri (Books VII – X) Gregory dealt with events following the death of Chilperic and here he seems to have anticipated the unification of the Frankish kingdoms under Childebert II. Childebert is seen in a leading role as Guntram's successor in contrast to Chlothar II, Chilperic's son, whose importance is minimized, Gregory even alluding to his illegitimacy.[108] However, after Gregory's death the political situation was completely reversed as Chlothar II became the sole ruler and Childebert's progeny were exterminated. There followed an active damnatio memoriae of Childebert and his sons by the new ruling regime. Gregory's work, unfavourable to the new regime, was also modified so as to conform to the changed political situation. Books VII – X, those unfavourable to the current regime, were left out in the copying of the work so that a six-book recension developed. Reimitz has seen the production and dissemination of Jonas's works as being linked to the rise of new aristocratic elites and 'precisely this social and political context around the middle and in the second half of the seventh century, which informed the work of the six-book-version. The manuscript transmission indicates that toward the end of the seventh

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[106] VC I. 18, p. 186.
[107] On the transmission of Gregory's Decem libri, see W. Goffart, 'From Historiae to Historia Francorum and back again: aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours', in T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni (eds.), Religion, Culture and Society in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of Richard E. Sullivan (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 55-76; H. Reimitz, 'Social networks and identities in Frankish historiography. New aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours' Historiae', in R. Corradini et al. (eds.), The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts (Leiden, 2003), pp. 229-68.
[108] See Reimitz, 'Social networks', p. 257.

century, interest in the reworked Gregory was particularly great in the new northern cultural and political centres of the realm.'[109] The three oldest manuscripts of the six-book recension were all produced in the northeastern regions, such as at Jouarre and at Corbie, both Columbanian foundations,[110] while Fredegar, a chronicler with strong Columbanian connections, also made use of the six-book version in his Chronicle. It is no surprise then that Jonas, an abbot of a northern monastic foundation since the 640s, knew of and used Gregory's Decem libri. Goffart and Reimitz, however, both of whom have studied the early transmission of the Decem libri, fail to mention Jonas's use of Gregory. Jonas's three saints' Lives are thus important sources for the early reception of the Decem libri and for the way in which Jonas, like his contemporaries, adapted Gregory's great historical work.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Jonas wrote an idiosyncratic Latin, yet one imbued with classical influences. His learning is apparent from his works, as is his compact and abstruse poetical prose. His quintessential style has been described as not one of variety, but of accumulation and verbosity in which the difference between poetry and prose has been removed and where poetical set phrases act as ornamental elements: 'Nicht Abwechslung, sondern Häufung, Verdichtung, ist das Stilideal des Jonas. Der Unterschied von Poesie und Prosa ist eingeebnet. Dichterische Formeln dienen als Schmuckelemente dieser merowingischen

[109] Ibid. p. 259.
[110] Ibid. p. 260.

Kunstprosa.' [111] Kunstprosa is a suitable description for his style. Dom Jarrot was another who was struck by the author's poetical style, writing that Jonas conceived of his work as 'une œuvre de poésie; il la veut riche et ornée de tout l'éclat du style poétique.'[112] Jonas's language has been analysed by philologists so it is not my intention here to add to their research,[113] but merely to summarise the main aspects of Jonas's writing. All agree on the significance of Jonas's work for his period and on the quality of the Latin, despite the use of some vulgarised words. Krusch partly attributed to Jonas in some way the renewal in the state of letters in Gaul from the middle of the seventh century.[114] Berschin viewed Jonas's effect as great, seeing him as a representative of the classical canon of biography whose work soon attained a classic status in its field: 'Jonas, der den repräsentativen Klassikerkanon der Biographie im VII. Jahrhundert schrieb, ist selbst bald ein Klassiker in seinem Genre geworden. Seine Wirkung ist groß.' [115] Similarly, Roques was prompted to declare, having studied Jonas's works, that the seventh century did not seem so completely dark and that in certain regions, particularly at Susa, a school persisted of a quite high level of culture ('d'un niveau de culture assez estimable.').[116]

Jonas's Latin, like Fortunatus's, was a product of Italy. As all languages are subject to change, the Latin that was used in Italy in the seventh century was (not surprisingly) quite removed from classical Latin. Dag Norberg attributed the changes in Latin that occurred

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[111] Biographie, p. 41.
[112] L. Jarrot, Jonas, Historien Ecclésiastique: Étude sur la Vie Monastique au VIIe Siècle (Dijon, 1897), p. 53.
[113] Jonas's language has been most fully discussed by Krusch in, Ionae Vitae, pp. 57-8, and idem. 'Zwei Heiligenleben des Jonas von Susa', MIÖG 14 (1893), pp. 385-448, at pp. 435-39; Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', pp. 7-52; Bengt Löfstedt, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio', Arctos 8 (1974), pp. 79-95; and Biographie, pp. 38-41.
[114] Krusch, Ionae Vitae, p. 58; idem. 'Zwei Heiligenleben', p. 427.
[115] Biographie, p. 41.
[116] Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', p. 52.

in Italy during the sixth and seventh centuries to external influences: a consequence of invasion and the political divisions within Italy. He detects three influences stemming from three separate groups. The political domination of Italy during this time by the Byzantines and the Lombards is reflected linguistically with a new penetration of Greek and Germanic words into the language, while he detects a cultural influence from Hiberno-Latin, a consequence of Columbanus's foundation at Bobbio.[117] Jonas is the principal example of the latter group and the influence of Hiberno-Latin can be most clearly seen in the poem about Ireland which he includes at the beginning of the Vita Columbani,[118] a poem that shares similarities with the obscure collection of poems known as the Hisperica famina, from which derives the name Hisperic Latin to describe the difficult Latin that was written in Ireland during the sixth and seventh centuries.[119] Jonas's Latin is seen as a good example of the linguistic changes that occurred during this time, a time when Latin began its slow change into the vernacular. These changes can be seen in the influence of the spoken language on the written, indicating that more rapid developments were taking place in the spoken language.[120] These are sometimes described as vulgarised words and are a common feature of the Latin of this period. New words and new meanings for old words develop. Jonas uses new words (neologisms) such as auliga (instead of aulicus) for 'courtier', barriditas 'arrogance', calmen 'piece of land', remiger (instead of remex) for 'rower', while superi means 'those who are still living', and not 'those in heaven', as was more usual. The latter he calls candidati, 'the white ones'. The influence of poetry on his prose is clearly marked, a feature associated

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[117] Ibid. pp. 488-9.
[118] VC I. 2, pp. 152-3.
[119] Norberg, 'Le Développement du Latin', p. 490.
[120] On these linguistic developments, see M. Banniard, Viva voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en Occident (Paris, 1992).

with later Merovingian hagiography in which the prefaces tended to be written in a more complex style than that of the main text. This were often written in a simple style of homeoleuton or rhymed prose that sought to impress the addressee with the author's learning, although this type of prose was more common during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[121]

The principal difficulty with studying Jonas's language is that the earliest surviving copies of his works were written long after the time when Jonas wrote.[122] The earliest manuscripts of the Vita Columbani, for example, were written two hundred years after Jonas by Carolingian scribes.[123] This is likewise the case for the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis, the earliest manuscripts of which date from the ninth and tenth centuries respectively.[124] It is generally the case with Merovingian saints' Lives that we owe their existence to their being copied during the Carolingian period. As such we do not know to what extent these scribes may have changed Jonas's Latin. This was, after all, the period in which the Carolingians sought to reform and standardize Latin usage, based on classical Latin. In general, however, Jonas's Latin, like other Merovingian hagiographers, departs from the strict grammatical rules of classical Latin.

In the area of phonetics there is often a change in vowels and consonants, for example 'i' replaces 'e', conquirere instead of conqueri and (vice versa), elegeret instead of eligeret.

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[121] See Fouracre, Late Merovingian France, p. 73.
[122] Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', p. 8.
[123] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 553 and Metz, Grand Séminaire, 1 both from the mid-ninth century.
[124] The earliest manuscript of the Vita Vedastis is Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, H. 55 (8th/ 9th cent.), while that of the Vita Iohannis is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11748 (10th cent.). On these, see Krusch, Ionae Vitae, pp. 297 and 323.

'S' often goes to 'ex', for example expectaculum, expoliator and (vice versa), spiravit for expiravit. 'M', 'n', and 's' are often dropped at the end of a word, suffragio for suffragium, Luxovio for Luxovium while 'f' can replace 'ph' as in falangas, and scafam.

In morphology gender changes are apparent, as in the decline of the neuter. The neuter nouns of the second declension become masculine and vice versa: natalem solum; solo quem. Feminine nouns can become masculine like, heremus ille; eodem heremo. Words like vir become indeclinable, while he confuses declensions like de frequentia celebrae lucis, instead of celebris. He constructs new deponents like peragrari, while deponent verbs often have a passive meaning and active verbs, a passive meaning. The ending –ent replaces –unt in the third person present plural of the third conjugation: aient, dicent, poscent. He uses declination variations for names in the first declension, like Domma, -ane and Leudeberta, -ane. The preposition often appears behind the reference word, like se contra and se inter. He highly favoured the use of the genitive, similar to St Jerome, and the frequent use of the ablative without prepositions, like the style of the Latin historians Sallust and Suetonius.[125] A characteristic of his word order is the anastrophe, the inversion of the usual order of words, for example ad monasterium … petiit and orientis petit ad ortum. Indirect speech becomes direct speech and vice versa. It has also been noted that the orthography of commotasti (for commutasti), which appears in the St Gallen manuscript, may be a characteristic of Irish-influenced Latin.[126] Jonas also liked using synonyms as in, pomorum parulorum … quae etiam bullugas uulgo appellant; tegumenta manuum, quos Galli wantos uocant; and uas … magnum, quem uulgo cupam

[125] See Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', pp. 18-19.
[126] Löfstedt, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas', p. 81.

uocant.[127] Here he gives the Latin name of the object and its popular or 'vulgarised' form. In the case of bulluca, which means 'prune', the word is attested primarily from the north of the Loire and from eastern Francia, the area in which Columbanus and Jonas himself were active.[128] A cuba seems to refer to a vat (uas magnum), which in the case mentioned by Jonas, was capable of holding almost one hundred and seventy five litres of beer. Roques suggests that this word would have originally been cuppa but that the double 'p' changed to 'b' through labial mutation. Jonas uses the word hostis generally to mean 'enemy', but on two occasions in the plural it means 'army', while the word jumentum, 'donkey', has often the meaning 'horse' in Jonas, as does uehiculum; uehicula quiete fouet.[129]

His choice of vocabulary is perhaps the easiest and clearest of his features to study. His favourite word is ovans 'rejoicing', while uber, ubertas 'fruitful, abundant' is another favoured word.[130] He loves to call heavenly light fulva lux, 'reddish yellow/ yellow light',[131] while he uses many names for God, similar to the classical and ancient Christian usage. God is thus rerum sator, reppertor rerum, iustus arbiter, iustus iudex, rerum creator, bonitatis ac munerum institutor, and largitor immensus. This set of terminology is found in all of Jonas's hagiography. In the Vita Vedastis, for example, we also find ovans,[132] aequus arbiter rerum sator aeternus,[133] rectus arbiter,[134] rerum auctorum,[135]

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[127] See Biographie, p. 40 and Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', p. 49.
[128] Roques, 'La langue de Jonas', p. 49.
[129] VC II. 5, p. 237.
[130] See Biographie, p. 40.
[131] VC I. 17, p. 184.
[132] VVed. 1, p. 309.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] VVed. 2, p. 310.

rerum sator,[136] while in the Vita Iohannis the word ovans occurs five times.[137] While Jonas made an effort to show a richness of language and an embellishment of speech, he did not have a problem with repeating words. As Berschin notes, 'Not variety, but accumulation and density (Verdichtung) of prose is the style ideal of Jonas.'[138]

There are also a number of stock phrases that may be characterized as distinctly Jonian and Columbanian, 'Merovingian hagiographic 'jargon'',[139] that, in some cases, can be used to trace the influence of the Vita Columbani on other works of hagiography. The term datur intellegi, 'so that it may be understood', is a good example. Jonas uses this as an introduction to the meaning of a story or of an event. This unusual Jonian term appears in the Vita Sadalbergae and the Passio Praejecti and in the later Vita Boniti.[140] Both the Vita Sadalbergae and the Passio Praejecti cite explicitly from the Vita Columbani, but the authors' use of datur intellegi further shows their literary dependency on Jonas. Another one of these terms is nec immerito which means 'not wrongly'. This appears in the Vita Columbani and in the Vita Audoini,[141] a text that otherwise does not show influence from the Vita Columbani, which is surprising as it was written within the same Columbanian milieu. Albrecht Diem has also commented on this set of terminology in the Vita Iohannis, terms that he argues 'appears partly exclusively, partly predominantly in texts related to Columbanian monasticism.'[142] Terms such as tenor regule, septa monasterii, and septa coenubii that appear in the Vita Columbani, the Vita Iohannis, later

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[136] Ibid. 10, p. 318.
[137] VIoh. 2, p. 330; 6, p. 332; 15, p. 338; 16, p. 339; 20, p. 343.
[138] Biographie, p. 41.
[139] Late Merovingian France, p. 70.
[140] Cited in Biographie, p. 47 and n. 112.
[141] Late Merovingian France, p. 70 and n. 163.
[142] 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', p. 27.

hagiographic texts, Columbanian Rules, and in a number of Merovingian monastic privileges, echo Columbanian attitudes towards living in a community under a Rule and the inviolability of the monastic space.[143] There are a number of other characteristic terms that, according to Diem, makes a text 'Columbanian'. These are: anxio corde/ cordis, ardor mentis, arrepto itinere, concito gradu, cultus religionis, damnum inferre, damnum negligentiae, evangelici praeconii, fessa membra, forma religionis, infra/ extra terminos monasterii, intempesta nox, mentem polluere, orationem pulsare, oratione lectioneque incumbere, pavimento prostratus, peccatorum maculates, peracta oratione, signo tacto, sines ecclesiae, somnium capere, sospitatem recipere, stimulo elationis, tumido cordis, vestigia magistri.[144] Although in some instances a few of these terms do appear in earlier works such as the Regula Magistri, Gregory of Tours's Liber in Gloria confessorum, Baudonivia's Vita Radegundis, in the majority of cases they were employed in Columbanian-influenced texts. Columbanus's Regula coenobialis, the Regula cuiusdam ad virgines, the Passio Praejecti, Audoin's Vita Eligii, Fredegar's Chronicle, the Vita Galli vetustissima, Walahfrid's Vita S. Galli, and the Vita Walarici all use this set of terminology.[145]

Another distinctive feature of Jonas's language, and the final aspect I wish to consider, is his use of Greek. Jonas appears to have had some knowledge of Greek that is reflected in a number of Grecisms he uses. In this he was similar to his biographical master, Columbanus, whose use of Grecisms has been seen as 'the most remarkable' feature of

[143] Ibid. p. 27 and n. 180-81.
[144] Cited by Diem, 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', pp. 27-8.
[145] Diem, 'Rule of an Iro-Egyptian', pp. 27-8, n. 183-207.

his Latinity.[146] In total, Columbanus uses 60 Grecisms in his writings, ranging from such words as anathematizatio, cathegita, and micrologus to Peristera, rheuma, and zelare.[147] Jonas uses fewer, about 25 in total. These are: absinthium, agapis, antidotum, antistes, baiola, cathenatos, cenodoxia, cyclus, dogma, eulogiae, gastrimargia, innexos, melos cytharae, microloga, orthodoxa fides, papa, pascha, phalanx, psalmigraphus, rheuma, sarcophagus, schisma, sophus, and synodus.[148] Almost half of these, 11, are Grecisms that also appear in Columbanus's writings. These are: antidotum, cendoxia, cyclus, dogma, eulogiae, microloga, orthodoxa fides, rheuma, schisma, sophus, and synodus. This shows some overlap in terminology and, in the use of the rare term mircologa in particular, dependency. Christine Mohrmann has commented that Jonas's Latin 'in many respects resembles that of Columban: not only does he imitate, particularly in the crucial passages of his work, the florid style of Columban, but he also follows him in his preference for Greek words (agapis, antidotum, cenodoxia, etc.), and for poetical words and unusual rhetorical expressions.'[149] There are a number of other similarities between Jonas and Columbanus that deserve attention. The obvious Grecisms one would expect to find in both of these monastic authors are abbas and monachus/ monachi, but both are conspicuous by the fact that both terms are used infrequently. In contrast to St Benedict, Columbanus normally employed the Latin term senior to denote 'abbot'. Abbas is used in the Regula coenobialis, but these passages are suspected of being later additions. Walker, however, notes that the term is found in an undoubtedly genuine passage in the Regula

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[146] G. S. M. Walker, 'On the Use of Greek Words in the Writings of St. Columbanus of Luxeuil', Archiuum Latinitas Medii Aeui (Bulletin Du Cange) 21 (1949/50), pp. 117–31, at p. 117.
[147] Walker provides a list in Ibid.
[148] This does not purport to be a conclusive list. See 'Index rerum et verborum' edited by Wilhelm Levison in Krusch's edition, pp. 355-66.
[149] 'The earliest Continental Irish Latin', Vigiliae Christianae 16 (1962), pp. 216-33, at p. 230.

monachorum.[150] Nevertheless, the more common phrase used by Columbanus was senior, and in this Jonas again follows Columbanus's usage. Columbanus never addressed himself as abbas and Jonas also does not use this term. Both styled themselves peccator. This is one of the reasons for considering the prologue to the Vita Iohannis, in which Jonas is styled abbas, as an interpolation.[151] Jonas addresses Waldebert and Bobulenus in the dedicatory letter as domines, patres, and praesules, not as abbots. Although the term monachus/ monachi does appear in Columbanus's writings, Jonas generally does not use it. Rather, Jonas uses a range of communal terms such as caterva, cohors, congregatio, consodales, plebes, perhaps intended to emphasise the important communal aspect of Columbanian monasticism.[152]

In a period in which there was a general ignorance of Greek, both Columbanus and Jonas were unique.[153] Gregory the Great, for example, although he had been papal legate to Constantinople, admitted to having little knowledge of Greek, although some Grecisms can be detected in his writings.[154] Columbanus's knowledge of Greek probably derived from his Irish monastic schooling and through cultural influence from British monastic teachers.[155] Walker has commented that, 'in the time of St Columbanus, there was in Ireland a wide interest in Greek studies, and an opportunity for acquiring a colloquial, if

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[150] 'On the use of Greek words', p. 118.
[151] See below, p. 122.
[152] On the terminology for communtiy used by Jonas, see 'En lisant Jonas', pp. 64-71.
[153] On the knowledge of Greek during this period, see W. Berschin, Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages (Washington D.C., 1988); M. Herren (ed.), The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages (London, 1988).
[154] See Riché, Education and Culture, p. 147, and Norberg, 'Le développement du Latin', p. 488.
[155] Walker, 'On the use of Greek words', p. 129. On Insular knowledge of Greek, see also D. Howlett, 'Hellenic learning in insular Latin: an essay on supported claims', Peritia 12 (1998), pp. 54-78.

not a literary, knowledge of that tongue.'[156] He has also seen some of the colloquial Greek expressions used by Columbanus, such as bubum and chilosus, as perhaps derived through contact with Graecophone exiles in Ireland.[157] Jonas's knowledge of Greek on the other hand probably stemmed from the Byzantine presence in Italy. We have noted that Susa had been under the control of the Byzantines until the late sixth century when it was ceded to the Franks and that a traditional school probably survived there. There may still have been some who knew Greek in the city in the early seventh century. Susa's importance as a nodal and commercial hub may have attracted Graecophone Syrian traders whose presence in other urban centres in Gaul is well attested. It was, however, above all, the Byzantine reconquest of the mid-sixth century that reintroduced Greek into the peninsula. Norberg notes how the spoken language, especially in central Italy, appropriated many Greek words during this period.[158] This influence can also be detected in texts and Jonas's works is one important example of this Greek influence.

AUDIENCE

The question of audience is a central one when considering for whom Jonas's works were intended and the reasons for his writing.[159] Although Jonas's hagiography would have been written mainly for religious communities, Merovingian saints' Lives are interesting for the fact that they were also intended for a wider public audience. This public and at times political function has been seen as a characteristic feature of Merovingian

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[156] Ibid. p. 130.
[157] Ibid. p. 131.
[158] 'Le développement du Latin', p. 488.
[159] The following is, in part, based on A. O'Hara, 'The Vita Columbani in Merovingian Gaul', EME 17 (2009), pp. 126-53.

hagiography. A consideration of Jonas's hagiography reveals that Jonas also aimed at reaching a wider readership. Paul Fouracre has commented that during this time the audience seems to have been one of listeners rather than readers, although the exact nature of this audience, whether it was secular or purely ecclesiastical, is more difficult to assess.[160] In contrast to some other works of Merovingian hagiography, such as the Vita Eligii, whose author states that he used a simple style so that the Life would be understood by the uneducated, Jonas's Latin and style is much more complex. Indeed, Krusch attributed Jonas with introducing a more florid Latin style of hagiographical writing into Merovingian Gaul.[161] This elaborate Latin perhaps suggests that Jonas's hagiography was intended more for an elite audience. The Vita Columbani was certainly aimed at the ecclesiastical and political elite of its day, while the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis probably also reached an audience that was not exclusively ecclesiastical, though one much more limited than the Vita Columbani.

The Vita Vedastis was most likely written at the bequest of Bishop Autbertus of Cambrai-Arras, a Luxeuil educated monk, for the cathedral at Arras and as such may have had a primarily liturgical function. As it is a short text, it may have been read to the cathedral congregation on the saint's feast day. On the basis of close textual similarities between the Vita Columbani and the Vita Vedastis, Krusch argued that the work was probably composed around the same time as the Vita Columbani.[162] One might speculate that it was commissioned around 640 and the possible translation of the saint's relics by

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[160] Late Merovingian France, p. 73.
[161] 'Die V. Vedastis ist nämlich nicht in der alten Merowingischen Schriftsprache, sondern in jenem gekünstelten Latein geschrieben, welches durch Jonas von Susa in Gallien eingeführt worden ist.' 'Zwei Heiligenleben', p. 435.
[162] 'Zwei Heiligenleben', p. 440.

Bishop Autbertus a hundred years after the saint's death (the Vita concludes with an account of how the body of the saint was first moved from the cell in which he died to the cathedral for burial and how the bed on which the bishop died was miraculously preserved from fire).[163] If, as seems likely, Krusch is correct in assigning a date of 640/41 for the work, this would support the argument that the Vita Columbani was written in the Elnone/ Arras area.

At the beginning of the Vita Vedastis, Jonas states that the objective of such works is delinquentium animus studeant provocare,[164] which is similar to his statement in the Vita Iohannis that simplicium animos hominibus profanis ad vitam provocemus aeternam,[165] indicative that his target audience was not exclusively ecclesiastical, but also included the laity. There is also evidence for an aural audience in the longer version of the Vita Vedastis which is represented in three manuscripts, including the earliest, Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, H. 55 from the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, where the audience of the work is referred to as one of both readers and listeners.[166] The Vita Iohannis, composed in 659 for the reformed Columbanian communtiy of Réomé in Burgundy at the bequest of Abbot Chunna, who like Autbertus, had been a Luxeuil trained monk, is also interesting for Jonas's statement mentioned above. Although in this case Jonas was writing for a small monastic community, he was clearly also envisaging a lay audience. It is interesting to note Réomé's proximity to the royal Merovingian villa at Epoisses, the place where, in the Vita Columbani, Columbanus

[163] VVed. 9, pp. 317-8.
[164] Ibid. 1, p. 309.
[165] VIoh. Preface, p. 326.
[166] VVed. 10, p. 319.

confronted King Theuderic II and refused commensality.[167] This might suggest that Jonas was bearing in mind the possibility of a local noble and royal audience. As in the Vita Columbani, there is a similar stress in the Vita Iohannis on the sacredness of monastic space and that lay access to it should be restricted.[168] However, both the Vita Vedastis and Vita Iohannis had a more restricted circulation than the Vita Columbani. This is clearly reflected in the manuscripts. The Vita Vedastis survives in about a dozen manuscripts, while the Vita Iohannis only survives in a couple of manuscripts.[169] Krusch notes only two manuscripts containing the Vita Iohannis, although I have discovered a new manuscript containing this work that was unknown to Krusch and to the Bollandists. This is a fifteenth-century manuscript: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. Lat. qu. 141, fols. 140v-144r. There are, in comparison, over 150 manuscripts containing the Vita Columbani. But beyond the fact of its popularity, it is the Vita Columbani that ultimately raises the more interesting questions about the audience of Jonas's hagiography.

Although to our knowledge no manuscript of the Vita Columbani survives from the seventh and eighth centuries we can, nevertheless, trace to some degree its influence and dissemination from a number of works which were written in Merovingian Gaul during this period. These are: the Chronicle of Fredegar compiled around 660[170]; the Vita

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[167] VC I. 19, p. 188.
[168] See VIoh. 9, pp. 334-5.
[169] For a list of these manuscripts, see Krusch's edition, Ionae Vitae, pp. XI-XII.
[170] Fredegar. On the complex issues relating to its authorship and the area(s) in which the author may have been active, see R. Collins, 'Fredegar', in Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West, vol. 4, no. 13 (Aldershot, 1996); W. Goffart, 'The Fredegar problem reconsidered', Speculum 38 (1963), pp. 206-41. Ian Wood considers the possible audience the work was intended for and its main themes in: 'Fredegar's fables', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds.), Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter (Vienna/Munich, 1994), pp. 359-66.

Germani abbatis Grandivallensis from c. 675[171]; the Passio Praeiecti episcopi et martyris Arverni from c. 676[172]; the Vita Sadalbergae abbatissae Laudunensis from c. 680[173]; and the Vita Wandregiseli abbatis Fontanellensis from c. 700.[174] Apart from one of these texts, Bobolenus's Vita Germani, the authors are unknown. All of the authors were contemporaries of the individuals they wrote about and many of them knew their subjects personally. The places or areas in which the texts were written can, for the most part, be established although this is considerably more problematic when it comes to the Chronicle.

These texts are important witnesses to the early dissemination of the Vita Columbani in Merovingian Gaul. Although one commentator has interpreted this evidence as indicating that the Vita Columbani was not widely disseminated, the opposite could also be said.[175] The use of the Vita Columbani in five texts that were written in different parts of Merovingian Gaul within sixty years of Jonas writing, and at a time when the production of historical and hagiographical works was not very great, seems to me to show a more rapid and wider dissemination of the text than has previously been acknowledged. This is unsurprising given the Columbanian network of monasteries that were scattered throughout the kingdom and the close royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical affinities enjoyed by the Columbanian familia.

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[171] VG, pp. 25-40.
[172] PP, pp. 212-48. There is an English translation and commentary on the work in Late Merovingian France, pp. 254-300.
[173] VS, pp. 40-66 and an English translation is provided in McNamara, pp. 176-94. On the dating of the Vita Sadalbergae, see now H. Hummer, 'Die Merowingische Herkunft der Vita Sadalbergae' Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 59 (2003), pp. 459-93.
[174] VW, pp. 1-24.
[175] Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', at p. 69; Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, pp. 247-8.

It has also been proposed that the Vita Columbani would have been mainly circulated within monastic circles.[176] This view can also be qualified as it fails to take into consideration the nature of the monastic milieu of which the Vita is a product. The network of affinities with secular and ecclesiastical people of power – characteristic of Columbanian monasticism – must be taken into account when considering the dissemination of the work. It is misleading to think that only monks and nuns would have been interested in reading the Vita. For example, the first extant text to use the Vita (and the one that borrows from it the most) is not a hagiographical text, but a work of history.

The compiler of the Chronicle of Fredegar was interested in the Vita for what it told him about the dramatic circumstances that led to Columbanus's expulsion from the Burgundian kingdom in 610; thus, its historical content. Ever on the look out for a good story, Fredegar appreciated the dramatic qualities of Jonas's account of the saint's rift with Queen Brunhild and her grandson, King Theuderic II (both d. 613), over issues relating to the king's sexual conduct and lay access to the inner confines of the monastic space. He inserted verbatim almost three chapters from Book I (chapters 18, 19, and 20) with the exception of a number of miracle accounts.[177] Fredegar was not interested in Columbanus's miraculous powers, only with the saint's strained relationships with his royal benefactors. Although he himself was very possibly an ecclesiastic who was a member of a Columbanian community or who had close connections to the Columbanians,[178] the subject of his Chronicle was resolutely secular: 'the deeds of kings

[176] Ibid.
[177] Fredegar I. 36, pp. 23-9.
[178] See Wood, 'Fredegar's fables', p. 360.

and the wars of peoples'.[179] A study of what we can tell about the compiler's political sympathies and from what we can deduce about the reasons for its composition suggests that it may have been produced for the aristocratic audience of the Pippinids.[180] The substantial use of the Vita in the Chronicle should therefore alert us to the danger of perceiving the Vita as a work that was only confined to a monastic audience. Indeed, the use of the work in what has been referred to as 'the supreme political tract of the 660s'[181] can be taken as an illustration of the strong political connections that were initiated by Columbanus and continued by his disciples. Kings, queens, bishops, and nobles are all prominent in the Vita Columbani and we should consider the possibility that they too might have been part of the early audience of the work.

The aristocratic and ecclesiastical affinities of Columbanian monasticism can furthermore be seen from the remaining hagiographical texts that display textual influence from the Vita Columbani. The Vita Germani, written by the priest Bobolenus for the community of Grandval, a monastery founded from Luxeuil in modern-day Switzerland, concerns Germanus, a Luxeuil monk who was given charge of the community by the abbot of Luxeuil, Waldebert, and was martyred when the local duke and his Alemannic mercenaries invaded the area. It was dedicated to Deiculus, Leodemundus, and Ingofridus, the abbots of Lure, Grandval, and Luxeuil respectively.[182] It has been suggested that Bobolenus wrote at Luxeuil rather than Grandval and that we cannot

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[179] Fredegar, prologue, pp. 2-3.
[180] Wood, 'Fredegar's fables', pp. 359-66.
[181] Ibid. p. 366.
[182] VG, prologue, p. 33. All three dedicatees are referred to as 'fathers' (patribus). Deiculus would appear to be Irish given his name, and according to his later tenth-century Vita he was considered to have been one of Columbanus's Irish monks: Vita S. Deicoli, in AASS, Jan. II, pp. 563-74.

identify him with the fourth abbot of Bobbio of the same name.[183] The author shows familiarity with both books of the Vita Columbani borrowing a number of words and phrases from Book I and from the beginning of Book II. The short opening prologue is taken almost verbatim from Jonas's dedicatory letter to the abbots of Luxeuil and Bobbio, even Jonas's grandiloquent salutation to the fathers, 'distinguished lords graced with the power of holy leadership and abounding in the authority of religion'.[184]

Another work written around the same time but in the Auvergne deals with Praejectus, bishop of Clermont, who was martyred in 676.[185] The Passio Praeiecti was written shortly after the bishop's death by an unknown author who possibly wrote in the monastery of Volvic or the convent of Chamalières.[186] He or she displays knowledge of both books of the Vita Columbani while in the prologue the hagiographer explicitly praises Jonas's work: 'In living memory too the eloquent Jonas produced his very splendid life of St Columbanus and his disciples Athalus, Eustasius, and Bertulf.'[187] This is interesting evidence that already by c. 680 the Vita was being circulated in both its parts, Books I and II, but that it was being selectively copied.[188] The sections dealing with Athala, Eustasius, and Bertulf are found in Book II but the author makes no mention to the considerable section of 12 chapters also in Book II that concern the female community of Faremoutiers. As Jonas mentions elsewhere in the Vita that he will discuss this

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[183] See Krusch's comments in his edition of the VG, pp. 28-9; and Keller, 'Mönchtum und Adel', at p. 8.
[184] 'Dominis eximiis et sacris culminibus decoratis relegionisque copia fultis'. VG, prologue, p. 33.
[185] On this politicized work of hagiography, see P. Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', Past and Present 127 (1990), pp. 3-38, at pp. 21-6; and Late Merovingian France, pp. 254-70.
[186] Late Merovingian France, pp. 257-60.
[187] 'Ionas etiam nostre memorie tempus vir eloquens vitam beati Columbani et discipulorum eius Athale, Eustasi et Bertulfi luculentissime edidit.' PP, prologue, p. 225
[188] The structure of the Vita as reconstructed by Krusch in his edition has been queried by some scholars. See below, p. 142.

community and its abbess, Burgundofara, we know that this was an integral part of the original text.[189] From the evidence of the Passio Praejecti however and the manuscript transmission of the text it would appear that the Faremoutiers section was often left out. The Passio mentions Praejectus's activities as a monastic founder in and around Clermont including his foundation of the convent of Chamalières, which followed the mixed Rule of Benedict and Columbanus.[190]

Both the Vita Columbani and the Passio Praejecti influenced another saint's Life composed c. 680 by an anonymous author in the north of the kingdom, at Laon. The Vita Sadalbergae, concerning the pious Frankish aristocrat Sadalberga and monastic founder of two communities for women at Langres and Laon, shows considerable textual influence from the Vita Columbani.[191] This is perhaps not surprising as Jonas mentions Sadalberga and her family, the Gundoinids, in the Vita Columbani.[192] Jonas relates how Eustasius, Columbanus's successor at Luxeuil, healed Sadalberga of her blindness when he was visiting the country estate of her father, Gundoin, which was situated close to the river Meuse.[193] The Vita Sadalbergae, written shortly after the saint's death probably by a nun of St-Jean in Laon, was dedicated to Anstrude, Sadalberga's daughter and abbess of the community in Laon, and to Bishop Omotarius of Thérouanne.[194] The work seems to have been intended for both a monastic and a wider secular audience.[195] As the author

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[189] VC I. 26, p. 209; II. 7, p. 243.
[190] PP 15, p. 235.
[191] On this, see now Hummer, 'Die Merowingische Herkunft der Vita Sadalbergae' and Tatum, 'Hagiography, Family', pp. 73-109.
[192] VC II. 8, pp. 244-5.
[193] Ibid.
[194] VS, p. 49.
[195] See Tatum, 'Hagiography, Family', p. 75.

borrows a number of phrases from the Passio Praejecti,[196] composed only a few years previously in the Auvergne, the text shows the relative rapidity by which texts could be circulated within Merovingian Gaul. The text, again, shows evidence that both Books of the Vita Columbani were disseminated together as the author has copied out verbatim whole passages from Books I and II. The author had a good knowledge of the narrative outline of the Vita Columbani and, like the author of the Passio Praejecti, specifically mentions Jonas:

> But, though we have made mention of that great man Columbanus, it is unnecessary to weave his deeds into our work. For the most eloquent man Jonas, as he was burning the midnight oil, already showed how, amidst the tumults of the world in King Theuderic's reign, he suffered the sly treachery of nefarious enemies instigated by Queen Brunhild; how he was driven from his brethren by that reckless tyranny and went into Italy and built the monastery of Bobbio by permission and authority of Agilulf, king of the Lombards and gave a rule to the monks. Jonas published all that in the book of the life and miracles which proceeded from his pen.[197]

Clearly, not only was the Vita Columbani well known, but also its author who is lauded, as in the Passio Praejecti, 'eloquentissimus'. Even more noteworthy, however, is the

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[196] VS, pp. 49-50.

[197] Sed quoniam tanti viri Columbani fecimus mentionem, eius non est necessarium nostro operi texere gesta, cum sint ab eloquentissimo viro Iona elucubrate edita, quales etiam inter turbines saeculi et Theoderici Regis principatum, regina Brunechilde instigante, versutas nefandi hostis pertulerit insidias; quomodo etiam tyrannica temeritate a fratribus sit eiectus et Italiae fines ingressus, monasterium Bobiense ex permissu et auctoritate Agilulfi Langobardorum regis miro opere construxit regulamque condiderit monachorum, isdem praefatus Ionas in libro, quem de vita et miraculis eius edidit, suo stilo prosequitur: VS 2, p. 51 (McNamara, p. 180).

author's knowledge of Columbanus's letters, hitherto unnoticed by Columbanian scholars.[198] This is important evidence not only for the circulation of Columbanus's writings but also as indicative of a shared veneration for Columbanus that linked in terms of cult such distant monasteries as Luxeuil, Laon, and Bobbio.

The Vita Sadalbergae furthermore provides valuable information on an important interpolation to the Vita Columbani, namely the insertion of Childebert for that of Sigibert as the name of the king who provided Columbanus with the site of Annegray, the saint's first monastic foundation.[199] Columbanus's initial royal patron in Merovingian Gaul was more than likely King Childebert II (575-96), the son of Sigibert I and Brunhild,[200] yet Jonas appears to have deliberately obscured this fact. Jonas names Sigibert, Childebert's father, as the king who first provided protection and patronage to Columbanus, and in so doing has caused some confusion in the dating of Columbanus's peregrinatio to the Continent.[201] Yet, independent of Jonas, we can date Columbanus's arrival in the Vosges to around 591 from one of the saint's own letters.[202] The suppression of Childebert's role in the founding of the early Columbanian communities appears to be linked to the damnatio memoriae of Brunhild and her progeny which took place following 613 when a rival branch of the Merovingian family assumed the sole rulership of the Merovingian kingdoms.[203] The reason for Jonas's significant omission therefore lies in the political climate of the 640s in Merovingian Gaul. The author of the

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[198] VS 2, pp. 51-2.
[199] VC I. 6, pp. 162-3.
[200] See Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 195.
[201] See, e.g., O'Carroll, 'The chronology of saint Columbanus', pp. 76-95.
[202] Ep. II. 6, p. 17.
[203] Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 196.

Vita Sadalbergae, however, ascribes the foundation of Luxeuil to the joint efforts of Childebert and Columbanus: 'the monastery of Luxeuil in the wilderness of the Vosges which had been built through King Childebert's munificence with the greatest care and labour by a man of laudable fame and mighty sanctity, Columbanus, a pilgrim come out of Ireland.'[204] The interpolation of Childebert for Sigibert also occurs in the A 3 group of manuscripts of the Vita Columbani including one of the oldest extant manuscripts, Metz, Grand Séminaire, 1, a manuscript produced in the scriptorium of St Mihiel in the second half of the ninth century and unknown to Krusch in his standard edition.

The Vita Wandregiseli, written in the monastery of Fontanella/St Wandrille around the turn of the eighth century,[205] is the last of the early works to show textual influence from the Vita Columbani. It was written by a monk of Fontanella, a monastery situated in the extreme north of the kingdom near the English Channel, and concerns the monastery's founder, Wandregiselus, a Frankish aristocrat who had served at the court of King Dagobert I and, like many aristocrats during the period, had been attracted to the austerities of Columbanian monasticism. The author, who knew his subject personally and who wrote for the monastic community at Fontanella, describes the aristocrat's conversion to the ascetic way of life and, with the support of Bishop Dado of Rouen, his foundation of a monastic community at Fontanella on royal land. Although the Vita Wandregiseli displays less textual influence from Jonas's Vita than in the other works

[204] ex Luxovio monasterio in Vosago saltu sito, quem vir fama laudabilis et sanctitate pollens Columbanus peregrinus ex Hibernia adveniens, ex munificentia Childeberti regis summo studio et labore construxit: VS 1, p. 51 (McNamara, p. 180).
[205] On the authorship and dating of this work, see Krusch's comments to his edition: VW, p. 3.

mentioned, it is nevertheless an important witness to the dissemination of the Vita Columbani in the north of the kingdom.

Although the Bobbio community commissioned the Vita Columbani, it was clearly meant to be read by the wider Columbanian familia and this is reflected in the early texts where influence from the Vita Columbani can be detected. It is important to emphasize the extent of the monastic and political milieus in which Jonas and his abbatial/episcopal/monastic contemporaries operated and, accordingly, what this reveals about the potential audience of the Vita. The concerns of the work are naturally monastic, but this does not therefore imply that the audience was exclusively monastic. The Columbanian monastic network was extensive and closely bound up with aristocratic and royal circles: the patrons of the new monasticism included the Merovingian royal family, the leading bishops, and the Frankish nobility.

As bishops such as Burgundofaro, Chagnoald, and Dado were powerful benefactors with close personal connections to Columbanian communities, it is probable that they were part of the coterie of those who first read the Vita Columbani. Although Jonas was anxious not to praise people who were still living lest he might appear a sycophant, he was not reticent about name-dropping. He was particularly assiduous in noting important individuals who had been Columbanian monks before becoming bishops and/or as bishops had founded new monastic foundations. Donatus of Besançon, an aristocratic monk, bishop, and monastic founder was one such example. He further mentions the bishops Chagnoald of Laon, Acharius of Vermandois, Noyon, and Tournai, Ragnachar of

Augst and Basel, and Audomar of Boulogne and Thérouanne as having been trained under Abbot Eustasius of Luxeuil (d. 629)[206] although without mentioning that they were monastic founders.

Others who were not quondam-Luxeuil monks, but who supported or founded Columbanian communities, are also mentioned. Bishop Eligius of Noyon, a close friend of Dado's from the royal court, is singled out as the founder of Solignac in Aquitaine and of many other monasteries in the Limoges area (et alia multa hisdem locis coenubia) as well as a convent in Paris which, like Solignac, received royal support.[207] Eligius was a talented goldsmith from Limoges who had risen to become a diplomat and advisor at the courts of Chlothar II and Dagobert I. His founding of Solignac in 631/2 when he was still in royal service is an excellent example of the close interrelationship between the Merovingian court and the Columbanians. The monastery, on the site of a Gallo-Roman villa that had been donated by Dagobert to Eligius for his foundation, was subject only to the king, while its first abbot, Remaclus, was a monk from Luxeuil.[208] The new spirit of lay piety also affected Berthoara, a Frankish noblewoman, who built a convent (ex beati Columbani regulam) in the town of Bourges,[209] and Theudulfus, 'nicknamed Babelenus', who built four communities, two of which were convents, in the same diocese.[210] Such examples demonstrate that Jonas was concerned with recording the expansion of Columbanian communities and with their benefactors, all of whom he is careful to name. One aim of the Vita Columbani might thus have been to give far-flung communities such

[206] VC II. 8, p. 245.
[207] VC II. 10, p. 255.
[208] See Frühes Mönchtum, p. 133.
[209] VC II. 10, pp. 255-6.
[210] Ibid. p. 256.

as Fontanella/St Wandrille, Solignac, and those around Bourges, a sense of identity in common with the principal Columbanian foundations.

It would be inaccurate to assume that the Vita was merely aimed at a monastic audience; the pious aristocrats who often founded these new communities should equally be seen as potential readers. We are, however, essentially envisaging an audience from the same social group. During this period, saints' Lives, such as the Vita Columbani, not only circulated in monastic and ecclesiastical circles but also among the lay aristocracy.[211] This was the group from which the vast majority of the subjects of these saints' Lives had come and so it was natural that such texts would serve to heighten the religious and social prestige of these aristocratic families. The tendency of the Gallo-Roman and Frankish aristocracy to celebrate members of their own families who had become saints has been aptly characterised by Friedrich Prinz as a 'self-sanctification' (Selbstheiligung) of the nobility.[212] With the close connections that the Columbanian communities had to aristocratic families it is, therefore, likely that the Vita Columbani also circulated within this lay group. We see, for example, from the Vita Iohannis that Jonas was interested in reaching a larger audience. He was not just writing for those dedicated to the religious life but also for the 'simple minds of the laity' (tam mentis hominum caelesti desiderio innexas, quam etiam simplicium animos hominibus profanis ad vitam provocemus aeternam).[213]

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[211] See M. van Uytfanghe, 'L'hagiographie et son publique a l'époque mérovingienne', Studia Patristica 16 (1985), pp. 54-62, at p. 57. The increasingly aristocratic nature of hagiographical writing is especially highlighted by M. Heinzelmann, 'Neue Aspekte der Biographischen und Hagiographischen Literatur in der Lateinischen Welt (1.-6. Jahrhundert)', Francia 1 (1973), pp. 27-44.
[212] F. Prinz, 'Gesellschaftliche Aspekte frühmittelalterlicher Hagiographie', Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik 11 (1973), pp. 17-36.
[213] VIoh. Preface, p. 326.

This laity, of course, could also include non-aristocrats. Saints' Lives were an important medium through which the Church sought to instruct and evangelize all levels of secular society.[214] They were especially useful as sources of exempla for preachers instructing the lay community at Mass or for missionaries in their efforts at Christianization. As is apparent from the prefaces to many Merovingian saints' Lives, these texts were meant not only for the clerical elite but also to be heard by the common people.[215] This public function has been seen as an important aspect of Merovingian hagiography, while it has been argued that for the Carolingian period the audience becomes decidedly more monastic and ecclesiastical as Latin becomes less and less understood by the common people and increasingly the preserve of the educated elite.[216] Indicators that Merovingian hagiography was more geared towards a wider audience are seen, for example, from references to the plebs Christiana and in the Latin itself that is peppered with vulgar Latin terminology.

While it is thus possible that the audience of the Vita Columbani in Merovingian Gaul could have included the lower levels of society, it is more probable that it was circulated predominantly in the upper echelons of that society. This supposition is based on a number of factors. Firstly, there is no indication within the text (as in the Vita Iohannis) that it was in part intended for a more general public. Secondly, from the aristocratic affinities and patronage Jonas routinely draws our attention to – affinities that are

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[214] This public function of Merovingian hagiography is emphasized by van Uytfanghe, 'L'hagiographie et son publique', pp. 54-62.
[215] VIoh. Preface, p. 326.
[216] See K. Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?', Analecta Bollandiana 107 (1989), pp. 415-27.

reflected in the makeup of the Columbanian communities themselves – the Vita Columbani can be described as a text that was orientated towards an elite. It was a text written for the Columbanian communities and the extended elite social group linked to these communities through family and patronage. Finally, the possibilities of such a text reaching a wider public were more limited because of the strict restrictions that prevented access to these communities: Columbanian monasteries were, at least initially, largely off limits to the laity.[217] Bobbio, for example, does not seem to have been interested in developing a public cult to Columbanus which, among other things, would have attracted the laity to the monastery on the saint's feast day.[218] It was on such occasions that a reading from the Vita Columbani to the public would have been most opportune, but the abbots seem to have been more interested in maintaining the sacred space of the monastery intact from lay intrusion.

It is in the aristocratic monastery, household, cathedral, and royal court that we can more reasonably envisage the early audience of Jonas's magnum opus. These were the places that were the most closely interconnected with each other through a dense network of aristocratic affinities. The main hubs of this network were Luxeuil and the Neustrian court at Paris. The royal court in particular was important in its patronage of new Columbanian communities and as a centre in which those sympathetic to the ideals of Columbanianism had influence.

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[217] As seen, for example, in Columbanus' reaction to Theuderic's proposals that the inner areas of the monastery should be open access to all laity: VC I. 19, pp. 190-1. See further Rosenwein, Negotiating Space, pp. 61-73.
[218] Wood, 'The Vita Columbani', at pp. 67-8.

It was around this court that the monopoly of power in Merovingian Gaul focused from 613 when Chlothar II of Neustria had managed to annihilate his rivals and unite the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia to his own. Jonas, unsurprisingly, saw Chlothar's victory as the result of the divine punishment meted out to the Burgundian royal family because of their treatment of Columbanus.[219] He also highlights Columbanus's support of Chlothar's rule through the saint's prophecy that Chlothar would become king of his enemies' kingdoms.[220] This political background is important when considering whether the Vita Columbani may have had an audience at the Neustrian court of the 640s.

There is no doubt that the events of the early seventh century by which the Merovingian kingdoms became united under a sole ruler would have interested Chlothar's successors. They were also of interest to Jonas because of Columbanus's intimate entanglements with the key figures in these events: Brunhild, Theuderic, Theudebert, and Chlothar. The most dramatic parts of Book I are arguably those that show Columbanus in action with these powerful rulers. The descriptions of the saint's falling out with Brunhild over refusing to bless the illegitimate children of Theuderic, and of his head to head with the king at Luxeuil over lay access to sacred space are, for example, the epitome of Jonas's skill as a writer and are justly the most famous passages of the entire work.[221] It is these passages that constitute the first textual evidence of the Vita in Merovingian Gaul, when they were copied verbatim by the compiler of the Chronicle of Fredegar within twenty years of the completion of the Vita Columbani.

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[219] VC I. 29, p. 220.
[220] VC I. 24, pp. 207-8.
[221] VC I. 19, pp. 187-93.

As Ian Wood has commented, Jonas's defamation of those who had initially supported Columbanus – Brunhild and the Burgundian royal family – can be seen in the political context as part of the new regime's propaganda in demonizing its previous opponents.[222] This is most apparent from what seems to be Jonas's deliberate obfuscation of the role played by the sons and grandsons of Brunhild in their patronage of the early Columbanian community. Independently from Jonas, we can date the arrival of Columbanus in Burgundy to 590/1, thus during the reign of Childebert II (d. 596), the son of Brunhild and Sigibert I. The area in which Columbanus settled was a royal forest so it would seem that it was Childebert who granted the site of the old fort at Annegray to the saint. But Jonas mentions nothing about Childebert's involvement or about the fact that the Vosges was a royal forest. Instead, he names Childebert's father, Sigibert, who ruled from 561 to 575, as the king who conferred the site to Columbanus.[223] The only reasonable explanation for this was that Jonas wished to whitewash Childebert's and Theuderic's role in supporting Columbanus as part of the political policy that defamed the bloodline of Brunhild and Sigibert.[224] By moving the foundation of Annegray back in time to the reign of Sigibert I, Jonas neatly achieved this.

Sigibert (who was Chlothar's uncle) and not Childebert and his sons appear to have been more acceptable to the Neustrian regime. This is most evident, for example, from the Edict of Paris, promulgated by Chlothar in 614, in which the legislation of Sigibert was recognized but not that of Childebert.[225] This damnatio memoriae directed towards

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[222] Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, pp. 195-96.
[223] VC I. 6, pp. 162-3.
[224] Commented upon by Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 196.
[225] See Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, p. 196.

Sigibert's descendants seems to reflect a genuine hatred of Brunhild and her progeny. But this rewriting of history by Jonas gives us an important clue as to the audience of the work. I would argue from what we have discussed of Jonas's substitution of Sigibert for Childebert that this might be taken as evidence for the circulation of the Vita in court circles. It follows that if the work had only been intended for a monastic audience, it would not have been necessary for Jonas to repress the facts. Rather, Childebert's role had to be changed in order for the work to comply with the official court view as reflected in the Edict of Paris.

We should also be mindful that the Vita was composed shortly after the death of Dagobert I (d. 639) during an interregnum in the Merovingian kingdom when Aega, the Neustrian mayor of the palace, governed the kingdom on behalf of Dagobert's infant son, Clovis II.[226] What kind of an effect, if any, did this have on Jonas's writing? The period of the interregnum may have been an uncertain one for the Columbanians who had enjoyed considerable support under Chlothar II and Dagobert I. Now, they were faced with an infant king who was in the power of an aristocrat who, by all accounts, does not appear to have shared the same sympathies towards the Columbanians as had the previous kings. Perhaps it is merely a coincidence that when Aega's power dramatically increased after Dagobert's death, both Dado and Eligius left the royal court in order to pursue religious careers. They may have been competing for power at court with Aega and when the latter was given the charge of Clovis and the kingdom on Dagobert's death, his rivals may well have thought it safer to become clerics. When Aega died a few years later, Jonas noted that his death had been divine punishment for his acts of aggression

[226] See Fredegar IV. 79, p. 67.

towards the Faremoutiers community. Jonas notes that Aega had been hostile towards Faremoutiers, had violated its boundaries, and had oppressed the people living on its lands. Jonas attributes these acts of aggression to a need for 'vengeance' on the part of Aega.[227] As Dom Adalbert de Vogüé suggests, Aega's hostility may well have stemmed from a feud between the mayor and Burgundofara's family.[228]

Fredegar is more sympathetic in his account of Aega, although he mentions that he had one bad quality:

> He stood out among the other Neustrian magnates and excelled them all through his ability to act with decision and his instinct to consider before he acted. He was of noble birth and very wealthy. Moreover, he was careful to be just, was an able talker and was always ready with an answer; but generally he was blamed for a tendency to avarice."[229]

A greedy magnate with considerable power was rather a worrying prospect for a land-based monastic community who had been generously endowed by previous rulers. Perhaps Jonas's emphasis in the work on the inviolability of sacred space, seen for example in Columbanus's encounter with Theuderic at Luxeuil, and what happened to rulers who were enemies of Columbanus and his disciples, when seen in the contemporary political context, might have been intended to remind the current regime that they should be wary of infringing on the rights of the Columbanian communities.

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[227] Erat enim adversarius monasterii Ega nomine, vir in saeculo sublimis, cui Dagobertus moriens filium Chlodoveum cum regno commendaverat. His ergo adversabatur supradicto coenubio terminosque violabat omnemque familiam eius circummanentem quacumque potuerat occasione persequebatur. Sed non diu coeptae pertinaciae potitus est vota, nam mox post promissa ultione percussus interiit: VC I. 17, p. 269.
[228] Vie de Saint Colomban, p. 217, n. 5.
[229] Fredegar IV. 80, p. 68.

The Columbanian familia may also have been eager, by means of the Vita, to influence the young king, Clovis II, and to ensure that he would be as gracious to the community as his father and grandfather had been. If Aega had been hostile towards the communities or sought to confiscate some of their lands, then the Columbanians might have understandably felt threatened and concerned as to the negative influence such a man might have on his young charge. By emphasising the saint's role in Chlothar II's coming to power and, conversely, what had happened to those in power who had opposed Columbanus or who had not listened to his counsel, the Vita may have sought to influence the contemporary rulers of Merovingian Gaul.

5

SANCTITY AND COMMUNITY

JONAS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SANCTITY

Although Jonas was well versed in the hagiographic tradition of the desert fathers, his Vita Columbani marks a fundamental shift in the writing of hagiography in the West. This has been persuasively argued by Albrecht Diem in an important article in which he proposed that the Vita Columbani was instrumental in creating a new conceptualization of sanctity, one more focused on the monastic institution than on the holy man.[1] Although Jonas's Columbanus might be seen as 'the last late-antique holy man'[2] in the mould of St Antony and the other desert fathers, his principal legacy was in the establishment of a number of monastic communities. Diem notes:

> Most monastic founders described in hagiographic works written after the Vita Columbani follow the model of Columbanus's successors instead of sharing the quality of a vir Dei in the tradition reaching from Antony to Columbanus. The difference between Columbanus and Eustasius – or between the first and the second book of the Vita Columbani – marks a watershed in the conceptual development of monastic sanctity. The vir Dei

[1] 'Monks, Kings', pp. 521-59.
[2] Ibid. p. 557.

> modelled after the early monastic fathers died a silent death with Columbanus.[3]

Columbanus's own death at the end of Book I is perhaps the most unusual feature of the work as a whole and has occasioned a number of comments from historians. For Diem, it is proof that Jonas's main concern was with the communities established by the saint rather than with the saint himself.[4] For Ian Wood, 'Jonas's extraordinarily laconic entry on Columbanus's death' may have been intended not to attract a lay cult to Bobbio.[5] This may have been expedient for a community that was sensitive about protecting the sacred space of the monastery, a feature that may also explain the remakable lack of interest in relics in the Vita. This is in marked contrast to the world of Gregory of Tours or of the hagiographer of the Vita patrum Iurensium where relics were focii of religious devotion. This absence of relics seems to be a characteristic feature of Columbanian monasticism where the focus was more on active devotion centred on the collective intercessory power of the community.[6] For Jonas, Columbanus's relics provoked little interest. He notes that, 'His relics are being kept in this place, where they are strong in working miracles through the protector Christ'.[7] He does not go into any detail, however, about the posthumous miracles that occurred at the tomb, as one would expect. Perhaps this could be seen as an Irish feature, as Alan Thacker has noted that cults focusing on the grave of a saint are

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[3] Ibid. p. 553.
[4] 'Monks, Kings', p. 545.
[5] 'The Vita Columbani', pp. 67-8.
[6] Diem notes, however, that this changed within two generations of Columbanus's death with the monastic policy of Queen Balthild when relics began to play an increasing role in Columbanian monasticism: 'Monks, Kings', p. 558.
[7] Reliquiaeque eius eo habentur in loco conditae, ubi et virtutum decore pollent presole Christo: VC I. 30, p. 224.

very rare in Ireland,[8] while Richard Sharpe has commented on the fact that the tradition of compiling accounts of posthumous miracles was never adopted there either.[9] At this time, Columbanus's grave was probably not located in the church but, following Irish custom, in the monastic graveyard.[10] What was more important to Jonas was Columbanus's legacy as a monastic teacher and founder. Before mentioning the saint's relics, for example, Jonas directs the reader's attention to the saint's writings while in the poem following this chapter, Columbanus is lauded as being the father to cohorts of monks (monachorum cohortes | te clarum dicent patrem).[11] This insitutional aspect to Jonas's portrayal of Columbanus is a feature that runs throughout Book I where Jonas's principal concern is to show Columbanus as a great monastic founder and to illustrate the obedience due to this holy man and to his regula.

In contrast to some earlier monastic hagiography, Jonas gives atmospheric accounts of the sites chosen by Columbanus for his monastic foundations. We see in these accounts Jonas's acute sense of place and his topographical awareness, a feature common to all his works. For example, in writing about Eligius's foundation of Solignac near Limoges Jonas gives a very precise description of its location: iuxta Lemovicensem urbem monasterium nobile Sollemniacum nomine construxit super fluvium Vincennam, distantem a supradicta urbe milibus quattuor.[12] We see a similar attention to topographical detail in the Vita Vedastis. In describing Clovis's meeting with Vedastus

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[8] 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', in G. Bonner et al. (eds.), St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200 (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 103-22.
[9] Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford, 1991), p. 34.
[10] See Richter, Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages, p. 28. This was similarly the case with John of Réomé as reported by Jonas: see VIoh. 19, p. 342. John's remains were later translated into the abbatial church.
[11] VC, Versus ad mensam canendi, p. 224.
[12] VC II. 10, p. 255.

on the way to Toul and their travelling together, Jonas notes the place where Vedastus worked his first miracle: quadam diae venerunt in pago Vunginse ad locum qui dicitur Grandeponte, iuxta villa Riguliaco, super fluvium Axona.[13] Similarly, in the Vita Iohannis, Jonas gives a precise location of the place where John was born: Ortus venerandi cultus Iohannes infra terminos Ternoderensis castri, qui locus in suburbano Lingonice urbis situs est, villa que vocatur Quartaniacum super fluvium Bridenam.[14] This attention to topographical detail is also characteristic of Jonas's accounts of the sites chosen by Columbanus for his monastic foundations. For example, Jonas describes the site of Luxeuil in these terms:

> He found a fortress that had once been strongly ornamented with fortification, distant more or less eight miles from the already mentioned place, which ancient times called Luxovium. There were hot baths there built with great skill, there were a multitude of stone images crowded together in the nearby wood, which in former days were honoured by the wretched worship and profane rites of the pagans, who make offerings to them in detestable ceremonies. A multitude of wild animals and beasts, such as bears, wild oxes, and wolves haunted that place. Staying there the distinguished man began to build a monastery.[15]

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[13] VVed. 3, p. 311.
[14] VIoh. 1, pp. 328-9.
[15] invenitque castrum firmissimo olim fuisse munimine cultum, a supradicto loco distantem plus minus octo milibus, quem Luxovium prisca tempora nuncupabant. Ibi aquae calidae cultu eximio constructae habebantur; ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicina saltus densabant, quas cultu miserabili ritoque profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant, quibusque execrabiles ceremonias litabant; solae ibi ferae ac bestiae, ursorum, bubalorum, luporum multitudo frequentabant. Ibi residens vir egregius, monasterium construere coepit: VC I. 10, p. 169. cf. Jonas's description of Annegray: VC I. 6, p. 163.

This is an evocative description of how an ancient pagan place, the haunt of savage beasts, was civilized and changed by the arrival of a holy man.[16] The expulsion of wild or venomous animals such as bears and snakes was often symbolic of the driving out of evil and pagan forces. We see similar episodes in the Vita Vedastis where Vedastus expels a bear from the deserted city of Arras whose inhabitants had reverted to paganism and which had been inhabited by snakes and wild beasts,[17] and in the Vita Iohannis where John kills a snake on the site of the future monastery of Réomé.[18] Such features would become staple motifs of later hagiography.

It is in Jonas's description of Bobbio, however, that we have the best example of the way the author evoked a sense of place that became sacred upon the establishment of a monastic community. But Bobbio is different to all of Columbanus's other foundtions because it was a place already sanctified by miracles. Jonas gives an idyllic account of Bobbio,[19] a place that Columbanus had been led to by divine assistance.[20] The reconstruction of the ruined basilica was accompanied by miracles. All of this is in contrast to Jonas's other accounts of Columbanus's monasteries where no miracles take place in relation to their founding and which emphasizes the pre-eminence, in Jonas's mind, of Bobbio. This attention to the sites and founding of these communities reveal the

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[16] On monastic foundation narratives, see J. Kastner, Historiae fundationum monasterium: Frühformen monasticher Institutionsgeschichtschreibung im Mittelalter (Munich, 1978); D. von der Nahmer, 'Über Ideallandschaften und Klostergründungsorte', Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige 84 (1973), pp. 195-270; A. Sennis, 'Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries', in W. Davies et al. (eds.), People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 275-94.
[17] Quam cernens incultam ac neglegentiam civium paganorum praetermissam, veprium densitatem oppletam, stercorum ac bestiarum habitaculum pollutam: VVed. 6, p. 314.
[18] VIoh. 2, p. 330.
[19] Bobbio's fertility and goodness – loca ubertate fecunda, aquis inrigua, piscium copia – recalls that of Eden: VC I. 30, p. 221.
[20] An angel had shown Columbanus the way to Italy and his foundation of Bobbio was brought about Dei consultu: I. 27, p. 217; I. 30, pp. 220-21.

image of Columbanus Jonas was most eager to project, that of a monastic founder. What was of more importance to Jonas than the charismatic persona of the saint was the standing and power of the communities he founded. We see this in the attention he gives to the independent standing and privileges given to these communities. He details at length the mission of Bertulf to obtain a privilege of exemption for Bobbio from Pope Honorius I, while at the end of Book I Jonas notes the assistance given to Luxeuil by Chlothar II.[21]

But Jonas was also concerned that these communites should continue to honour the founding father and to maintain his monastic practices. From Columbanus's death at Bobbio, which closes Book I, Jonas continues in Book II to deal with Columbanus's successors as abbots of Bobbio and Luxeuil as well as with the female religious community of Faremoutiers. Book II allowed Jonas to show how Columbanus's successors and communities lived up to or disobeyed the saint's regula. This gesta abbatum-style narrative following the death of Columbanus was unusual for, as Diem notes, 'Most hagiographic works stress as this point the continuous presence of the saint in his relics and give accounts of postmortem miracles. … Instead, the second book focuses on the deeds of Columbanus's successors and heirs and shows how his regula (or: his transformed charisma) was preserved and defended despite the fact that he had left the stage.'[22] But Book II was also concerned with dissent and the attempts to undermine Columbanus's regula by those in the Frankish communities and, as such, Jonas wanted to

[21] VC II. 23, p. 283; I. 30, p. 223.
[22] 'Monks, Kings', p. 549.

show the punishments that were inflicted on those who had undermined Columbanus's monastic practices.

It is clear that Bobbio, not Luxeuil, was for Jonas the pre-eminent of Columbanus's foundations, the one that most faithfully preserved Columbanus's teachings.[23] More than half of Book II concerns Bobbio while it is clear that for Jonas it was Athala who was seen as Columbanus's true successor. He is the only one in Book II who is called vir Dei while also being the one who performs a significant number of miracles, many of which are similar to those worked by Columbanus.[24] Also, a number of Bobbio monks work miracles that take place at Bobbio. This is not the case at Luxeuil where Jonas does not mention any miracles taking place in Book II. Eustasius is the only Luxeuil figure who performs miracles, but all of these take place away from the monastery. We have mentioned the manner in which Jonas evoked Bobbio in idyllic terms while we can also point to the couple of times Jonas likens Columbanus's exiled community on their way to Bobbio to the Israelites on their journey to the Promised Land, a comparison that might consciously have been meant to evoke the elite nature of Columbanus's community at Bobbio.[25]

The shift from the charismatic holy man in Book I to the monastic communities in Book II that, as Diem has pointed out, signals a change in perception towards sanctity, can also be seen in Jonas's treatment of death and the afterlife. Apart from Columbanus's

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[23] I disagree here with Diem who argues for Luxeuil's pre-eminence: 'Monks, Kings', pp. 551-2.
[24] Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 550.
[25] VC I. 23, p. 206; I. 27, p. 215;

'spectacularly unspectacular death'[26] and Jonas's mention of the death of one of the Irish monks, also called Columbanus, Book I is devoid of miraculous otherworldly scenarios as are characteristic of the second part of the Vita. This is because Jonas used death and the afterlife in Book II as exempla that demonstrated to the Columbanian communities the necessity of living a strict monastic observance within an institutition. By giving accounts of the miraculous and malevolent deaths of past members of the Columbanian familia, Jonas emphasised the importance of obedience to the authority of the abbot/ abbess and the monastic observances. These accounts served an institutional purpose that can thus be seen as indicative of a transformation in sanctity.[27]

POLITICS AND POLEMIC

The demonization of the dowager queen, Brunhild, and her grandson, King Theuderic II, is one of the most distinctive features of the Vita Columbani and the episodes of conflict between the Austrasian royal family and the saint are the most dramatic in Jonas's hagiography.[28] The conflict was essentially about dynastic power politics and control of Columbanus's monastic foundations. Theuderic had, at first, been receptive to Columbanus's influence, often going to the saint to seek his prayers.[29] However, when Columbanus criticized the king for not having children with a wife instead of his concubines he provoked the enmity of Brunhild who feared for her own position at court.

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[26] Diem, 'Monks, Kings', pp. 548-9.
[27] On this institutional use of death and otherworldly accounts, see O'Hara, 'Death and the Afterlife in Jonas of Bobbio's Vita Columbani', pp. 64-73; M. L. Roper, 'Uniting the Community of the Living with the Dead: The Use of Other-World Visions in the Early Middle Ages', in D. Mowbray et al. (eds.), Authority and Community in the Middle Ages (Stroud, 1999), pp. 19-41.
[28] This dramatic conflict was retold in later hagiographic works and in Fredegar's chronicle. See Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 531, n. 58.
[29] VC I. 18, p. 187.

Jonas famously characterized her as a 'second Jezebel' and as being incited by the Devil.[30] When Columbanus visited the royal villa at Bruyères-le-Châtel, Brunhild presented the king's illegitimate children to the holy man for his blessing. Columbanus refused to bless the children 'because they have emerged from brothels' (quia de lupanaribus emerserunt) and predicted that they would never gain the throne.[31] His judgement was miraculously underlined when, as he left the court, a great noise shook the whole building. The incident provided Brunhild with the pretext to place an interdict on the neighbouring monasteries, prohibiting any monks from leaving the monastic confines or anyone from giving aid to the communities. This prompted Columbanus to go directly to the king who was then at the royal villa at Epoisses. The saint showed his anger by refusing to enter the villa and declining to eat the meal prepared (regio cultu) for him.[32] In this demonstration of protest in which Columbanus refused to enter the villa or accept the king's hospitality, the saint was following strict Irish custom in which, not unlike a modern hunger-strike, one fasted-against an opponent in the hope of winning a dispute (troscud).[33] Again, Columbanus's displeasure was accompanied by a miracle as the lavishly prepared food, wine, and cider, which had been set before him, shattered in front of the royal servants. This caused Theuderic and Brunhild to seek reconciliation. However, when Columbanus heard that the king had returned to the company of his concubines, he sent a letter threatening him with excommunication. Brunhild responded by turning Theuderic against Columbanus and getting the nobles and bishops to

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[30] Ibid.
[31] VC I. 19, p. 188.
[32] Ibid. pp. 188-9.
[33] On this practice, see F. Kelly, A Guide to Early Irish Law (Dublin, 1988), pp. 182-3.

undermine (macularet) the saint's religious practices and Rule.[34] Brunhild shifted the contest away from royal dynastic politics to the status and legitimacy of Columbanus's monasticism. The king went to Luxeuil where he confronted Columbanus. There were two main issues of contention: Columbanus's non-conformity to Frankish practices and access to monastic space. These were essentially problems of cultural conflict. Theuderic questioned why Columbanus differed from the customs of everyone else and why all Christians were not allowed entry into the 'inner confines' (septa secretiora) of the monastery.[35] These were issues relating to Columbanus's entrenched Irish customs which he was in no way willing to compromise. Columbanus warned that if the king tried to go against the regulations (regularis disciplinae) then he would refuse his patronage and warned, morevoer, that Theuderic's kingdom and family would be destroyed.[36] On hearing this, Theuderic, who had, at this point, stepped inside the refectory (one of the off-limit zones to the laity), was terrified and quickly retreated. The outcome of this confrontation which had shifted from being a moral and dynastic one to one over authority and access to sacred space was Theuderic's decision to banish Columbanus from Burgundy and deport him back to Ireland. Mayke de Jong has seen this dramatic conflict as one of rival places of power, between the sacred space of the monastery and the contaminated royal court.[37] Albrecht Diem has seen these episodes as being instructive of how rulers should respect the inviolability of monastic space.[38] This was a lesson that Theuderic finally learned as Jonas saw the destruction of Brunhild, Theuderic,

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[34] VC I. 19, pp. 189-90.
[35] VC I. 19, p. 190.
[36] Ibid.
[37] 'Monastic prisoners or opting out?', pp. 291-328, at pp. 307-12.
[38] 'Monks, Kings', pp. 531-38.

and the Austrasian royal line by Chlothar II as divine punishment for their mistreatment of Columbanus.

While demonizing the Austrasian royal family by their opposition to and expulsion of Columbanus, Jonas drew attention to Columbanus's support of Chlothar II to legitimize the new Neustrian regime. The events of 613 by which Chlothar annihilated his rivals and united the Merovingian kingdoms under his sole authority were represented by Jonas as the fulfillment of a prophecy made by Columbanus. When Theuderic banished Columbanus, the saint prophesied that within three years Chlothar would become the sole ruler.[39] In contrast to Brunhild and Theuderic, Chlothar is portrayed by Jonas as the good king whose rise to power is a consequence of the obedience he showed to Columbanus. When Chlothar received Columbanus at his court the saint was treated 'as though he were a heavenly gift' (velut calestem munus), and although the king wished him to stay within his territory he did not pressure him but gave him every assistance on his journey.[40] When conflict broke out between Theuderic and Theudebert, Chlothar was asked to take sides but he followed Columbanus's advice and remained neutral. Columbanus reiterated his prophecy that the king would conquer both of his rival kingdoms.[41] When Columbanus reached the court of Theudebert II he was again warmly received, 'as though he were enemy booty' (velut ex hostium preda)[42] and offered a place to settle within his territories, but Theudebert failed to heed the saint's advice to become a cleric, at which Columbanus prophesied that he would become one despite himself. Following

[39] VC I. 20, p. 198.
[40] VC I. 24, p. 207.
[41] VC I. 24, pp. 207-8.
[42] VC I. 27, p. 211.

Theudebert's defeat, his murder on Brunhild's order after his forced clericalization, Theuderic's death at Metz, and Chlothar's brutal execution of Brunhild and Theuderic's sons the following year, Jonas triumphantly concludes that Columbanus's prophecy had been fulfilled.[43] Columbanus is thus presented in the guise of an Old Testament prophet, berating and blessing kings. This representation of Columbanus and his prophetic powers are thus means by which Jonas legitimizes the rise to power of Chlothar II and the new Neustrian regime while at the same time emphasizing to the contemporary political elite the importance of protecting the Columbanian familia.[44]

In the damnatio memoriae of Brunhild and the legitimization of Chlothar II's regime by means of Columbanus's prophecy, we can detect a new more public and political element influencing hagiographical writing. Regime change led to the emergence of a new elite in Merovingian Gaul closely allied to the Columbanian familia and ideals. In the Vita Columbani we can see Jonas echo this change as his work is, in part, political propaganda. The damnatio memoriae of Brunhild and her progeny by Chlothar II in the Edict of Paris of 614 in which the legislation of Sigibert I, but not that of his sons was recognized is reflected in Jonas's recognition of Sigibert as responsible for Columbanus's foundation of Annegray. In reality, this was anachronistic as it was more likely his son, Childebert II, who was instrumental in its foundation, as he was with Luxeuil. Jonas minimized the role played by the Austrasian royal family in the patronage of the early Columbanian communities while highlighting Chlothar II's support of Columbanus.

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[43] VC I. 29, p. 220.
[44] See Diem, 'Monks, Kings', p. 537.

Jonas was astutely aware of the new political environment and his hagiography refects the emerging use of hagiographic texts in a more public sphere. Works like Sulpicius's Vita Martini or the Vita patrum Jurensium were written by ascetics for a small number of other ascetics. While the saints in these works did berate kings and prophecy, they were not political texts. With the likes of the Vita Columbani, Sisebut's Vita Desiderii, and the Vita Domnae Balthildis writers were now using hagiography as tools for political propaganda, indicative of the merging of monastic and political power structures during the course of the seventh century.

The close association between monasteries and the aristocracy that led to monasteries becoming aristocratic centres of power and identity is another distinctive feature of the seventh century and one that we can clearly see in the Vita Columbani.[45] It is in the hagiography of Jonas that one can detect for the first time the rise in power of the Frankish aristocracy. Friedrich Prinz has remarked how Jonas's saints' Lives reflect a new Frankish self-consciousness that arose from the new symbiosis between political and religious powers and which was substantially shaped by the aristocracy. Jonas's hagiography, according to Prinz, marks 'a new epoch' in this respect as the author was part of the monastic movement linked to aristocratic and court circles and knew

[45] On the Frankish aristocracy in general and their role in the monastic movement in particular during this period, see, e.g., R. Le Jan, Familie et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe-Xe siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale (Paris, 1995); K. F. Werner, 'Le rôle de l'aristocratie dans la Christianisation du Nord-Est de la Gaule', Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France 62 (1976), pp. 45-73; F. Irsigler, 'On the aristocratic character of early Frankish society', in T. Reuter (ed.), The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the ruling classes of France and Germany from the sixth to the twelfth century (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 105-36; Tatum, Hagiography, Family; Prinz, 'Columbanus, the Frankish nobility and the territories east of the Rhine', pp. 73-87.

personally many of the leading members in this group.[46] He has characterized this period as 'einer kultisch-religiösen Neuverankerung des Adels'.[47] The aristocracy occupy a noticeably more prominent role in Jonas's hagiography, much more so than in earlier works, and this attention to nobility and status becomes a pronounced feature of subsequent hagiography as the phenomenon of 'aristocratic sanctity' (Adelsheiligkeit) developed.

Jonas employs a range of terminology for the aristocracy. They are variously termed aulici, inlustres viri, optimates, nobiles, proceres, and sublimes. The nobles at the court of Sigibert I, for example, are called aulici,[48] while Vedastus attends a feast hosted by one of the nobles of Chlothar I, Hocinus, in the company of Chlothar's aulici.[49] Similarly, a noble who visited Vedastus in Rheims is termed aliqui ex inlustribus viris,[50] while before he became bishop of Noyon, Eligius was described by Jonas as an inluster vir.[51] By far the most common term, however, which Jonas uses is nobiles and its variants. The term is used in total twenty-three times. The wife of Waldelenus, duke of the Trans-Jura region, is characterized as genere et prudentia nobilem,[52] while Berthoara, founder of a

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[46] 'Jonas' Viten, so sehr sie formal von älteren Vorbildern abhängen mögen, zeigen zwar kein "fränkisches Bewußtsein" des Verfassers, was bei seiner italienischen Herkunft nicht verwundert, aber sie schildern uns damit nur um so glaubwürdiger die politisch-religiösen Kräfte, welche das fränkische Eigenbewußtsein trugen und entwickelten, vor allem die führende Rolle des gallorömischen wie auch des germanischen Adels in diesem Prozeß. Jonas' Lebensbeschreibungen eröffnen durch ihren Inhalt eine neue Epoche, die der Autor aus eigener Anschauung miterlebt hat und deren Hauptpersonen er kannte und darstellte': Frühes Mönchtum, p. 490.
[47] 'Heiligenkult und Adelsherrschaft im Spiegel Merowingischer Hagiographie', Historische Zeitschrift 204 (1967), pp. 529-44, at p. 542.
[48] VC I. 6, p. 162.
[49] VVed. 7, p. 315.
[50] VVed. 4, p. 312.
[51] VC II. 10, p. 255.
[52] VC I. 14, p. 174.

Columbanian convent in Bourges, is nobilis genere et religione.[53] The vir nobilis Chagneric, a companion of King Theudebert's, was a man nobilitatis sapientia vallatus.[54] Athala was nobilis natione, sed nobilior sanctitate,[55] while Bertulf was also genere nobilis.[56] Romaric, the founder of Remiremont, another companion of King Theudebert, was primis nobilitatibus,[57] while John, like Columbanus, Eustasius, and Vedastus, is seen as having been supported and honoured by the Frankish king and nobles (veneratione regum Francorum adque nobilium fulceretur).[58] Jonas, therefore, used a range of status specific vocabulary to distinguish the aristocratic background and status of his subjects and this, in turn, reflects the aristocratic nature of the Columbanian monastic network. This is also evident when we contrast Jonas's use of such terminology with other, earlier works of hagiography where we see a much less frequent use of status-specific vocabulary.

In his description of Luxeuil as a centre of education for aristocratic children and the close personal connections between Columbanus and noble families, Jonas provides many examples of this new relationship between monastic and aristocratic power. Jonas was writing for the extended royal and aristocratic circles of the Columbanian familia and, as we have seen, he was careful to emphasize the exalted status of his subjects. As Barbara Rosenwein has highlighted, the courtly culture that developed around Chlothar II in Paris and which was heavily influenced by Columbanian ideals was a much more

[53] VC II. 10, p. 255.
[54] VC I. 26, p. 209.
[55] VC II. 1, p. 230.
[56] VC II. 23, p. 280.
[57] Ibid. II. 10, p. 254.
[58] VIoh. 18, p. 340.

sombre and restrained 'emotional community' than that of the court of Sigibert I and Brunhild.[59] There was an increased emphasis on status and hierarchy rather than on affectionate displays of emotion as had been the case with the Austrasian courtly culture of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus. 'Columbanus's ascetic impulse and the emotional norms that went with it were absorbed as well as adapted and transformed by the courtiers of Neustria of the next generation. … The emphasis on male-male bonds turned the court into a monastery manqué. Only their celebration of status showed the attraction of secular habits. The Neustrian courtiers incorporated hierarchy into the Columbanian model by making deference part of their male fraternity culture.'[60] We can see this in the letters of Desiderius of Cahors and in Jonas's formal address to the abbots at the beginning of the Vita Columbani where he refers to them as domini and to himself as peccator.[61] The emphasis on aristocratic origins also becomes more prominent in subsequent hagiography such as the Vita Germani and the Vita Wandregiseli, both about Frankish aristocrats who became Columbanian monks and abbots. Hagen Keller has compared the sixth-century Vita patrum Jurensium with the late seventh-century Vita Germani and found that even though monasteries such as those in the Jura consisted of many aristocrats, their status was not explicitly emphasized.[62] In the Vita Germani on the other hand, and in similar works, nobility has become almost a prerequisite of sanctity. Germanus's noble background, for example, is strongly stressed. The author notes that he came from a senatorial family from Trier and gives the names of his father and brothers, Opthomarus and Numerian, who became prominent at the Neustrian courts of Dagobert I

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[59] Emotional Communities, pp. 130-62, at p. 130.
[60] Ibid. p. 161
[61] VC, Epistula ad Waldebertum et Bobolenum, p. 144.
[62] 'Mönchtum und Adel', pp. 1-23.

and Sigibert III.[63] This can be contrasted to the Vita patrum Jurensium whose author gives but the briefest note of Romanus's family background.[64] Like Wandregisel, Germanus's aristocratic status is emphasised when, on deciding to become a monk, he takes three servant boys with him,[65] while at the monastery his participating in manual labour (cutting wood) is seen as such a remarkable testament of his humility that a man of such status would condescend to do this kind of work.[66] This aristocratic world is quite removed from the early Columbanian community at Annegray which had to eat roots and tree bark in order to survive a shortage of food.[67] Now the renunciation of an aristocratic lifestyle to become a monk was seen as the first step towards sanctity. In Jonas's hagiography, with his status specific vocabulary and accounts of aristocratic families, we can see the beginnings of Adelsheiligkeit and the growing rise in prominence of the Frankish aristocracy.

MIRACLE ACCOUNTS

I now wish to turn to two important features of Jonas's hagiography: miracle accounts and his use of the Bible. I am particulary interested in the ways in which Jonas used miracle accounts and the Bible to communicate notions of sanctity, community, morality, and dissent. My focus will be restricted to the Vita Columbani as it is a more complex work of hagiography and because it contains the greater number of miracle accounts.

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[63] VG 1, p. 33.
[64] 'He came from a not insignificant family … from Gallia Sequanorum.' VPJ 4, p. 101.
[65] VG 4, p. 34. cf. VW 9, p. 17.
[66] VG 5, p. 35.
[67] VC I. 7, p. 165.

While the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis can be regarded as more conventional saints' Lives, the miracle accounts in both works, however, do offer some interesting insights. Like the Vita Columbani, the majority of miracle accounts in the Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis are non-healing. The Vita Vedastis, for example, contains seven miracle accounts, five of which are non-healing, while out of a total of twelve miracle accounts in the Vita Iohannis, eight are non-healing. In contrast to the Vita Columbani, however, both of these saints' Lives contain posthumous miracle accounts that concern where the saints should be buried. Jonas's account of the burial of Vedastus is interesting for reflecting the new changes in burial practices brought about by the development in the cult of the saints. Vedastus had a conventional Roman view that no dead should be buried within the city walls and expressed a desire that he should be buried in a little oratory he had built outside the city walls. When he died, however, his wishes were not respected for it was decided he should be buried in the cathedral.[68] There is a similar account in the Vita Iohannis where Jonas recounts how Abbot Leubardinus of Réomé translated the relics of John in the abbatial church. Like Vedastus, the body of the saint refused to be moved.[69] The response of the abbot in this case was to order a three-day fast. On the third day an old man entered the church and saw a vision of the saint and the second abbot, Silvester, standing in front of the sepulchre. The man was obviously not an ecclesiastic as his presence occassioned a harsh response from the saint: "Cur", inquid, "ausus ecclesiam introisti?"[70] He was then instructed to tell the abbot that they could now finish the task of moving the tomb. Jonas notes that at the tomb of John the sick are healed and petitions are answered which implies that Réomé became a place of pilgrimage for the surrounding

[68] VVed. 9, pp. 317-8.
[69] VIoh. 20, pp. 343-4.
[70] Ibid. p. 343.

area.[71] But, as in the Vita Columbani, it is noteworthy that Jonas does not place a great emphasis on relics. The focus is more on the altar and the intercessory prayer performed by the monks than on the saint's relics. Jonas writes that John's tomb was relocated to a position beside the altar, quo Christi hostiae litantur atque orationum officia persolvuntur, ubi et remedia egris et quorumque votis solamina beneficiorum accommodantur.[72] This miracle account, therefore, mirrors similar features and concerns in the Vita Columbani. Firstly, we see the lack of prominence of relics in Columbanian monasticism. Secondly, John's rebuke to the old man for entering the church reflects an anachronistic notion that the inner areas of the monastery, the septa secreta, should be inaccessible to the laity. This distinctly Columbanian feature is further noticeable in another miracle where a layperson is not allowed to attend Mass in the church.[73] These miracle accounts thus reflect Jonas's concern with preserving the integrity of monastic space and with the pre-eminence he gives to the living spiritual power of the community over that of relics.

A number of miracle accounts in the Vita Iohannis are also of note because they can be dated and because of their insights into the social role of the monastery. Jonas mentions the Italian invasion of Theudebert I which took place in 539 and how, at this time, the brother of a sick man went to John to seek help.[74] The saint prayed and gave the man some flour mixed with water (paximacium) with five apples to take back to his brother.[75] When the man returned he divided the gift into three and mixed it with wine. When his

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[71] Ibid. p. 344.
[72] VIoh. 20, pp. 343-4.
[73] vir Dei imperat, ut foris eclesia egressi omnes, locum quieti tribuant, qualiter solita solemnia, ut eius mos erat, suis consodalibus perageret atque hostias Deo absque populari tumultu offeret: VIoh. 9, p. 334.
[74] VIoh. 15, pp. 337-8.
[75] Ibid. p. 338.

brother drank the concoction, he recoved his health. The word used here, paximacium, is a borrowing from Cassian and appears also in Columbanus's monastic legislation.[76] Another unusual healing miracle concerns a man who became inflicted by a bad ulcer during the plague of 543. When he returned home he asked that some water from the pond at Réomé which had been blessed by the saint be brought to him to drink.[77] Both of these miracle accounts can be dated and provide insights into the unusual, quasi-magical ways in which people could be healed.

We can also read miracle accounts in the Vita Iohannis as valuable social documents. The case of a slave, Clarus, who fled to the monastery after committing a crime and became a monk to expunge his sins gives an insight into the monastery as a place of sanctuary. When a messenger arrived with a letter detailing Clarus's crime, we are told that Clarus destroyed it and expelled the messenger.[78] There are also a number of other accounts in which people who have been healed enter the service or become members of the community. A slave of an imperial administrator called Nicasius who was cured of a demon by John remained in the service of the monastery for a number of years,[79] while a young demonic who was healed became a monk in the community.[80]

While the Vita Iohannis contains twelve miracle accounts, the Vita Vedastis only has seven, two of which are posthumous. But like the Vita Iohannis, it also has some

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[76] See, e.g., RM 3, p. 126 (pane paxemati). Noted by A. de Vogüé, Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité (12 vols., Paris, 2007), 11, p. 84.
[77] petiit, ut sibi de puteo, quem vir Dei benedixerat, et inter septa caenubii sui situs erat, limpa derferretur: moxque se fidem haberae sospitatem recepturum: VIoh. 17, p. 340.
[78] VIoh. 10, p. 335.
[79] VIoh. 11, pp. 335-6.
[80] VIoh. 12, p. 356.

interesting cases. Vedastus's first miracle was the healing of a blind man whom he met when travelling with King Clovis. Jonas notes that the man was healed by Vedastus making the sign of the cross with his right hand over the man's eyes and that a basilica was later built on the site where the miracle took place.[81] Vedastus's appointment as bishop of Arras signalled a spate of miracles, the most interesting of which took place at a feast hosted by one of Chlothar I's nobles. Jonas notes that the bishop attended the feast in order to evangelize the courtiers. But on entering the house of the noble, the bishop saw a huge vat of beer that was intended as a pagan libation. Vedastus made the sign of the cross on the vat whereon it smashed. Then the bishop preached to the gathering and many became Christian.[82] Thus, this miracle account shows Vedastus as an evangelizer specifically targetting the Merovingian court. This miracle is interesting because it has a near parallel in the Vita Columbani where Columbanus comes across pagan Suebians in Alemannia who similarly have a vat of beer intended as a libation for Wodan. The vat is likewise smashed by Columbanus who then preaches to the pagans.[83] Both accounts are revealing as sources for pagan practices and for their representation of Vedastus and Columbanus as missionary figures.

The miraculous element in saints' Lives is thus pervasive and in some, like Adomnán's Vita Columbae, overwhelmingly so. Jonas's hagiography is no exception. Miracles demonstrated the power of the saint. Adomnán refers to Columba's miracles as 'proofs of his powers'[84] while Jonas notes that 'the power of God' (Dei virtutem) was inflamed in

[81] VVed. 3, p. 311.
[82] VVed. 7, pp. 314-6.
[83] VC I. 27, pp. 213-4.
[84] Adomnán I. 1, p. 109.

Columbanus.[85] But apart from demonstrating someone's holiness, miracle accounts had other functions. Works, for example, in which punishment miracles predominate have a different function than those that are concerned with miracles as proofs of sanctity. In these cases, miracle accounts could serve to intimidate those who sought to encroach on the rights of the ecclesiastical institution. 'Beware what I say!' warns the anonymous author of the tenth-century Miracula Sancti Columbani to any prospective bishop who might in future attempt to take jurisdiction over his monastery, 'you cannot rule your bishopric and govern monks according to St Benedict's Rule.'[86] These miracle accounts describe the miraculous peregrinations of Columbanus's body which was exhumed, placed in a specially built pine chest, and solemnly processed through the terra sancti Columbani, the lands belonging to the monastery of Bobbio, to the royal Lombard court at Pavia and back again to Bobbio where the body was re-interred. By this time the saint had regained his property and privileges which had been diminished in 929 by a local bishop and a group of nobles.[87] He did this through a display of posthumous power. The community had reacted to the bishop's and the nobles' intrusion into their affairs by bringing the saint's body to the culprits at the royal court in Pavia.

The purpose then of these miracle accounts was that they would serve as an ecclesiastical tool of intimidation. They were, to borrow an apt phrase from Pierre André Sigal who has studied this function in later hagiographic works from central and southern France, 'a

[85] VC I. 20, p. 193.
[86] Miracula S. Columbani 23, p. 1011.
[87] Columbanus is described as the owner of the property: Miracula 25, p. 1012.

spiritual rampart'.[88] The Bollandist scholar, Baudouin de Gaiffier, also noted that the primary purpose of these types of miracle accounts in some eleventh-century hagiographic works from modern-day Belgium was to defend the interests of the monks when protection from secular powers could not be relied on. The edifying role of miracles was thus secondary to this practical function.[89]

In the Vita Columbani the prevalence of punishment miracles in Book II, particularly in the chapters dealing with the renegade monk Agrestius and with a number of nuns who attempted to flee from Faremoutiers, suggests that Jonas intended these miracle accounts to be intimidating. These miracle accounts are illustrative of a number of features that Jonas particularly seeks to emphasize. Firstly, he wanted to show what would happen to those who chose not to live by the Rule, who refused to submit themselves to obedience under an abbot, and who actively undermined the Columbanian monastic way of life. He aimed at instilling holy fear (cultum divini timoris)[90] into the present generation of Columbanian monks and nuns. Jonas declares the effectiveness of such a psychology: 'there is no doubt but that the punishments of others make many more vigilant in striving to attain heavenly gains.'[91] In another instance he states that while 'we have not omitted to relate to posterity the great gifts which were given for good merit and religious devotion, we likewise consider it appropriate to tell about a thing that we know for

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[88] P. A. Sigal, 'Un aspect du culte des saints: le chatiment divin aux XIe et XIIe siècles d'aprés la littérature hagiographique du Midi de la France', Cahiers de Fanjeaux 11 (1976), pp. 39-59, at p. 52.
[89] B. de Gaiffier, 'Les revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XIe siècle', Analecta Bollandiana 50 (1932), pp. 123-38, at p. 138.
[90] The phrase that Jonas uses when Abbot Eustasius asks the young blind girl, Sadalberga, whether 'her young soul aspired to the observance of sacred dread.' VC II. 8, p. 244.
[91] nulli quippe dubium est, quod aliorum damna plerosque movendo ad capienda lucra vigilantiores reddant: Ibid. II. 16, p. 266.

certain to be useful to terrify those women who are hard and ignoble of mind.'[92] We can, therefore, see from these two instances, the Miracula Sancti Columbani and Book II of Jonas's Vita, that the writing down of miracle accounts was not simply the result of a community's desire to record the miraculous, but that the codification of miracle accounts served different functions depending on the text and when it was written.

At their simplest, these accounts were written down to commemorate miraculous events for a religious community. But this was certainly not always the case when it came to the production of hagiographical writing. Saints' Lives, particularly in later periods, often had more mundane and practical concerns. In Jonas's Vita Columbani, we see that in Book I he is primarily concerned, like Adomnán, with giving 'proofs' of Columbanus's sanctity. In Book II Jonas is more concerned with showing how (and how not) Columbanus's disciples followed his example. The twenty-one punishment miracles in Book II are meant to be edifying and intimidating. Consequently, by looking at the various kinds of miracles Jonas discusses in the Vita and by considering what role they play within the text, we can study both Jonas's concept of the miraculous and the way miracle accounts could communicate notions of sanctity and morality.

Categorising the Miraculous

[92] Dum magnarum rerum ob boni meriti religionisque studio conlatarum [munera] non omisimus tradere posteritati, simulque quae ad terrorem durae ac ignavae mentis profuisse conperimus, ratum ducimus intimare: Ibid. II. 22, pp. 277-8.

This way of reading miracle accounts departs from a typological methodology, the more customary way of reading such accounts.[93] An example of this variation in approach can be illustrated by a common miraculous occurrence in the Vita Columbani. Jonas often mentions the saint's miraculous encounters with animals. In one such case Jonas describes how a bear, complying with the saint's command to leave half the fruit trees in a grove that were needed for the saint's use, only took the fruit from the portion of the grove that had been allotted to him.[94] A typological classification would assign this as an 'animal-type miracle'. According to Christian Rohr, who has discussed the miracles in the first book according to what they can reveal about the socio-historical aspects of Columbanian monasticism, 'die Tierwunder' accounts for 17.1% of miracles in Book I.[95] Such a socio-historical reading of miracle accounts, as Rohr alludes to, stems from the seminal methodology of the Czech historian, F. Graus, in the 1960s and 1970s who realised the possibility of miracle accounts for opening up a vista onto a 'sacred landscape'.[96] Viewed in such a perspective the animal and nature miracles in the Vita Columbani can reveal some of the difficulties faced by the monastic community in the wilderness.[97]

Such miracle accounts do reveal this, but Jonas did not include them for this reason. The focus of the miracle was not that Columbanus did not have any food except the berries

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[93] For a similar approach to miracle accounts from Late Antiquity, see L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Il miracolo nella cultura del tardo impero: concetto e funzione', in Hagiographie, culture et sociétés (IVe-XIIe siècles): Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979) (Paris, 1981), pp. 161-204.
[94] VC I. 27, p. 216.
[95] Rohr, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle', p. 261.
[96] Ibid. p. 258. Referring to F. Graus, 'Sozialgeshictliche Aspeckte der Hagiographie der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit: Die Viten der Heiligen des südalemannischen Raumes und die sogenannten Adelsheiligen', Vorträge und Forschungen 20 (1974), pp. 131-76, at p. 131, and idem, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit (Prague, 1965).
[97] Rohr, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle', p. 261.

which the bear was largely eating, but that the bear showed obedience to the saint's authority. 'Amazing obedience in a wild beast!' exclaims Jonas, 'By no means did it dare take food from the part that was forbidden to it, but only sought food from the part of the fruit trees that had been allowed it, as long as the man of God remained in that place.'[98] Jonas's intention in describing this miracle was to show a wild beast's obedience to the saint. While a socio-historical approach is interesting, it does not tell us much about the hagiographer's concept of the miraculous or the various purposes of miracle accounts in the text.

Classification of miracle accounts based on typology does not sufficiently address the role of the miraculous within hagiographic writings. That animal-type miracles account for 17.1% of the miracle accounts in Book I of the Vita Columbani does not tell us a whole lot except that this type was relatively frequent. However, when these miracle accounts are considered alongside others based on function we can see that they are jointly the most frequent. From this, we can conclude that Jonas's miracle accounts in Book I were, for the most part, intended to glorify the saint. When this is compared to Book II, a different pattern emerges.

Categorising the Miraculous: Derouet and Sigal

This methodology also informs us as to the changing nature of miracle accounts over time and how miracle accounts functioned differently within different texts. In 1976 a French scholar, J. -L. Derouet, discussed these ideas in relation to two contemporary

[98] VC I. 27, p. 216.

saints' Lives, the Vita Arnulfi and the work under discussion.[99] Derouet took the Vita Arnulfi, concerning the bishop of Metz and one of the principal ancestors of the Carolingian dynasty, to be representative of a corpus of hagiographic texts that were written during the seventh and eighth centuries in the religious centres of the Meuse and Moselle areas. This Austrasian group of texts stemming from the later Carolingian heartland showed a marked tendency towards miracle accounts that largely dealt with healing and exorcism miracles.[100] He noted a considerable contrast with Jonas's Vita where the author was more concerned with showing the saint's special relationship on earth with the divine. There was a greater emphasis in the miracle accounts between this world and the hereafter. This paradigm of the miraculous, which he terms 'miracles that transcend the limits of experience', is characterized by a large number of visionary and prophetic miracles.[101]

The example he provides from the Vita Columbani is the account of the death of the nun Sisetrudis at Faremoutiers.[102] The emphasis in this miracle is on the blessed death of the nun and on the soul's return to a state of bliss in heaven from its unhappy state on earth.[103] The focus of the miracle is not with curing a physical ailment, but the healing of 'the spiritual dissatisfaction of a creature deprived of the presence of its Creator.'[104] Sisetrudis's miraculous death is referred to by Jonas as being the 'first action of

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[99] J. -L. Derouet, 'Les possibilités d'interprétation sémiologique des texts hagiographiques', Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France 62 (1976), pp. 153-62. See also idem. Recherches d'Histoire des Mentalites sur les Textes Hagiographiques du Nord et de l'Est de la Gaule VII-VIII siecles (unpublished PhD dissertation, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, 1972). I am very grateful to Dr Derouet for helping me obtain a copy of his thesis.
[100] Derouet, 'Les possibilités', p. 155.
[101] Derouet, 'Les possibilités', p. 156.
[102] Ibid. pp. 159-61.
[103] VC II. 11, pp. 258-9.
[104] Derouet, 'Les possibilités', p. 159.

encouraging' (primam huius coenubii exhortationem) which took place at Faremoutiers. Jonas, therefore, thought that God worked this miracle for its edifying influence on the rest of the community: 'so that the others, who were still living, might aspire to religious worship with all their might.'[105] As Derouet observes, this paradigm of the miraculous is also dominant in Gregory the Great's Dialogues and in the ancient monastic tradition of hagiographical writing.[106]

The other text Derouet discusses, however, is quite different from Jonas's account in its conception. [107] Derouet chose the Vita Arnulfi as being typical of those hagiographical texts written in the eastern parts of Merovingian Gaul during this period. Here, the focus is firmly back on earth where the saint is primarily seen as a healer who improves man's condition on earth. Exorcism and healing miracles predominate in the Vita Arnulfi and Derouet looks at two exorcism miracles to outline this 'practical' paradigm.[108]

From these general observations, we may conclude that Derouet delineates two different kinds, or paradigms, of miracle accounts. In the Vita Arnulfi the focus of the miracle has shifted from the saint to the beneficiary who is cured by the saint's intervention. Thus, the focus is on the saint's power, not the person of the saint as in Jonas. Perhaps we could see the kind of miracles that predominate in this text as being more representative of the majority of miracle accounts from the Carolingian period and later where the focus is more on the healing abilities of (dead) saints.

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[105] VC II. 11, p. 259.
[106] Derouet, 'Les possibilités', pp. 159-61.
[107] Vita S. Arnulfi, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888) pp. 432-46; Derouet, 'Les possibilités', pp. 156-59.
[108] Vita Arnulfi, 9-10, pp. 435-6.

Such a view is strengthened by the statistics shown in Pierre-André Sigal's study of over five thousand miracle accounts in French saints' Lives from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[109] In this seminal work Sigal categorises miracles into two groups, healing and non-healing, and divides them according to function. The vast majority of these are posthumous healing miracles that occur at the shrine of the saint. If we consider the Vita Columbani, Adomnàn's Vita Columbae, and Gregory's Dialogues, we do not see this. The vast majority of the miracles in the Vita Columbani and the other texts are non-healing. This is very noticeable, for example, in the Vita Columbae in which there are only eleven healing miracles as opposed to one hundred and eighty non-healing instances. A similarly high contrast is seen in Jonas's text while there is a near complete absence of posthumous miracles. There are seven examples in the Vita Columbae, while the Dialogues show a similar tendency in its lack of posthumous accounts.

Sigal's system of classification can be applied to miracle accounts from the early Middle Ages and I have, therefore, used his terminology in classifying miracles in the Vita Columbani and in the other texts I mention. An obvious benefit of this is that it then becomes easier to compare both of our findings. His classification for healing miracles, categorized according to the malady, is straightforward. Non-healing miracles are categorized into seven groups according to function: Difficult Childbirth and sterility, Protection from Dangers, Deliverance of Prisoners, Favourable Interventions, Miracles Intended to Glorify a Saint, Punishment, and Miracles which Transgress the Limits of Experience. The latter category which we have mentioned already in relation to

[109] P.-A. Sigal, L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle) (Paris, 1985).

Derouet's article (not referred to by Sigal) is subdivided into visionary and prophetic miracles. 'Favourable Interventions' and 'Miracles Intended to Glorify a Saint' need further clarification. The remaining categories should be self-evident.

Sigal classifies those miracles in which a saint helps the beneficiary in some way, such as the recovery of lost objects or the multiplication of food or drink, as 'Favourable Interventions'.[110] They are not so prevalent in the corpus of texts he looks at: from over 5,000 miracles there are 347 instances, 241 of which are posthumous.[111] The saint thus works these miracles for somebody else's benefit. This kind of miracle can be seen in the Vita Columbani as, for example, when Columbanus drives away the rain which is in danger of destroying a crop at Fontaine (his intervention in this case benefits the community),[112] although we also find miracles where we may speak of God's favourable intervention for the saint, where the saint himself is the beneficiary. A good example of this is when Columbanus becomes invisible to the soldiers of King Theuderic who were searching for him in Luxeuil after he had gone back there following his expulsion. Columbanus was sitting reading in the porch of the church while his pursuers passed him, oblivious of his existence.[113] Thus, in the Vita Columbani the saint can also be the beneficiary of this kind of miracle whereas in Sigal's texts the beneficiary is someone other than the saint. The other kind of miracle, however, has the saint, whether alive or dead, as the beneficiary. These are even less frequent than the 'Favourable Interventions'

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[110] Sigal, L'homme, p. 271.
[111] Ibid. p. 272.
[112] VC I. 13, pp. 173-4.
[113] Ibid. I. 20, p. 194.

type in Sigal: only 151 instances, 122 of which are posthumous.[114] Whereas in Sigal's texts most miracles glorifying the saint take place in relation to the relics and the shrine, in the earlier texts they take place during the lifetime of the saint. Again, in contrast, these miracles are very frequent in the Vita Columbani and in other hagiographical works from this period. In fact, both these kinds of miracles are the most frequent in Book I of the Vita. One example of miracles intended to glorify the saint in the Vita Columbani may be seen in Columbanus's encounter with a bear in a cave near Annegray. When the saint commanded the bear to leave its den and never return, the 'beast meekly left and did not dare return afterwards.'[115] The bear's ready obedience to Columbanus demonstrated the saint's authority over the animal. All the instances in the Vita in which animals are involved are, therefore, examples of this kind of miracle because their reaction shows Columbanus's sanctity.[116] It is interesting that there are no cases in Book II of such animal-type miracles that glorify the saint.

Sigal's category of 'Miracles which Transgress the Limits of Experience' also needs brief clarification. Here Sigal considers visions and phenomena of supernatural knowledge, namely telepathy and prophetic visions. The latter he sub-divides into precognition, the ability to see future events, and foreknowledge, visions of events that are happening at that moment. There are only 83 instances of 'Prophetic Vision' in Sigal's texts making it one of the less-frequent kinds of non-healing miracles whereas in the Vita Columbae it accounts for over half of the non-healing miracles: 101 cases out of 180. Adomnán dedicated the first book of his Vita to Columba's prophetic visions. On one occasion of

[114] Sigal, L'homme, p. 273.
[115] VC I. 8, p. 167.
[116] Ibid. I. 8, I. 15, I. 17, I. 27.

foreknowledge a monk called Luigbe asked the saint how these visions were revealed to him, "By sight, or hearing, or in some way men know not?" Columba answered him: "There are some people – few indeed – to whom the grace of God has given the power to see brightly and most clearly, with a mental grasp miraculously enlarged, at one and the same time as if lit by a single sunbeam, even the entire orbit of the whole earth and the sea and the sky around it."[117] This recalls Gregory the Great's account of the vision Benedict had of the soul of Bishop Germanus of Capua being led to heaven by angels when he beheld the whole world in a ray of sunlight.[118] In the Vita Columbani, the saint similarly sees the whole world but is shown this by an angel in a vision.[119]

Jonas's Terminology of the Miraculous

Peter Brown has remarked that above all 'the holy man is a man of power' while visiting a holy man was 'to go to where power was.'[120] The predominant words used to describe a miracle reveal this underlying basis of power. Jonas uses the word miraculum to mean 'miracle' six times in the Vita Columbani and often includes exclamatory phrases such as 'Wonderful power!' (Mira virtus!), 'Wonderful revenge!' (Mira ultio!), 'Wonderful faith!' (Mira fides!), to convey the sense of amazement felt when a miracle took place.[121] Jonas's use of these exclamatory clauses, the majority of which occur in Book I, is a

[117] Adomnán I. 43, p. 146.
[118] See Ibid. n. 189. Gregory the Great, Dialogi Libri IV, II. 35, ed. U. Moricca, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 57 (Rome, 1924), p. 129.
[119] VC I. 27, p. 217.
[120] P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', The Journal of Roman Studies 61 (1971), pp. 80-101, at p. 87.
[121] See, for example, I. 7; I. 12; I. 13; I. 14; I. 15; I. 17; I. 22; I. 23; I. 27; I. 29; II. 3; and II. 12.

rhetorical technique that served to heighten the sense of dramatic urgency in these miracle accounts.

Miraculum was not the only word Jonas used in describing the miraculous, but one of several. A slightly more frequent term was virtus, which occurs nine times. This has a more ambiguous meaning as it can refer both to 'miracles' and to someone's 'virtues'. In the poem Jonas wrote as a summary of Columbanus's miracles at the end of Book I, he describes Columbanus's miracles as virtutes,[122] but his use of the same word in the first chapter of the second book is less clear to interpret. Jonas mentions that after Columbanus died Athala succeeded him as abbot of Bobbio whose post magistrum virtutes clarae fulserunt.[123] Is Jonas here referring to Athala's virtues as mirroring those of Columbanus or is he saying that Athala's miracles mirrored those of his master? Ian Wood has translated it as 'whose notable virtues shone out in imitation of his master', but it might equally be referring to 'miracles'.[124] Wood translates the adverb post as 'in imitation of' but it could just as well mean 'after the manner of'. Interpreting such a term is difficult because Jonas uses it interchangeably for both 'virtue' and 'miracle'. Thus, Jonas uses the words miraculum and virtus interchangeably in Book I. Another common word for a 'miracle', signum, is not used. By his use of these words we can conclude that his emphasis on miracles in Book I is demonstrative.

When we look at the words Jonas uses in Book II we see an interesting change in vocabulary. Although the terms miraculum and virtus appear, they are supplemented by

[122] VC I. 30, p. 227.
[123] VC II. 1, p. 230.
[124] Wood, p. 119.

new terms that convey a concept of miracles less as demonstrations of a saint's power, but more as edifying signs of God's love. Jonas uses a trio of similes, exhortatio, adhortatio, and hortamen, to mean 'miracles' but with the emphasis on them as being 'actions of encouragement'. These terms occur six times in Book II. At the beginning of his account of the miracles that took place in Faremoutiers, Jonas writes that he wishes to tell about 'how great and what kind of miracles (miracula) the Originator of Things deemed to show there for the sake of the encouragement (hortamina) of his female servants.'[125] These miracles were, therefore, meant to help a community of nuns lead better religious lives. At the end of this chapter in which Jonas describes the visions experienced by the dying nun Sisetrudis and how her companions heard angelic singing at her death, he concludes that: 'This was the first action of encouraging (primam huius coenubii exhortationem) of this monastery which the Lord wished to show to His female slaves, so that the others, who were still living, might aspire to religious worship with all their might.'[126] He begins the next chapter in similar fashion: 'And again after this another action of encouraging (exhortatio) arose.'[127] He also refers to the miracles that took place in connection with a number of Bobbio monks in this way.[128] In recounting the death of the monastic-miller Agibodus, who had a vision of heaven and told what he had seen to his fellow monks before he died, Jonas notes that God wanted this to be 'an example' (ad exemplum) so that the other monks, knowing what heavenly delights were

[125] VC II. 11, p. 257.
[126] Ibid. p. 259.
[127] Ibid. II. 12, p. 259.
[128] VC II. 25, p. 290.

in store for Agibodus, might be imitators 'of his purity and religious way of life in all things.'[129]

In addition to these terms, Jonas also uses the expressions solamen ('source of comfort'/ 'solace') and munus ('gift') when referring to miracles that took place at Faremoutiers. Jonas begins his account of the miraculous death of Landeberga by stating that, 'After some time the solaces of encouragement (consolationis solamina) again sprang up.'[130] In the following chapter miracles are now termed as 'gifts': 'After this the Creator of goodness and of tributes did not delay in lavishing again the gifts of His tenderness' (Post haec igitur bonitatis ac munerum institutor rursus pietatis suae munera largire non distulit),[131] while in the next chapter Jonas refers to miracles as 'the great things' (magnarum rerum) that were given for good merit and religious devotion.[132]

We can notice, therefore, a greater diversity of terminology for miracles in Book II than in Book I. With Jonas now terming miracles as 'gifts', 'sources of comfort', and 'actions of encouraging' in addition to the more conventional and limited terminology he uses in Book I we see added dimensions to miracles where they are not only used to emphasize someone's sanctity, but also serve to encourage a community or communities to live better religious lives. This edifying function of miracle accounts is more to the fore in

[129] Ibid. p. 291.
[130] Ibid. II. 20, p. 275.
[131] VC II. 21, p. 276.
[132] Krusch supplies the word munera here as the accusative plural qualifying magnarum rerum as an accusative noun is lacking in the manuscript tradition. But due to the grammatical irregularities of Jonas's Latin, the genitive plural noun rerum might here be acting as the accusative: VC II. 22, p. 277.

Book II and this greater range of terminology arguably indicates a change in intention in this second part of Jonas's work.

The Miracle Accounts in the Vita Columbani

Having looked at the various words Jonas uses to describe the miraculous, we can now turn to the categories of miracle accounts themselves and to delineate the principal features of the miraculous in the Vita Columbani. A chart may help to illustrate and give an overview of the distribution between healing and non-healing miracles and the various subcategories in each (See Fig. 1 in Appendix).

From this chart we can see that one subcategory of the non-healing group is slightly more frequent than all the healing miracles put together. The predominance of non-healing miracles is very apparent. Out of a total of 120 miracle accounts, 94 are non-healing. If we divide this data into the two component parts of the text, we can study the distribution of miracle-types in Books I and II (Figs. 2 & 3).

We can see from this that healing miracles are fairly balanced between both parts although they are slightly more frequent in Book II than in Book I (14 as opposed to 12 instances). In Book I the healing of demoniacs is the most popular kind of healing miracle as opposed to the healing of fever in Book II.

Possession Miracles

As a thaumaturgical wonder worker, Jonas primarily saw Columbanus as an exorcist. There are six instances of exorcism in Book I and they all occur in four chapters towards the end of the book, chapters 20, 21, 22, and 25. The beneficiaries are all laity, none members of the saint's own community. They all take place when Columbanus is on the move, after his expulsion from Burgundy and before his arrival in Italy. Exorcism miracles occur outside the monastery and the monastic environment in Book II and are not as frequent as in Book I. All three instances occur towards the end of the book that deals with a number of Bobbio monks. All of the beneficiaries are male, one being a child. Abbot Bertulf cured a man called Viaturinus when he was travelling back to Bobbio from Rome, where he had successfully petitioned the pope for a privilege. He did this after having prayed, although Jonas does not mention that he did this when he healed 'a child called Domnicus, the son of a certain Urbanus', on the same journey.[133]

The most interesting case in which this type of healing miracle occurs is a triple miracle account involving an Arian assassin and a Bobbio monk, Blidulf, in Pavia.[134] Duke Arioald, who became king of the Lombards in 626, ordered the man to kill the monk because Blidulf slighted the duke in refusing to greet him because he was an Arian heretic. After Blidulf had been beaten and left for dead, the man who had been willing to kill the monk was possessed by a demon. He then proclaimed to all that such punishment would befall all those who harmed the monks of Bobbio and who adhered to Arianism. When Arioald saw this he was frightened for himself and sent the demoniac to Abbot

[133] VC I. 23, pp. 284-5.
[134] Ibid. I. 24, pp. 286-9.

Athala with gifts in order to make up for his offence. The abbot refused the gifts because he was a heretic but cured the man who had attacked his monk. In this instance, the exorcism comes about through communal prayer when the abbot asked all the community to pray for the demoniac. However, when the man returned to his home he boasted that he had tried to kill the monk of his own free will. He was then struck by divine punishment and died.[135] This account is, therefore, somewhat remarkable as it recounts three different miracles that occurred to one person and for the fact that the exorcism is viewed as having taken place through the intervention of the whole community.

We see from these examples a diversity in what Jonas tells us about how these miracles took place. In some cases Jonas does not state that exorcisms took place following prayer while in others a more physical action is required. What is noteworthy, however, is that in no instance do these types of healing miracles occur in the monastic space or are Columbanian monks the beneficiaries of exorcism. Rather, they occur at a distance from the monasteries and they affect the laity. Most of the cases are male. When we compare this aspect to some other texts we find a slightly different pattern. Although there are similarly few exorcism miracles in the Dialogues, the two cases in Book II only concern ecclesiastics. In the Vita patrum Iurensium, monks are also the beneficiaries of exorcism after having been possessed because of their religious pride or because they attempted to leave their monasteries.[136] This text also shows a different way in which healing the

[135] VC I. 24, p. 289.
[136] VPJ 33-4, pp. 118-9; 80-1, p. 140.

possessed could take place when it recounts that Abbot Eugendus could heal people just by sending them a letter.[137] In Adomnán's text there are no instances of exorcism.

Beneficiaries of Healing Miracles and the Diversity of Ways in which they are Healed

The majority of beneficiaries of healing miracles in both parts of the Vita are the laity, while the non-healing miracles mostly concern the monastic communities. In two accounts in chapter fifteen Jonas shows the different ways in which Columbanus healed one of his monks called Theudegisel and the parish priest, Winioc, who were both wounded during manual labour. In the first case the monk cut off his finger with a sickle when he was helping the other monks cut the harvest. When Columbanus found out what had happened he quickly came to him, put his saliva on the wound, and it was immediately healed.[138] In the next case, the priest Winioc was looking at some monks cutting wood in the forest and marvelling at the force with which they splintered the oak with wedges and a mallet when, 'a wedge slipped away from the trunk cutting him in the middle of his forehead, producing great waves of blood from his veins.' The saint 'at once fell on the ground praying and rising healed the wound by smearing it with his saliva so that scarcely a sign of a scar remained.'[139]

The first miracle of Columbanus's that Jonas records takes place only after the saint has arrived in Gaul when he healed the wife of a man who brought gifts of food to the

[137] VPJ 139, p. 166; 145, p. 169.
[138] VC I. 15, p. 177.
[139] Ibid. p. 178.

community at Annegray.[140] The man asked the saint to pray for his wife who had been suffering from a severe fever for a year and was almost dead. Jonas notes that the saint complied because of the faith shown by the man. The saint assembled the community and he prayed for God's mercy. Although the wife was not there, we are told that she was immediately healed because when the man returned home he found out that she had recovered exactly at the time that 'the man of God entreated the Lord on her behalf.'[141] At the end of this chapter Jonas makes a more general comment on Columbanus's efficacy as a healer when he notes that soon lots of people including many sick began to go to Annegray in order that he might heal them. And as he was unable to refuse them, 'he relieved the sicknesses of all those who came to him to be cured' through prayer and because he was supported by God.[142]

Athala was more reticent about healing because he feared the popular acclaim that this would bring and the dangers of such attention. When a couple, whose child was dying of fever in Milan, came to him on his arrival in the city and begged him to come to their child, Athala tried to get out of it by disguising himself. They compelled him though with 'tears and terrible oaths' to help their child.[143] Here the healing miracle is preceded by prayer at specific holy locations in the city. Athala's coyness is underlined by his secret entry into the house.. Jonas calls him the 'dispenser of the gift' (largitori muneris) another reference to a miracle as being a 'gift'.

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[140] VC I. 7, pp. 164-5.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid. p. 166.
[143] VC II. 4, p. 236.

From these descriptions of healing miracle we can conclude that while healing miracles are much less frequent in the Vita Columbani than in other saints' Lives, they, nevertheless, show the saints working miracles that improve man's condition in this world. These miracles are, however, often removed from the monastic sphere and often occur when the saints are travelling. Even those miracles that concern the healing of monks, like Theudegesil, take place outside the confines of the monastery. In the case of Theudegesil the miracle takes place in a field, while the priest Winioc is healed by Columbanus in the forest surrounding the monastery. We have seen a variety of ways in which people are healed and we have noted that in no instance is there an exorcism of a monk or nun, which is not the case in the Dialogues or the Vita patrum Iurensium. All are in vita instances which cannot be said for cases in Gregory of Tours's Liber vitae patrum or in the Vita patrum Iurensium. There is also a more marked tendency in both of these works for healing miracles to take place by means of relics, particularly contact relics like, for example, the healing letters of Eugendus. We do not find this element in the Vita Columbani.

Non-Healing Miracles

Gregory the Great had essentially a moralistic conception of miracles. For Gregory, miracle accounts had an edifying function.[144] The same was true for Gregory of Tours whose intent in writing his Liber vitae patrum was that it would strengthen the Church

[144] On Gregory's concept of the miraculous, see W. D. McCready, Signs of Sanctity: Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great (Toronto, 1989).

and provide examples that would 'encourage the minds of listeners to follow'.[145] Viventiolus (?) wrote the Vita patrum Iurensium for two hermits of the monastery at Agaune, John and Armentarius, who asked him to write it. Viventiolus notes in his preface that, 'without spiritual nourishment', both of them could not devote themselves fully to their religious way of life.[146] The Life was a compensation for their rejection of philosophy (worldly wisdom) since they had become monks.[147]

This is not the case in Adomnán's Vita Columbae. Here miracles are 'proofs' of Columba's 'powers' – they are demonstrative. In the Vita Columbani, we see both functions, the demonstrative kind of miracles of Adomnán in Book I and the edifying kinds in Book II. Book I is Columbanus's gesta,[148] while I have already discussed the shift in terminology which we can see in Jonas's words for 'miracle' between both parts as an indication of this division. In Book I non-healing miracles, the most frequent of which are miracles that glorify the saint and favourable interventions that God works both for the saint and through the saint for the community's good, are intended to show Columbanus as a vir Dei. Prophetic vision and visions are considerably less frequent than in Book II and in the Vita Columbae where they are the most popular type of miracle. In Book II the emphasis is on punishment miracles and miracles that glorify the saint as well as prophetic vision and visions. We shall first of all consider the punishment miracles before looking at some examples of the non-healing miracles worked by Columbanus.

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[145] LVP, Preface, p. 27.
[146] VPJ, Preface, p. 98.
[147] Ibid. p. 184.
[148] See VC, p. 152.

Punishment Miracles in Book II

Jonas opens his account of the twenty-five years after Columbanus's death with six chapters on Athala. The first chapter begins with a series of punishment miracles that sets the tone for the rest of the book. After the introductory-biographical paragraph, in which Jonas tells of Athala's dissatisfaction with the lax monastic life at Lérins and his move to Luxeuil in search of 'additional and stronger council',[149] the remainder of the chapter is taken up with relating the punishments meted out to a number of monks who 'could not bear the precepts of excessive ardour' and 'were unable to sustain the weight of harsh discipline.'[150] When Athala was unable to keep control of them or to remind them that 'the fathers came into possession of the kingdom of heaven through mortification and contempt for the present life',[151] he allowed the stubborn ones to leave. Jonas recounts how they 'soon felt punishment for their arrogant temerity' when they finally got to their places of retreat.

These miracle accounts also reveal a second important preoccupation of Jonas: the monastery and the world. For Jonas, they are separate entities. The monk or nun's place is in the monastery and dangers arise when they try to break from it. A dichotomy between the monastery and the world is most clearly seen in chapter 19, 'The censure of those lacking in duty and the damnation of the fugitives.'[152] Here, as in chapter 1, it is the

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[149] VC II. 1, p. 230.
[150] se aiebant nimiae fervoris auctoritatem ferre non posse et arduae disciplinae pondera portare non valere: VC II. 1, p. 231 (Wood, p. 119).
[151] meminiscerentque, patres per mortificationem et contemptum praesentis vitae regna caelorum possidere: Ibid.
[152] VC II. 19, p. 271.

Devil who is blamed as the root cause of the nuns' desire to flee the monastery. At Faremoutiers he gave some of the novices second thoughts about the monastic life, 'striving to pluck them from the company of the others and tempting them to violate the confines of the monastery. And he cast down before them the fleeting life of the world and to desire, in the manner of dogs, to wish once more to take up the filth of their bowels.'[153] This biblical image (Proverbs 26:11) of a dog licking up his own vomit conveys the strength of Jonas's conviction (and one he shared with Columbanus) that once a person committed themselves to the monastic life, there should be no turning back.

The ill nature of their undertaking is further highlighted by its taking place at night: 'during the dark shadows and the silence of the black night they aspired to execute their foolish plan'.[154] While they were trying to escape by a ladder over the monastic enclosures (septa monasterii) suddenly divine intervention intervened. A cylindrical fiery mass appeared from the middle of the dormitory, filling and lighting up the whole building. It then divided into three balls of fire and went through all the doorways 'with a great thunderous noise.'[155] This woke up the other nuns while those who were about to step over the vallum, the boundary wall, were terrified by the noise so that they wanted to return. But they physically could not. They remained on the vallum, unable to move 'as if they had been weighed down with lead'. This was a trick of the Devil intended 'to oppress those women whom the divine punishment allowed by no means to be

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[153] a ceterarum conibentia nisus evellere ac septa monasterii violare temptare; praecipitavitque et exitiabilem vitam saeculi desiderare ac canino more reiecta viscerum putrimenta denuo sumere velle: Ibid. pp. 271-2.
[154] VC II. 19, p. 272.
[155] Ibid.

destroyed.'[156] The fugitives were on the boundary between the monastery and the world and here Jonas implies that they would have been destroyed if they had left but that, by means of heavenly fire, God prevented this. The Devil's power was stronger in this liminal zone so that he could temporarily stop the nuns from returning. But when the nuns realized their offence, the power of the Devil could no longer have any hold on them for 'turning back to the mother, they confessed these things in confession.'[157]

An essential part of being reintegrated into the community was confession and Jonas attaches considerable importance to confession in Book II. When Roccolenus was burning with fever he realized his mistake and wanted to return to Athala to 'assuage the evils of the crime which had been committed with the medicine of penitence'. When the others returned, Athala 'restored them to their places as they acknowledged their faults.'[158] In the second part of chapter 19, Jonas even more dramatically narrates what can happen when the opportunity of repentance is spurned. It again involves the Devil, novice nuns, and their aborted desire to escape Faremoutiers. Jonas begins by relating how the 'old serpent' succeeded in tempting two other nuns in not making a true confession. He then makes an important statement about the practice and function of confession at Faremoutiers: 'It was in fact the custom of the monastery and of the Rule that three times a day each nun would cleanse their mind by means of confession, and whatever wrinkle the mind had attracted by its frailty, righteous treason would wash it

[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] VC II. 1, p. 232.

away.'[159] The nun's inability then to make a true confession was considered by Jonas to be the cause of their ruin (labem).[160] The next action of the Devil was to make them escape the monastery at night in order that they could return to their homes. This time they got further than the vallum. A dense fog had descended so that they were completely disorientated and could not find the way. They were further assisted by the Devil who 'standing to the left, by a trick simulated a light in the form of an oil lamp and showed the returning way to the world, and by this ruse increased their purpose.'[161] However, they were tricked by the Devil who led them in a circle back to the gates of the monastery.

Glorification of Saint Miracles in Book II

These examples show Jonas's use of punishment miracles in Book II for their edifying purpose. Similarly, the miracles which glorify a saint or in which saints have visions demonstrate the rewards which would be given to those who live good religious lives. Athala sees a vision of heaven before he dies,[162] as does the old miller of Bobbio, Agibodus, who is told by an angel that he will soon shine seven times brighter than the sun when he dies. He then tells his fellow monks that he will die that very hour and tells them what he has seen and what has been promised to him. Jonas notes that: 'The giver of rewards to the saints wished to leave this for posterity as an example, so that those who knew that his crown had been promised before his death might imitate his purity and

[159] Erat enim consuetudinis monasterii et regulae, ut ter in die per confessionem unaquaeque earum mentem purgaret, et qualemcumque rugam mens fragilitate adtraxisset, pia proditio ablueret: VC II. 19, p. 272.
[160] ne vera confessio per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati: Ibid. p. 273.
[161] astitit ad levam diabolus ac lumen in modum lucernae arte qua valuit assimulavit monstravitque viam ad saeculum reducem ac tergiversatione vires auxit: Ibid.
[162] VC II. 6, p. 240.

religion in all things.'[163] His vision of heaven was meant to be edifying to the other monks. This is the same intention with Jonas's description of the miraculous deaths of the pious nuns at Faremoutiers and the visions that they see before their death that so recalls Book IV of Gregory's Dialogues.

Glorification of Saint and Favourable Intervention Miracles in Book I

Miracle accounts which glorify the saint and show God's favourable intervention for the saint and his community are the most frequent type of non-healing miracle in Book I. All of these miracles in the Vita Columbani are in vita occurrences while there are only a few examples of posthumous miracles in the other two works.

When Columbanus orders a bear to leave its den or to stop eating one half of a grove of fruit trees and the bear willingly complies,[164] these are miracles that are meant to glorify Columbanus. These animal-type miracles are not found in Book II. Similarly, when Columbanus, blowing into a vat full of beer shatters it this also shows the power of the saint. This vat of beer had been intended by pagan Swabians to be drunk as libations to Wodan when the saint intervened.[165] When Columbanus miraculously becomes invisible to his pursuers at Luxeuil who wish to expel him from his monastery, this is an example of a favourable intervention that God works to help Columbanus.[166] This is similarly the case when the boat carrying Columbanus and his monks into exile miraculously changes

[163] VC II. 25, p. 291.
[164] VC I. 8, p. 167; I. 27, p. 216.
[165] VC I. 27, pp. 213-4. cf. VVed. 7, p. 315.
[166] VC I. 20, p. 194.

its course to dock at Tours after Columbanus had implored his custodians to let him visit the shrine of St Martin and they had refused.[167] We also see the saint working miracles that help his monks, like at Fontaine when he multiplies bread and beer for his hungry community, recalling Christ's multiplication of the bread and the fish.[168] These are just some examples of the non-healing miracles in Book I which demonstrate Columbanus to have been a man of God. Visions and prophetic vision are not as frequent as they are in the Vita Columbae and in Book II of the Dialogues. In one instance Columbanus knew that two of his monks did not bring back all of the fish that they had found because two had been found dead and orders them to return to get the two they left behind, while later in the Vita he has foreknowledge of the battle being fought between kings Theuderic and Theudebert.[169]

In conclusion, we have advocated a functionalist approach to a reading of miracle works that follows from the work of Derouet and Sigal. This has not been a detailed study of the various types of miracle accounts, but more an outline of the most important kinds of miracle accounts found in the Vita Columbani. I have primarily discussed the different types of miracles and the functions that miracle accounts play in the Vita Columbani while highlighting the range in terminology Jonas uses for miracles. Miracle accounts are an important feature of Jonas's hagiography (as they are in hagiographical works in general) and I have been interested in reading them in new ways that have the potential to tell us more about the ways in which hagiographers could use such accounts as media of

[167] VC I. 22, p. 201.
[168] VC I. 17, p. 183.
[169] VC I. 28, pp. 218-9.

communication. Following a similar methodology, I now wish to turn to another prominent feature in the Vita Columbani: the use of the Bible.

BIBLICAL STYLIZATION

The influence that the Bible had on the writing of hagiography during the Middle Ages is self-evident. It is in the first place most apparent from the biblical citations and allusions so numerous in saints' Lives and from the deeds of the saints themselves which often mirror biblical exemplars. This biblical stylisation is so implicit in hagiographical works that there is a danger of overlooking its influence. Because of the superabundance of citations and allusions to the Bible in saints' Lives, the ways in which hagiographers used the Bible to communicate and emphasize their ideas may not receive due consideration by historians if they are seen as mere hagiographical conventions. This stylisation, on the contrary, provides a window through which to view these works. Its decisive influence on early medieval hagiography has largely been highlighted by Francophone scholars such as Jean Leclercq,[170] Baudouin de Gaiffier,[171] and, most notably, Marc van Uytfanghe.[172] However, it has begun to receive more attention from German and Anglophone scholars.[173]

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[170] 'L'Écriture Sainte dans L'Hagiographie Monastique du Haut Moyen Âge', in La Bibbia nell'Alto Medioevo, Settimane 10 (Spoleto, 1963), pp. 103-28.
[171] 'Hagiographie et historiographie. Quelques aspects du problème', in La storiografia altomedievale, Settimane 17 (2 vols., Spoleto, 1970), 1, pp. 139-66.
[172] 'Le culte des saints et l'hagiographie face à l'écriture: Les avatars d'une relation ambiguë', in Santi e demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli V-XI) (2 vols., Spoleto, 1989), 1, pp. 155-202; idem. Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne (Brussels, 1987); idem. 'La Bible dans les vies de saints mérovingiennes. Quelques pistes de recherche', Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France 168 (1976), pp. 103-11.
[173] See, e.g., D. von der Nahmer, Agiografia altomedievale e uso della Bibbia (Naples, 2001); E. A. Matter, 'The Bible in early medieval saints' Lives', in C. Chazelle et al. (eds.), The Study of the Bible in the

The desire to associate Columbanian history with that of the Bible is evident throughout the Vita Columbani. For Jonas, the passage of time has not severed the events described in the Bible from the world in which Columbanus and his contemporaries lived. Jonas viewed the events he was writing about largely through biblical lenses and firmly sets them in a continuum with biblical history. The breadth of biblical material provided hagiographers with an expansive source base from which they could draw. They adapted the material to best complement their subjects, to emphasize, leave out, or indeed change the signification of a biblical passage by giving it a new contextual meaning. There was, accordingly, a constant interaction between the hagiographer and the Divine Word.

There are approximately seventy citations and allusions to the Bible in the Vita Columbani, which makes it the most important source in Jonas's text and, thus, an important source through which to view the work. Hagiographers selected biblical passages and themes they thought best fitted the persons, things, or scenarios they were writing about. They could use biblical citations to give emphasis to a particular point, to convey ideas, or to draw parallels between their hero or heroine and some biblical figure, all with the intention of presenting their subject in the best or worst possible way, or for some other apologetic purpose. Some thought lay behind what citations and allusions the hagiographer chose. Thus, this selection can potentially broaden our understanding of a text by drawing our attention to the recurrence of certain themes and concerns, to

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Carolingian Era (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 155-65; S. Duncan, 'Signa de caelo in the Lives of St Cuthbert: the Impact of Biblical Images and Exegesis on Early Medieval Hagiography', The Heythrop Journal 41 (2000), pp. 399-412; Y. Hen, 'The uses of the Bible and the perception of kingship in Merovingian Gaul', EME 7 (1998), pp. 277-90.

whatever things and ideas the hagiographer particularly wished to stress and convey through recourse to the Bible.

We can detect five uses of Jonas's application of the Bible in the Vita Columbani. Jonas's comparison, for example, of Brunhild with Jezebel,[174] Agrestius with Cain,[175] and the allusion of Columbanus's theivish raven to the raven of Noah's ark,[176] were the result of Jonas's desire to imbue the events he was writing about with a biblical sensibility. This had a comparative function and, in this sense, the Bible can be said to have been an implicit source of stylisation. All the references in this category are taken from the Old Testament, although the instances where Jonas uses the Bible in this way are few. This leaves the other four functions. Firstly, there are a number of instances where Jonas uses the Bible to convey a religious or moral sentiment. In such cases, Jonas's use of a biblical citation or allusion primarily served a didactic purpose. In these cases, the Bible was a source of moral and religious instruction. Secondly, where Jonas cites biblical references or allusions as having been the stimulus behind a particular course of action, the Bible is seen as having had a moral and religious influence on the motivations and actions of the subjects. This function can be characterised as operative. Thirdly, the most predominant use of the Bible was in conveying a sense of God's providential care and protection for Columbanus. This use is confined solely to Book I, and so with Columbanus. Finally, Jonas used the Bible as a source of religious sentiment. This may be termed the demonstrative function and, in contrast to the third category, is mostly found in Book II.

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[174] VC I. 18, p. 187.
[175] VC II. 9, p. 246.
[176] VC I. 15, p. 178.

1. The Bible as a Source of Moral and Religious Instruction

Humility was the principal virtue of the good monk, and it is unsurprising that Jonas chose to stress it the most in this category of biblical stylization. In chapter five of Book I, which essentially eulogizes the virtues of Columbanus and his monks, humility is the first virtue Jonas praises them for, before their piety, mercifulness, unity of spirit, modesty, and sobriety. The pre-eminence of humility also merited two biblical citations. Columbanus was so humble, wrote Jonas, that 'just as men try to seek authority from worldly honours, so vice versa did he with his companions struggle to surpass each other in their devotion to humility, remembering His command, "Who humbles himself shall be exalted", and that saying of Isaiah, "To whom shall I look if not to the humble and quiet man who trembles when I speak?"'[177] The first citation (Luke 14: 11) is similar to that of the Vulgate, but the second (Isaiah 66: 2) is not. The latter, however, does appear in one of Columbanus's sermons and, according to G. S. M. Walker, is a form peculiar to Columbanus.[178] This implies that Jonas got this citation indirectly from reading or hearing this sermon, or that he used the same source as did Columbanus.

The best example of this instructive use of the Bible is where Jonas chose a series of biblical allusions to illustrate how the wiles of women corrupted some of the great figures of the Old Testament. Jonas recounts that shortly after the young Columbanus had realised that the Devil was tempting him with 'the loves of lustful girls, whose beauty (a passing beauty) is in the particular habit of plunging the minds of wretched men into a

[177] VC I. 5, p. 161.
[178] Instructio II. 2, p. 70.

dreadful desire',[179] he encountered an anchoress whom he asked advice on how he could best prevent such temptations. What the anchoress did was to reel off a litany of biblical femmes fatales:

> "Do you not remember the urgings of Eve which ruined Adam, Samson's seduction of Delilah, David's corruption from former righteousness by the beauty of Bathsheba, the deceiving of wisest Solomon by the love of women? Flee! O young man flee! Escape ruin, through which you know for certain many have been ruined. Shun the way that leads to the gates of Hell!"[180]

These allusions to Genesis 3: 6, Judges 16: 19, 2 Samuel 11: 2-27, and 1 Kings 11: 1-8, were, according to Jonas, the emotive words that launched Columbanus's religious career. After this encounter, Columbanus left his friends and his mother for good, and set off to a scriptural scholar for initial instruction in the Bible.

Monastic misogyny was by no means peculiar to Columbanus and Jonas. The degree, however, to which it is apparent in Columbanus's legislation is perhaps more extreme than usual. The Regula coenobialis stipulated that if a monk even spoke to a woman without witnesses being present he should remain without food (presumably for a day), subsist on bread and water for two days, or receive two hundred stokes.[181] Jonas was merely conveying this misogynistic sentiment found in the Rules from the perspective of the saint's own experience. The Bible backed it up.

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[179] VC I. 3, p. 156.
[180] Ibid. p. 157.
[181] RC 15, p. 164.

2. The Bible as a Source of Moral and Religious Action

The decisive meeting with the anchoress and Columbanus's subsequent reaction also provides two examples of another way Jonas used the Bible. When Columbanus came to the anchoress, she described her solitary vocation in military terms and how, in the fifteen years she had been in her place of pilgrimage, she had never wavered in her purpose. She described this religious perseverance in metaphorical terms: once she had taken hold of the plough, she had never looked back.[182] This is an allusion to Luke 9: 62 where in response to a man who wishes to become his disciple only after he has said good-bye to his family, Christ replies that, "Once the hand is laid on the plough, no one who looks back is fit for the kingdom of God."

In addition to the anchoress's allusion to the pericope of Luke, Jonas reports that when Columbanus had resolved to leave home his mother begged him not to and even barred his exit from the house. In response, Columbanus cited Matthew 10: 37, "have you not heard that, 'Who loves one's father or mother more than me is not worthy of me?'" and then leapt over his prostrate mother who was begging him not to leave.[183] Both biblical allusions are again instructive, but they are more than this. The actions of the protagonists are seen as having been influenced by the Bible. While the citation of Matthew is didactic as far as it is telling the reader that he must sacrifice everything in order to follow Christ, it is also given as the textual influence behind Columbanus's decision to leave home.

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[182] VC I. 3, p. 156.
[183] Ibid. p. 157.

This use of the Bible might be characterised as active. The text of the Bible has an operative effect on the protagonists in the Vita and the actions Jonas describes are the results of this stimulus.

A good example of this can be found in the following chapter where God's command to Abraham in Genesis 12: 1 to leave his land and family for another land which He will show him is cited as having influenced Columbanus's decision to undertake foreign ascetical exile.[184] Similarly, his actions in refusing King Theuderic's royal largesse at the villa of Epoisses where he had gone to protest against the actions which Brunhild and her grandson had taken against the community were explained by citing Ecclesiastes 34: 23, "The Most High rejects the gifts of the impious." The saint added that it was unacceptable that "the mouths of the servants of God be polluted by his food who denies to the servants of God not only access to their own homes, but also to the homes of others."[185] He himself, therefore, quotes this biblical passage as the reason for not accepting the king's hospitality.

We see the Bible as a source of moral and religious action again in the same chapter when, following Christ's example (John 13: 4-5), Columbanus washes and dries the feet of condemned criminals in a prison in Besançon after freeing them from their chains.[186] Likewise, he follows Christ's teaching (Matthew 5: 44) when he rejects the plea of Chagnoald that he should pray for the victory of Theudebert over his brother Theuderic. Columbanus replied to this request: "You give stupid advice and contrary to religion. For

[184] VC I. 4, p. 159.
[185] VC I. 19, p. 189.
[186] VC I. 19, p. 192.

the Lord did not wish it so who asked us to pray for our enemies."[187] God, he said, had already decided the fate of the battle. We can contrast this to Columbanus's namesake, Columba of Iona, who hurriedly summoned his community to pray for the victory of the Dalriadan king, Áedán mac Gabráin, against a tribe known as the Miathi.[188]

This use of the Bible is much less frequent in Book II. One example occurs in II. 9 where Abbot Eustasius, in defending Columbanian practices against the accusations of the renegade monk Agrestius, reveals two common customs that were inspired by the Bible. Agrestius had complained about a number of things that he argued were unnecessary and against canonical practice. One such complaint was that a monk had to seek a blessing whenever he entered or left a building within the monastery.[189] This practice is to be found in the Regula coenobialis where it ordains twelve blows for anyone who failed on leaving a house to seek a blessing, to sign himself with the cross, and then to approach the cross,[190] while fifty blows was the tariff if he did not seek a prayer on entering.[191] From Jonas we know that the words used for this blessing were from Psalm 120: 7-8.[192] Eustasius defended this practice by saying that when "a monk enters or leaves the cell I think it right that he be strengthened with the blessing of the Lord according to the voice of the Psalmist: 'The Lord keep you safe from all evil; may the Lord protect your soul. Let the Lord watch over your coming and your going from this moment and forever.'"[193] This, he conceded, referred to every Christian who was strengthened with baptism in the

[187] VC I. 28, p. 219.
[188] Adomnán I. 8, p. 119.
[189] VC II. 9, pp. 249-50.
[190] RC 3, pp. 146-8.
[191] Ibid. 14, p. 162.
[192] VC II. 9, p. 250.
[193] Ibid.

Church and persevered in the faith until death, but he also argued for its applicability in everyday life (cotidianum motum), "whether on entering, leaving, or at the outset of a journey, I consider it correct that each one of our companions be armed with the sign of the cross and be reinforced with a blessing."[194] Agrestius also condemned the more elaborate way the Columbanian communities celebrated the Mass with additionional prayers and thought that they 'should be detested as though they were heretical traditions, as their author should be.'[195] This constant praying stipulated by Columbanus in the Regula monachorum was again defended by Eustasius with the teaching of the Bible. Christ instructed the apostles in Matthew 26: 41, "Stay awake and pray, so that you may not enter into temptation", while St Paul (Thess. 5: 17) urged that one should pray constantly.[196] This provided the scriptural basis for the Columbanian practice,[197] for, as Eustasius argued, "nothing is so useful and so healthful than to beat the Creator with a multiplication of prayers and in the repetition of lengthy prayers".[198] These biblical citations and allusions, although they could also be instructive, were primarily used by Jonas to show the effect they had on the actions and motivations of the people he was writing about.

3. The Bible as a Source of God's Providential Care

The most important use of the Bible for Jonas in Book I was to show God's support and protection for Columbanus and his monks. This divine intervention in Columbanus's life,

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[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid. p. 250.
[196] Ibid. p. 251.
[197] RM 7, p. 130.
[198] VC II. 9, p. 251.

which was shown in the miracles God worked for and through Columbanus, was the greatest indication of the saint's sanctity. The biblical citations are thus in essence dealing with fate and predestination. As such, all these citations are connected with miracle accounts, miracles, in particular, which concern the provision of food. The citations and allusions are predominantly taken from the Old Testament and, above all, from the Psalms.

Columbanus's reliance and trust in God is seen early on when his master, Sinilis, asked him questions on difficult matters of Scripture. Jonas tells us that he tried to work these difficult issues out, not for any learned glory for himself, but in obedience to his master. Columbanus knew that God could help him in this task as he remembered the words of the Psalm (80: 11), 'Open your mouth and I will fill it'.[199] In turn, his reliance on God meant that the secrets of Scripture were revealed to him so much so that he even wrote a commentary on the Psalms in his youth. He places his trust in God again while 'carrying a book from his shoulder, debating with himself over sacred Scripture', when he is set upon by twelve wolves while walking in the forests of the Vosges. He remained perfectly still and called on God for help in the words of Psalm 69 (2), "God, hold out in my help; Lord, hasten to my aid!"[200] The wolves tore at his clothes but left him unharmed.

However, it is in the miracle accounts where God provides food for Columbanus and his monks that this providential use of the Bible is most evident. Jonas alludes to Deuteronomy 8: 3 when Columbanus first entered the wilderness of the Vosges and

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[199] VC I. 3, p. 158.
[200] VC I. 8, p. 166.

settled at Annegray. Columbanus was satisfied with only a little food, 'remindful of the words that, man does not live on bread alone but is satisfied with the word of life, abounding in overflowing food, as whoever takes this up will never be hungry.'[201] This reliance on God is doubly illustrated in the next chapter when a man unexpectedly brings food to the famished community and when a local abbot called Carantoc received a vision in which he was instructed by God to bring food to Annegray. When Columbanus received the provisions he gave thanks to God 'who in such a way did not delay to provide a meal for his servants in the desert', echoing Psalm 77: 19-20.[202] The same pericope is later repeated by the priest Winioc when he miraculously discovered the granary at Luxeuil had been filled overnight after he had rebuked the saint for not giving proper attention to making sure the community had enough provisions.[203] Columbanus had replied to such criticisms with two biblical examples which stressed God's providential care: "If the common people serve with due observance their Creator, they will never know hunger, as indeed the voice of the Psalmist makes known and proclaims, 'I have not seen the righteous man abandoned nor his offspring seeking bread'. He will very easily fill the storehouse with grain who satisfied five thousand men with five loaves of bread" (Matt. 14: 21).[204]

This biblical stylization in which the saint parallels the same miracles as those worked by Christ is common, and in the Vita a lot of these providential citations occur in this kind of miracle account. The emphasis on faith as justification for God's providential care is

[201] VC I. 6, p. 163.
[202] VC I. 7, p. 166.
[203] VC I. 17, p. 182.
[204] Ibid.

reiterated earlier in the text where Columbanus performs a similar miracle as that performed by Moses when he prayed that water might be produced from rock. He said to his attendant to check the wall of the cave, "remembering that the Lord produced water from rock for the people of Israel."[205] After having prayed, Jonas recounts that 'a great power came to help the devout petitions' and a spring of water appeared which, he adds, 'remains up to the present day.' Jonas goes on to explain that such divine intervention and help was merited by the saints because, in following Christ's teaching, they had 'crucified their own desires'. In return for their self-sacrifice, they could more fully rely on God's help when they were in need. They had such faith that they knew their petitions would be answered and Jonas cites Matthew 17: 19 and Mark 11: 24 to show that Christ had promised in the Gospels that if one prayed with faith it was even possible to move mountains.[206]

A providential image of God's care for Israel, an allusion to Psalms 16: 8 and 120: 4, is used by Jonas in the latter half of Book I after Columbanus and the Insular members of his communities have been expelled from their monasteries. It follows a miracle account in which the ship that was supposed to deport the monks back to Ireland became stranded after it had been driven ashore by powerful waves. Jonas notes that after this no one tried to oppose the saint from staying but rather actively helped him, giving him gifts and food. He also adds that Columbanus did not need any protection, 'because the help of the

[205] VC I. 9, p. 168.
[206] Ibid. pp. 168-9.

Creator remained in everything and because He will never fall asleep who covers Israel under the shadow of His wings.'[207]

Similar imagery of God's care for the Israelites appears to the fore in another miracle account where Columbanus and his monks were lacking food when they were in Alemannia. It is perhaps the best illustration of this type of biblical stylization. Again, Jonas stresses that their strong faith remained, 'which could obtain the necessities from the Lord.'[208] When the monks were famished after having had nothing to eat for three days there suddenly appeared a great flock of birds which completely filled the whole area, 'just as once the quail covered the camp of the Israelites'. Columbanus knew that this gift was from God. That this was a miracle was confirmed by the fact that when the monks caught the birds, none of them tried to fly away. Jonas further refers to this as the 'manna of birds'.[209] The birds remained for three days but on the fourth, a neighbouring bishop, who had been divinely inspired, sent grain to Columbanus and his monks. When these provisions arrived, the birds left.[210]

4. The Bible as a Source of Religious Sentiment

Jonas also used biblical citations and allusions to express more general religious sentiments. He did this predominantly in Book II. This is perhaps not surprising given that the overriding concerns in Book II are with dissent and death. Jonas abandoned the

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[207] VC I. 23, p. 206.
[208] VC I. 27, p. 215.
[209] Ibid. cf. similar use of terminology where Jonas refers to the manna of fish caught in the Moselle: VC I. 11, p. 171.
[210] VC I. 27, p. 215.

chronological narrative he had used in Book I with a seemingly less coherent, composite approach in Book II. Like the Acts of the Apostles, it concerned the early history of the saint's disciples.[211] He did not, however, simply portray the early history of the Columbanian familia.

The disunity and destructiveness of dissent was one of the things Jonas wished to dissuade in Book II. The importance of unity for Jonas is underlined through his allusion to Acts 4: 32 two times in the text. In chapter ten of Book I where Jonas states that although 'they had one mind and one heart', Columbanus decided to found a new monastery because of the influx of so many monks in Luxeuil.[212] The same phrase is used in Book II when Jonas describes how it was no problem for Bertulf, the future abbot of Bobbio and the one who commissioned the Vita from Jonas, to join Athala's monastic community at Bobbio when this abbot visited Luxeuil, where Bertulf was then a monk, because Eustasius and Athala, the abbots of Luxeuil and Bobbio, 'were of one heart and one soul, nor did any discord remain between them, since they exchanged those subject to them according to mutual agreement.'[213]

This type of biblical reference occurs two more times in Book I. In chapter four, Jonas alludes to Matthew 11: 30 where Christ states that "my yoke is easy and my burden light" in connection with Columbanus's practice of praying and fasting which he undertook as a novice in Bangor.[214] This benign view of Christ's teaching could not be more contrasted

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[211] See Biographie, p. 28.
[212] VC I. 10, p. 170.
[213] VC II. 23, p. 281.
[214] VC I. 4, p. 159.

than with the apocalyptic citation of Luke 12: 49 which Jonas uses in the same chapter to convey the intensity of the saint's desire to undertake peregrinatio: 'He revealed the ardor of his heart and the burning desire kindled by the Lord to his venerable father, Comgall, about which fire of the Lord the Gospel speaks of, "I have come to put fire on the earth; I wish that it may be aflame".'[215] In Luke's Gospel, Christ is here referring to his Passion, which he likens to the fire he will bring the earth. The implication is that his Passion will be a purifying fire that will purge the sins of the world. This fire, therefore, has a moral significance in Luke, whereas in the Vita it is given an allegorical sense. Here it refers to the inner disposition of the saint. Jonas employs the exact same citation in his Vita Iohannis, where it similarly refers to the saint's ardour, only in John of Réomé's case it refers to the intensity with which he resisted the desires of the flesh.[216] The pericope is also alluded to by Columbanus in his letter to Pope Boniface IV although, interestingly, here it retains its moral, biblical sense.[217] In this case, it does not seem that Jonas was following the usage of his master. Jonas's citation is not taken from the Vulgate whereas, as Walker notes, Columbanus's is.[218]

In Book II, Jonas mostly uses these kinds of citations in relation to deaths. A notable and important exception is when he cites Matthew 16: 18, "You are Peter and on this rock I will build my Church and the gates of Hell will not prevail against it", as the biblical foundation for the primacy of Rome.[219] This is cited in the context of Agrestius's going over to the schismatic Aquileans who defended the Three Chapters controversy. Rome's

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[215] Ibid.
[216] VIoh. 18, p. 341.
[217] Ep. V. 6, p. 42.
[218] Biblical Index, SCO, p. 218.
[219] VC II. 9, p. 247.

primacy here is clearly emphasized by Jonas as he said that once Agrestius became a member of this schismatic group, he was 'separated from communion with the See of Rome and divided from the communion of the whole world'.[220]

In the following chapter concerning the divine punishments inflicted on Agrestius and his supporters, Jonas conveys the sense that Agrestius got what he deserved when he was reputedly killed by his slave for having had sexual relations with the man's wife. Jonas alludes to Ecclesiastes 12: 14 and cites 1 Corinthians 3: 13 regarding God's judgement on one's actions.[221] The latter is the same form as that of the Vulgate and is also cited by Columbanus in an eschatological sermon.[222] We furthermore see this use of the Bible to convey religious sentiments when Jonas describes the death of Abbot Athala with reference to Job 26: 3, "His spirit has embellished the heavens",[223] and at the death of the nun Augnofleda when some of the nuns who were some distance away from the monastery heard angels singing a verse of Psalm 50.[224]

Jonas's Reading of the Bible

Having outlined some of the ways in which Jonas used the Bible in the Vita Columbani, I now wish to make some general observations on his overall reading of the Bible. Jonas does not seem to have been interested in giving the biblical citations and allusions he uses an exegetical interpretation. Rather, his approach is more practical, more straightforward.

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[220] Ibid.
[221] VC II. 10, p. 254.
[222] Instructio IX. 1, p. 98.
[223] VC II. 6, p. 240.
[224] VC II. 13, p. 264.

His intention in using the Bible was to imbibe his work with a biblical feeling, to show that God's providence continued to work in the events of Columbanus's life and that of his followers. In his biblical references, we do not see the same allegorical interpretations that are more apparent in the hagiographical works of Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours. Jonas seems to take a more literal or historical sense to Scripture. He does not extrapolate elaborate allegorical readings from the citations he uses, but instead they serve to highlight a point or to make a biblical parallel. The biblical references, therefore, have a more utilitarian function than they do in the works of Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours where these writers are more likely to add a spiritual or moral comment from a citation. For Jonas, the citation or allusion often suffices. This lack of commentary, particularly allegorical, may indicate that Jonas was more influenced by a different type of biblical exegetical tradition than were the other writers. His preference for the literal sense of Scripture over that of an allegorical interpretation might imply a familiarity with Antiochene exegetical thought which stressed the importance of the literal interpretation of the Bible.[225] As is well known, this type of exegesis was particularly characteristic of Irish scriptural studies where the most influential exponent of this school was Theodore of Mopsuestia, a fifth-century bishop from Asia Minor whose works were condemned as heretical at the fifth ecumenical council in 553 in Constantinople.[226] This led to the Three Chapters Controversy in which Columbanus became involved. Theodore's work that was most known in the West was his Commentary on the Psalms which was translated into Latin by a Pelagian bishop, Julian

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[225] On the influence of Antiochene exegesis in the West, see M. L. W. Laistner, 'Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages', The Harvard Theological Review 40 (1947), pp. 19-31.
[226] On this, see, e.g., C. Stancliffe, 'Early "Irish" Biblical Exegesis', Studia Patristica 12 (1975), pp. 361-70.

of Eclanum.[227] This work was transmitted largely in Irish circles and we know that a copy glossed in Old Irish, now in the Ambrosiana library in Milan, was read in Bobbio.[228] It was previously thought to have been the work of Columbanus.

The most prevalent exegetical school of thought however had always been the Alexandrian one, whose greatest exponent was Origen. It was this tradition of exegesis that was the most influential in the rest of Europe. Alexandrian exegesis was characterized by a freer approach to Scripture where the literal sense was seen as the first step to a higher allegorical and spiritual interpretation that lay concealed beneath the former. It was this school of thought which influenced Gregory the Great's approach to the Bible and subsequently the exegetical tradition for the remainder of the Middle Ages. An Antiochene approach was thus unusual in the West. This exegetical approach developed as a reaction against what was perceived as the abuses of the Alexandrian allegorical method. The Antiochenes thus took a less mystical and more philological, scholarly stance towards the Bible.

This more rational and scientific method is apparent from a work written in Ireland around 655 by a pseudoepigraphical writer known as Augustinus Hibernicus. His De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae is a remarkable work that deals with biblical miracles that

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[227] Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in Psalmos Iuliano Aeclenensi interprete in latinum uersae quae supersunt, ed. L. De Conick, CCSL 88A (Turnhout, 1977).
[228] The Commentary on the Psalms with Glosses in Old-Irish preserved in the Ambrosian Library (MS. C 301 inf.) (Dublin and London, 1936). See also P. Ó Néill, 'Irish transmission of Late Antique Learning: the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on the Psalms', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds.), Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages: texts and transmission (Dublin, 2002), pp. 68-77.

defy rational explanation.[229] Augustinus Hibernicus's work is concerned with giving these miracles a rational explanation. Such an endeavour is arguably the product of Antiochene exegesis. In one case, Augustinus discusses the miracle in Exodus where God turns water into blood as one of the plagues on the Egyptians (Exodus 7: 20, 21). He argues that the water did not actually turn into blood, but only into the appearnace and taste of blood. Although he does not discuss it, Augustinus is also alluding to the first miracle worked by Christ at the wedding feast at Cana where Christ turned water into wine (John 2: 1-11), with the implication that Christ too did not change the substance of the water into wine but merely its colour and taste. In essence, it remained water, but it looked and tasted like wine.[230] This argument stemmed from a perspective that the inherent nature of things could not change; they could only change their appearance.

As suggested by the writer's name, he was considerably influenced by the writings of Augustine of Hippo. Damian Bracken has highlighted Augustinus Hibernicus's dependence on Augustine for his concept of miracles although the Irish Augustine advanced alternative interpretations that were quite different from those of the Church Father.[231] The treatment of the Cana miracle is one instance of Augustinus Hibernicus's independence; for Augustine the water completely changed into wine. Hitherto, scholars

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[229] Edited in PL 35, 2149-2200. See also G. MacGinty, The Treatise De mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae: Crticial Edition, with Introduction, English Translation of the Long Recension and Some Notes (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1971).
[230] De mirabilibus 18, PL 35, 2165.
[231] 'Rationalism and the Bible in Seventh-Century Ireland', Chronicon 2 (1998), pp. 1-37 [http://www.ucc.ie/chronicon/bracken.htm]. See also, most recently, M. Smyth, 'The Body, Death, and Resurrection: Perspectives of an Early Irish Theologian', Speculum 83 (2008), pp. 531-71; and G. MacGinty, 'The Irish Augustine: De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds.), Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 70-83.

have seen Augustinus Hibernicus as a maverick of rationalism and his approach to his material, unique.

Augustinus's scientific approach to the Cana miracle, however, is also found in the work of Jonas. In the Vita Vedastis, Jonas describes a miracle worked by Bishop Vedastus that parallels the one described by John. Jonas specifically alludes to the miracle at Cana and in so doing notes that what was changed was not the substance of the water, but the taste (aquas in vinum mutavit saporem).[232] A similar rationalist view is also evident in the Vita Columbani in a miracle account in which Jonas describes how the oil and water which filled a lamp had, miraculously during the night, been changed into milk. When the milk was poured out of the lamp, the oil began to increase. At the end of the account, Jonas rhetorically asks: 'What thing had done this so that it changed the created thing of water into the appearance of milk and commanded the oil to increase to the point of overflowing'?[233] This is essentially the same thought as behind that of the Cana miracle. The essence of the water in the lamp had not changed, only its appearance (speciem verteret).[234] As both of these texts were written about a decade before Augustinus Hibernicus was writing it cannot be maintained that Augustinus Hibernicus's views were, in this regard, wholly original. I am not suggesting that he got these views from reading Jonas. Both writers seem to have relied on the same source or sources and I would suggest that from their rationalistic approach this was based on some biblical commentary that was a product of the Antiochene exegetical tradition. I primarily wish to

[232] VVed. 4, p. 312.
[233] Quid hoc fuerit, ut hanc creaturam aquae in lactis speciem verteret vel oleum fluendo multiplicare iuberet: VC II. 21, p. 277.
[234] Ibid.

highlight the hitherto unnoticed similarities in interpretation between Jonas of Bobbio and Augustinus Hibernicus and to raise the possibility that they both relied on a common exegetical source which is at present unknown. In addition, the lack of allegorical interpretation in the Vita Columbani suggests that Jonas was influenced by an Antiochene reading of the Bible which, given the rarity of such a tradition on the Continent, suggests that he acquired this through the mediation of Irish influence.

Not only did the Bible provide Jonas with his largest source of citations and allusions in the work, it also influenced the Vita thematically and possibly structurally. The unusual two-book structure where one book deals with the principal saint and the second with his followers may have been inspired by the paradigm of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The Gospels recounted the life and death of Christ while the Acts told of the period after Christ's death and the very beginnings of the Church. Jonas's use of the term discipuli for Columbanus's followers may hint at such a connection. The textual impact of the Bible is, however, the most noticeable influence and it is this explicit stylisation that I have addressed here. The large number of references show the Bible's importance on Jonas's text. I divided these references into five groups based on the way they are used by Jonas. From this, it became clear that in Book I Jonas was mostly concerned in his use of the Bible to show God's providential care and protection for Columbanus and his monks. The emphasis changes in Book II where in his use of the Bible Jonas is more concerned in expressing religious sentiments, particularly in the context of dying and dissent. In Book II, Jonas also significantly used the Bible as an assertion of papal primacy, a view that is reflected in Columbanus's own writings and in the dedication of

Columbanian monasteries to St Peter. And finally, the lack of allegorical comment on these biblical references and the similarity in thought between two miracle accounts described by Jonas and the work of Augustinus Hibernicus has led me to consider that Jonas might have been influenced by an Antiochene exegetical tradition.

EPILOGUE

Jonas's writing forms one of the most important corpus of hagiographical texts produced during the Middle Ages. At a time when the writing of historical and hagiographical works was not very great, Jonas's saints' Lives are valuable sources for the religious, social, and political worlds of this period. The Vita Columbani is invaluable as a near-contemporary source for Columbanus, one of the most important monastic founders of the early Middle Ages, and for the monastic and political arenas in which he and his followers operated. As one of our only sources for Merovingian Gaul and Lombard Italy in the early seventh century, it also has significance as an historical source when we are aware of the purpose and motivations of its author. The Vita Vedastis and the Vita Iohannis, in contrast, are less reliable historical sources but are, nonetheless, interesting for their perceptions of early ecclesiastical and monastic figures and, in particular, the Christianization of the Franks and the establishment of a monastic culture.

Common to all of Jonas's hagiography, however, was individuality of style and originality of authorship. Jonas wrote a vivid and elaborate Latin with a specific set of vocabulary that we can characterise as distinctly Jonian, while his originality comes across in the intelligent way he used his sources and in his unusual attention to detail, particularly apparent in his description of places. Like Columbanus, Jonas was similarly concerned with issues concerning access to monastic space and monastic jurisdiction, and these aspects come across in his works. The imprint of Columbanus is strong in Jonas, who entered Bobbio only a few months after the saint's death and who served as the personal assistant to Athala, one of the men closest to Columbanus. Jonas may have been

responsible for preserving the saint's writings at Bobbio and we can detect some influence of the saint in Jonas's vocabulary. We can imagine that Bobbio may have been more zealous in preserving the saintly reputation of Columbanus and the integrity of his monastic practices. It is important to emphasize that the Vita Columbani was foremost a Bobbio production. It was not a dual enterprise of Luxeuil and Bobbio. Although addressed to the wider Columbanian familia, it was initiated by the Bobbio community. It was written following a period of crisis in the Columbanian familia when Columbanus's reputation and practices had been attacked. It is essential to consider Jonas in light of the Columbanian monastic background and I have, accordingly, used the writings of Columbanus as a lens through which to better understand Jonas's work. Columbanus's writings reveal the workings of Jonas the hagiographer, while the changes in Columbanian practices following the Synod of Mâcon in 626/27 may underlie the motivations behind the writing of the Vita Columbani. The central aim of the Vita was arguably not to construct a new identity for the reformed Columbanian communities, but to rehabilitate Columbanus's saintly reputation and to critique the dissent and disunity that had plagued the Frankish communities in the years following the saint's death. I have shown that the work was probably also aimed at a wider, elite audience in Merovingian Gaul consisting of the aristocratic and royal patrons of Columbanian monasticism. Jonas wrote the Vita in the northeast of the Frankish kingdom, probably at Elnone or Marchiennes, and I have suggested that he was already an abbot by the time he completed the Vita. As abbot of the double-monastery of Marchiennes, Jonas may have intended the Faremoutiers chapters of Book II to be edifying to the female community of his

foundation. I have also argued for the unity of the Vita Columbani and that Book II, written on Jonas's own initiative, was an important component of the work.

It is unusual for a writer of this period that we know so much about him but the occasional moments of personal writing in Jonas's hagiography allow us to frame him in a biographical profile. I have, accordingly, attempted to consider Jonas as a significant historical figure in his own right. I have sought to locate him in the local, familial, monastic, and political contexts of his time. I have emphasised the complex divisions of the frontier society in which he grew up, his unusual high-level of education, his sense of Italian identity, the potential significance of his name, his awareness of the ethnic diversity of his world, and the important aspect of missionary work in which he became involved and which brought him to northern Gaul where he became an abbot.

A close textual analysis of his hagiography has also revealed aspects of Jonas's language and style, his knowledge of classical literature, his use of sources that includes evidence for the early reception of the Histories of Gregory of Tours and the use of the Conferences of John Cassian. Above all, it has shown the increasing use of hagiography as a political tool of propaganda that is indicative of the growing alliance between monasteries and secular power during this period and of the changing nature in concepts of sanctity in which there was an increasing focus on the sacredness of the monastic community rather than on individual holy men. Perhaps the most interesting thing for the historian is that Jonas's hagiography and career encapsulate so many features of the seventh century. This was a time of social, political, and religious change that we can see

reflected in Jonas's life and works. In his writings, we can witness many of the transformations of the seventh century.

APPENDIX I

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE VITA COLUMBANI

This list is a compilation of the lists of manuscripts in Bruno Krusch's 1905 edition of the Vita Columbani (Ionae Vitae, ix-xi), Richard Hayes's edition of the Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization (11 vols., Boston, 1965), vol. 1, consulted in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, and from my own original research. It does not purport to be a comprehensive list, but aims to highlight a number of manuscripts that were unknown to Krusch in his edition. Krusch divided the manuscripts into two classes, A and B, with B comprising an 'Italian' class. These classifications are given in square brackets after those manuscripts which were used by Krusch in his edition. Some of the manuscripts have also been discussed by H. J. Lawlor, 'The Manuscripts of the Vita S. Columbani', Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy 32 C (1902-4), pp. 1-132, which Krusch reviewed (unfavourably) in: 'Eine englische Studie über die Handschriften der Vita Columbani', Neues Archiv 29 (1904), pp. 445-63.

1). St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 553 (9th cent.) [A 1a]

2). Metz, Grand Séminaire, 1 (9th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

3). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 8518-20 (10th cent.) [A 1b]

4). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 7984 (10th cent.) [A $1b^1$]

5). Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 257 (10th cent.) [A 1a*]

6). Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F IV 26 (10th cent.) [B 1a]

7). Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F IV 12 (10th cent.) [B 1b]

8). Volterra, Bibliotheca Guarnacciana, 6777 (10th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

9). Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C, 10i (10th cent.) [A 1b2]

10). Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Lat. 91 (olim Bibliotheca Lindesiana, 101) (10th cent.) [A 1a**]

11). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 430 (10th cent.) [A 1b4]

12). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 18546. 2 (10th /11th cent.) [A 1b3]

13). St Gallen, Staats-und Stiftsarchiv, Pfavers XII (10th /11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

14). Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F III 15 (10th /11th cent.) [B 1b*]

15). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 1025 (11th cent.) [B 2]

16). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5600 (11th cent.) [A 2]

17). Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 719 (alias B. I. 4) (11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

18). Wormsley Park, Getty Library, BM4149 (olim Holkham Hall 129) (11th cent.) [B 1a*]

19). London, British Library, Add. 21917 (11th cent.) [B 1c]

20). Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 523 (11th cent.) [A 3]

21). Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F II 10 (11th cent.) [B 1b**]

22). Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 48 (11th cent.) [A 4]

23). Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. A. 1. 1213 (11th cent.) [B 1d*]

24). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, X, 73 (11th cent.) [A 2a]

25). Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, 475 (11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

26). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1087 (11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

27). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4628 (11th cent.) [A 1c*]

28). Bergamo, Biblioteca del Clero di S. Alessandro in Colonna, 227 (11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

29). Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I. 2. 4º 6 (olim Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich-Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, I. 2) (11th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

30). Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ancien Fonds 642 (11th /12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

31). Avignon, Bibliothèque de la Ville et Musée Calvet, 276 (12th cent.) [A 2†]

32). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 55 inf. (12th cent.) [B 1g]

33). Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Publique, 715 (12th cent.) [A 2a**.2]

34). Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 2 (12th cent.) [B 1d]

35). Auxerre, Bibliothèque Publique, 127 (12th cent.) [A 2c5d]

36). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9289 (12th cent.) [A 2b]

37). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 18018 (12th cent.) [A 2b1]

38). Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 11 (12th cent.) [A 1b4a]

39). Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 12 (12th cent.) [A 1b4a]

40). Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 14 (12th cent.) [B 1e1]

41). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 58 (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

42). Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 383 (12th cent.) [A 2c1]

43). Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 2 (12th cent.) [A 1a***/ A 1b9]

44). Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 838 (12th/ 13th cent.) [A 2a+]

45). Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana, Cod. F (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

46). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17137 (12th cent.) [A 1c****]

47). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 21551 (12th cent.) [A 1b3]

48). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 22245 (12th cent.) [B 1e]

49). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 22240 (12th cent.) [A 1b3*]

50). St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, 12 (12th cent.) [A 1f]

51). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 2 (12th cent.) [A 2a3]

52). Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1712 (12th cent.) [A 4a]

53). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 3788 (12th cent.) [B 1f]

54). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5293 (12th cent.) [A 3x1]

55). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5365 (12th cent.) [A 2*]

56). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11951 (12th cent.) [A 2b7]

57). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14487 (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

58). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 17007 (12th cent.) [A 2c5b]

59). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 16735 (12th cent.) [A 2c5a]

60). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 16732 (12th cent.) [A 2c5a]

61). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 16737 (12th cent.) [A 2c5a]

62). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 17004 (12th/ 13th cent.) [A 2c5b]

63). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5330 (12th cent.) [A 6]

64). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5336 (12th cent.) [A 2a++++]

65). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5308 (12th cent.) [A 2a****]

66). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11885 (12th cent.) [A 2c5g]

67). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1836 (12th cent.) [A 3+++]

68). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5289 (12th cent.) (assigned incorrect 14th cent. dating by Krusch, Dolbeau, and Bollandists) [A 1b8]

69). Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 51 (12th cent.) [A 3']

70). Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, U. 2 (12th cent.) [A 2b2]

71). Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, U. 20 (12th cent.) [A 2b5]

72). Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, U. 46 (12th cent.) [A 2b3]

73). Trier, Bistums-Archiv, 5 (12th cent.) [A 1d]

74). Trier, Bistums-Archiv, 93 A (12th cent.) [A 3***]

75). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1146 (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

76). Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Fondo Varie 186 bis (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

77). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. n. 3608 (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

78). Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.7.vi (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

79). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Novi 404 (12th cent.) [A 1c+]

80). Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Mp. th. f. 139 (12th cent.) [A 1c]

81). Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 413, 1-3 (12th/ 13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

82). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedil. Flor. Eccles CXXXIV (12th/ 13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

83). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceus (Pluteus) XX. 2 (12th/ 13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

84). Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, H. 30 (12th/ 13th cent.) [A 2c]

85). Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 15, 24 (12th/ 13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

86). Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 59a (olim Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, 196) (12th cent.) [B 1e**]

87). London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D. IV (12th cent.) [A 2a1]

88). London, British Library, Harley 624 (12th cent.) [A 1e*]

89). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9506 (12th cent.) [B 1e*]

90). Maihingen, Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Sammlungen, I, 2 (Lat.), 4º. 6 (12th cent.) [A 1c**]

91). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112 (12th cent.) [A 1e]

92). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 524 (12th cent.) [B 1f]

93). Verdun, Bibliothèque Publique, 1 (12th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

94). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 7460-61 (13th cent.) [A 2a**]

95). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 207-208 (13th cent.) [A 1b7]

96). Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 383 (13th cent.) [A 2c1]

97). Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.I.vii (13th cent.) [A 2a2]

98). Namur, Bibliothèque du Muséé Archéologique, Fonds de la Ville 15 (13th cent.) [A 2b*]

99). London, British Library, Harley 2800-2801 (13th cent.) [A 1b6]

100). London, British Library, Harley 2802 (13th cent.) [A 3+]

101). Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, XIX (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

102). Evreux, Bibliothèque Publique, 37 (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

103). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 302 (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

104). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 474 (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

105). Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Principale II. I. 412 (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

106). Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem IX. 21 (13th cent.) [A 1b*]

107). Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana, Cod. A (13th cent.) [B 1h]

108). Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Publique, 716 (13th cent.) [A 2a**.3]

109). Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1 (13th cent.) [A 2c4a]

110). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 33 inf. (13th cent.) [A 3x2]

111). Mons, Bibliothèque Publique, 26. 210. 8402 (13th cent.) [A 3*****]

112). Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, H. 1 (13th cent.) [A 2c4]

113). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5278 (13th cent.) [A 2a+++]

114). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5293 (13th cent.) [A 3x1]

115). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5297 (13th cent.) [A 2c3]

116). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5330 (13th cent.) [A 6]

117). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5352 (13th cent.) [A 2c5c]

118). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11757 (13th cent.) [A 2c5e]

119). Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1144 (13th cent.) [A 2c2]

120). Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, U. 22 (13th cent.) [A 2b4]

121). Schlaegl, Bibliothek Praemonstratenserstift, 14 Cpl. (823). 225 (13th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

122). Trier, Priesterseminar, 36 (R. I. 12) (13th cent.) [A 3*]

123). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1151 (13th cent.) [A 1b5]

124). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 336 (13th cent.) [A 1b4b]

125). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 339 (13th cent.) [A 1b4*]

126). Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, Gymnasium Abt. 701. 113a (14th cent.) [A 3++]

127). London, British Library, Add. 34387 (14th cent.) [A 2a4]

128). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 12642 (14th cent.) [B 1e2]

129). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 3820 (14th cent.) [B 1i]

130). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5336 (14th cent.) [A 2a++++]

131). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5360 (14th cent.) [A 4b]

132). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11759 (14th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

133). Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 326 (14th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

134). Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. Lat. Oct. 162 (13th cent.) [A 5a]

135). Frankfurt, Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 2-5 (14th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

136). Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, Chart. 130 (14th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

137). Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, E III 9 (15th cent.) [A 1c++]

138). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 858-61 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

139). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 197 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

140). Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 815 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

141). Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B. VIII. 26 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

142). Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A. VI. 36 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

143). Augsburg, Staats-Kreis und Stadt-Bibliothek, 95 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

144). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 70 E. 21 (L. 29) (15th cent.) [A 5b***]

145). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, 357 (Helmstad 322) (15th cent.) [A 1g]

146). Cologne, Stadtarchiv, W. 164 b (15th cent.) [A 5b]

147). Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, M. 8 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

148). Magdeburg, Domgynasium, 138 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

149). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 163 (15th cent.) [A 1c***]

150). Rouen, Bibliothèque Publique, U. 17 (15th cent.) [A 2b6]

151). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14651 (15th cent.) [A 2c5f]

152). London, British Library, Add. 10933 (15th cent.) [A 1a+]

153). London, British Library, Harley 3597 (15th cent.) [A 1b5**]

154). Utrecht, Bibliotheek Der Rijksuniversiteit, 394 (15th cent.) [A 5b**]

155). Utrecht, Bibliotheek Der Rijksuniversiteit, 390 (15th cent.) [A 5b*]

156). Sankt Florian, Augustiner-Chorherren Stift, III, 8 (15th cent.) [A 1b10]

157). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 24809 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

158). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 24131 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

159). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 5512 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

160). Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, 74 (15th cent.) [A 3'*]

161). Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. II. 22 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

162). Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 855 (15th cent.) [A 2a++]

163). Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 479 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

164). Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 763 (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

165). Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, XII (15th cent.) [unknown to Krusch]

166). Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 11987 (16th cent.) [A 2a**.1]

167). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1349 (16th cent.) [A 3****]

168). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1376 (16th cent.) [A 1b5]

APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPTION OF OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, DIGBY 112, FOLS. 75-82 ON ABBOT EUSTASIUS OF LUXEUIL (D. 629)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112 contains twenty-two saints Lives, including sections from only the second book of the Vita Columbani, dealing with Eustasius of Luxeuil and Burgundofara. It does not treat of Columbanus, only his disciples. It is an early-twelfth century manuscript written in a neat, small script. The first couple of Lives are of Swithun and Birinus which suggests a Winchester provenance. Bruno Krusch does not mention this in his 1905 edition of the Vita Columbani of which Digby 112 is designated A 1e in his textual families. No provenance is offered. He notes that the manuscript contains an interpolated preface ('cum praefatione interpolata') that does not appear in his reconstruction of the text (and which is here transcribed). Furthermore, he notes that the greater part of the readings are consistent with those of A 1c (Würzburg, Universitatsbibliothek, Mp. th. f. 139) and A 1d (Triers, Dombibliothek, 5), both from the early-twelfth century and both of German provenance. They similarly have the interpolated preface to the account of Eustasius and the Burgundofara material (in total they comprise chapters 7 to 22 of Book II in Krusch's edition). The Eustasius section comprises fols. 75-82 and that of Burgundofara, fols. 82-90. The manuscript also contains the Vita S. Indracti, Hiberni, apud Glastoniam. We may wonder why Winchester was only interested in the Eustasius and Faremoutiers (Burgundofara) sections of Jonas's Vita? Was it linked to its importance as a centre of monastic reform in England in the tenth century? The Burgundofara material might be explained by Bede's interest in her,

while Eustasius's missionary work in Bavaria and as an important figure in the development of Hiberno-Frankish monasticism could have prompted his inclusion. Alternatively, the exemplar may simply have contained only these sections.

fols. 74-76

Incipit uita s(an)c(t)i Eustasii abbatis

Igitur uenerabilis Eustasii abbatis Luxouiensi(us)

Monasterii scriptur(us) uita(m). habitatore(m) ei(us) inuoco sp(iritu)m s(an)c(tu)m. ut

q(ui) illi uirtutes largit(us) (est) m(ihi) ad narrandas eas sermonemtri

buat ut facta dictis e\x/requent(ur). Mauricio ig(itur) et foca imp(er)a

torib(us) q(uo) te(m)pore, romane ec(clesi)e honori(us) pontifex clar(us) habeba

tur. nec n(on) et c\h/othari(us) helperici fili(us) strenue francos regebat.

fuerunt religiosissimi discipuli almi patris colu(m)bani

athala et eustasius quoru(m) p(r)im(us) bobiensis second(us) luxouien

sis cenobii ei(us) successors extiterant, q(ui) magistri institute

suis alu(m)nis seruanda tradiderunt. Cu(m) igitur uenerabilis colu(m)ban(us)

uicesimo anno p(ost) incolatu(m) heremi luxouiu(m) reliq(ui)sset, insupra

dicto cenobio uenerand(us) EUSTASI(US) pat(er) suffectus (est), cui(us) p(ost)

magistru(m)

uirtutes clare fulser(en)t. Ex burgundionu(m) genere nobili ort(us)

(est), nobilior sanctitate. uestigia magistri secut(us) (est). Adcui(us) fama(m)

plebs undiq(ue) c(on)currere et secultus religionis dicare. ita ut n(on) par

ua c(on)gregatione monachoru(m) adunata. illinc c(um) se\x/rcentis ferme

monachis c(on)uersari uideretur. in dei laudib(us) uno regule sp(irt)u su

p(er)na inspiratione co(m)moti ad laude(m) om(n)i potentis dei piu(m) exibe

rent famulatu(m). Ipse aute(m) uir uenerabilis pat(er). erat multae

[fol. 75]

abstinentiae, et multaru(m) uigiliaru(m) cotidiano ieiunio macera

uit corp(us). orandi etiam assiduitas magna die ac nocte. Erat etiam

in illo sollicitudo omniu(m) eccl(esi)aru(m). Int(er) ueniendi etia(m) magna assi

duitas. et c(on)stantia. Inreb(us) q(uo)q(ue) diuinis inplendis fortissim(us), sollicit(us)

uero inperegrinis et paup(er)ib(us). erat etia(m) gaudens cu(m) gaudentib(us).

Siq(ui)de(m) qu(o)tiens cu(m)q(ue) illi aliq(ui)s obp(er)cipienda(m) penitentia(m)

laps(us) suas c(on)fes

suas esset, ita flebat ut et illu(m) flere co(m)pelleret. Causas aute(m) criminu(m)quasille

c(on)fitebatur nulli {? n with superscript i} d(om)ino soli apud que(m) intercedebat

loq(ue)batur

bonu(m) relinquens exe(m)plu(m) posteris sacerdotib(us). ut int(er)cessores magis

apud dominum sint qua(m) accusatores apud homines. Na(m) et se(cun)d(u)m

ap(osto)l(u)m circa

hui(us)modi homine(m) co(n)firmanda caritase(m). q(ui)a ipse sui accusatur, nec

expectat accusatore(m) s(ed), p(er)uenit ut c(on)fitendo suu(m) ablaut delictu(m). humi

liat etia(m) anima(m) sua(m) sicut dauid s(an)c(tu)s. q(ui) p(ro)qua(m) audiuit

ap(ro)pheta dimissu(m) (est)

peccatu(m) tuu(m) humilior fact(us) (est) inem(en)datione peccati ita ut cinere(m)

sicut pane(m) manducaret. et potu(m) suu(m) cu(m)fletu misceret. Erat itaq(ue) ia(m)

dict(us) uir te(m)p(er)at(us) innom(ni)b(us), indiscretione p(er)cipuus. Reclundabat amor

et timor insubditis. redolebat doctrina indiscipulis. labentia cunc

ta subtererant. Null(us) iuxta eu(m) ue(l) inerore tenebatur. neq(ue) nimia leti

tia extollebatur. Nec op(er)a declinabat sribendi p(ro)p(ri)a manu libros. n(isi)cum

aliqua infirmitate corp(us) ei(us) detineretur. Erat aute(m) c(on)sueta exoratio

ue(l) p(rae)dicatio adc(um)discipulos suos ut meminissent s(an)c(t)o patru(m)

q(ui)permor

tificatione(m) carnis c(on)te(m)ptu p(rae)sentis uite regina celoru(m) adepti sunt.

Q(ua)prop

t(er) fratris mei optimu(m) in istis certam(us), magis ac magis satagite ut p(ro)bona

op(er)a certa(m) u(estr)a uocatione(m) et electione(m) faciatis. Monachoru(m) aute(m)

opus

illud est p(rae)cipuu(m) utoratione(m) pura(m) offerant dom(ino). nichil habentes in

c(on)scientia rep(re)hensibile. sicut dominus dixit ineuangelio. Cu(m) steteriti(us)

adoratione(m). remittite fratribus u(est)ris. nec uobis remittet pat(er) u(este)r

q(ui)inrelisem.

Intere\a/ chothari(us) rex uiri d(ei) colu(m)bani p(ro)phetia(m) insefuisse co(n)pletu(m)

[fol. 76]

cernens, uenera\a/bile(m) eustasiu(m) q(ui)ei(us)in. loco luxouiense mona

steriu(m) regebat ad se uenite imp(er)at, que(m)pio affamine ro

gat at sui cu(m) supplem(en)to publico legatione fungicuret.

sociosq(ue) quos uellet nobiliu(m) uiroru(m) haberet q(ui)sui uadi

monii arbitrii e(ss)ent et p(ro)beatu(m) colu(m)banu(m) p(er)gerent.

ut q(uo)cu(m)q(ue) eu(m) repperissent in loco eleganti suasu adse

uenire hortaretur. P(er)rex(it) itaq(ue) uenerabilis discipuli ma
gistri uestigia p(ro)secut(us). Qui cu(m) ad eu(m) uenisset, chothari
uerbu(m) dep(ro)ina\i/t. Uiso (ergo) eustasio beat(us) colu(m)ban(us), p(ro)recepto
munere g(ra)tulat(ur). Retentu(m)q(ue) penes se aliquantisper, hor
tat(ur) ut suilaboris meminisset. cohorte(m) fratru(m) discipline
habenis erudiret. multoru(m)q(ue) collegio (Christi) plebe(m) adunaret
suisq(ue) institutis educaret. Dimissu(m) post hec ad chotharium
remeare iubet.talib(us)q(ue) responses regias demulcere imp(er)at
aures se repedare nullaten(us) posse.tantu(m)modo poscere ut
sodales suos q(ui) luxouiu(m) incolebant regali adminiculo acp(rae)
sidio foueret.ac litteras castigationum affamine plenas
regi dirigit. Gratissimu(m) munus rex uelut pign(us) federisui
ridi(re) [?]ouans receipt. Nec ei(us) petitione(m) oblit(us) e(st), sed om(n)i p(rae)sidio
supradictu(m) monasteriu(m) munire studet. annuis censib(us) dicat.
t(er)minos undiq(ue) p(ro)ut uoluntas uenerabilis eustasii erat auget.
om(ni)q(ue) conatu se ad auxilia inibi habitantiu(m) ob uiri dei amo
re incendit. Uenerabilis (ergo) eustasi(us) reuers(us) ut … {etc. as beginning of II.7 in
Krusch's 1905 edition, p. 240}.

APPENDIX III

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, LAT. 11759, FOLS. 234v – 239r

This is a large legendary of the fourteenth century containing 297 folios. It was given to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris by Antoine Vyon, 'sieur' d'Hérouval (d. 1689). It was written for the monastery of Montier-la-Celle near Troyes and was probably meant to be read in the refectory at mealtimes. It is of interest because it contains a summary of Book I of the Vita Columbani and for its short notice on Deicolus and Gallus, Irish disciples of Columbanus. It was not a manuscript used by Krusch.

Transcription of fols. 234v – 238v on Columbanus:

Beatus Columbanus qui in regno burgundiorum monasterium fundauit quod luxouium dicitur, hybernia que est extrema oceani insula ortus fuit. Quem cum mater utero gestaret per uisionem uidit, quod quasi sol suis uisceribus exiens, suo mundum splendore illuminaret. Referens hoc illa uiris doctisimis ab eis mandatum accepit, ut quem utero habebat, natum caute enutriret, futurum quod eius doctrina et moribus multi essent illuminandi. Traditur ergo litteris, cum ad illam etatem infans peruenit, et in artium liberalium studio puericie, tempus sensu capaci transcurrit. Et cum omnem adolescenciam hisdem studiis occupasset, elegantem formam corporis candor et ingenii ardor curis quid pluribus solliatabant. Ille quid sibi agendum sit mente pertractans, sotalibus cum quibus studebat ualedicens, euangelio duce iter arripiens, ad salutandam

matrem diuertit. Illa nesse relinquat uerbis detestabilibus obserrat, totoque corpore in limine protensa, exulantem impedire temptabat. Matrem ille transilit, omnibusque relicitis, cuiusdam religiosi uiri qui senilis uocabatur, magisterio sesubdidit. A quo diuinis litteris ad plene instructus, ad quoddam monasterium peruolat cui comogellus pater praeerat. Ubi qualiter in diuinis exercicus desudauerit, sequens uita monstrabit. Obmittam orationum frequenciam, lectionis studium, fracta ieuiniis membra, miles Christi uel in heremo desiderat, soli deo solus inherere, uel ingentes non deum non nouerant predicando fidem fundere sanguinem. Dum hec in cordis imo uersantur, uenit ad cuiusdam femine deo dicate cellulam salutationis causa. Quam cum uerbis salutationis instrueret, magis ille instruitur. Nam ita illa respondit, Ego annis pluribus hoc in loco contra antiqui hostis insidias pugnaui et nisi sexus obesset, ipse me occeanus tenere non potuisset. Age ergo et cui non est sexus impedimento, uirili constancia spiritalis milicie induens arma, parentes patri

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amque relinque. Talibus iuuenis inflammatus alloquiis supradicti patris comogelli, cuius se regimini subdiderat genibus ad uoluitur, et quod in ignotas regiones pro Christo peregrinari uellet confitetur. Indicens hoc monasterii pater tristis efficitur, uocatisque ad consilium fratribus, quid de hoc agendum sit sciscitatur. Illi admirantes ingentem iuuenis animum, totum in abbatis arbitrio ponunt. Ille uero ne deum uideatur offendere sibonis discipuli ceptis uellet obsistere, xii, fratres elegit, quos eius paterna pietate paternitati commisit. Agebat uero tunc temporis beatus columbanus uicesimum etatis sue annum, qui per spiritum sentiens quod patris dilectio et communis fratrem oracio magna quedam sibi infuturum protendebant, letus cum duodecie discipulis patria egreditur, nauisque

conscendens, ad britannicos peruenit sinus. Dehinc ad gallias transineat. Ubi fides tantum Christiana uigebat, omni religone destructa, non solum per impugnationem exterarum gentium, sed magis negligencia pontificum. Unde uir sanctus quocumque cum discipulis suis pergebat, uerbum fidei quod predicabat, uite exemplo commendabat. Eo tempore childebertus rex francorum ceptra tenebat, subiugatis sibi duobus regnis, austrasiorum scilicet et burgundionum ad quem cum uir sanctus fama notificante peruenisset, regi simulque principibus acceptus, quicquid ad cultum religionis uellet facere, regia ei annuitur uoluntate. Offeret illi predia et pecunias, si eius ad construenda monasteria aspiraret uoluntas. Cui uir sanctus, Non ideo propria reliqui, ut aliena sustollam. Precipuus mihi honor est paupertas. Cui rex, Si uite pauperis tibi gloria placet, sunt apud immense heremi uastitates, regna tantum nostra ne deseras. Hac sibi optione data, regis persuasioni obtemperat. Uasta autem erat heremus nomine uosagus, quam uir sanctus cum suis discipulis ingreditur, ubi reperto diruti castri loco, quod antiquitus anagrates nuncupatur resedit. Pascuntur ergo dei uerbo, quibus panis non erat, herbis agrestibus corpora utcumque sustentantes, sed cum ibi tanta nutruentur egestate, unus ex fratribus febribus cepit torquari. Uidens pater filio mortem imminere, cui nullam praeterat refectionem preparare, ceteros adhortatur, ut ieiuniis et orationibus infirmo fratri salutem adomino precarentur. Ieiunatur ergo tribus diebus, non herbe non aqua in cybum sumuntur, infirmo salus redditur. Quo cum nichil haberent unde corpora deficiencia reficerent, homo quidam aduenit, qui diuina admonitione iumenta panibus et aliis cibis onerata adduxit. Oblatusque que detulerat, pro coniuge non nimiis torquabatur febribus sanctos dei precatur. Eleuatis illis ad celum manibus, orant ut secundum precantis fidem, infirma recipiat sanitatem. Reuersus ille accepta benedictione, coniugem sanam reperit.

Recepte sanitatis horam sciscitans, cognouit quia illa hora fuit, qua fratres ad deum pro illa preces fuderunt. Illis pro aliquot tempus sustentati sunt dapibus. Post hec nouem transierunt dies quibus uir sanctus cum suis, nichil aliud in cibum sumpsit, nisi herbas arborumque cortices. Erat monasterium quoddam, cui nomine salicis erat. Abbati loci illius per visionem precepit dominus, ut famulis suis in heremo fame talescentibus de suis mitteret facultatibus, expergefactus abbas, dispensatorem monasterii uocat, et sicut sibi imperatum fuerat, uehicula onerare precepit, fratribusque inheremum transmisit. Mira dei uirtus. Nulla per heremum habebatur uia et equi qui uehicula ducebant, ad dei famulos sine ullo per uenere ductore. Ex hinc multorum infirmantium turba, sanctos dei cepit frequentare, et cum illorum orationibus sanitatem recepissent, de suis facultatibus illorum subministrabant necessitatibus. Eodem tempore dum uir sanctus per saltus deuia ambularet, incidit ei cogitatio, quid meliud eligeret, aut latronum manus, aut ferarum morsus. Elegit magis ferarum ferocitatem quam rabiem hominum eum dampno animarum. Extimplo duodecim lupi ei dextra leuaque assistunt. Cumque imperterritus staret, eum relinquunt. Nec se eius bene subtraxerant oculis, cum turbam sueuorum eisdem in saltibus latrocinantium obstrepentem audit. Sed utrum hoc diabolus finxerit, an ita se ueritas humanae erit, scire non potuit. Inde non longe ursum in saxi concauo latitantem reperitur, quem abire precipiens et mitis fera discessit. Multis post hec diebus beatus columbanus eodem habitauit in specu. Erat ei consuetudinis ut cum sanctorum dierum sollempnitates aduenirent, ab aliis segregatus locis abditis occultabatur, scripturis sanctis et orationi uacans. Cibus erant ei herbe heremi, ministrabat ei quidam puerulus nomine domoalis, qui solus que fratribus obseruanda essent, a patre referebat. Cui grauis labor erat patri in supradicto specu posito, aquam humeris per montis ardua deferre, quod

et subsilentio conquerebatur. Cui columbanus, fili rupem istam percute, et ipsa tibi dabit aquas sicut quodam fecit filiis israeli in heremo, ipse uero orationi instabat. Quid plura? Fons uiuus emanat, qui usque hodie largo defluit riuo. Edificauerant autem eius discipuli monasterium in supra dicto loco anagrates. Ubi exemplo et meritis beati columbani multitudo maxima undique conueniens, eius se disciplinis submisit. Eratque non modica monachorum turba. Unde

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patri columbano necesse fuit, ut quia locus ille omnes capere non poterat, alium quereret. Inuenit ergo locum a supradicto loco viii milibus distantem, qui ab antiquis luxouium dicebatur, castrum scilicet olim firmissimum, et cultu sacrilego dicatum. Testantur hoc lapidee ymagines, que ibi circumquaque passim per heremum inueniebantur. Erant ibi eciam aque calide ad lauandum cultu eximio constructe. Ursorum et ceterarum bestiarum frequentes ibi conuentus. Ibi beatus columbanus aliud cepit edificare monasterium. Concurrunt undique populi, cultu se mancipantes diuino. Breuique temporis spacio, non modica monachorum adunatus multitudo. Uidens hoc beatus columbanus, aliud construit monasterium, quod fimtanas uocauit. His tribus dei dispositione constructis monasterus, positis ibi de religione prepositis, cum duobus magne uite fratribus, ad illam quam sibi fera immitis reliquit speluncam cum uno solummodo secedit cumque iam perduodecim dies ex illo uixissent pane, imperat pater discipulis, ut per concaua montium aliquid querant refectioni congruum. Currunt illi circunquaque et usque ad musellam descendunt fluuium. Reperiunt quinque pisces magnos arte pastorum captos, sicut illis in locis mos est. quorum tres patri deferunt. Quibus ille ait: duos quaredimisistis? Mortui erant inquiunt. Deferte illos, cibumque parate. Simili modo eum quidam frater nomine gallus

cum in eodem specu posito ei solus ministraret, precepit ei ut accepto rete ad bruscam fluuium piscatum pergat. Uisum est autem fratri illi ut ad aliud flumen diuerteret cui nomen erat lignum. Ubi cum rethe iactasset, uidens maximam piscium multitudinem, nec unum quidem capere potuit. Quod cum patri reuertens narraret, increpatur, etiam ubi prius imperatum fuerat remittitur. Misso itaque in flumine rethe, ita impletum est piscibus ut uix traheretur ad litus. Dum in eodem specu pater columbanus nimis affligeretur, cognouit per spiritum fratres qui luxouio erant diuersis egritudinibus infirmari. Festinus ergo uenit luxouium ubi cum uix superessent qui infirmis seruirent, imperat ut omnes delectulis surgant, et messe in area quia ipse parus deerat cedant. Surgunt quide obliti sue infirmitatis, ut obedient patri. Quod cum pater laborare uidisset, cessate inquit. Mirantibus illis desuibita sui sospitate. Neglegentes autem longa egritudine, penas soluunt inobediencie. Tempus erat colligendi segetes, sed inibrium nimietas assidue totam illam estatem urgebat. Eratque uir dei apud fontanas, ubi nouus ager copiosam messem detulerat. Anxius quid ageret, fide armatur, iubet ut pluuiis inundantibus messem colligant. Fratres obediunt, patris mirantes imperium. Ille quatuor uiros de genere scotorum religiosissimos, per quatuor ponit messis angulos, ipse medius certatim cum ceteris messem colligit. Mira uirtus. Pluuie undique fundebantur, soli messo res nimio solis estu torcebantur. Dux quidam qui filios habere non poterat, cum coniuge sua nobilissiam de cuitate uisoncio ad beatum uenit columbanum. Conqueritur se multis facultatibus ditatum, filios non habere. Quibus ille. Si inquit illum quem primum uos habueritis domino seruiturum doueritis michique delauatro suscipiendum detuleritis, super hoc clemenciam domini exorabo, ut non solum illum habeatis, uerum eciam quotquot uolueritis. Promittunt illi quod sanctus imperat, et larga dei uirtus ducis

coniugem fecundat. Tempore suo filius nascitur, grates deo redduntur. Baptisandus sancto patri defertur. Quem delauacro suscepit, donatumque uocauit. Qui postea disciplinis sancti columbani nutritus uisontiensis cathedix pontifex ordinatur, in eadem cuitate monasterium sub regula sancti columbani construens. Habuit et alium dux ipse filium quem sui ducatus reliquit heredem. Qui in eodem uirense saltu, aliud construxit monasterium. Habuit et filias, quas amor dei fecit clarissimas. Post ducis uero obitum, coniunx eius in cuitate sua pulchrum fecit monasterium, ubi et uelatur spretis mundi luxibus. Frater quidam ex discipulis sancti columbani messem cum fratribus colligens, falce digitum incidit; ita ut uix pelle inhereret. Quem uir domini ceteris colligentibus stantem uideret: cur non operaretur inquirit. Rei ille causam promit. Ad quem pater propius accedit, ligat ei digitum saliua sua linitum, frater sensit sanatum, moxque ad patris imperium redit ad opus ceptum. Instabat aliquando uir dei cum fratribus in silua operi quo ad faciendas domos ligna parabant. Superuenit ibi quidam presbyteri religiosus. Cumque astaret mirans quanta ui quercum funderent, elapsus tronco cuneus, media fronte percussit eum. Patenti ulnere effluit sanguis nimius, de eius uita desperatur. Quod uir dei ut uidit, orans ad terram prodidit. Indque consurgens, sputo illius uulnus lmiuit [?], statimque sanum reddidit, ita ut uix uideretur restigium cicatricis. Luxouio quidam coruus horam refectionis in cluastro uenire consueuerat. Hic aliquando beati uiri wantos ante fores refectori inuenit. Ex hiis unum sustulit. Quem cum pater post refectionem requireret nec inueniret, furti auctor nonlatuit, imperat pater.

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Expectantibus cunctis sublatum reportat, nec fugem temptat commissi furti conscius, quem sanctus abire precepit. Testabantur eciam familiares eius discipuli, uirum dei per

heremum deambulantem solitum bestias heremi accersiri, manuque blanda attrectare, similiter et aues, nec non et animali illud paruum quod ulgo sciriolus dicitur, dicebant, sepe ex altis arborum cacuminibus uocasse, manuque receptum collo suo imposuisse, quod quasi mansuetum, sinum eius intrabat et egrediebatur. In eodem luxouiensi cenobio uir dominio columbanus cellerarium ad se uocari precepit. Qui ea hora in cellario gillonem quo fratribus in refectorium potum portare consueuerat, uasi quod uulgo tonna dicitur apposuerat, et eoliquore qui ceruisia dicitur recipiebat. Qui audito patris imperio, oblitus uasis foramini consuetum ligni ostaculum imponere; ad patrem cucurrit. Auditisque patris preceptis, sue recordatus negligencie, ad cellarium festinis redit, sperans nichil in uase liquoris remansisse. Inuenit autem elementum illud liquidum supra gillonem firma stare rotunditate, talis est uirtus obediencie. Reperit aliquando uir dei indeferto ursum, qui ceruum quem lupi strauerant, seuis incipiebat decerpere dentibus. Cui imperauit ut corium ad usus fratrem seruari, oblita feritatis bestia discessit. Misit ergo fratres ut corium cerui deferrent. Sed mirum dictu cum fratres illuc uenissent, inuenerunt et feras et aues que ad odorem uenerant cacaueris a longe stare, quasi interdictum pertimescentes tangere. Presbiter ille quem uir domini frontis ulnere superius sanauerat, cum eo horreum intrauerat, quo fratres collectas messes posuerant. Uidensque exigium messis aceruum, quo tanta pascenda erat fratrem multitudo dixit uirum dei debere prouidere, unde fratres per annum uiuerent. Ad quem uir domini. Non uidi iustum derelictum nec semen eius querens panem. Altera dic presbiter mane consurgens, forte iuxta horreum pertransibat. Aspiciens inter horrei custodem interogat, que plaustrorum multitudo tot frumenti inampulos [manipulos] aduexerit. Cui ille ait. Ego nocte claues habui, et mane ostia horrei obserata inueni, diuinum est munus quod conspicis. Apud

cenobium funtanas sextiginta fratres terram fodientes iactandis seminibus preparabant. Ad quos laborantes cum uir domini uenisset suo. Pascat uos dominus omnipotens fratres. Cui minister fratrum ait. Pater quid fratribus apponam non habeo, exceptis duobus panibus. Ipsos inquit huc dfer. Quibus allatis uir domini eleuans in celum oculis exemplo domini benedixit eos, et fregit et iussit appponi. Qui manducantes saciati sunt et duplo quam apposuerat collegerunt. In luxouiensi cenobio frater quidem erat, cui et nomen erat columbanus. Hic febre correptus ad extremam deducitur, quidum felicem prestolatur exitum, uidit ad se uirum in ueste splendida uenire. Qui dixit ei. Orationibus et lacrimis inpedior patris tui columbani, ne te corpore educam. Quod ille audiens per fratrem qui sibi ministrabat, ut communis pater columbanus ad se ueniat mandat, orationi enim in ecclesia incumbebat. Ad quem ille. Cur me inquit tuis orationibus, hac in uita retines? Adsunt qui me educere uolunt. Da abeundi licenciam, patent michi regna celestia. Columbanus metu percussus, signi tactu fratres conuocat, et ei corpus Christi uiaticum prebet. At post extrema oscula psalmos incipit et omnia que transeuntibus ex hac uita fidelibus debentur adimplet. Fama beati uiri uniuersas gallie prouincias impleuerat, et ab omnibus honore condigno uenerabatur. Rex ipse theodericus nomine qui eo tempore in burgundia regnabat, ad eum sepe ueniebat, euis se orationibus commitens, et obtemperans admonitionibus. Hunc quia concubinarum detinebatur illecebris, uir dei admonuit, ut legalis coniugii iura susciperet. Quod ille se facturum cum omni promisit humilitate. Brunechildis autem auia eius que rege sigiberto uiduata erat, dehinc childeberto filio orbata, hos childeberti filios theodericum scilicet et theobertum duobus eius regnis prefecerat, theobertum austrasiis, burgundionibus theodericum, cum quo et ipsa regnabat. Unde et filium uxorem honore nonpatiebatur, ne forte regni honore priuaretur. Exigente

ergo monasterii necessitate, beatus columbanus ad palacium uenit. Ubi et honorifice suscipitur, Brunechildis uero que auditis uiri dei ammonitionibus aduersus eum iam odii uenena conceperat, filios theodocici beato columbano representat. Interogat ille qui essent. Filii inquit regis sunt, sanctis tuis manibus benedicendi. Nequaquam ille respondit, isti qui de concubinis nati sunt a me benedicentur. Accepta illa occasione, furibunda paruulos iubet abire. Sed et uir dei aulam iratus egreditur. Sed dum limen tangit, fragor exortus totam domum quatiens omnibus terrorem incussit, pessime tamen mulieris furorem non conpescuit. Dein uiro dei apertas ponit insidias. Compro uincialibus monasterii per nuncios mandat, ut eius monachis nulla prebeant subsidia. Cernens beatus columbanis regios animos aduersum se commotos, ad palatium regreditur. Quo cum iam sole occumbente uenisset, regi nunciatur. Rex ut honorifice in aula locis oportunis suscipiatur imperat. Sed hoc uir dei renuit. Intelligens ergo rex uirum dei aduersum se commotum que sibi

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erant necessaria per ministros aule regie transmittit, que omnia uir dei abbominatus est, et ait. Munera impiorum reprobat altissimus. His dictis uasa omnia in quibus regie dapes deferebantur frustatim comminuta ad terram corruunt. Que uidentes ministi conterriti, rem gestam referunt. Rex terrore perculsus diluculo ipse et auia eius brunechildis, ad uirum dei susplices ueniunt, commissi delicti ueniam petentes, cetera inpostmodum emendare pollicentes. Ita pace perfecta, ad suum uir dei redit monasterium. Post non ultum temporis ad uirum dei ueniunt, qui conubinarum consuetis commixtionibus regem iterum dicunt irretitum. Quibus auditis beatus columbanus litteras ad eum direxit, in quibus eum ut pater filium corripit, et si hoc emendare distulerit comminatur

excommunicandum. Uidens brunechildis quod uir dei ceptis non desisteret, regni proceres alloquitur, episcopos sollicitat, ut aduersus dei uirum regis incitent animum, qui eius in regno inconsueta regule statuta peregrinus induxisset. Qui omnes facile regine persuasionibus obtemperant. Regem adeunt, hortantur ut luxouium ueniens inquirat cur Christianis intra secretiora monasterii loca aditus non pateat. Qui consuetudo in prouincie monasterus non erat. Secundum hoc consilium procerum, rex uenit luxouium. Allocutus beatum columbanus respondit, frequenciam secularium homini relgionem impedire. Unde in monasterio parate erant domus, ubi aduenientium suscipiebatur aduentus. Ad hec rex. Si nostra uultis sustentari tuitonne, locis monasteribus omnibus pateat introitus. His dictis rex temere cum suis claustrum ingreditur. Cui uir dei, si ob hoc in loco isto uenisti, ut regularem disciplinam quam multo labore constrxi destruas, habitaculis dei seruorum turbas introducens secularium, scito in proximum regnum tuum funditus ruiturum et te cum omni tua progenie ad nichilum reuersurum. His et aliis increpationibus rex perterritus festinus claustrum egreditur. Dixitque ad uirum dei martirii coronam a me speras accipere, non sumus tante demencie, potiori consilio uia qua uenisti reuertere. Nolumus enim manere nostris in locis, quia comprouincialibus dissidat. Cui beatus columbanus. Ego nisi uilenter abstractus hoc loco non discedo. Abeunte rege unus ex eius proceribus qui ad hoc remanserat, uirum dei luxouio pellit secundum regis sentenciam, uisontioque dimisit, ubi cum uir domini esset, carcerem adiit plneum dampnatis, quibus uerbum dei predicat, et de commissi increpat. Illi cum lacrimis penitenciam pormittunt, et ut morte liberentur deposcunt. Uir domini ministro suo nomine domali precipit ut ferrum quo compedes ligabantur extrahat. Quod ut ille manu tetigit, ueluti putrefactam in puluerem redigitur lignum. Quibus ille secundum euangelium pedes lauit, linteho tersit,

imperat ut petant ecclesiam, de commissis agant penitenciam. Illi egressi carcere, obseratas reperiunt fores ecclesie. Interea tribunus per nuncium audiens uacuatum dampnatis carcerem, acsi de morte securus milites ad insequendum exhortatur. Quos ut illi post tergum uiderunt, clausis ecclesie foribus, fugiendi non erat locus. Meritis beati columbani dum deum inuocant, ecclesie fores subito aperiuntur. Et post illorum introitum inoccursum militum diuinitus obserantur. Concurrunt omnes tribunus ex una parte, ex alia beatus columbanus, et cum neuter illorum obseratis foribus ecclesiam posset intrare custodem cum clauibus uocant. Qui cum uenisset clauibus appositis ecclesie fores aperuit. Tribunus obstupuit, nec uim audet inferre, diuina liberatis uirtute. Aliquantis ergo diebus in eadem ciuitate sine custodibus permansit. Quid faceret? Per mediam ciuitatem, cum suis ad monasterium redit. Quo audito, brunichildis et theodoricus attrociori ira inflammantur. Missoque tribuno cum cohorte militum, imperant ut monasterio uiolenter eiciant. Uenientibus illis, ille in atrio ecclesie lectionis iacans residebat. Quem cum illi obcecati luminibus minime uiderent, omnia monasterii perscrutantur. Erat ergo pulcerrimum spectaculum cum illi hac et illac pertranseuntes aliquando in eum suffenderent, eorumque in medio positum non uiderent. Tribunus ergo qui timore dei claustra monasterii intrare metuebat intuitus per fenestram, uidet uirum dei intra se querentes securum sedere, lectumque lectioni iacare. Qui uocatis militibus recessit, et quod uirum minime reperissent regi renunciat. Ille de ira in furorem uersus comitem unum cum multorum presidio, adeum perquirendum misit. Qui cum luxouio uenissent, in ecclesia uirum dei cum fratribus psallentem inueniunt. Quem ita allocuntur. Precamur uir dei obtempera regi, et regni proceribus et uia qua uenisti reuertere. Quibus ille. Absudrum mihi fratres uidetur, ad terram reuerti, quam semel pro Christi amore reliqui. Cumque

comes ille cerneret quod nullatenus uir dei sibi ob audiret abscessit, uirosque animo feroces adeum extrahendum reliquit. Qui uirum dei precibus submissis exorant, ut sui misereatur, et sine ui monasterio egrediatur, se sine periculo mortis regis imperium non posse transgredi. Quibus ille ait. Iam sepe uobis testatus sum, sine ui hoc me loco non discessurum. Ille deum timentes et imminens mortis periculum a rege spectantes, alii cum lacrimis eius pedibus prouoluntur, alii pallium quo

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erat indutus cum reuerencia attingunt. Peperrit ergo sue seueritati, pepercit et militibus quos mortis urgebat metus, et cum omnium eiulatu monasterio egreditur. Deputantur custodes inter quos primus erat ragomundus qui eum burgundionum regno educeret, uniuersis fratribus uelut simus subsequentibus. Quos cum pater flens flentes uideret, secum ire paratos substitit. Accepto cum fratribus consilio quos luxouio dimitteret, et quos secum peregrinaturus duceret. Quod ragomundus uidens, regis esse dixit esse preceptum, ut nullum in gallia ortum, ire secum permitteret. Cumque pater egregius ui a se suia membra discerpi cerneret, multiplici dolore artatur, maxime pro eustachio iuuene nobilissimo qui a sanctis eius amplexibus auellelatur, faciente hoc eius auunculo, qui lingonensis ecclesie episcopus erat. Multo ergo utrinque fuso lacrimarum flumine, et ad celum usque missis clamoribus, uir sanctus a suis membris diuiditur. Uicesimus annus erat, quo uosagum heremum inhabitauerat. Reducitur per uesontium ciuitatem usque ad augustidunum. Cumque inde perauallonis castri confinia transiret, custos equorum theoderici occurrens, lancea uirum dei perfodere uoluit. Qui statim ultione diuina peruentus, demone correptus ante eius uestigia ruit. Quem ille die altera, deo fauente curatum ad propria remisit. Dein cum ad fluuium nomine choram uenisset, duodecim ei

uiri occurrunt pleni rabido demone. Quos statim uir dei facta oratione curauit. Eadem die non longe ex inde, quinque freneticos sanauit. Cum autem autissiodorum peruenisset, ragomundo dixit prophetico spiritu. Clotarium regem quem uos paruipenditis, intra triennium dominum habetis. Inde progressus conspicit iuuenem plenum demone ex aduerso cursu peruia currere. Uiginti etenim milibus totis uiribus currerat, quo uiso substitit, illeque ante uirum dei ueniens adterram corruit, quem ille statim suis orationibus curauit, sanumque patri reddidit. Dein neuernis ueniunt, parata ibi naue qua ueherentur in mare. Ubi cum quidam frater itinere fessus nauim insiluque [insilirque] tardius, quidam de custodibus remo eum percusit. Quod beatus columbanus uidens ingemuit, dicens ad eum Quia Christi membrum iniuste percussisti. Scias quia hoc in loco percutiet te diuina ultio. Quod et ita sanctum est. Nam breui post tempore in eodem portu ademone suffocatur. Inde aurelianis ueniunt, ubi ex precepto regis omnis eis humanitas denegatur. Nam in eorum aduentu ecclesie clauduntur, nec fuit qui querentibus aliquid largiretur. Fixis ergo tentoriis super rupam ligeris, fratres lustrata ciuitate cum nichil timore reperissent, ob uiam habent in platea mulierem de genere syrorum. Quem cum eos uidisset sciscitatur quinam essent. Ille se peregrinos esse dicunt, et regis timore nichil alimonie in ciuitate inuenisse. Quibus illa. Et ego aduena sum, uenite ad domum ancille uestre. Habebat autem uirum ex eodem genere syrorum, occulorum lumine priuatum. Administrat illa que potuit et uiro dei deuota direxit. Cum hec fratres beato uiro narrarent, illa eorum uestigia subsecuta astat, ducens uirum suum secum, corruensque in terram precatur, ut eius orationibus uir eius lumen recipiat. Uidens beatus columbanus mulieris fidem, omnes hortatur ut pro ceco orent. Ipseque humi prostratus surgens ab oratione occulos eius tetigit, et crucis signo lumen reddidit ceco. His inciuitate auditis, omnes quos

uariis infirmitatibus torquebant demones ad uirum dei adducuntur, et gracia dei curantur. Sed et populis ciuitatis quia non audebat patenter, multa numera uiro dei obtulere latenter. Nauigantes inde per ligerim turonis perueniunt, ubi uir sanctus milites qui eum ducebant precatur, ut orationis causa ad sepulcrum sancti martini ire se promittant. Cui illi aurem surdam facientes nautas compellunt naui impulsa, uelociter post portum transire. Audiens hoc beatus columbanus mestos ad celum erigit uutus. Omnibus ergo magna ui nauim impellentiubs, mox ut contra prtum uentum est, quasi defixa stetit. Cunctisque clamantibus et remis eam urgentibus, moueri non potuit. Quod dum fatigati mirantur, celeri illa ad portum peruenit ulatu. Gracias uir sanctus eterno regi refert, nauique egressus ad sepulcrum beati martini tota ibi nocte in oratione excubat. Die illuscrescente episcopus ciuitatis illius eum cum suis ad hospicium inuitat, et cum hora refectionis eum interrogaret qua de causa ad patraim redire cogeretur, respondit Canis theodericus meis me abegit fratribus. Cui unus ex conuiuis regis theoderici fidelis humiliter respondit. Meliud est lac potare quam absintium. Ad quem uir domini. Scio te regis theoderici esse fidelem amicum, ideo hec infer eius auribus ex nostra parte. Infra triennium ipsum suamque progeniem radicitus esse delendum. Dein sublato prandio ad nauem rediit, sed magna tristicia suos reperit affectos. Nam aurei quos ei pridie fideles quidam obtulerant, furto sublati erant. Quo audito ad sepulcrum beati martini regreditur dicens, se non ideo ad eius per noctassecorpus ut tale dampnum pateretur. Nec mora qui aureos tulerat demone correptus affuit, et inter flagella damare cepit se illo et illo loco aureos posuisse. Quod uidentes qui furti conscii fuerant, reddunt omnia que substulerant. Quod multis terrorem incussit, nedeinceps auderent tangere que ad uirum dei nouerant pertinere. Episcopus ergo ciuitatis uale dicens uiro dei in multis que sibi erant necessaria

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ministrauit. Inde nenametis oppidum per ligerim uenit, ubi cum aliquantisper moraretur, pauper elemosinam petens, ad ostium uenit. Ille dixit ministro, da pauperi elemosinam. Cui minister rendit se omnino nichil habere nisi paululum farine. Da inquit totum, et nichil reserues in crastinum. Illo obediente, nichil remansit in commune. Tribus ergo diebus ieumantes et nichil penitus unde reficerentur habentes, pulsat quidam ostium, qui dicit se missum a quadam nobili femina diuinitus admonita ut beato columbano egestate laboranti subueniret, seque ideo ante uenire, ut uasa preparentur, in quibus qua missa sancti recipiantur. Erant autem centum modii uini et ducenti frumenti et braci unde ceruisiam facuint centum. Quod tum hostiarius patri nunciasset, scio inquit fili omnesque fratres in unum uissit conuenire, et domino omnipotenti gratias refere, et sic oblata recipere. Alia eciam relgiosa femina ducentos frumenti modios direxit, et ceruisie centum. Que causa maxima uerecundia episcopo ciuitatis illius fuit, a quo nichil uel mutuo potuerunt honore. Ubi cum moraretur, mulier quedam cum filia sua demone plene, ad uirum dei uenerunt, cuius orationibus sanitatem receperunt. Post hec episcopus ciuitatis ipsius una cum comite beatum columbanus in hyberniam transmittere deliberant. Interea nauis que scotorum commercia uehebat affuit. Cui omnem superlectilem comitesque beati columbani imponunt. Ipse usque in mare, minore uehitur naui. Cumque omnibus collectis nauis prosperis flatibus in altum duceretur pelagus, orto turbine ita retro pellitur, ut in siccum litus terre proiceretur. Uentisque cessantibus, in suo sinu mare colligitur. Manente ergo per tridium in sicco naue, intellexit dominus nauis, ob uiri dei comitatum se esse detentum. Initoque cum suis consilio, omnia que ad uirum dei pertinebant reiecit. Nec mora unda affuit, qui nauem in mare reuexit. Cognouerunt ita que

omnis non esse uoluntatem dei, ut beatus columbanus ad suam terram reuerteretur. Rediit ergo ad suis hospicium, nullo iam obstante quo uellet ire, et ab omnibus ut dignus erat uenerabatur. Inde erog transiit in regnum clotarii, qui in extrema gallia francis ad oceanum positis imperabat. Porro chlotarius audierat quantis qualibusue iniuriis brunichildis et theodoricus uirum dei fatigauerant. Quem cum uidisset uelut celeste munus sucepit. Precaturque ut infra regni sui terminos resideat, se ei prout uoluerit famulaturum. Nequaquam ille ait, his cousistam in locis. Mansit tamen apud eum aliquantis diebus, monens eum ut quo sancta in aula emendaret errores, quod ad eius imperium ille se spopondit securum. Uir enim purdens erat, et uirum delibenter audiebat. Interea inter theobertum et theodericum fratres de regni termino oritur bellum. Dirigunt uterque legatos ad chlotarium. Aduersum se eius postulantes auxilium. Quod chlotarius beato columbano insinuat. Cui beatus columbanus prophetico spiritu consilium dedit ut nulli eorum ferret auxilium, intra triennium eorum regnam in sua uenire potestate. Cui ille libenter paruit, fideliter eius expectans promissionem. Post hec accepto cum suis consilio ut per regnum theoberti in italiam iret, datis a rege sumptibus comites accepit, qui eum usque ad theobertum perducerent. Itinere arrepto parisius peruenit. Quo cum uenissent occurrit eis homo spiritum immundum habens , debachans ac se ipsum decerpens, rauco clambat sermone. Quid his uir dei aduenisti in locis? Ad quem uir dei. Egredere pestifer egredere, cede uirtuti dei. Et cum imperiis eius seuus et atrox resisteret, uir dei manum ori eius iniecit, linguamque attrectat, in uirtute dei imperat ut egrediatur. Cumque diu torqueretur, cum uiscerum eggestione egressus, tantum astantibus dedit fetorem, ut facilius sulfureos tolerarent fetores. Ad meldense oppidum inde peruenitur. Manebat ibi quidam uir nobilis et sapiens regis theoberti conuiuia et consiliarius. Is uirum

dei maximo cum gaudio recepit. Spoponditque securſam et diligenciam qualiter ad theoberti aulam perueniret, nec esse necesse alios comites e regio habere latere. Et hoc ideo faciebat, ut aliquandiu uirum dei apud se retineret, ut eius fide et doctinra domus eius sanctificaret. Benedixit ergo uir dei domum eius, et filiam eius uouens eam domino. Inde in uilla quadam, que supra matronam fluuium posita est, a uiro quodam et eius coniuge, honorifice suscipitur. Quibus erant duo filii, qui adhuc infancie annis detinebantur. Quos uiro dei ad benedicendum mater obtulit. Qui postquam in maturam peruenerunt etatem, chlotario regi primum, dein dagoberto gratissimi fuerunt. Qui postquam transeuntis saeculi sublimati fuere gloria anhelare ceperunt ut non carerent eterna. Unde maior eorum natu, addo nomine saeculo renuncians, in uirano saltu monasterium ex regula beati columbani construxit. Junior nomine dado intra briennensem saltum, ex eadem regula aliud construcit monasterium. Et hec in uiro dei fuit gratia, ut quoscumque benedixit, ad bonum uite finem uenerunt. Inde ad theobertum regem uenit, et iam multi erant qui exluxouio post eum uenerant. Cum his omnibus rex eum libenter suscepit, promittens se eiin omnibus seruiturum, si infra regni sui uoluerit remanere terminum. Cum ergo beatus columbanus locum religioni aptum quereret, inuenit infra germanie terminos oppidum olim dirutum reno uicinum, quod bricantia

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dicebatur. Illuc cum per renum nauigaret, non est silendum quid egerit. Cum ergo uenisset ad ciuitatem quemagoncia dicitur, naute qui cum eo a rege missi fuerant, dicunt se in ciuitate honore amicos, qui eis sumptus prebeant necessarios. Quo cum abissent uactui reuertuntur, dicentes se nichil ab eis impetrasse potuisse. Ad hec uir dei. Sinite me inquit paululum ad meum ire amicum. Mirantibus illis unde illo in loco haberet amicum.

Egressus naui ab ecclesiam pergit. Ubi pauimento inherens longam protracit orationem, ut sibi subueniat dominum exorans. Mox episcopus ciuitatis illius attonitus, ad ecclesiam. Repertumque beatum columbanum, sciscitatur quis sit. Peregrinus ille se esse fatetur. Qui ille, si necessariis inquit eges sumptibus, omnia tibi a me copiose ministrabuntur. Ille gratias deo refert, qui hec pontifici inspirauerat. Mittit celeriter ad nauem, ut omnes preter custodem ueniant, et quesinit sibi necessaria tollant. Dein ad denomiatum peruenit locum. Qui cum sibi non sederet animo, tamenque sperabat coronari martirio remansit ibi fidem predicare uolens uicinis gentibus sueuorum. Ad predicandum ergo progrediens, incolas terre illius in unum congregatos inuenit, profania sacrificia celebrantes. Erat autem uas magum quod ulgo cupa dicitur, in medio positum plenum ceruisia, capiebatque fere uiginti modios. Inquirit uir dei quid de illo uellent facere. Aiunt se deo suo illud uelle litari, qui apud eos wodant uocatur, latim autem martem illum appellant. Uidens ille opus profanum, uas illud sufflat, miroque modo uas cum fragore dissoluitur, totaque ceruisia terre diffunditur. Uidentes barbari uirum dei magnificant, qui solo faltu uas illud grande potuit dissoluere. Monet eos dehinc euangelicis predicationibus ut se ab his sacrificiis subtrahant, et ad fidem perueniant Christianam. Multi eorum doctrina beati uiri baptismum consecuti sunt. Alii qui iam lauacro spirituali abluti fuerant, sed adhuc profano detinebantur errore, per eum ad sinum reducti sunt ecclesie. Cum itaque beatus columbanus eodem in loco moraretur, dire famis temporis inhorruit. Et cum deesset illis alimonia, fides tamen inconcussa manebit. Ieuinantibus ergo per triduum fratribus subito maxima anium multitudo omnem loci illius planiciem peruit. Intellexit uir dei obsuorum necessitatem, hanc a deo transmitti refectionem, iubet omnes adesse, gratesque domino [uero] referre, dehinc aues capere. Que ad primis capiebantur imperium nec fugem

nitebantur. His ergo cibis eos dominus per triduum aluit. Quarto autem die quidam pontifex e vicinis urbibus omnia aspiratione monitus, magnam frumenti copiam beato columbano direxit. Quam ut uir sanctus sucepit, auibus abeundi licenciam dedit. Referebant fratres se unquam [?] antea huiusmodi uidisse aues, que a gustu ita erat suaues, ut regias uinterent [?] dapes. Eo in tempore cum in quodam specu uaste heremi uir dei ieiunio corpus afficeret, et nichil in cibum nisi poma agrestia caperet, que sibi hora refectionis minister eius deferebat, accidit ut ibi ursum mire magnitudinis inueniret. Ille perterritus cursu celeri redit et patri nunciat. Imperat ille ut eat et poma diuidat, partem fere dimittat, partem sibi reseruet. Ab ut ille uirgaque diuisit arbores precipiens fere ut unam partemherat, aliam inusum uiri dei dimittat. Mirum dictu obedit fera, nec prohibitam sibi partem dienceps ausa est attingere. Interea ei cogitatio inadit, ut uenetiorum, qui esclaui dicuntur terminos adiret, cecasque mentes luce euangelica illumiaret. Cumque hec sanctis patranda deliberaret, angelis ei domini per uisum apparuit, et mundi circulum quasi stilo descriptum mostrauit. Cernis inquit quod maneat totus orbis desertus, pergedextra leuaque qua eligis, ut fructum tui laboris comedas. Intellexit ergo uir dei in promptu non esse salutem gentis illius. Interea inter theodoricum et theobertum fratres nulta sanuinis effusione bellum geritur, utrisque sue gentis uirtute superbientibus. Tunc beatus columbanus ad thebertum accessit, eique suadet, ut a bello desistat, seque clericum faciens, sacre religionis iugum suscipiat. Ne cum dispendio presentis uite, dampnum paciatur eterne. Quod regem et omnes proceres in risum excitat, dicentes se numquam audisse aliquem in regno sublima dum uoluntarie fiusse clericum. Quibus beatus columbanus ait. Si uoluntarie clericus non fuerit, in breui multis erit. His dictis, ad cellam suam remeauit. Statim in illis diebus theobertus a theodorico adbellum

prouocatus, prope tullum bello uictus fugatur. Collectoque exercitu theoderitus fratrem persequitur. Cum theobertus multarum gentium uirtute adiutus apud tulbiacense castrum pugnaturus occurrit. Ibi prelio inito innumere hominum caterue ex utraque parte periere, uictus dum theobertus fugit. Eo igitur in tempore uir domini in heremo morabatur uno tantum ministro contentus. Ea uero hora qua apud tulbiacum commissum est bellum, sedebat frater truncum lectioni iacans. Qui subito corpore oppressus, cognouit quid inter duos reges ageretur. Moxque somno excitus ministrum uocat, curentam regum pugnam manifestat, multum humanum sanguinem fundi suspirat. Cui minister ait pater mi theoberto tuis precibus prebe suffreagioum ut communem debellet hostem. Ad quem beatus columbanus, non bonum

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das consilium dominus nos pro inimicis orare precepit, in eius est arbitrio, quid de eis fieri uelit. Uictus est ergo theobertus. Quem theodericus persecutus suorum proditione cepit, et auie brunichildi direxit. Quem illa clericum fieri fecit, et non multos post dies permii [?] iussit Porro theodericus mettis diuinitus percussus; inter flagrantis ignis incendia mortuus est. Post quem brunichildis filium eius sigibertum regem constituit. Itaque chlotarius memor prophetie uiri dei collecto exercitu fines regni qui sue debebantur ditioni inuasit. Qui sigibertus cum exercitu pugnaturus occurrit. Quem clotarius captum peremit, fratresque eius quinque theodorici filios cum proauia brunichilde cepit. Pueros separatim peremit. Brunichildem uero primo ignobiliter camelo impositam hostibus girando mostrauit, dehinc indomittorum equorum caudis ligatam uita priuauit. Funditus ergo radicitusque theodorici stirpe deleta, chlotarius potitus est trium regnorum monarchia. Quo secundo beati columbani prophecia in omnibus intra triennium

est adimpleta. Post hec beatus columbanus relicta gallia italiam ingressus, ab agilulfo rege longobardorum honorifice suscipitur, largita ei optione habitandi in italiam quocumque in loco uoluisset. Sed dum mediolanum non reperto adhuc habitandi loco moraretur, contra fraudes arriane perfidie librum edidit florentis sciencie. Dei autem prouidencia uir quidam ad regem uenit, qui dicit se scire in solitudine appenninarum rupium basilicam beati petri apostolorum principis, in qua uirtutes plurime fiebant, loca omni ubertate fecunda aquis irrigua, piscium ibi copia. Quem locum ueterum traditio uocat Bobium ob eiusdem nominis affluentem fluuium. Ubi cum uir dei semirutam ecclesiam reperisset, breui omni cum intentione restaurauit, cooperante manifesta dei uirtute. Nam trabes abienne quas triginta uel quadraginta uiri peraliquam planiciem uix ferre ualerent, ibi per preruptos ardui montis scopulos, aduobus uel tribus fratribus portabantur. Uidens hoc beatus columbanus de dei auxilio iam securus, fratres abhortatur, ut leto animo ceptum opus perficiant, dei esse uoluntatis ut in loco eodem permaneant. Interea clotarius uidens uiri dei propheciam in se esse completam luxouium misit, eustachium eiusdem loci abbatem ad se uenire precepit. Socios uiros scilicet nobiles designat, supplementa publica subministrat, misitque eum fidelem legatum post beatum columbanum, mandans ei ut loco quo uellet obuiam sibi dignaretur uenire. Peruenit ergo beatus eustachius bobium ad beatum columbanum, et cum regis legationem detulis sed, respondit ei beatus columbanus se amplius ad gallias non reuersurum. Retinuit autem apud se beatum eustachium per aliquot dies, suis eum institutis instruens et fratres ad iuga discipline coadunare non dubitari super omnia deposcens. Dehinc litteras sanctis castigationibus plenas clotario regi direxit, quas ille uelud gratissimum munus suscepit, nec eius petitionem postposuit. Luxouiense monasterium annuis censibus ditat, terminos

eius prout uoluntas beati eustachii fuit dilatat, propter amorem uiri dei intentus in auxilium inibi habitantium. Porro beatus columbanus expleto anni circulo in bobiensi cenobio; animam corpore solutam celo reddidit.

Transcription of fols. 238v – 239r on Deicolus and Gallus:

Beatus deicola qui monasterium quod lutra dicitur primus fundauit, genere scotus fuit. Hic cum beatus columbanus cum his qui de hibernia uenerant luxouio pelleretur, infirmitate detentus, magistrum sequi non potuit. Unde in proxima heremi deuertit loca, dato ei ab abbate precepto ne luxouium rediret. Cumque per deuios oberraret saltus, subulcum qui gregem pascebat porcorum offendit. Quem cum inter plura si in proximo ecclesia haberetur inquireret, respondit fore ad duo miliaria esse ecclesiam beati martini. Quem cum ille rogaret ut se illi duceret, respondit ille suum gregem sine custode non posse dimittere. Cui beatus diocola fixo inibi quo sustentabatur baculo dixit, Deus noster sub custodia huius baculi saluos omnes donec reuertamur custodiet. Duxit eum ad ecclesiam beati martini ubi fluvius quilutra dicitur eximio fonte oritur. Cumque ad gregem porcorum reuerterentur, et baculum suum beatus deicola loco quo defixerat extraheret, fons mire claritatis subsequitur. Ubi eciam usque in hodiernum diem multi infirmi meritis beati deicole hastu illius recipiunt sanitatem. Dein beatus deicola ecclesiam beati martini orationis causa cepit frequentare. Cui presbyter loci illius inuidens ecclesie fores homini {huismodi} ignoto praecepit obserare, sed mira dei uirtute uiro dei cum illud adueniret ultro aperiebantur. Quod custos ecclesie moleste ferens, spinis eas obstruxit. Que similiter aduenienti uiro dei illuc et huc deiecte, aditum prebebant. Cumque nescirent quomodo cum fugareret nobili cuidam uiro qui uuarferus

uocabatur, et ad quem locus ill pertinebat, quas a scoto illo iniurias sustinerent referunt. Furibundus ille inter alia minatur, quod si eum inueniret, membris genitalibus obtruncaret. Eodem momento quo ista dicebat, tantus eum dolor cisdem in membris arripuit, ut uite praesentis nulla ei spes eset. Cumque a cris torqueretur doloribus precibus sue coniugis ut ad eum uir dei ueniret misit, sed dei iudicio antequea ille uenisset

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mortis debitum soluit. Ueniens autem uir dei sole iam ad occasum tendente, cum domum in qua nobilis uiri exequie celebralantur intraret, solis radius thomo crispante per fenestrans trabis formabat similitudinem super quem ille pallium itinere fessus lignum esse sperans suspendit. Mirabantur omnes qui uiderunt, et quanti apud deum esset meriti cognouerunt, solis radio fere per horam unam eius pallium sustentante. Tunc defuncti coniunge ad redimendam uiri sui animam ex toto animum apponit., inique cum suis consilio ipsam beati martini ecclesiam unde eum pellere prius uolebant, cum monibus que inibi sui uiris esse uidebantur uiro dei dedit, ubi ipse collectis plurimis fratribus monasteriam construxit. Uixit autem beatus deicola eo in loco sancte et religiose, ibique sepultus est. pleclara eius apud deum merita testantur plurima, que apud eius sepulcrum infirmi confecuntur beneficia.

Huius beati deicole frater germanus beatus gallus esse dicitur. Hic magistro terra marisque per innumeros adhesit labores. Extirpata domini brunichilde cum omni sua progenie cum beato columbano galliarum regna cepissent esse tedio, sueuiam ubi ad extremum resederat, deserens, alpes appenninas spiritu sancto admonente disposuit pertransire dei autem uoluntate cum universos suos secum regione illa educeret discipulos, beatus gallus febre corripitur. Erat autem discipulus ille magistro ualde utilis.

Quicum assiduis urgeretur febribus et corporis ualitudine ceptis deficeret, magistri prouoluitur genibus, et ut sibi parteret submissis exorat precibus. Ille in primis abnegat, sed cum ex minia egritudine secum illum non posset tollere, iratus imperat ut sacerdotis officio, quam diu uiueret careat. Remansit ergo in sueuia beatus gallus, et breui sanitati restituitur. Hospitalatur autem apud quendam presbyterum uirum religiosum, ubi eum beatus columbanus reliquerat. Inquirit ergo ab eo sisciret in solitudine locum humanis habitationibus congruum. Habebat uero presbyter ille diaconum quendam qui piscandi causa omnem illam heremum nouerat. Illi beatum galum committens precepit, ut eum in solitudinem duceret. Qui iussa complens adquendam eum locum perduxit, aquis irriguum et piscibus copiosum. Quem dum beatus gallus lustraret, pes eius uepre adherens cedidit. Quem cum diaconus accurrens uellet eleuare, sine me ait, hec requies me fini saeculum saeculi. Ibi monasterium construxit, comite eodem diacono, quem breui temporis spacio ad summa religionis perduxit perfectionem. Fuit autem beatus gallus uerus dei cultor, et Christi paupertatis amator. Nam et cathedram constanciensis ecclesie cum ad episcopatum eligeretur noluit conscendere, et prelationem luxouiensis monasterii amore dei postposuit. Contra spiritales nequicias ita uiriliter pugnauit, ut ad eius imperium obsessos relinqerent homines et apertis uocibus suis se sedibus expelli conqererentur demones. Nam ut unum de pluribus referam cum filiam ducis illius prouincie regi austrasiorum desponsatam saeuus demon inuasisset, a comprouincialibus episcopis adiuratus cum anemine posset expelli, aduocatus per preces ducis beatus Gallus, cum pro ea ad dominum orasset, uidentiubs cunctis quasi auis nigerrima de eius ore exiuit. Que postea ut in gestis beati galli habetur, uitam religiosam direxit. Post multa uero uirtutum exercicia forte accidit ut predicationis causa heremo illa quam habitabat, beatus gallus

egrederetur. Et cum apud predictum presbyterum moraretur, corporis infirmitate detentus ad extrema perducitur. Qui cum sanctam deo reddidisset animam, ad eius exequias innumera conuenit multitudo. Accurrit eciam flens et eiulans iohannes episcopus quem ipse ecclesie constanciensi prefecit, primus eius scilicet cohabitator et discipulis. Et cum omnes eximiam uiri uitam communi fauore extollerent, claudus quidam qui sancti uiri caligas inelemosinam acceperat, coram cunctis erigitur, rectosque deinceps habuit gressus. Habebat etiam uir dei capsellam quam ipse diligenter claue seruabat obseratam, quam cum ad predicandum pergebat, ex humeris pendentem portabat. Hanc cum aperuissent, inuenerunt cilicium et cathenam eneam sanguine perfusam, arma scilicet carnis mortificande. Et cum defosso sepulcro corpus eius domo uellent efferre, nemo illud omnino potuit mouere. Unde consilio inito duos equos indomitos tulerunt, quibus sacri corporis feretrum imposuerunt. Ablatis uero ex eorum capitibus frenis mirantibus cunctis ad sancti uiri cellam eius sacri corporis detulerunt glebam. Locus uero ille per succidua temporum curricula omni illi prouincie fluentia spiritalis ministrauit doctrine.

APPENDIX IV

NOTES ON TWO ELEVENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS IN ROME

I. ROME, BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE, 719 (ALIAS B. I. 4)

Codicological and Palaeographical Features:

This is a large legendary of 220 folios measuring 511×344 mm. It is an Italian manuscript of the second half of the eleventh century, possibly from Tuscany as revealed by the decoration of initials and script. A notable feature in the script is seen in 'ri' at the ending of a word where the 'i' is formed in one flourishing stroke from the 'r' so that it appears almost as an 'n'. It contains most of Book I except that the text is deficient in that passages are mixed up and are not in the correct order especially towards the final chapters. It was not noted by Krusch although it can be classed as part of his B 1a family of manuscripts because of a number of features in the text. The binding appears to date from the seventeenth century and has the words PASSIONALE SIVE VITAE SS. SEC. XI and TOM. II. embossed on the spine. It is the second volume of saints' Lives (volume 1 is Casanatense 718) arranged according to feast day. This eleventh-century codex contains saints' Lives from 19 June (Ambrose's Passio Gervasii et Protasii) to November (5th calends of December) (Passio S. Iacobi apostoli: 'Temporibus his degerni principis persarum'.) The writing page is hard-point ruled throughout in two columns of 53 lines per column.

The VC:

The VC occupies fols. 205r-213v. It follows on from the Passio of St Clement (BHL 1848) and a commentary (expositio) on some of this saint's miracles by Gregory of Tours (BHL 1855 and 1857). Clement's feast falls on the same day (23 November) as Columbanus' and here both saints are mutually commemorated, as seen from the rubric: EODEM DIE VITA S(AN)C(T)I COLUMBANI ABB(AT)IS. The two first words of the Preface, 'Rutilantem atq(ue)', are capitalized and highlighted in red while the first letter occupies seven lines and is elaborately drawn in a florid scroll-leaf design. The Epistula and capitula are missing as is the poem and Jonas' comments on Ireland. The Vita proper begins with 'Natus ergo hic' on fol. 205v although no chapter number is given nor the chapter title. Although the chapter number is again not given for the following chapter this time the title is written in red in bilinear script. Chapter 4 is noted though here as chapter 3: de aduentu ei(us) adsinile(m) abb(atis) et egressu de ibernia displaying in the 'de ibernia' characteristics of Krusch's classification 'B' family. This is also reflected on fol. 206r where it has 'Tricesimum' for 'vicensimum' as the age of Columbanus when he left Ireland. This change to 30 occurs in the A 4 and B 1a group of manuscripts. The rest of the chapter numbers and titles are then for the most part given. The initial letter of each chapter is written in red and in capitals while the chapter number and title are generally given.

208r: chapter 17 divided into 3 chapters

210r: new chapter which means it's a B text (see Krusch ed. p. 191)

ch. 22 is missing 211r

211v: de aduentu eius ad glotharium regem

211v: columbae. Final ae crossed out and no written above

Very neat and clear script. Uniform. Same scriptorium. Zoomorphic designs in pen and red. No other colour used but red for decoration. See fol. 192v: a fire-breathing dragon which forms an L of Lucesscit. Perhaps used for a large monastery or cathedral.

II. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, REG. LAT. 1025

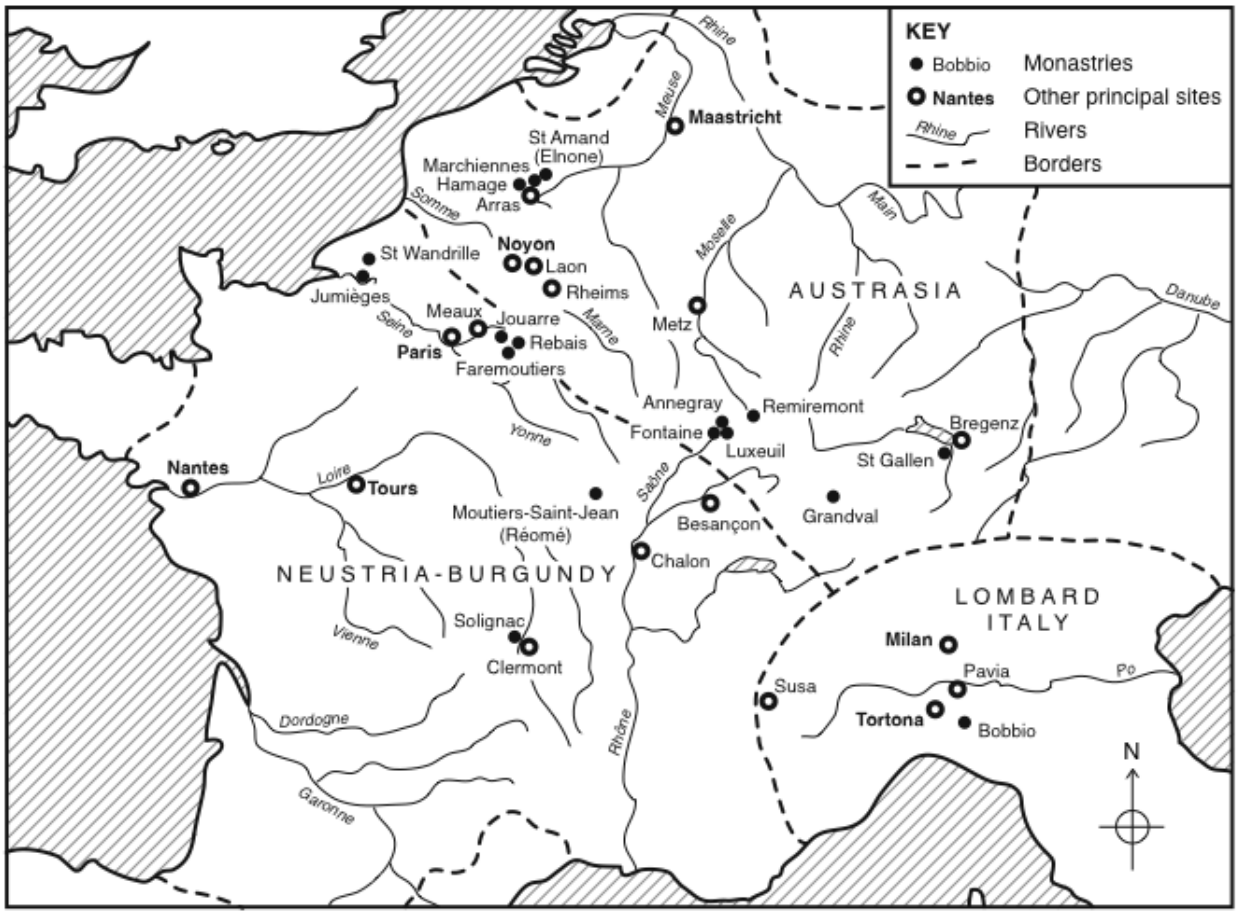
Reg. lat. 1025 is a medium-sized codex (273 × 222 mm.) of 211 leaves that was rebound during the seventeenth-century, the period from which the present binding dates. It does not appear to be a composite manuscript. The writing page is hard-point ruled throughout in two columns of between 28 and 44 lines per column. The bilinear script is a clear and regular Caroline of the early eleventh century written by a number of scribes. Titles (generally, though not always, in Rustic Capitals) and initials are in red, while blue and yellow are used, though seldom, for added decoration.

The origin and provenance of the manuscript can be fairly easily established. In the centre-left hand side of fol. 1r in a hand of the thirteenth century is written: Iste liber est propri s(an)c(t)e trinitatis uindocine(n)sis. This refers to the Benedictine abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme, founded in 1032 by the count and countess of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel and Agnes of Burgundy. The contents further indicate that the manuscript was in the possession of the monastery from an early date. A copy of a letter written by Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme (d. 1132) to Pope Calixtus in relation to the Investiture Conflict

occupies fols. 115r-115v. The letter was probably copied during the second half of the twelfth century to judge by the script. A Benedictine link can also be clearly seen from the principal text in the codex, Smaragdus' Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, which takes up over half of the manuscript (fols. 1v-114v). The remainder of the codex (in addition to Geoffrey's letter) contains 17 saints' Lives that do not appear to have been copied based on the date of the particular saint's feast-day. Book I of the VC covers fols. 156v-174r. Krusch classified the manuscript as B 2, thus part of the Italian family of MSS. It displays the same features as his classification B manuscripts. Fol. 157r containing the Epistola was inserted afterwards which explains the different hand and also why the chapter headings are rewritten on fol. 157v. The scribe initially wrote the chapter headings, on fol. 156v from de ortu et ostensione to de prohibita ursi esca, but without the chapter numbers in rubrication. He continued on the next folio but someone decided that they wanted to have the Epistula also so that was later inserted resulting in the rewriting of the first chapters again on fol. 157v. At the end of fol. 157v the remaining space is occupied by prayers interspaced with crosses. Name of Mactani. Then on fol. 158r begins the Preface and on the following folio the poem on Columbanus. The chapters are generally numbered in roman numerals in red although not so towards the end. It contains the whole of Book I apart from the poems at the end. Scribe changes on fol. 165r where the ductus becomes much more compressed. The name of the saint is also crossed with a line through it in red without exception, obviously a way of highlighting.

French characteristics: written in the same scriptorium by numerous scribes. It displays an open 'g' generally not found in Italian manuscripts and the abbreviation for qui with

subscript ‘i’ rather than the cross bar in the ‘q’ that is more characteristic of Italian scriptoria. Eleventh century not tenth but the scribe who wrote the opening part of the VC may have been an older monk. The script could be mistaken for that of the tenth century for its ductus.



Map. The Monastic World of Jonas of Bobbio. showing principal monasteries and towns (based on map in S. Tatum, Hagiography, Family and Columbanan Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia, p. 205).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 112

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11759

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 719 (alias B. I. 4)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1025

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 553.

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. III. 15.

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