

The Pursuit of Salvation

Community, Space, and Discipline in Early Medieval Monasticism

Albrecht Diem

(with a critical edition and translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*)

Table of Contents

Introduction (pp. 4-30)

A: Edition and Translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo ad Deum*

Introduction to the Edition (pp. 32-61)

Edition and Translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo ad Deum* (pp. 65-161)

B: The Pursuit of Salvation

Part I: Community

Chapter 1: *Quidam pater – quaedam mater?* The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and its author (pp. 162-204)

Chapter 2: The dying nuns of Faremoutiers: the *regula* in action (pp. 205-261)

Part II: Space

Chapter 3: The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, a supplement to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns? (pp. 262-287)

Chapter 4: Enclosure re-opened: Caesarius, Jonas, and the invention of sacred space (pp. 288-362)

Part III: Discipline

Chapter 5: The *Regula Benedicti* in seventh-century Francia (pp. 363-383)

Chapter 6: The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and its context (pp. 384-622)

The abbess/abbot (chapter 1) (pp. 384-405)

The prior/prioress (chapter 2) (pp. 405-416)

The gatekeepers (chapter 3) (pp. 417-440)

The supply keeper (chapter 4) (pp. 440-428)

Love (chapter 5) (pp. 440-448)

Confession (chapters 6-7) (pp. 448-489)

Liturgical discipline (chapter 8) (pp. 489-494)

Silence and speaking (chapter 9) (pp. 495-510)

Food (chapters 10-11) (pp. 511-523)

Manual work (chapter 12) (pp. 523-540)

The distribution of tools (chapter 13) (pp. 540-546)

Sleep (chapter 14) (pp. 546-547)

The care of the sick and the old (chapter 15) (pp. 572-575)
Accidents and negligence (chapter 16) (pp. 575-580)
Poverty (chapter 17) (pp. 581-588)
Excommunication and Punishment (chapters 18-20) (pp. 588-613)
Escape and expulsion (chapter 21) (pp. 613-621)
Humility in Action (chapter 22) (pp. 621-633)
Family (chapter 23) (pp. 633-641)
Children (chapter 24) (pp. 641-650)

Part IV: Salvation

Chapter 7: *De accedendo ad Deum* – a lost chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines?* (pp. 651-659)

Chapter 8: *Prompto corde orandum*: the theological program of *De accedendo* (pp. 659-675)

Appendix 1: Parallels *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' hagiographic works (pp. 676-684)

Appendix 2: Parallels between *De accedendo*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and Jonas' hagiographical works (pp. 684-688)

Appendix 3: Parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vitae Bertilae* (pp. 688-689)

Abbreviations (p. 690)

Bibliography (pp. 691-747)

Index Verborum (748-761)

Introduction

One of my most memorable operatic experiences was a semi-staged performance of Don Giovanni in the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam in 1994.¹ In the penultimate scene, Don Giovanni (Rodney Gilfry), looking like a hypermasculine pimp with shoulder-length curled hair clothed in the finest black dress shirt, faces the Commendatore (Andrea Silvestrelli) who appears at the rear end of the concert hall followed by four hellish sounding trombones. The audience is caught right in the middle of a dramatic shouting match between the slowly approaching Commendatore and Don Giovanni, who stands with wide legs at the edge of the stage, torn between contempt, fear, and amusement about the spectacle unfolding in front of him. Don Giovanni and the Commendatore are tied together by a human chain (the choir and some members of the audience) that slowly draws them closer and closer while Don Giovanni steadfastly refuses to repent and change his ways until his time is up, and the choir announces the torments he will face in hell. The Commendatore grabs the dying Don Giovanni, throws him over his shoulder and carries him out of the concert hall.

This is, of course, not the end of the opera. After realizing that Don Giovanni is gone, Don Ottavio, Donna Anna, Leporello, Zerlina, Masetto, and Donna Elvira, the other characters in Mozart's opera, announce how they plan to live on after their tormentor's demise and finally pronounce in a grand sextet their own verdict on Don Giovanni: "*Questo è il fin di chi fa mal, e de' perfidi la morte alla vita è sempre ugual!*" (Such is the end of the evildoer: the death of a sinner always reflects his life).

Don Giovanni's refusal to repent and his dramatic descend to hell helps me to visualize (and "audiolize", if this word exists) one of the most extraordinary scenes in early medieval hagiography: the battle between the community of the monastery of Faremoutiers and a horde of Ethiopian demons for the souls of two nuns who had escaped the monastery and refused to confess and repent. The demons prevailed and the nuns were doomed and buried outside the monastery where their tormented voices were heard for many years to come. When the abbess opened their graves, she found not more than some traces of ashes. The great hagiographer Jonas of Bobbio (d. after 659) tells this story in the second book of his *Vita Columbani*; it is part of a

¹ The performance was broadcasted on Dutch television and is available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gBgnuxif4fy> (at 2:36).

sequence of episodes about the lives and deaths of the first nuns of the monastery at Faremoutiers which was founded around 620, only a generation before he told their stories (between 639 and 642). The unhappy death of the two fugitive nuns and the *felix exitus* of most of their fellow sisters were still part of the living memory of Jonas' audience. This would have made Jonas' story creepily real.²

There is a slight inconsistency between Don Giovanni's almost heroic refusal to repent and to take a last chance to save his soul, and the sextet of his survivors (none of whom is innocent) who simply conclude that hell awaits the evildoer. Their view on a simple and straightforward punishment for evil deeds aligns with the fourth book of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, which was written only two generations before the *Vita Columbani*.³ Gregory the Great describes here how monks, nuns, priests, bishops, and lay people die and face heavenly bliss or eternal damnation depending on their virtuous or sinful life. Confession and repentance do not play much of a role here⁴ and the surrounding community may pray for the souls of dying nuns or monks but has little impact on saving the ones *chi fa mal*.⁵

Jonas of Bobbio knew Gregory's work and his eleven stories about dying nuns in Faremoutiers closely follow the model of book IV of the *Dialogi*. They can be read as an attempt to complicate and criticize Gregory's message, to add the notion of penance, and to turn the community into an effective agent of the salvation of its individual members. This study deals with Jonas' disagreement with Gregory the Great and with a number of other instances of dissent among early medieval theologians about matters of salvation, damnation, the role of monastic discipline and the agency of monastic communities. It revolves around the question of how to

² Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* (henceforth *VCol*) II, c. 19, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, pp. 272-275.

³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Paul Antin, *SC* 265, Paris: Cerf: 1980.

⁴ Penance for past sins is largely absent in Gregory's *Dialogues*. Even a monk who goes to hell and is released afterwards is not told to do penance for past sins but to amend his future life which he does by vigils and fasting. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.4, *SC* 265, pp. 126-128; c. 40.3-5, pp. 140-142. Gregory mentions only one instance of confession: c. 40.11, p. 146. A monk confesses his gluttony but is doomed nevertheless. Gregory does, however, emphasize that minor sins can be cleansed in a purging fire after death and through the prayer of the living: c. 41-43, pp. 146-156; c. 57, pp. 184-194. Gregory refers to *paenitentia* exactly once in very general terms: saints should not pray for their enemies. This does not mean that they should pray for the doomed but that they should pray for the living who can turn their heart to *paenitentia* and save themselves through *conuersio*: c. 46.7, p. 164.

⁵ Gregory mentions the prayer of a community for dying monks, laypeople, or nuns but does not indicate that their death and afterlife is affected by their prayer. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.4, p. 48; c. 15.4, p. 60; c. 16.7, p. 66, c. 36.2-3, p. 118. Only once, c. 40.3-5, pp. 140-142, monks perform prayer for a dying monk to save him from a dragon who wants to devour him. The monk survives and mends his ways.

prevent what happened to the nuns of Faremoutiers who failed to save their fellow sisters. Is it possible to pursue eternal salvation collectively as a monastic community? Can a group of monks or nuns that is confined to a demarcated space and submits itself to a strict monastic regime turn itself into an agent of its own eternal fate?

The point of departure for this exploration is a seventh-century monastic rule for a community for nuns. It is called *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (Someone's Rule for Virgins) in its extant medieval manuscripts. This Rule was, as I will argue, written by Jonas of Bobbio and most likely destined for the nuns of Faremoutiers. The two fugitive nuns were doomed because they did not adhere to the precepts laid out in this very Rule.

This book has an unusual structure and not all of its parts may be equally relevant for all readers. It begins with a critical edition and translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, followed by four historical inquiries. I had to make the decision whether to place the edition at the beginning, which might give the wrong impression that the study itself is mainly an overblown textual commentary, or at the end, which would turn the text that forms the basis of this book into a mere appendix. I decided to start with the edition itself but readers can choose whether to study the Rule first or to begin with one of the four inquiries, using then the text for consultation. Considering the length of the book it might have been advisable to turn it into two or three monographs; it would have, however, left the problem that each of them needed the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (as introduction or appendix). Moreover, the four inquiries depend on premises made in other parts of the book and no reader would be happy with constantly running into cross references to other publications.

The four inquiries contextualize the Rule in different ways. They are related to the four key words in the title of this monograph: community, space, discipline, and salvation. Each inquiry consists of two chapters. Chapters 1, 3, 5, and 7 develop arguments about an intertextual relation between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other monastic texts; chapters 2, 4, 6, and 8 apply these arguments in a larger historical context and elucidate specific lines of dispute. Another difficult decision I had to make concerns the arrangement of the four inquiries. There are good arguments for every conceivable arrangement. Each inquiry could stand at the beginning of this study.

The first of the four parts, titled "Community" (Chapters 1-2), provides the arguments for ascribing the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas of Bobbio. It also explores

both the author's theological program (including his disagreement with Gregory the Great) and the community for which the Rule was written by analyzing the section of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* that describes the lives and deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers. From a purely chronological point of view, this part could have formed the end of the book, were it not that all the other parts rely on knowing about the Rule's author and the monastic milieu and historical context in which it was produced.

The second of the four parts, titled "Space" (Chapters 3-4), argues that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was no stand-alone text but part of a larger "Rule" that included Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns. Based on this insight I explore Caesarius' and Jonas' concepts of monastic space, arguing that Jonas was motivated to write his Rule largely because he disagreed with Caesarius' idea that spatial boundaries can ensure the salvation of those irrevocably confined within them. Chapter 4 became, as such, a study on the interplay of space and monastic theology in the early middle ages.

The third part, titled "Discipline" (Chapters 5-6), illustrates the relationship between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Regula Benedicti*, the Rule that would eventually become the norm of medieval monastic life. In Chapter 6 I provide a sentence-by-sentence commentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, embedded in broader reflections on the themes the Rule addresses. I show that Jonas made a deliberate choice of practical provisions that appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, stripped them from most of Benedict's theological framework, and then replaced this framework with his own monastic program that focusses on the responsibility of the community for the individual's pursuit of salvation. Jonas created a monastic rule that is both a revision and a vigorous refutation of the *Regula Benedicti*.

This third part is by far the longest segment of the book because Jonas' choice of topics provides, in my view, an excellent road map for studying the emergence, transformation, and diversification of early medieval monastic life in the West. Most of Jonas' themes (such as authority, hierarchy, boundaries, supply, love, confession, liturgical discipline, silence, materiality, sleep, exclusion, mutual interaction, and education) are particularly suitable to explore the history of early medieval monasticism in general along new lines.

The last part, titled "Salvation" (Chapters 7-8), shows that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as it is preserved, most likely looks different from the text Jonas composed. I argue that a short monastic text that appears at a different place in the main manuscript of the Rule, the

treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, was originally part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. An analysis of *De accedendo ad Deum* demonstrates that it formed the theological basis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the core of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal. Readers may, thus, read the chapters of this book in any given order as long as they keep the key results of the four intertextual explorations (on Jonas' authorship, the relation to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the revision of the *Regula Benedicti*, and the place of *De accedendo ad Deum*, in mind).

A last, irresolvable, conundrum concerns the title of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My study is based on the premise that the *cuiusdam* (or *quidam/quaedam*) can be replaced by Jonas' name. I call the text the Rule of Jonas of Bobbio in English but I retain the title *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Latin; I did not want to give the text a new, artificial name such as *Regula Ioniae*. There are, as we will see, good reasons to doubt that Jonas would have propagated the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as "his" rule. I will also stubbornly stick to the qualifier *ad uirgines*, simply to avoid confusion with another anonymous monastic rule, for monks, written in the same period, that is preserved as *Regula cuiusdam patris*.

Turning points

The work on this book stretched over a long period of time with several interruptions and digressions that turned into studies on Jonas of Bobbio, on seventh-century monastic rules, and on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself.⁶ I encountered the text while working on my Ph.D. thesis, which explored the role of chastity and sexuality in late antique and early medieval monastic discourse.⁷ Chastity was, as I argued there, by no means a stable fixture in the history of the emergence of Western monasticism. While there may have been a consensus on sexual abstinence as *condicio sine qua non*, the framing of what we now call "sexuality" was a matter of dispute and underwent great changes. To put it simply, the notion of an unceasing battle for chastity, which is expressed in many texts of the Desert Fathers and especially in the work of John Cassian, "faded out" and was replaced by an increasingly sophisticated apparatus of monastic discipline and control that was primarily concerned with ensuring the absence of sex in

⁶ See bibliography.

⁷ Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005.

the monastic community and attaining collectively purity. The focus shifted from an individual struggle for perfection within a supporting monastic setting to turning monasteries into places of purity and “organizable sanctity” that could serve the surrounding world by producing intercessory prayer.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the last preserved monastic rule written before the rise of the *Regula Benedicti* as the norm of monastic life; it held an odd place in my original line of argument developed in my dissertation and required further exploration. It leaves sexuality, virginity, and the battle for chastity entirely behind. Instead, it aims at establishing a perfect disciplinary system that is “watertight” enough that neither the unceasing sexual desire nor the protection of virginity need to be explicitly addressed any more. For the purpose of writing my dissertation I was not able to get a satisfying understanding of this “watertight” disciplinary system and its theological framework. I therefore decided to continue working on this text.

The nucleus of this book is an edition and English translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with an extensive introduction that I wrote as post-doctoral fellow at the *Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies* in Toronto to receive the *License in Mediaeval Studies*. The original work contained a chapter arguing that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced as an addition to the Rule for Nuns written a century earlier by Caesarius of Arles, which forms the basis of Chapter 3 of this book. Another chapter of the License Thesis explored the milieu from which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* originated: at that time I indicated it as “Columbanian”, i.e. inspired by the Irish *peregrinus* and monastic founder Columbanus (d. ca 615). Among various potential authors I singled out Burgundofara (d. after 643), the abbess of Faremoutiers, and Bishop Eligius of Noyon (d. 660), who founded several monasteries that were associated with Luxeuil and with Columbanus’ successors. Some of the ideas of that chapter return in chapter 1 of this book, even though I now come to entirely different conclusions in regard to the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Much has changed since the completion of my work at the *Pontifical Institute*, both in my own understanding of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the state of research on Columbanus and on seventh-century monasticism, most notably through the works of Ian Wood, Clare Stancliffe, Marilyn Dunn, Peter Brown, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Anne-Marie Helvétius, and, more recently, Yaniv Fox, Jamie Kreiner, Sven Meeder, Alexander O’Hara, Roy Flechner, and Hans Hummer (among others) who studied the works of Columbanus and Jonas and the

monastic world emerging after Columbanus' death in their socio-political context.⁸ This book expands on their work but adds as well a new dimension: an exploration of the interplay between monastic theologies (developed by Jonas of Bobbio and other authors of monastic rules and narrative texts) on the one hand, and the practice of monastic life and role of monasteries within society at large on the other hand. Most studies approach seventh-century monastic life from an outside perspective, focusing on the role and function within society and the networks, mechanisms, and techniques of power that shaped seventh-century monasticism in a way that became decisive for the further development of medieval monasticism. This study, however, approaches the monastic world from within its physical and programmatic confines.

My main arguments are simple: first, that the narrators and regulators of monastic life in the early medieval Latin world continued to be motivated by resolving the question of how, specifically, monastic discipline impacts the pursuit of eternal salvation. All sources related to monastic life in the early medieval West need to be read, understood, and taken seriously as programmatic and theological reflections on this challenge, unaffected by a supposed decline of sophistication allegedly caused by what we now call the “transformation of the Roman world.” Our textual witnesses of early medieval monastic life were produced by monks and nuns who reflected on what they were doing on a highly sophisticated level, albeit in distinct textual forms that were different from those common in the late antique world and those of later centuries. The fear of damnation and the hope for salvation was real and by no means just a textual trope. The eternal damnation of the two fugitive nuns was certainly not seen as a *drama giocoso*.⁹ The same sensitivity and anxiety applies, undoubtedly, to Eastern monastic texts, though it is not the focus of this study.¹⁰

The second argument is that there was by no means a consensus on the pursuit of salvation and which forms of monastic life and discipline most effectively served this goal. Late

⁸ See bibliography. Several edited volumes on Columbanus and his impact appeared recently at the occasion of his 1400th centenary of Columbanus' death: Flechner, Roy and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016; O'Hara, Alexander (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018; Bully, Sébastien, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélie Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018.

⁹ Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell 2003, pp. 260-262.

¹⁰ Rapp, Claudia, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016 provides an excellent introduction to the diversity of monastic life in the Byzantine world.

antique debates on the nature and effect of ascetic life continued. There was diachronic dissent which manifests itself in the production of new programmatic texts and the revision of older ones, and there was dissent among contemporaries. I argue, in particular, that the conflicts arising in the aftermath of Columbanus, or maybe even in his lifetime, were motivated by disagreements about ways of pursuing salvation – disagreements fueled by the changing and growing role that monasteries played within a broader socio-political context.¹¹ None of my observations on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* necessarily apply to early medieval monastic life in general. We have to ask time and again how this Rule fits into a broader picture of a Christian monasticism full of debates and experiments.

The debates on the pursuit of salvation become visible as soon as we move from reading our sources synthetically, as individual expressions of a shared and coherent doctrinal consensus and monastic ideal, to reading them *against* each other, i.e. assuming that they were written as responses, amendments, or refutations of existing texts and established ideals and practices. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be counted as one of the most sophisticated voices of dissent and offers a unique opportunity to flesh out this part of monastic history by comparing it with other voices.

My project to unpack the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* underwent in the course of the years a number of turning points that led to rounds of revisions and purgings of what turned out to be misconceptions. First, I discovered the author, as I discuss in chapter 1. Ascribing the text to Jonas of Bobbio, whose *Vita Columbani* can be regarded as the most vigorous claim on the heritage of the Irish monastic founder Columbanus, has far-reaching consequences.¹² It turns a rather obscure, though undoubtedly interesting seventh-century monastic rule into a central programmatic text representing Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic ideal. Jonas' *Vita Columbani* is, as I have argued elsewhere, a textual manifestation of the *Regula Columbani*.¹³ The same applies, as I realized, to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

¹¹ On this aspect see especially Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

¹² On the work of Jonas of Bobbio, see, most recently, O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.

¹³ Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Maximilian Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters vol. 3), pp. 63-89.

The tedious process of collecting semantic, textual, stylistic, and programmatic parallels between Jonas' hagiographical works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* made me realize that the report on the deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers (which holds a somewhat odd place in the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*) was much more than a quarry for material proving Jonas' authorship. As I demonstrate in chapter 2, Jonas' Faremoutiers episodes turned out to be not only the narrative counterpart of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, a prime example of a *uita uel regula*,¹⁴ but also an unparalleled hagiographic masterwork deserving to be studied in its entirety.¹⁵ It is a strong reminder never to assume that collections of *miracula* are just attempts to convey a state of sanctity by making a quantitative argument, one miracle after the next. Every chapter of the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* is rather a drama of its own, worth to be turned into the libretto of an opera, and Jonas followed a very specific structure and didactic goal when putting them together.

A second turning point that changed the premises of this project was the discovery that the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum* originally belonged to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and forms a key for understanding its theological program. I discuss this in my chapter 7. *De accedendo* shows so many stylistic, structural and semantic similarities with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and with Jonas' hagiographic texts that we can safely assume that it was written by the same author. The text explains the connection between monastic discipline and prayer. As such it would form a perfect conclusion of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It explains how and why monastic life can indeed form the basis of pursuing eternal salvation and how monastic discipline enables monks and nuns to reach God's ear on their own and others' behalf. If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* represents the core program of Jonas' monastic ideal, *De accedendo* forms the core of this core and as such it is maybe the most important contribution to monastic theology written in the seventh-century West.

A third turning point emerged out of the insight that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* formed an expansion of Caesarius of Arles' *Rule for Nuns*. As I discuss in chapter 3, Jonas' use of Caesarius' Rule shows on the one hand that a community founded by followers of

¹⁴ On the concept of *uita uel regula*, see Agamben, Giorgio, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2013.

¹⁵ Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, pp. 193-200 belongs to the few studies that read the Faremoutiers miracles as programmatic text.

Columbanus used a disciplinary program that was developed a century earlier for an urban female monastic community in Late Roman Arles. This is an argument for the continuity of Gallo-Frankish traditions in the monastic world inspired by Columbanus.¹⁶ On the other hand, Jonas did see the need to amend and expand Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and his changes can be read as markers of dissent and discontinuity. Comparing both Rules, as I do in Chapter 3-4 show what changed and what needed to change in Jonas' eyes, both on a pragmatic and on a conceptual level. If we operate within the – undoubtedly problematic – framework of traditional periodization, Jonas phrased an early medieval response to a textual product of the late antique world.

The insight that Caesarius' Rule was known and used in monasteries founded by Columbanus' supporters is not new.¹⁷ Donatus of Besançon, Jonas' contemporary, wrote another monastic rule for a monastery founded *ex regula Columbani* in which he re-arranged Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and combined it with fragments of Benedict's and Columbanus' Rules.¹⁸ Donatus makes a cryptic remark in the preface of his Rule that we can cautiously use as a key for understanding why and how both Donatus and Jonas engaged with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. He dismisses Caesarius' Rule as unsuitable *ob immutationem loci* (literally translated: "because of the transformation of the place").¹⁹ We cannot be sure what Donatus himself meant with *immutatio loci*, but it appears that Jonas primarily took issue with Caesarius' concept of space and total enclosure, i.e. with his objective to confine his nuns within the impenetrable walls of the monastery for the rest of their lives.

¹⁶ See, most recently, Wood, Ian, 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29-37.

¹⁷ See Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums, vol. 41); Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 47), pp. 151-169.

¹⁸ Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38.

¹⁹ *Regula Donati*, prologue.4-5, CSEL 98, p. 139: ...dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent, ⁵ et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret.

For Caesarius, total enclosure is not only a practical matter but also a theological one: it is the basis for his own concept of the pursuit of salvation. Walls keep the devil at bay and turn the monastery into a safe space. Jonas mitigates this total enclosure, probably for practical reasons, but also because he considers Caesarius' idea that the monastic walls serve as condition for salvation to be theologically unfeasible and therefore in need of a revision. Both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani* he develops a new, much more sophisticated, system of enclosure (or rather, of various enclosures). Caesarius' and Jonas' ideas of the salvific aspect of monastic space and boundaries are analyzed in Chapter 4 of this book. I demonstrate there that their "dispute on space" had a profound impact on the evolution of future notions of the monastic space as sacred and, thus, forms an essential part of the history of medieval monasticism. Caesarius and Jonas (much more than the *Regula Benedicti*) created the monastic cloister.

A fourth turning point, which slowed down the project most significantly, emerged out of another intertextual relationship, the Rule's dependence on the *Regula Benedicti*, which was, like the *Regula Caesarii*, written about a century earlier and represented, in this case, a probably Italian, late antique monastic world. As I discuss in chapter 6, most of the chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are, with regard to their pragmatic provisions, modelled after the *Regula Benedicti* and show traces of Benedict's language, without, however, ever quoting him verbatim. One of the reasons for producing a new edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was to make these traces visible.

The awareness that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is dependent on the *Regula Benedicti* is not new.²⁰ Friedrich Prinz already concluded – far too bluntly – that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears to be one-third "Columbanian" and two-thirds "Benedictine".²¹ Other scholars propagated the notion of the seventh century as the period of *regulae mixtae* that combined various regular observances, and the idea that the *Regula Benedicti* as the more moderate Rule gained its victory by slowly pushing out the harsh precepts of Columbanus' Rule.

²⁰ See, for example, De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 10, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2006, pp. 307-320.

²¹ Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, 2nd edition, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag 1988, p. 286.

By analyzing which chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* Jonas decided to revise, which new chapters he added, and which alterations he imposed on Benedict's provisions, we can elucidate what actually changed at the presumed watershed at the end of the sixth century. It can shed light on changed socio-economic conditions, everyday monastic practices, but also, and maybe most importantly, on programmatic differences. Even though many of the provisions of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* look similar to those of the *Regula Benedicti*, their premises and frameworks are not at all similar. Benedict and Jonas pursue and understand salvation in fundamentally different terms. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is neither just an adaptation of the *Regula Benedicti* for a female community, nor is it an attempt to reconcile Benedict's Rule with presumably insular monastic traditions. Jonas did not only rewrite the *Regula Benedicti* but also incorporated and modified ideas from various other monastic rules and works of patristic theology. Exploring the changes Jonas inflicted on the *Regula Benedicti* and the nature of his monastic program turned into a massive undertaking that could only be carried out in the form of a detailed discussion of each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which became the rather overproportioned Chapter 6 of this book.

The problem of "Columbanian" monasticism

At some point and for a time, this project turned into a study of "Columbanian" monasticism and its continental roots. Like most historians, I operated on the assumption that Columbanus' foundations, especially Luxeuil, became the nucleus of a movement of monastic foundations that were inspired by the ideals imported and propagated by the Irish monastic founder, missionary, and theologian Columbanus. The great monastic historian Friedrich Prinz, whose *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich* still belongs to the standard works on monastic history, created an even broader term, partly dissociating the Irish impact on continental monastic life from Columbanus himself: *Iro-Fränkisches Mönchtum* (Hiberno-Frankish monasticism).²²

A last turning point in the production of this book, however, was the realization that I am not exploring a "Columbanian" monastic ideal but Jonas' very own program, which represents only one voice within a broad range of viewpoints on the nature and purpose of monastic life

²² Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 121-445.

emerging in the course of the seventh century. The Frankish monastic world after Columbanus was not only divided over the question of what role monastic foundations should play in the emerging secular power structures after Clothar II assumed power of all Frankish kingdoms, but also over programmatic and theological questions.²³ Depicting it uniformly as “Columbanian” mischaracterizes and glosses over this diversity. For this reason, I decided to remove all usages of the adjective “Columbanian”—an adjective I used myself in several older publications.²⁴ I have therefore taken out all references to “Columbanian monasteries”, “Columbanian monastic rules”, “Columbanian monastic ideals”, “Columbanian monastic movement”, and “Columbanian monks, nuns, bishops, and aristocrats” and replaced them by more precise expressions. As a result, the book became better, albeit at some places a bit more clunky. In other words, in the process of writing this book, I gave up on one of my original objectives: to explain what “Columbanian” means by using Jonas and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The fact that I had to replace the term “Columbanian” with a variety of vastly different terms and paraphrases already indicates its hermeneutic limitations.

In Jonas’ eyes there might indeed have been a “Columbanian” monasticism, or as he phrased it, monasteries built on the basis of the *Regula Columbani*.²⁵ I realized, however, that it makes little sense to follow him blindly in this regard and to assume that he provided an accurate description of a widely shared and largely stable monastic ideal. Jonas himself, after all, is quite open about dissent among those who claimed Columbanus’ heritage, even though, as a skillful narrator, he may have convinced most of his audience that his antagonists either repented and returned to a supposed consensus or joined our two doomed nuns mentioned at the beginning of this introduction. We need to keep in mind, nonetheless, that Jonas did not succeed in turning his view on the *Regula Columbani* into a lasting consensus. He did monopolize Columbanus’ story

²³ On the rise of “Columbanian” monasticism, see, most recently, Fox, *Power and Religion*; on the conflicts arising after Columbanus’ death, Diem, Albrecht, ‘Disputing Columbanus’s Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)’, in: Alexander O’Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-305.

²⁴ Diem, Albrecht ‘The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries’, in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016 (*Disciplina Monastica*, vol. 11), pp. 51-67; *idem*, ‘Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment’, in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68-85 and pp. 248-249.

²⁵ See Diem, Albrecht, ‘Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?’.

to an extent that it even overshadowed Columbanus' own works,²⁶ but the central role of Luxeuil and Bobbio did not last much longer after Jonas. It is not the monastic ideal presented in his *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that prevailed but the *Regula Benedicti* whose program he – as I will show – vigorously refuted.

More importantly, the term “Columbanian” gives, in itself, a definitive answer to a question that is still open: To what extent were the transformations of monastic life that took place at the beginning of the seventh century, caused or at least influenced by the Irish *peregrinus*? And, by extension, how much impact did “Irish” monastic ideals have on Frankish monastic life after the turn of the seventh century?²⁷

Jonas tells in his *Vita Columbani* how Merovingian rulers encouraged Columbanus and his Irish companions to found his first monasteries, Annegray and Luxeuil, *in eremo* (but on royal fiscal land), in the wilderness of the Vosges. Luxeuil would have been, indeed, founded on some abandoned Roman ruins. Jonas' narrative is already at this point not entirely accurate. He most likely ascribed the foundation to the wrong Merovingian ruler, Sigibert I (d. 575), instead of Childebert II (d. 596), and the place where Luxeuil was founded did not consist of some crushed walls of an abandoned Roman bathhouse covered with ivy but was densely inhabited when Columbanus arrived.²⁸ One could even ask to what extent Luxeuil, the monastery that probably formed the nucleus of a wave of new allegedly “Columbanian” monastic foundations, should be really viewed as Columbanus' monastery. Another, quite distinct possible reading is the following: Luxeuil was simply meant to be a royal foundation in a style already established, for example in Saint-Maurice d' Agaune. It would then have been hijacked by twelve angry monks from Ireland who wanted to impose their own practices on the pet project of a pious and

²⁶ Still indispensable as introduction to Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge: Boydell 1997. On Jonas' claim on Columbanus, O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.

²⁷ On this question, see the introduction to Flechner, Roy and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: PalgraveMacmillan 2016, pp. 1-18, the strong criticism of this book by Alexander O'Hara on *The Medieval Review* (<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23484>); the response by the editors and their vigorous refutation of O'Hara's use of the term racism (<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23763>) and O'Hara's response (<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23763>).

²⁸ Bully, Sébastien and Emmet Marron, 'L'“instant Colomban”. Conditions de fondation et premiers éléments de topographie des monastères d'Annegray et de Luxeuil', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 139-164.

initially benevolent Merovingian queen. When, at some point, she had enough of their outrageous claims and their bad table manners, she emphatically asked her Irish guests to leave. If we could ask Brunhild and Theuderic II, the royals who expelled Columbanus and his Irish followers from Luxeuil in order to reclaim the monastery for themselves, they probably would have told their story along these lines.²⁹

Ian Wood has shown to what extent the narrative of Columbanus' impact on continental monastic life is rooted in the French catholic revival of the mid-nineteenth century entangled with Irish nationalism.³⁰ The scholarly fathers of “Columbanian” monasticism are long dead and forgotten, but the concept itself is alive and kicking. Some of the scholars working in the field, however, especially Ian Wood, Peter Brown and Anne-Marie Helvétius (with her strong sensitivity to challenge untested master narratives), use the term rarely and with unease, especially in the context of seventh-century female monasticism.³¹

It is unlikely that any scholar today would have invented the term “Columbanian” if it were not already available, especially since our sources do not encourage us at all to put a strong emphasis on Columbanus himself. There are references to a *Regula Columbani* in a handful narrative texts, but by far most of them appear in Jonas' own claim of Columbanus' heritage. A (limited) number of diplomatic sources refers to a *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani* but hardly any narrative text declares that a *Regula Columbani* was followed in one of the monasteries that we most definitively call “Columbanian.”³² Columbanus himself is conspicuously absent in many foundation narratives of presumably “Columbanian” monasteries, even of those monasteries that were founded as affiliations of Luxeuil (according to Jonas). Individuals that Jonas lists as staunch supporters of Columbanus or his ideas, such as the courtiers Eligius and Audoinus are in their hagiographies described as indifferent towards

²⁹ See also Wood, Ian N., ‘Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*’, in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99-120.

³⁰ Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I’, in: *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171-198, at. pp. 174-180

³¹ Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne’, in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (*Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen*, vol. 47), pp. 151-169.

³² Diem, ‘Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?’

Luxeuil and oblivious towards Columbanus.³³ If we call seventh-century monasticism “Columbanian” we clearly imply to know more than the protagonists of our narratives.

This brings us to another fundamental issue: what is meant when we use the adjectives “Irish” or “insular”. Outside of applying them to a specific script and a textual corpus, or to monks who were undoubtedly trained in insular monasteries, their meaning is elusive. Neither the “Irish” Easter calculation nor the “Irish” tonsure outlasted Columbanus – and the same applies to his allegedly stricter ascetic standards. Well-regulated seventh-century monasteries were less “ascetic” and more open to a broader constituency than many of their fifth- and sixth-century continental predecessors.

What remains is the supposedly Irish penitential practice, the repeatable *paenitentia*, the imperative of confession, the use of tariffed penance, and the use of *libri paenitentiales*.³⁴ Columbanus himself is credited with the authorship of one of the earliest penitential handbooks and with the *Regula coenobialis*, a penitential largely focusing on ritual transgression and acts of negligence in a monastic context. In this regard as well, our extant sources are not particularly helpful. The *Regula coenobialis* has not much of a reception history. Donatus of Besançon seemed to have liked the idea of tariffed *paenitentia* and inserted some of Columbanus’ provisions into his Rule.³⁵ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* knows *paenitentia* and places nuns into a state of penance but the mechanistic idea of tariffed penance clashes, as I will show, strongly with Jonas’ monastic ideal and is therefore largely absent. There is no reference to tariffed penance in the “narrated Rule” of Faremoutiers in the *Vita Columbani*. Regular confession is present in Columbanus’ works (though possible as interpolation) but only the *Regula coenobialis* explicitly ties it to tariffed penance.

There are only two rather vague references to the *Regula coenobialis* in the work of Jonas. Jonas claims that Columbanus restored the *medicamenta paenitentia*. This term is absent from Irish monastic sources but, as Ian Wood has observed, is overly present in the work of Caesarius of Arles.³⁶ The latter cannot be called Irish in any way or form. Comparing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with other alleged witness of a “Columbanian” monastic ideal shows,

³³ Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 4*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 634-741; *Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 536-567.

³⁴ Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

³⁵ Diem, Albrecht, ‘New ideas’.

³⁶ Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I’, in: *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171-198.

indeed, that even those aspects that may be traced back to Insular traditions were diversified and blended with existing local practices – as far as they survived at all. The references to *paenitentia* in hagiographic narratives and in documents related to allegedly “Columbanian” individuals are scarce. Seeing every reference to *paenitentia* as a marker of a supposedly Irish penitential system, means overlooking the vast diversity of penitential practices and their multiple roots.³⁷

Searching and purging the word “Columbanian” led to a variety of replacements, occasionally cumbersome ones. There were some instances in which the use of “Columbanian” may have been justified: whenever it referred to Columbanus himself and the ideas he expressed in his own work. Yet he took much of this “Columbanianism” into his grave. Nothing remains of his dubious viewpoints on the Three-Chapter Debate, his stubborn adherence to Irish Easter calculation, his refreshing disrespect towards bishops and kings, his repulsive haircut, and his insistence on poverty, asceticism, mortification of the sinful body, and manual toil.³⁸

Aside from monastic ideals and practices, it is usually either specific monasteries or groups and individuals (monks, abbots, aristocrats) that have received the epithet “Columbanian”, partly thanks to Friedrich Prinz who applied the epithet Iro-Fränkisch (Iro/Hiberno-Frankish) to certain aristocratic families and turned them into Columbanian *familiae*.³⁹ Every member of a family that once aligned itself with Columbanus (often according to Jonas) became a staunch supporter of Iro-Frankish monasticism. His (rarely her) monastic foundations would have followed self-evidently the *Regula Columbani* or any Columbanian *regula mixta*. Every monastery that had established contact with a monastery identified as “Columbanian” would have become “Columbanian” itself.⁴⁰ This makes it difficult to find any monastery in seventh-century Francia that was not “Columbanian”.

It may make sense to call monasteries “Columbanian” that were (according to Jonas) founded *ex regula Columbani* or in collaboration with Columbanus’ successors, Eusthasius and Waldebert, and staffed with monks from Luxeuil. Yet there remains the question whether and for how long these monasteries stayed “Columbanian” and to what extent their roots remained part of their collective identity. For many of them, Jonas’ account covering just the first generation

³⁷ De Jong, Mayke, ‘Transformations of Penance’, in: Frans Theuvs und Janet L. Nelson, *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185-224.

³⁸ Fox, *Power and Religion*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Muschiol, *Famula Dei*.

after Columbanus' death, is the one and only witness of a "Columbanian" connection. There are also indications of a "Columbanian" revival happening in the Carolingian period. Such is the case for example in the hagiography of St. Gallen. The latter was, however, definitively not a "Columbanian" monastery even though it was built at the place of a holy man's dwelling who may (or may not) have been one of Columbanus' companions.⁴¹

It may be a bit naïve assuming that every member of the aristocratic families that (according to Jonas) supported Columbanus, was animated by the "Columbanian" ideal – as diffuse as it may be – and therefore founded "Columbanian" monasteries. It erases the possibility that individual members of aristocratic families developed their own viewpoints on matters of monastic discipline, especially on questions as important as the pursuit of salvation. A case in point might be the circle of pious members of the courts of Clothar II and Dagobert I who have often been associated with "Columbanian" monasticism and depicted as founders of "Columbanian" monasteries. It is striking how little Columbanus, Luxeuil or any of the aspects of Christian life that we associated with Irish traditions, figure in their hagiographies and letters.⁴²

The Seventh-Century Watershed.

This book demonstrates that a deconstructive approach to "Columbanian" monasticism and a reading of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as one voice among many are, at least for the moment, more effective than making Jonas a spokesman of an entire monastic world simply because his voice is the loudest. But leaving behind a pile of shards is not helpful, neither does it do justice to our source evidence. The beginning of the seventh century formed a watershed in the history of monasticism that at least coincided with Columbanus' activities in Frankish Gaul who may in Peter Brown's words have acted "not as a revolutionary but a catalyst," or "ensured that, in the rich earth of Christian Gaul yet another layer of soil came to the surface, adding a

⁴¹ Diem, Albrecht, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli" Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in: Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tremp, Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüebli (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (Monasterium Sancti Galli, vol. 7), St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 65-97.

⁴² See also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates'.

new and vivid streak of color to ancient fields.”⁴³ New forms of monastic life emerging after this watershed shared common characteristics, many of which lasted. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is, even as a singular voice, suitable to flesh out some of these characteristics.

In my mind, the most important developments are as follows: The numbers of new monastic foundations vastly increased, especially in the northern regions of the Frankish kingdoms.⁴⁴ It became part of the repertoire of piety for aristocratic individuals and families to found monasteries without necessarily undergoing monastic conversion themselves. Monasteries were founded and were *built* and lavishly endowed by their founders. They did not just emerge anymore in a Weberian process of institutionalization of individual charisma as can still be observed few decades earlier, for example in the works of Gregory of Tours (d. 594).⁴⁵

Founding a monastery in seventh-century Francia became a legal and bureaucratic transaction that involved different stakeholders: kings, aristocrats, bishops, monks from other monasteries, and initially, indeed, monks from Luxeuil, and Columbanus’ successors Eusthasius and Waldebert. These legal transactions included transfers of property, typically the granting of rights of non-interference and the requirement to live a regular life.⁴⁶ Extant sources of the seventh century may not share references to Columbanus or Luxeuil or to any of the supposedly Irish innovations brought into Francia by Columbanus, but they do share the notion of defining monastic life as a *uita regularis*, albeit usually without referring to a written rule created or authorized by a specific individual.

The third element distinguishing seventh-century monastic foundations from those of earlier centuries was their institutional continuity. Hardly any of the monasteries mentioned in Gregory of Tours’ *Liber uitae patrum* or in the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great left traces outside of their sources.⁴⁷ Luxeuil, its affiliations and many other aristocratic foundations of the seventh

⁴³ Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 252; *idem*, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, p. 183.

⁴⁴ Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*; Hartmut Atsma, ‘Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule’, in: *Revue d’Histoire de l’église de France* 62 (1976) 163–68: 168.

⁴⁵ Diem, Albrecht, ‘Gregory’s Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul’, in: Philippe Depreux, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 165-191.

⁴⁶ On episcopal privileges for monasteries, see Ewig, Eugen, *Spätantikes und fränkischen Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, 2 vols., Munich 1979; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999.

⁴⁷ Jenal, Georg, *Italia ascetica atque monastica. Das Asketen- und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250-604)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1995.

century were meant to last and, indeed, did last throughout the middle ages, often until the French Revolution. This indicates that the procedures of monastic foundation that became prevalent in seventh-century Gaul were highly effective and that monasteries succeeded in gaining an indispensable place in the social and political fabric of Merovingian Francia. In this regard, Jonas' narrative is corroborated with evidence from numerous other hagiographic and diplomatic sources. "Columbanian" monasticism may not have existed, but it was, undoubtedly, a great success.

A last, shared trait of seventh-century monasteries that certainly contributed to their institutional continuity was their recognized role as places of intercessory prayer for the outside world, which became one of the central functions of monasteries. Monasteries, indeed, were already "powerhouses of prayer" in the seventh century. This function was based on a shared understanding of the monastery as an empowered space, inhabited by a community that is, thanks to its regular discipline, capable of performing effective prayer not only on behalf of itself but also on behalf of those supporting it.⁴⁸ Giving monasteries such a function was, however, not only a matter of organization and discipline but also – and maybe primarily – a matter of theology and, as such, a source of debate.

All of these elements characteristic to monastic foundations after Columbanus existed in Francia before Columbanus' arrival and none of them can be identified as typically Irish.⁴⁹ We have monasteries of men and women that were founded and built by kings, bishops, and aristocrats;⁵⁰ we have the notion of a strict *uita regularis* (most prominently in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns); we have monasteries populated by "liturgical professionals" who could rely on external support and concentrate on permanent intercessory prayer,⁵¹ and we have monasteries that did endure: Lérins, Saint Maurice d'Agaune, and Caesarius' monastery in Arles among

⁴⁸ Blennemann, Gordon, 'Ascetic prayer for the dead in the Early Medieval West', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

⁴⁹ Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent', pp. 189-195.

⁵⁰ Ueding, Leo, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit*, Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering 1935.

⁵¹ Diem, Albrecht, 'Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity', in: Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013, pp. 47-88; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'abbaye d'Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515-814)', in: Bernard Andenmatten and Pierre Alain Mariaux, *L'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515-2015*, vol. 1: *Histoire et archéologie*, Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio 2015, pp. 111-133.

them.⁵² But all these elements existed within a broad variety of forms of monastic life on different levels of institutionalization. Episcopal privileges for seventh-century monastic foundations explicitly referred to four Gallo-Frankish monasteries, Lérins, Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, Luxeuil, and the community at the shrine of Marcellus in Chalon-sur-Saône, as models.⁵³

This silent shift towards a prevalent model and the marginalization of diversity caused resistance, as we can see in Jonas’ own work but also, for example, in the other preserved anonymous seventh-century monastic rule, the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which expands on Columbanus’ own works but proposes a radically different monastic model: without wealth, without intercessory prayer, without the remedies of penance.⁵⁴ The idea that monastic communities and their discipline could have a salvific effect not only on those inside the monastery but also on the world outside, created a renewed urgency in facing the theological challenges that were rooted in Augustine’s theology of divine grace and in the subsequent “Pelagian” debates.⁵⁵ This is one of the keys for understanding Jonas’ attempt to legitimate monastic life and discipline as the pursuit of salvation.

Gender

This book is neither a study on “Columbanian” monasticism, nor is it a study on female monasticism. Many works on the history of medieval monastic life take the male perspective – for example the *Regula Benedicti* or John Cassian’s monastic spirituality – as framework and as a point of departure and extrapolate female monasticism from “male evidence” that is modified by the scarce sources on female religious life and the even scarcer instances in which we hear religious women speak for themselves.⁵⁶ In this book I am doing the opposite: making

⁵² Diem, ‘Who is allowed to pray for the king?’.

⁵³ Diem, ‘Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?’.

⁵⁴ Diem, Albrecht, ‘Disputing Columbanus’s Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)’, in: Alexander O’Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-305.

⁵⁵ Mathisen, Ralph W., ‘Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange’, in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 208-234.

⁵⁶ Lifshitz, Felice, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York: Fordham University Press 2014 makes the fascinating point of traces of early medieval feminist consciousness in the world of the nuns of the eight-century Anglo-Saxon foundations of Karlburg and Kitzingen.

observations on early medieval monasticism in general that are largely (though not exclusively) taken from sources addressing female communities as point of departure. My main sources include Caesarius of Arles' letter to his sister Caesaria and his Rule for Nuns, the Rule that Donatus of Besançon wrote for the monastery he founded for his mother, the part of Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* that describes the deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers, and especially the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I read these texts with the assumption that their programmatic content is not determined by gender differences. They may have been written for female communities and they may have emerged from situations of crisis arising in these specific communities, but the responses to these crisis moments were in themselves not "gendered" and they developed afterlives that crossed the boundaries of gender.

There are good reasons to criticize this approach and I do not claim that it is the only possible way to read and interpret the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other male-written sources that address nuns or describe female religious life. There is a danger that "de-gendering" my evidence obfuscates the profoundly different position of women and men (religious or not) in early medieval societies and the manifest power imbalance. It may deprive the women religious from their own history by giving the impression that gender is irrelevant.⁵⁷ I received – rightful – criticism, especially from my long-time friend and frequent interlocutor Isabelle Cochelin, for not sufficiently exposing the unbearably sexist and self-obsessed tone of Caesarius' Letter to his sister Caesaria and his Rule for Nuns. It is hard to overlook that Jonas of Bobbio used the stories of dying nuns rather than monks to illustrate the devastating effects of human weakness and the emotionally charged and highly dramatic deaths of members of a religious community. It is two nuns, not two monks, that are snatched by demons and incur eternal damnation. Yet, as I argue in this book, the theological premises of Caesarius' Letter and Rule were universal and Jonas used communities of different genders to tell different parts of his story. It still remains one and the same story – a story, no doubt, that is told from a male perspective.

There are three observations that may justify my approach. First, the obvious but nevertheless stunning fact that Western Christianity developed a form of religious life that was,

⁵⁷ On female monastic life in the middle ages, see McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996; Melville Gert and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011; Beach Alison and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

in principle, open for both genders. A *monasterium* is a *monasterium* regardless whether its community consists of women, men, or both; *regulae* are *regulae* no matter whether they address monks or nuns; the language and categories describing monastic life are largely the same for women and men. Female and male monasteries could attain similar legal statuses and economic and political roles in society. The intercessory prayer performed by nuns was worth no less than that of monks.⁵⁸ This does not take away that almost all the voices that describe and define this “non-gendered middle ground” are that of monks or bishops. Monasticism may have been turned into a unisex model, but it was nevertheless a model largely shaped by men.

The second observation: female communities (Caesarius’ monastery in Arles, Faremoutiers, but also others that are not addressed in this book) are, plainly spoken, more interesting than most communities of monks. Male monasteries were, certainly rhetorically, but also practically bound by the power of continuity and tradition. Texts describing their foundations are full of references to established models and statements of continuation and restoration of ideas placed in a distant past. There is, so to say, an Antony lurking behind almost every saintly monk and a bit of Egyptian desert sand mingled in the grounds surrounding a new, male monastery. Communities of religious women may have been founded as offshoots of existing communities of monks (Caesarius’ monastery by a Lérinsian monk; Faremoutiers by monks from Luxeuil) but they had a right to be different and they might have served more as “laboratories” to try out something new, both on practical and on conceptual levels. In that sense, it may not have been a coincidence that two of the three preserved seventh-century monastic rules address female communities.⁵⁹ Cynically spoken, nuns were the ideal Guinea pigs for trying out new pathways to salvation, but that does not mean that the results of these “experiments” were not applicable generally.

A case in point is Caesarius of Arles’ letter *Vereor* to his sister, which is both a cry for the unceasing battle against vices and a praise of virginity. This letter has been widely distributed as a treatise addressing monks. Moreover, Benedict of Aniane’s *Concordia regularum* contains numerous segments of rules for nuns (including almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*)

⁵⁸ On this aspect see Diem, Albrecht, ‘The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism’, in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Companion on Women and Gender in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432-446.

⁵⁹ On the experimental character of early medieval monastic life, see Diem, Albrecht and Claudia Rapp, ‘The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism’, in: Beach and Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, forthcoming.

but he consistently changed the gender in all these fragments to make them look like parts of rules for monks.

Many innovations that would eventually become self-evident parts of monastic life, are rooted in these female monastic experiences: intercessory prayer, the monastic cloister, and maybe even the notion of monastic life as a *uita regularis*. Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns was, after all, the first *regula sancta* (Holy Rule), claiming a status the *Regula Benedicti* would receive centuries later. There is a remarkable tension between a medieval and modern monastic master narrative that begins with monks and hermits in the Egyptian desert and the fact that, in many regards, the true ancestors of medieval monasteries were the communities of praying virgins and widows.⁶⁰

Thirdly, if we look at our sources as theological and programmatic texts, as I do, gender difference plays hardly any role. Sinfulness, sanctity, virtues, control over one's mind, the fear of damnation and the pursuit of salvation, central categories discussed in this study, are not related to gender. There is no difference between a female and a male *mens* (mind), *cor* (heart), or *anima* (soul). None of the nuns we encounter in our texts are virtuous or wise despite her gender; none of the monks' virtues or ascetic achievements are related to their masculinity. Yet there are, at least in the world I investigate, no signs of gender fluidity, gender multiplicity or the notion that monastic conversion creates a third gender – as we may find in other periods.⁶¹ Even if monks and nuns are equal in many regards, monks remain monks and nuns remain nuns. One remarkable transgression of gender boundaries present in both Caesarius' and Jonas' works, is the use of military metaphors in texts addressing both genders. Both monks and nuns are soldiers and monasteries can turn into war zones regardless of the gender of their inhabitants.

The nuns living undisturbed within the enclosure of Caesarius' monastery may have developed a level of autonomy unattainable in the outside world, and the abbess of Faremoutiers may have been able to rule her monastery freely on the basis of her own wisdom and knowledge,

⁶⁰ Diem, 'The Gender of the Religious'.

⁶¹ Cloke, Gilian, *This Female Man of God. Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450*, London: Routledge 1995; Lubinsky, Crystal Lynn, *Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood. The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014; Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011; McNamara, Jo Ann, 'Chastity as a third gender in the History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours', in: Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1999 (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, vol. 8), pp. 199-209.

but monks and bishops set the boundaries – of power, equality, and space. Theirs are the rules that were to be followed; theirs are the stories that determine how the lives of nuns and monks are imagined and remembered. They are the ones who benevolently define how nuns and monks escape the allurements of spiritual wolves and Ethiopian demons and stay on the narrow path towards eternal salvation.

Vita Regularis

If we place written versions of monastic *regulae* in the center of inquiry, as I do in this study, we are confronted with a number of problems. The first one is that of asynchrony. Most of the roughly thirty texts that we consider monastic rules were written in the fifth and sixth centuries (except for those from Visigothic Spain). The idea of monastic life as *uita regularis* took a foothold only in the seventh century. One has to wait, however, as late as circa 800 for the most important collection of monastic rules, Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum*, to define *regulae* as a distinct genre and promote monastic life as life under a written rule.⁶² The fact that texts, practices, and textual transmissions are tied to different centuries, may cause traps to be avoided.

Sixth-century monastic rules, especially the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns, promote the idea that monks should live on the basis of set norms – *sub regula uel abbate* (under a/the rule and/or an abbot) as the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* phrase it – , but this was still one option to organize monastic life among many. There were shrines of martyrs staffed by monks, religious women living in domestic communities, disciples following a charismatic holy man, monasticized Roman villas and other forms of more or less coenobitical, more or less ascetic, and more or less regulated religious life.⁶³ Only a few of the many monasteries mentioned in Gregory of Tours' *Liber uitae patrum* or

⁶² On the diversity and evolution of notions of regular observance, Diem, Albrecht, 'Monastic Rules', in: Philip L. Reynolds (ed.), *Great Christian Jurists and Legal Collections in the First Millennium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019, pp. 214-236; *idem* and Philip Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules, 4th-9th c.', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

⁶³ Beach, Alison and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

in the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great were described as following a rule. The term *regula* was not yet necessarily associated with monastic life, as the acts of Frankish episcopal councils show.⁶⁴ Gregory the Great's enormously influential *Regula pastoralis* had nothing to do with monks or nuns.

Seventh-century monastic foundation narratives firmly established the notion of monastic life as *uita regularis* or *sub regula* but only a few of them ascribe a *regula* to a specific author and emphasize that a *regula* needs to be a set of written norms. Both notions would not become a corner stone of monastic reform before the second half of the eighth century. "Regular observance" has a history of itself, which is complicated and crooked.⁶⁵

This leaves us with a couple of open questions that need to be taken into account when using the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as an historical source. The first is whether the Frankish monastic world after Columbanus did indeed produce only three monastic *regulae*: the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*. If such was the case, does it mean that the texts written up to that point were considered sufficient? Or could it be that the three rules (all of which are preserved only thanks to Benedict of Aniane's collection) were only accidental survivors among a flourishing but otherwise lost tradition of sets of norms written to support the shift towards a *uita regularis* as a prevalent model of organizing monastic life?

A second, related, question is to what extent we have to understand *uita regularis* as life according to a normative text (as it was promoted in the Carolingian monastic reform). To what extent should we understand *regulariter* or *sub regula* simply as reference to a monastic life in clearly defined organizational and spatial structures, within legal frameworks and disciplinary apparatuses, and organized to perform prayer according to a defined liturgical orders? The basis for such a "regular" life may not *necessarily* have to be textualized in the form of written sets of provisions but could also be represented in a variety of different forms (including hagiographic texts, liturgical *ordines*, charters, letters, sermons, exempla collections, customaries, or even being inscribed in spaces whose traces can be unearthed by archaeologists).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Diem, Albrecht, 'Monastic Rules'.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Bully, Dubreucq, and Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence*, contains several contributions on recent archaeological excavations of seventh-century monastic foundations.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other monastic rules were – obviously – *products* of a specific monastic environment and they were – likely – written down as a reaction to pragmatic or programmatic challenges. It would be a crude misreading to assume that they depicted or created an unchangeable reality. We need to keep in mind that monastic rules only address what needs to be regulated. Whatever was self-evident and a matter of consensus appears, if at all, as “stage decorum”. Rules resolved problems but they do not depict *a status quo*. Moreover, they developed various afterlives that detached them from the circumstances in which they were written, turning into authoritative texts representing a world of the past, reference works used in moments of crisis, spiritual guidelines, works submitted to exegesis, quarries of material for new rules, or quasi-liturgical texts. All of that happened to the *Regula Benedicti* and the few traces of reception left by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* indicate that it had a similarly diverse afterlife.⁶⁷

All of these caveats and open questions need to be taken into account when reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The possibility that this Rule was only *one*, possibly short-lived, textual claim on a *regula* that could have manifested itself in various written or unwritten forms does not diminish its hermeneutical potential. Any provision or sanction we find in this and other monastic rules at least *reflects* on a reality and points to a problem or a matter of dissent.

Many monastic rules look, at first sight, similar and show a limited repertoire of topics being addressed. Therefore, they have often been read and synthesized as expressing variations of one fairly stable monastic ideal and rarely been studied in their own right. Such a synthetic reading is encouraged by the way most monastic rules were presented in the context of the Carolingian reform. Benedict of Aniane’s *Codex Regularum* presents all monastic rules together as one *Regula sanctorum patrum* (Rule of the Holy Fathers) with the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* as introduction. His *Concordia regularum* turned the entire corpus of monastic normative texts into a commentary to each chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* emphasizing that this Rule largely encompasses what we find in the entire monastic normative tradition. If we step out of this paradigm, assume instead that all these Rules would not have been produced without

⁶⁷ Diem, Albrecht, ‘The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti’, in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 243-261.

disagreeing and consciously deviating from existing traditions, and, therefore, consistently read them *against* each other, these texts turn into much more prolific sources.

Four features make the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* distinct from most other preserved monastic rules and render this work especially suitable for historical inquiries. The first is its intertextual ties. Almost every sentence of the text can be read as response and reaction to existing normative and programmatic texts. Whatever Jonas says is based on a conscious decision to address a certain topic and comparing our texts gives us access to these decisions. Secondly, we have the unique case of a normative rule and its narrative counterpart (the *Vita Columbani* and Jonas' other hagiographic texts) that shows and explains how the Rule was, at least situationally, applied in practice. There are examples of Carolingian hagiographic narratives weaving in the *Regula Benedicti* (such as Walahfrid Strabo's *Vita Galli* or Ardo's *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*) but there are no example of one author writing a *regula* and a hagiographic texts serving as a narrated norm. Thirdly, Jonas did, as I will show in this book, not only develop one distinct monastic ideal but he also created, both in his hagiographic works and in his Rule, his very own monastic idiom by replacing existing terms and categories with new ones that carry their own theological and programmatic weight. An essential part of studying Jonas' work consist of studying the semantic fields Jonas created in his works and comparing them with the idiom of other monastic texts.

Lastly, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* distinguishes itself from most other monastic rules by shifting back and forth between an explanatory and a prescriptive mode. The Rule is fueled by Jonas desire to explain and justify why he prescribes what he prescribes and which implications his provisions have for the pursuit of salvation. These explanatory parts which often form the first half of a chapter of his Rule are often by far more prolific than Jonas' specific provisions because it is there where we find the core of his monastic program. These parts have never been isolated and studied in themselves. At many points in his Rule we get the impression that his practical provisions are not more than random examples of how to implement his ideas, rather than comprehensive guidelines. All these features together make reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a textual adventure and I hope that readers will receive this book as an adventurous journey.

Edition and Translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

Introduction to the Edition

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is preserved thanks to the Carolingian monastic reformer Benedict of Aniane (d. 821). We find the almost complete text (with the exception of most of its final chapter) in his a collection of thirty late Roman, Merovingian, Italian, and Visigothic monastic rules that was compiled around the turn of the ninth century, which modern historians indicate as *Codex regularum*.⁶⁸ Benedict of Aniane used almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* again in his other main work, the *Concordia regularum*, a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* that combines every single chapter of Benedict's rule with corresponding chapters from other monastic texts.⁶⁹ In the *Concordia regularum*, Benedict of Aniane transformed all the segments of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that he quoted into texts addressing monks, without changing anything else but the grammatical gender and replacing *soror* with *frater*, *abbatissa* with *abbas* etc.⁷⁰ A third, though indirect, witness of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (d. ca 830), which was probably written in the context of the monastic reform synods of Aachen (816/817).⁷¹ Smaragdus inserted about one fifth of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* into his work, usually without changes in the text, but using the male gender, as Benedict of Aniane did in his *Concordia regularum*. As he knew the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* only through this work he was not aware of the fact that it was originally a rule written for nuns, as the introductory sentences to

⁶⁸ On the *Codex regularum*, see Seebaß, Otto, 'Über das Regelbuch Benedikts von Aniane', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 15 (1895), pp. 244-260; Plenkers, Heribert, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1906, pp. 1-13; Bouillet, M.-E., 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum" de Saint Benoît d'Aniane', in: *Revue bénédictine* 75 (1965), pp. 345-349; Mundó, Aanscari, 'I "Corpora" e i "Codices Regularum" nella tradizione codicologica delle Regole monastiche', in: *Atti del 7° Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1980*, vol. 2, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 1982, pp. 477-520, at pp. 514-519; Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Benoît d'Aniane et la législation monastique', in: François Bougard (ed.), *Le christianisme en occident du début du VII^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle, Regards sur l'histoire*, Paris: SEDES 1997, pp. 175-185; Engelbert, Pius, 'Benedikt von Aniane und der Codex regularum Clm 28118 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München', in: *Studia Monastica* 57 (2015), pp. 69-90.

⁶⁹ Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, CCSL 168/168A, Turnhout: Brepols 1999.

⁷⁰ The same change of gender is applied by Benedict of Aniane to all quotations from female monastic rules. Bonnerue provides a list of these sections in CCCM 168, p. 138.

⁷¹ Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, ed. Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, CCM 8, Siegburg: F. Schmitt 1974; translation: Barry, David, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 2007.

most of the quoted fragments of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show.⁷² The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* has, thus, been preserved only in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms and first and foremost as a tool to comment on and to supplement the *Regula Benedicti*.

The humanist Lucas Holstenius (d. 1661) produced the *editio princeps* of the texts within Benedict of Aniane's collection in 1661. Dismissing the possibility that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may have been written by a nun, he changed the title into *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines*.⁷³ In an article published in 1908 the Benedictine scholar Louis Gougaud ascribed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Waldebert (d. ca 670), the second abbot of Luxeuil.⁷⁴ Since then, the text is usually quoted as *Regula Waldeberti*, sometimes as *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines* but very rarely under its original title. The question of the authorship will be discussed in Chapter 1 of this study.

The witnesses of the Regula cuiusdam

The Codex regularum of Benedict of Aniane

Written shortly after Benedict of Aniane's death, the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis* provides a vivid description of his role as monastic reformer and his interest in the broader monastic normative tradition.⁷⁵ The *Vita*'s author Ardo reports that, as part of Benedict of Aniane's project

⁷² For example Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 66.4, introducing a quotation from *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 3.1-2 with *Hinc et alius monachorum quidem magister ait...* (ed. Engelbert/Spannagel, p. 323, l. 31). Smaragdus' introductions are documented in the Fortleben apparatus of this edition.

⁷³ Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et uirginibus sanctimonialibus seruandas praescripsere*, Rome 1661, part 2, pp. 282-292. See also Neufville, Jean, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum": Saint Benoît d'Aniane et Lukas Holste', in: *Revue bénédictine* 76 (1966), pp. 327-342.

⁷⁴ Gougaud, Louis, 'Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises', in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 167-184 and pp. 321-333, at pp. 328-331.

⁷⁵ Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 3-6, *MGH Scriptores* 15, pp. 202-204; c. 18-24, pp. 207-210; c. 29, p. 211; c. 31, p. 213; c. 33-42, pp. 214-219. See also Semmler, Josef, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in: W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1-49, at pp. 5-10 and pp. 23-49; Diem, Albrecht, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: some observations on the history of monastic normative observance in the Early Medieval West', in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 53-84; *idem*, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 233-251, at pp. 241-244; Kettemann, Walter, *Subsidia Anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines*

to gain full understanding of the *Regula Benedicti* and to turn it into a generally applicable norm, he collected all the monastic rules he could lay hands on.⁷⁶ Towards the end of the *Vita*, Ardo describes how Benedict compiled the *Codex regularum* and the *Concordia regularum*:

Thereafter he produced a book that was compiled from the rules of various fathers. He did this in such a way that the Rule of the Blessed Benedict stood at the beginning of all of them. He gave orders to read this book daily during the morning assembly. From this book he then composed another one with sentences collected from the rules, in order to show to contentious people that Benedict did not produce anything worthless and vain but that his Rule was supported by other rules. He gave this book the name *Concordia regularum*. He did this in such a way that a sentence of the Blessed Benedict lead the way. To this sentence was then in a reasonable way linked what was in harmony with it.⁷⁷

Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* is the only preserved collection that contains several rules for female monastic communities. Benedict obviously regarded the tradition of female monasticism as an integral part of the monastic heritage. Four of the five rules for female communities in the *Codex regularum* would have been lost without Benedict's collecting work. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is one of them.⁷⁸

Manuscripts of the Codex regularum

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118, s. IXⁱⁿ

Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "anianischen Reform", Ph.D. thesis Duisburg University 2000; Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019, pp. 169-213; *idem*, "'...ut normam salutiferam cunctis ostenderet': représentations de l'autorité impériale dans la Vita Benedicti Anianensis et la Vita Adalhardi' in: Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier (eds.), *Normes et hagiographie dans l'Occident latin (V^e-XVI^e siècles) Actes du colloque international de Lyon, 4-6 octobre 2010, Dec 2014*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 101-118.

⁷⁶ Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, MGH SS 15.1, p. 206, l. 39-42: *Dedit autem cor suum ad inuestigandum beati Benedicti regulam, eamque ut intelligere possit satagere, circumiens monasteria, peritos quosque interrogans quae ignorabat, et omnium sanctorum, quascumque inuenire potuit, regulas congregauit. Normamque utilem et monasteriorum salubres consuetudines didicit suisque eas tradidit monachis obseruandas.*

⁷⁷ Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 38, MGH SS 15.1, p. 217, l. 26-32: *Fecit denique librum ex regulis diuersorum patrum collectum, ita ut prior beati Benedicti regula cunctis esset, quem omni tempore ad collectam matutino legere iussit. Ex quo rursus ut ostenderet contentiosis nil friuola cassaque a beato Benedicto edita fore, set suam ex aliorum fultam esse regulam, alium collectis regularum sententiis composuit librum, cui nomen Concordia regularum dedit, ita dumtaxat, ut beati Benedicti precederet sententia, ei uero racionabiliter concinentia iungerentur deinceps.*

⁷⁸ The only rules for nuns with an independent manuscript tradition are Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns (see De Vogüé, Adalbert/Courreau, Joël, in: SC 345, pp. 129-141) and the Rule of Leander of Seville (d. 600), ed. Julio Campos-Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 1971, pp. 21-76. The latter does not appear in Benedict of Aniane's collection.

The manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118 (siglum *M* in this edition), which was produced around 800 is the only surviving early medieval exemplar of Benedict of Aniane's collection of monastic rules. Every later manuscript is a direct or indirect copy of *M*. The manuscript belonged to the library of the abbey of St. Maximin in Trier.⁷⁹ According to Josef Plenkers it may have been a gift of Benedict of Aniane to Helisachar (d. ca. 820), the abbot of St. Maximin.⁸⁰ Pius Engelbert gives the manuscript a later date. He suggests that it may have been written in St. Maximin around 821.⁸¹ After the secularization of St. Maximin in 1802 it was purchased by Joseph von Görres (d. 1848). When Görres' family auctioned the manuscript in 1902, Ludwig Traube acquired it for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.⁸² The manuscript is now digitized and can be studied on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.⁸³ Pius Engelbert published a facsimile edition with an extensive introduction in 2016.⁸⁴

Description of Manuscript M

The manuscript contains 216 folios with modern folio numbering.⁸⁵ With a size of 32.5x41.5 cm it is remarkably large. The texts of the collection are written in two columns of 36 lines (26x34 cm) in a regular Carolingian minuscule by several hands from the early ninth century (the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written by one hand). A gap on 18r-19r has been filled by a write from the twelfth century. Quires (according to Hauke's description): II⁴ + IV¹² +

⁷⁹ Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', p. 328; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane', p. 79 and pp. 88-90.

⁸² Ludwig Traube wrote a short note on the history of the manuscript on the first folio of the manuscript. See Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 4-5; Hauke, Hermann, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Clm 28111-28254*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1986, p. 7; Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane und der Codex regularum', pp. 77-82; Bischoff, Bernhard and Birgit Ebersperger, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (*Laon – Paderborn*), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004, pp. 274-275.

⁸³ <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054966/images/index.html>.

⁸⁴ Engelbert, Pius, *Der Codex Regularum des Benedikt von Aniane*, St. Ottilien: Eos Editions 2016.

⁸⁵ For a full codicological description, see Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften*, pp. 7-13; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 5-10; Bouillet, 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum"'; Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane', pp. 77-79; Engelbert, *De Codex Regularum*, pp. 44-52.

(IV-2)¹⁸ + 4 IV⁵⁰ + III⁵⁶ + 5 IV⁹⁶ + (IV+1)¹⁰⁵ + 2 IV¹²¹ + (IV-1)¹²⁸ + 3 IV¹⁵² + (IV-4)¹⁵⁶ + 7 IV²¹² + (IV-4)²¹⁶. The manuscript contains a couple of marginal notes, probably from the ninth century and a number of Old German interlinear glosses from the tenth century.⁸⁶ Chapters of the various rules usually begin with a red initial. The beginning of each rule is written in red uncials, as are the individual chapter headings. Every folio has a running title, usually *regula* on the verso and the title of the rule or the name of the author on the recto. In our case it is *regula – cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁸⁷ The book cover was produced in the sixteenth century.

The codex shows two layers of correction. A ninth-century hand (possibly one of the scribes of the text) added a few missing words and corrected errors in grammar and spelling (indicated with siglum *M^{pc}* (=post correctionem) in this edition. A much later hand added word separations with very thin strokes, changed the orthography and replaced some words (indicated with siglum *M²* in the edition). Since these alterations are consistently reproduced in the manuscript *K* (see below), they have been ascribed to the copyist of *K*, Arnold Losen, who produced the manuscript *K* in 1466/1467.⁸⁸

In the Munich codex, the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* serves as the prologue to the entire collection of rules. It is remarkable, however, that Benedict's name is not mentioned in the manuscript. It contains the following texts:

fol. 1va-18ra: *Incipit prologus sanctorum regulae patrum monachorum* (modern title: *Regula Benedicti*).⁸⁹

fol. 18rb-18vb: *Plurimi Nequaquam pleniter...* (modern title: Benedict of Aniane (?), *De diuersarum poenitentiarum modo de regula Benedicti distincto*), added s. XII.⁹⁰

fol. 19r: *Rithmimachia*, possibly tenth century, unpublished.⁹¹

⁸⁶ The text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains the following marginal notes: fol. 208v to *RcuiV*, c. 3.23: *de hospitibus*; fol. 210r to *RcuiV*, c. 8.title: *de excommunicatione*; fol. 213r to *RcuiV*, c. 16: *de conuersione*; fol. 213v to *RcuiV*, c. 18.title: *de excommunicatione*. There are no interlinear glosses in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

⁸⁷ The copyist of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses occasionally (but not consistently) uncial letters. He is not consistent in his abbreviations.

⁸⁸ Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 338-339.

⁸⁹ Ed. Jean Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 181-186, Paris: Cerf 1971-1972; ed. Josef Hanslik, *CSEL* 75, 2nd edition, Vienna: Tempsky 1977.

⁹⁰ Ed. Josef Semmler, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 571-582.

⁹¹ Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften*, p. 8.

- fol. 19va-21va: *Regula monasteriorum uel deo timentium pro discipulorum eruditioni id est Saraphyonis, Macharii, Pafnuptii et alterius Macharii abbatis uel aliarum* (modern title: *Regula quattuor patrum*).⁹²
- fol. 21va-22ra: *Regula a sanctis patribus prolata* (modern title: *Regula patrum secunda*).⁹³
- fol. 22ra-23rb: *Regula a sanctis patribus prolata* (modern title: *Regula patrum tertia*).⁹⁴
- fol. 23rb-24ra: *Regula sancti Macharii qui habuit subordinatione sua V milia monachorum* (modern title: *Regula Macharii*).⁹⁵
- fol. 24rb-28rb: *Vita sancti Pacomii hominis dei a Hieronimo edita* (modern title: *Vita Pacomii*).⁹⁶
- fol. 28rb-36ra: *Regula Sancti Pacomii*.⁹⁷
- fol. 36v-41rb: *Epistolae Pacomii* (presented as part of the *Regula Sancti Pacomii*).⁹⁸
- fol. 41rb-41va: *Epistola Theodori*.⁹⁹
- fol. 41vb-51rb: *Doctrina atque tractatus patris nostri Orsiesii* (modern title: *Liber Orsiesii*).¹⁰⁰
- fol. 51va-80ra: *Regula sancti Basilii*.¹⁰¹
- fol. 80ra-80vb: *Consensoria monachorum*.¹⁰²
- fol. 80vb-83ra: *Regula sancti Augustini episcopi* (modern title: *Augustine, Praeceptum*).¹⁰³
- fol. 83ra-86va: *Regula Sancti Pauli et Stephani*.¹⁰⁴
- fol. 86va-92vb: *Regula Sancti Columbani* (modern titles: *Columbanus, Regula monachorum a and Regula coenobialis*)¹⁰⁵

⁹² Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères 1, SC 297*, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 180-205.

⁹³ *SC 297*, pp. 274-282.

⁹⁴ Ed. De Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères 2, SC 298*, Paris 1982, pp. 532-543.

⁹⁵ *SC 297*, pp. 372-388.

⁹⁶ Ed. Albrecht Diem and Hildegund Müller, 'Vita, Regula, Sermo: Eine unbekannte lateinische Vita Pacomii als Lehrtext für ungebildete Mönche und als Traktat über das Sprechen', in: Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010, pp. 223-272.

⁹⁷ Ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932, pp. 13-74.

⁹⁸ Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 77-101.

⁹⁹ Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 105-106.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 109-147.

¹⁰¹ Ed. Klaus Zelzer, *CSEL 86*, Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Temsky 1986.

¹⁰² Ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 2, Paris: Études augustiniennes 1967, pp. 7-9.

¹⁰³ Ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris: Études augustiniennes 1967, pp. 417-437.

¹⁰⁴ Ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, Montserrat 1959, pp. 105-125.

¹⁰⁵ Ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani opera*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1957, pp. 122-169.

fol. 92vb-100ra: *Regula sancti Isidori episcopi*.¹⁰⁶

fol. 100ra-b: *Sententia de regalis deuotarum* (modern title: *Regula Pachomii, praecepta*, c. 143-144).¹⁰⁷

fol. 100rb-110va: *Concilii Spalense capitulo xliii era xl* (modern title: *Concilium Hispalense*, a. 619, II, c. 11).¹⁰⁸

fol. 100va-105rb : *Regula Fructuosi episcopi* (modern title: Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula Complutensis*).¹⁰⁹

fol. 105va-113va: *Regula sancti Ferrioli episcopi*.¹¹⁰

fol. 114ra-118ra: *Regula sancti Aureliani*.¹¹¹

fol. 118rb-118va: *In Christi nomine fundatum est...* (Diptych of the monastery founded by Aurelianus of Arles).¹¹²

fol. 118va-126ra: *Regula sancti Fructuosi* (modern title: *Regula communis*).¹¹³

fol. 126ra-126vb: *Pactum*.¹¹⁴

fol. 126va-132va: *Excarpsum regulae ex omnibus institutionibus Cassiani collecta* (excerpts from the first four books of Cassian's *Institutiones*).¹¹⁵

fol. 132va-136va: *Regula monasterii Tarnatensis*.¹¹⁶

fol. 136va-139rb: *Regula orientalis*.¹¹⁷

fol. 139rb-141va: *Regula cuiusdam patris* (modern title: *Regula cuiusdam patris ad monachos*).¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ed. Julio Campos-Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 1971, pp. 90-125.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁸ *PL* 88, col 1071B-C.

¹⁰⁹ Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 137-162.

¹¹⁰ Ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117-148.

¹¹¹ Ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237-256.

¹¹² Ed. Philippe Bernard, 'Les diptyques du monastère des Saints-Apôtres d'Arles au VII^e siècle. Edition critique. Commentaire historique et liturgique', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 89:222 (2003), pp. 5-21.

¹¹³ Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 172-211.

¹¹⁴ Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 208-211.

¹¹⁵ Ed. Henry Ledoyen, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), pp. 154-194.

¹¹⁶ Ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7-65.

¹¹⁷ *SC* 298, pp. 462-494.

¹¹⁸ Ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos". Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la "Regula monachorum" de Colomban', in: *Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité* 49 (1973), pp. 3-36.

fol. 141va-184vb: *Regula per interrogatione discipuli et responsione magistri factus* (modern title: *Regula Magistri*).¹¹⁹

fol. 184vb-192ra: *Regula sancti Caeearii episcopi ad uirgines*.¹²⁰

fol. 192ra-192va: *Paulinus dilectissimi fratro Cesario Hormisda*... (Letter of Pope Hormisdas to Caesarius of Arles).¹²¹

fol. 192va-193ra: *Orationes supra defuncte corpus, hoc est quando migrat soror de corpore*.¹²²

fol. 193ra-196ra: *Regula Aureliani* (modern title: *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*).¹²³

fol. 196ra-b: *Sanctis ac uenerandis in Christo sororibus*... (John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines*).¹²⁴

fol. 196rb-207ra: *Regula a Donato collecta* (modern title: *Regula Donati*).¹²⁵

fol. 207ra-214vb: *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, breaking off at the beginning of chapter 24.

fol. 215ra-b: *...praecipue quae non fuerit in coetu sororum*... (fragment from Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, rewritten for nuns).¹²⁶

fol. 216ra-216va: *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*.¹²⁷

The Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines in the Codex regularum

In contrast to most of the rules in the *Codex regularum*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not have a title but begins with a list of chapters.¹²⁸ The title of the rule appears only in the running titles of each page (*Regula* on the verso; *cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the recto) and in the *Concordia regularum*, but not in the text itself. The rule does not include a prologue or a

¹¹⁹ Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 105-107, Paris: Cerf 1964-1965.

¹²⁰ Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 170-272.

¹²¹ *SC* 354, pp. 350-358.

¹²² Ed. German Morin, *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Opera omnia*, vol. 2, Paris: Maretioli 1942, pp. 127-128.

¹²³ *PL* 68, col. 399-408.

¹²⁴ *PL* 72, col. 859B-860C.

¹²⁵ Ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, pp. 139-188.

¹²⁶ *CSEL* 98, pp. 234-238.

¹²⁷ *CSEL* 98, pp. 239-240.

¹²⁸ Only six of the thirty rules do not contain a list of chapters, the *Regula Macharii*, *Regula Pachomii*, *Liber Orsiesii*, *Regula consensoria*, *Regula Ferrioli*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula cuiusdam patris*, and the *Regula Donati*. Benedict of Aniane probably reproduced chapter lists when they were available in his sources, but he did not produce them himself.

dedication letter,¹²⁹ which could have provided information about a rule's author, recipients of the rule and the time when it was written. It breaks off at the bottom of fol. 214v in the middle of the first sentence of chapter 24, which was according to the list of chapters the last one of the rule. At the bottom edge of the folio we find the following remark written in a small gothic script: *Istius regule non est finis et sequentis non est principium* (This Rule has no end and the next one no beginning). The missing part of chapter 24 can be reconstructed from the *Concordia regularum*.

A sample of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on fol. 207^b, gives an impression about the layout in the text, its layout, the abbreviations, and the original punctuation. Uncial letters are reproduced as capital letters. Expansions are printed between brackets.

REPLACE BY A PHOTOGRAPH?

[fol. 207^b]

INCIP(IT) TEXTVS REGVLAE

.I. ABATISSA MONASTERII QVAL(IS) E(SS)E DEBEAT .

Abatissa monasterii Non tam genere qua(m)
 sapientia et s(an)c(t)itate nobilis e(ss)e debet : Vt
 quae sermone(m) ad erudienda(s) animas .
 iusta eruditione lugubrat . propriis
 actib(us) non contra dicat . plus etenim
 subiugate praelatorum(m) actuu(m) formam
 imitant : quam doctrinae inlatae aure(m)
 adco(m)modant . Debet enim sacris elo|
 quiis opera nectere sacra ut quae
 eius imitatur doctrina(m) ex uoce . imi|
 tetur cultu(m) ex opere : Ne si in aliquo
 uoci opus contra dixerit . fructu(m) uocis
 non obtinere effectu(m) . sic ergo sit
 et uoce ornata et opere : ut et opus
 uoci et uox consentiat operi . Sit co(n)|
 tinentiae et castitatis flore compta
 ut omnium ore laudabilis . omnium desi|
 deriis imitabilis exemplo . sit caritatis
 beniuolentia ornata : ut omnium fide|
 lium laetificet corda , Erga peregrin

¹²⁹ The following rules do have a prologue or a dedication letter: *Regula Benedicti*, *Regula Ferrioli*, *Regula Caesarii ad uirgines*, and *Regula Donati*.

norum et hospitem sollicitudine(m)
 praesta : Erga infirmantium
 cura(m) sollicita : Erga inopum et aegeno(rum)
 iuuamen opulenta . Sic delinquentiu(m)
 ignauia(m) corrigit : ut ad cultum rele
 gionis lasciuas et fessas m(en)tes redu
 cat . Sic misericorditer bonitatis
 dona distribuat : quatenus ex nimia
 bonitate facinorum fom(en)ta no(n) nutriat .
 Sit ergo bonis bona p(er) meritu(m) . sit malis ma
 la p(er) flagellum : quod mediante scientia
 agendum : e(st) iuxta psalmistae oratione(m)
 dicentis Bonitate(m) et disciplina(m) et scien|

Cologne, Historisches Archiv W. fol. 231, A.D. 1466/1467

In 1466/1467, Arnold Losen, a canon regular from the Augustinian convent of Gaesdonck (Lower-Rhine, belonging to the Windesheim congregation) produced a copy of the Munich *Codex regularum*.¹³⁰ The manuscript (siglum *K* in this edition) is now preserved in the Historisches Archiv, Cologne. There are no indications that Losen used any other source than the Munich manuscript. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off at exactly the same place as in *M*.¹³¹ Losen used his own system of abbreviations and he consistently changed the orthography of his exemplar, altering every *ae* and *oe* to *e*, every *ti* followed by a vowel to *ci* and *mn* to *mpn*, but there are very few copying errors.

As a direct copy of *M*, *K* is of no value for the establishment of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Nevertheless, the manuscript takes an important place in the history of the Rule's reception. Since *M* was not known to modern scholarship until its discovery by Ludwig Traube in 1912, every earlier edition of the monastic rules in the *Codex regularum* depended on editions

¹³⁰ Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 11-12.

¹³¹ The copyist wrote on the backside of the frontpage: *Ne quem lectorem improuisum huius codicis incultus sermo et barbarismi uarii offendant, sciendum quod liber iste regularum sanctorum patrum transcriptus et diligenter est perlectus ad codicem ueteranum monasterii sancti Maximini Treuerensis* (Lest the unpolished language and the various barbarisms offend any unexpected reader of this codex, it must be known that this book of Rules of the Holy Fathers was transcribed and carefully read through at [the hand of] the old codex of the monastery of St. Maximin at Trier). See Seebaß, 'Über das Regelbuch', p. 248.

that were ultimately based on *K*.¹³² Variants in *K* are therefore documented in the apparatus criticus if they found their way into the currently available editions.

The manuscript contains 212 folios (fol. 1-210 parchment, fol. 211-212 paper), measures 31.0x22.0 cm, and is laid out in two columns of 40 lines (22.5x7 cm). The rules and their respective chapters start with decorated initials (alternating red and blue). The first letter of each new sentence is marked in red. Folios with a new rule beginning are sometimes decorated in the margin. Losen omitted the *Regula Benedicti*, Augustine's *Praeceptum*, and the *Regula Cassiani*, probably because the two Rules and Cassian's *Institutiones* were available in other manuscripts. Aside from moving the *Regula Basilii* to the beginning, Losen did not change the order of the rules he reproduced.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* starts on fol. 200vb and breaks off on fol. 209ra with the following remark: *Huius regule finis deficit propter perdita de exemplari folia. In quibus etiam alterius cuiusdam regule principium iniciabatur cuius extrema pars hic in papiro scripta continetur* (The end of the Rule is missing because of the lost folios from the exemplar, in which also the beginning of another Rule of someone was begun, of which the last part is contained here, written on paper), which indicates that he did not use other sources aside from the Munich codex. The rest of the page is left empty.

Other manuscripts of the Codex regularum

We know of one lost and two additional surviving copies of Benedict's *Codex regularum* that all depend directly or indirectly on *M* and therefore do not play a role for this edition.¹³³

Another copy of *M*, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 361 from 1471, contains only a selection of the rules (*Regula Benedicti*, *Regulae Patrum*, *Regula Basilii*, *Regula consensoria*) but not the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹³⁴

A copy of *K* was produced in the seventeenth century. It belonged to the Bollandists and is now preserved in the Royal Library in Brussels. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is part of

¹³² The Cologne manuscript was discovered by Otto Seebaß, one of the first modern scholars to do research on early monastic rules. He knew about the existence of the exemplar from Trier, but presumed that it was lost. See Seebaß, 'Über das Regelbuch', pp. 245-249; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 4.

¹³³ See Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 10-12.

¹³⁴ Description in *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, vol. 1, Utrecht/The Hague: Nijhoff/Kemink 1887, pp. 118-119.

this collection.¹³⁵ Another now lost copy of *K* was written by the Vatican nuncio in Cologne, Fabio Chigi (the later pope Alexander VII, 1655-1667). It was sent to Rome to serve as exemplar for the *editio princeps* of Lucas Holstenius. The manuscript is indicated in the stemma with the siglum [*L*].¹³⁶

The editions of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

Lucas Holstenius' edition of the "Codex regularum"

The prefect of the Vatican library Lucas Holstenius (d.1661)¹³⁷ produced an edition of most early medieval monastic rules available to him. This collection appeared in Rome posthumously in 1661¹³⁸ and in a second edition in Paris two years later.¹³⁹ The fact that he gave his work the title "*Codex regularum*" and that he related it explicitly to Benedict's collection still causes confusion, since several texts in Holstenius' edition do not come from Benedict's collection and others were omitted by Holstenius' edition.¹⁴⁰ Holstenius used two sources for his edition, Fabio Chigi's copy of *K* and the *Editio princeps* of the *Concordia regularum*, which was published in 1638 by Nicolas Hugues Ménard (see below).¹⁴¹

The second edition of Holstenius' "*Codex regularum*" formed the basis for the first volume of Marianus Brockie's monumental six volumes edition of all normative medieval monastic texts, published in 1759 (siglum *h*³).¹⁴² About a century later Jacques Paul Migne

¹³⁵ Brussels, *Royal Library*, 3597 (8126-8141). The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears on fol. 155r-177v. Description of the manuscript in: Van den Gheyn, Joseph, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 6, Brussels: Lamertin 1906, pp. 2-3.

¹³⁶ Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 2; Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 337-338; Holstenius, Lucas and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1957, vol. 1, p. III.

¹³⁷ On Holstenius and his edition, see Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 337-338; De Vogüé, in *SC* 298, pp. 456-457.

¹³⁸ Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescribere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Rome 1661.

¹³⁹ Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescribere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Paris: Billaine 1663. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears in part 3, pp. 71-88.

¹⁴⁰ See Bouillet, 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum"', pp. 348-349, with a list of texts omitted by Holstenius and a list of texts which Holstenius took from other sources.

¹⁴¹ Holstenius, *Codex regularum* (1661), introduction, c. 4 (no pagination).

¹⁴² Holstenius/Brockie, *Codex regularum*. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears as *Regula cuiusdam Patris ad uirgines* on pp. 393-404.

reprinted most of the rules in the “*Codex regularum*” in his *Patrologia Latina* on the basis of Holstenius’ second edition. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears together with the *Regula Magistri* in vol. 88 (siglum *h*⁴ in this edition).¹⁴³ Both versions contain minimal differences. This edition therefore generally uses the siglum *h* whenever *h*³ and *h*⁴ are in accordance.

Hope Mayo, Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns (siglum ma)

In 1974 Hope Mayo produced an edition and commentary of the *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a Ph.D. thesis.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately her work has never been published and is available only on microfilm. In a revised form after correction of a couple of reading errors and typographical errors Mayo’s book would have provided a satisfactory edition of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Her decision, however, to use the uncorrected version of *M* mostly (but not consistently) as *Codex optimus* is problematic since the first layer of corrections largely consists of correcting obvious errors and may have been applied by the copyist himself.¹⁴⁵ For the new edition provided here, reading errors and inconsistencies in Mayo’s edition were ignored. Variants based on a different but arguable interpretation are listed in the apparatus criticus with the siglum *ma*.

The Concordia regularum

The history of the text and the place of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

According to Ardo, the *Concordia regularum* was intended to show that nothing in the *Regula Benedicti* was worthless or written in vain.¹⁴⁶ Benedict of Aniane wanted to prove this by documenting relevant parallel regulations from all available monastic rules – a method that points to a rather pragmatic approach to the *Regula Benedicti*: it is not a *regula sancta* but simply

¹⁴³ Migne, *PL* 88, col. 1951-1970.

¹⁴⁴ Mayo, Hope, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis Harvard, Cambridge, MS 1974.

¹⁴⁵ See Mayo, *Three Merovingian Rules*, pp. 226-234.

¹⁴⁶ The title *Concordia regularum* is, differently from the *Codex regularum*, medieval. It appears in manuscripts and in Ardo’s *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*.

the best among all available rules.¹⁴⁷ For his *Concordia regularum*, Benedict of Aniane used essentially the same source material as for his collection of rules, adding only a small number of extracts from other sources.¹⁴⁸ Every chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* is followed by between one and thirty-four parallel regulations from other rules.

The sources that he used can be divided into three groups: the rules from which almost the complete text is quoted,¹⁴⁹ texts from which a significant part is used,¹⁵⁰ and those appearing only incidentally.¹⁵¹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* holds a unique position as the only rule for nuns belonging to the first group. All other rules for nuns (Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*) appear only with a handful quotations. Benedict seems to have regarded the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a highly original text and as especially useful to prove the value of the *Regula Benedicti*.

For most chapters in the *Concordia Regularum*, Benedict of Aniane initially followed the order in which the rules were arranged in the *Codex regularum*,¹⁵² which confirms Ardo's claim that that the former was produced after the latter. In a few cases, however, Benedict of Aniane seems to have done a second round of "harvesting" material, adding a number of new fragments. As a result of this arrangement, the majority of the fragments (14 out of 27) of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appear at the end of each respective section of the *Concordia regularum*. In these cases the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* formed, as it were, brackets that enclose the rest of the monastic normative tradition.

Pierre Bonnerue, in his 1999 critical edition of the *Concordia regularum*, shows that Benedict of Aniane used for it a version of the *Codex regularum* that was not directly dependent

¹⁴⁷ On different ways of using and approaching the *Regula Benedicti* in the Carolingian period, see Diem, 'The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti'.

¹⁴⁸ Only 21 of the 788 paragraphs of the *Concordia regularum* come from texts other than those used in the *Codex*: Augustine's *Sermo* 46, Cassian's *Institutiones*, the so-called *Dicta Caesariae*, Jerome's *Epistula* 125, and one extract from Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* (which will be discussed on pp. 5 of this study). Bonnerue provides a list of the paragraphs in CCCM 168, pp. 255-256. For an analysis of the choice of material used by Benedict, see *ibid.*, pp. 125-138.

¹⁴⁹ Almost completely quoted are the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; *Regula Fructuosi*, *Regula Isidori*, *Regula Macharii*, *Regula patrum tertia*, and *Regula quattuor patrum*.

¹⁵⁰ Large parts are quoted from Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*; Fructuosus, *Regula communis*; *Regula Aureliani ad monachos*; *Regula Cassiani*; *Regula cuiusdam patris*; *Regula Basilii*; *Regula Ferrioli*; *Regula Magistri*; *Regula Pachomii*; *Regula orientalis*; *Regula patrum secunda*; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*; and *Regula Tarnatensis*.

¹⁵¹ *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*; *Regula Caesarii ad uirgines*; *Regula Donati*.

¹⁵² See Bonnerue, CCCM 168, p. 127.

on the Munich codex.¹⁵³ This means that the *Codex regularum* and the *Concordia regularum* form two independent witnesses for the reconstruction of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Therefore, the manuscript witnesses of the *Concordia regularum* have to be taken into account for this edition. Simply referring Bonnerue's edition appeared appears to be unsatisfactory since Bonnerue decided at various points to reconstruct the text against stemmatic evidence.

The manuscripts of the Concordia regularum

The *Concordia regularum* is preserved in six manuscripts that contain either the entire text or large parts of it, and four fragments, one of which has been recently discovered and edited by Martin Claussen (siglum *R* in this edition).¹⁵⁴ The three fragments that had already been known can be ignored for this edition since they do not contain any sections of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹⁵⁵ The newly discovered fragment *R*, which was hidden in the binding and the book cover of manuscript Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 503 and 506, however, contains a large part of *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 3 and has been included in this edition. Martin Claussen shows that the fragment he discovered, belongs to an independent branch of the manuscript tradition of the *Concordia regularum*, possibly even a preliminary version of text that may already have been produced in the 790s.¹⁵⁶

Bonnerue lists variants of all the other manuscripts in his critical edition which will be used here *en lieu* of the manuscripts themselves. His reconstruction of the *Concordia regularum* is indicated with the siglum *c*.¹⁵⁷ Cases in which Bonnerue decided not to emend the text or not to follow the stemmatic evidence are indicated as *coni. Bonnerue*.

The six manuscripts that Bonnerue used to establish the text are:

¹⁵³ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 51 and pp. 70-84, esp. p. 80: "Ainsi, les extraits des textes reproduits dans la *Concordia* ne sont pas tirés du *Codex*. Le scribe de la *Concordia* dépend donc directement de la version des textes insérés dans le recueil qui a servi à la composition du *Codex*."

¹⁵⁴ Claussen, Martin, 'Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 806: a little-known manuscript of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 23:1 (2015), pp. 1-42.

¹⁵⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Philipps, 36, s. X-XI, fol. 103^v-105^r; Paris, BnF, lat. 2974, fol. 75^r-75^v, s. IX; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 54, s. X-XI, fol. 12^r-14^r. See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 172.

¹⁵⁶ Claussen, 'Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum*', pp. 15-18.

¹⁵⁷ One short section of the *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 19.9-11, is used twice in the *Concordia regularum* with some minor variants. The second fragment is documented as *C'*.

- F* Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, s. IX, pp. 1-95, 202-271, 388-417.¹⁵⁸
- F'* Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, s. X-XI, pp. 96-201, 272-387.
- V* Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 60, s. XI, fol. 4^r-109^r.¹⁵⁹
- W* Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 36, s. XI, pp. 2-286.¹⁶⁰
- T* Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, 69, s. X, fol. 1^r-176^v.¹⁶¹
- P* Paris, BnF, lat. 10879, s. XII, fol. 5^v-129^v.¹⁶²
- A* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Phillipps, 108, s. XII, fol. 1^r-144^r.¹⁶³
- The newly found fragment is:
- R* Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 503 and 506, s. IXⁱⁿ.¹⁶⁴

The manuscripts *F/F'* and *V* provide the complete text of the *Concordia regularum*. Manuscript *F/F'* originates from Fleury. The double siglum follows Bernhard Bischoff's observation that a part of the Fleury manuscript (*F*, comprising pp. 1-95, 202-271, 388-417) had been written in the beginning of the ninth century while the rest (*F'*, comprising pp. 96-201, 272-387) had either been produced in the later ninth century (according to De Vogüé and Neufville) or even in the tenth or eleventh century (according to Villegas).¹⁶⁵ The separation between *F* and *F'* has no relevance for this edition, since both parts hold the same position in the stemma, but it is reproduced in accordance with Bonnerue's edition.

Manuscript *V* comes from the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme. Manuscript *W*, originating from the monastery of Saint-Vanne in Verdun, comprises about 60% of the text. Manuscript *T*, whose provenance was the Cistercian monastery of Santa Cruz near Tarragona, is

¹⁵⁸ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 163-166; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 13-14; Mostert, Marco, *The library of Fleury: a provisional list of manuscripts*, Hilversum: Verloren 1989, pp. 163-164; Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. 2, pp. 347-348.

¹⁵⁹ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 166-168; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁰ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 168-169; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 15.

¹⁶¹ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 169; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 15.

¹⁶² See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 170; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14; Léopold Victor Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8 823-18 613*, Paris 1863-1874, part I, p. 100.

¹⁶³ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 170-172; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14; Rose, Valentin, *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Berlin: Asher 1893 (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 12), pp. 227-228.

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy of parts of Justinian's *Corpus iuris ciuilis*. See Claussen, 'Benedict of Aniane's Concordia Regularum', p. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Neufville/De Vogüé in their introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, in *SC* 181, p. 318; Villegas, 'La "Regula Monasterii Tarnatensis"', p. 10, note. 2. Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 164-165 follows Neufville/De Vogüé.

less complete than *W*. Manuscript *P* comes from the monastery Notre-Dame de Lyre in Normandy. Manuscript *A* was preserved at the *Collegium Claromontanum* of the Jesuits in Paris and may have originated from the monastery of St. Arnulf at Metz. *T*, *P*, and *A* share lacunas and belong to the same family.¹⁶⁶

Bonnerue's apparatus criticus is not restricted to variants that are directly relevant for the establishment of the text. He gives all *lectiones singulares* and documents all changes in gender (with regard to *M*).¹⁶⁷ Since all editorial decisions of Bonnerue were checked for this edition, a complete reproduction of Bonnerue's apparatus was not regarded as necessary. All variants that might challenge or confirm the decisions made for the establishment of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and all variants that may be the result of a deliberate change of the text are documented in the apparatus criticus.

The Editio princeps of Nicolas Hugues Ménard (siglum me)

When Lucas Holstenius edited his *Concordia regularum*, he used a copy of *K* and also the *editio princeps* of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*, which was published twenty-two years before by Nicolas Hugues Ménard (d. 1644).¹⁶⁸ Ménard's edition (siglum *me*) is available as a reprint in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 103.¹⁶⁹ Holstenius not only reconstructed the missing part of c. 24 on the basis of Ménard's text, but on some occasions he also preferred the readings of Ménard against his copy of the *Concordia regularum*. Ménard used for his edition the two most important preserved manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum*, *F/F'* and *V*, which were also used in Bonnerue's edition. Ménard's edition is therefore of no relevance for reconstructing the text of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Variants in Ménard's edition, however, are reproduced in the apparatus criticus if they found their way into Holstenius' and Migne's edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In a few cases Holstenius chose to reproduce variants from the apparatus of Ménard. They are documented in this edition as *me**.

¹⁶⁶ For a stemma, see Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 161-196.

¹⁶⁷ Bonnerue's criteria of his edition are explained in *CCCM* 168, pp. 197-204.

¹⁶⁸ Ménard, Hugues, *Concordia regularum auctore S. Benedicto Aniane abbate*, Paris 1638. See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 64-69; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 23-25.

¹⁶⁹ *PL* 103, Paris 1851, col. 701-1380.

*Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti**The history of the text and the place of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel¹⁷⁰ wrote his commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* probably as a contribution to the monastic reforms that culminated in the synods of Aachen in 816/817.¹⁷¹ Unlike Benedict of Aniane, Smaragdus did not quote complete chapters of monastic rules, but composed his texts by combining smaller segments into a running text. Smaragdus' commentary is divided into three books: the first two books, which comprise almost two thirds of the text, comment on the rather theological and programmatic first seven chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*. For this part of his work, Smaragdus used a wide range of patristic texts.¹⁷² The last part of Smaragdus' work is a comparatively concise commentary on the remaining 64 chapters of Benedict's rule. For this part Smaragdus used mostly the textual material that is provided in Benedict's *Concordia regularum*.

The *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* contains 39 quotations from the *Regula cuiusdam*. Most of them have not been changed deliberately. Only in a few cases has Smaragdus shortened or rearranged the text.¹⁷³ Just like Benedict, Smaragdus regarded the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a highly relevant source. Only three other monastic rules are quoted more often than this text: the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Cassiani*, and the *Regula Basilii*.

Usually Smaragdus shares his variants with the *Concordia regularum* (as it is presented by Bonnerue), which confirms that Smaragdus used Benedict's *Concordia* and not the *Regula*

¹⁷⁰ On Smaragdus' life and works, see Engelbert/Spannagel, *CCM* 8, pp. XXII-XXX; Anton, Hans Hubert, 'Smaragd', in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, col. 644-648 (bibliography); Jenal, Georg, 'Smaragdus', in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 674-675; Ponesse, Matthew D., 'Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian monastic reform', in: *Revue bénédictine* 116:2 (2006), pp. 367-392; *idem*, 'Standing Distant from the Fathers: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and the Reception of Early Medieval Learning', in: *Traditio* 67 (2012), pp. 71-99; Rädle, Fidel, 'Smaragdus', in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, Munich: Artemis Verlag 1995, col. 2011-2012; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, pp. 123-168.

¹⁷¹ On the Aachen reforms, see Semmler, Josef, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils 816', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), pp. 15-82; De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622-653 and pp. 995-1002 (with further references).

¹⁷² Smaragdus' main source for the first two books of his *Expositio* was the *Glosae de diuersis doctoribus collectae in Regula Sancti Benedicti*, which consists of a glossarium and a florilegium of patristic quotations arranged along the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*, ed. Matthieu van der Meer, *CCCM* 282, Turnhout: Brepols 2017.

¹⁷³ Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 33.4, *CCM* 8, pp. 242-243; c. 66.4, p. 323-324; and c. 66.7, p. 325. See commentary on c. 3 and c. 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, p. §.

cuiusdam ad uirgines as we find it in the *Codex regularum*. There are, however, cases in which Smaragdus shares variants with *M* against all manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum*.

Therefore Smaragdus is used as a witness for this edition whenever it is unclear whether to follow the manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum* or *M*.

The edition and its manuscripts

Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, the editors of Smaragdus' *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* for the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*,¹⁷⁴ selected eleven of the fifty-five preserved manuscripts and fragments¹⁷⁵ for establishing their text. They limited their apparatus criticus to variants that could have appeared in the autograph. All *lectiones singulares* are omitted.¹⁷⁶ In general there is no need to go beyond Engelbert/Spannagel's edition,¹⁷⁷ with two exceptions in which some of the manuscripts enhance our understanding of problematic passages. Both of them are discussed in the commentary:

2.2 Shows that some of the copyists of Smaragdus' *Expositio* decided independently that *dedecus* makes more sense than *decus*.

8.11 Some copyists of Smaragdus emendate independently from each other *iuxta* to *iusta*, which makes much more sense.

The stemma of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

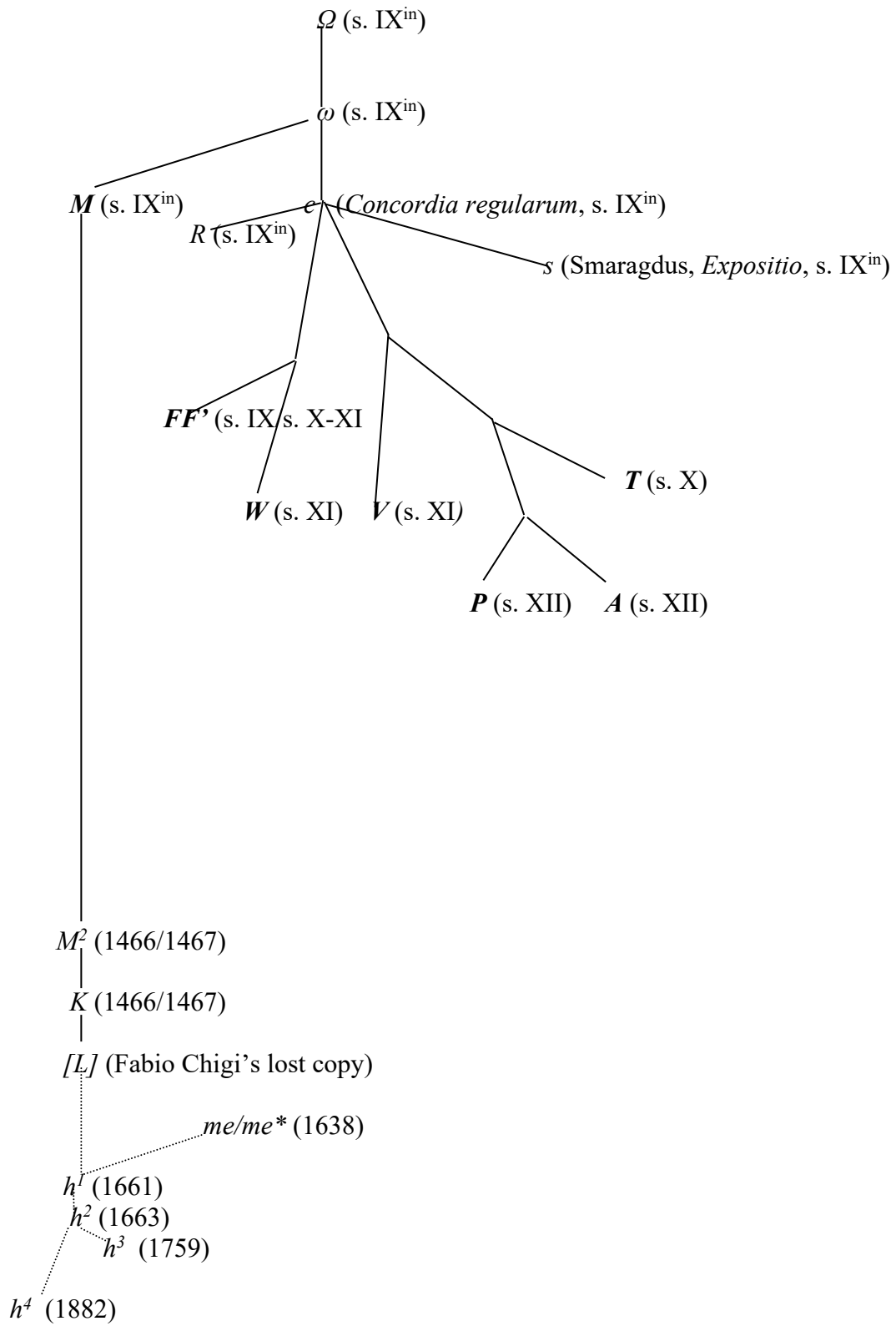
Based on the stemmata of Bonnerue and the insights of Martin Claussen, the following stemma for the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be established. Dotted lines indicate which manuscripts and editions have been used for the available editions.

¹⁷⁴ Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, CCM 8.

¹⁷⁵ Listed in CCM 8, pp. XV-XX.

¹⁷⁶ CCM 8, pp. LXXX-LXXXI.

¹⁷⁷ Bonnerue does the same in his edition, see CCSL 168, p. 193.



ma (1974)

*The edition of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines**The presentation of the main text*

The edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* generally follows M^{pc} unless M provides clearly erroneous readings and the *Concordia regularum* provides a correct text. All possible variants are documented in the apparatus criticus.

Better readings in the *Concordia regularum* (which presumably appear in ω) can be found in:

- 1.3 imitantur $FVP A$] imitant MWc (*coni. Bonnerue*)
- 1.5 obtineat $VTPAc$] obtinere $MFWKh$, ualeat *add. M²Kh*
- 1.6 et⁶ c] ut M
- 3.2 adherere c] adhere M
- 4.11 responsione $M^2 F^{pc} TPA^{pc} Khc$] responsioni $MF^{ac} A^{ac}$, responsiono F^{pc} , responsionis V
- 4.24 ne minimum c] neminum M , neminem Kh
- 9.9 ab $M^2 Khsc$] *om. M*
- 9.9 a *me hsc*] *om. M*
- 12.21 ceruisiam *me h c*] cervisam MVT
- 12.22 unaquaque *me h c*] unaquaque M
- 15.6 cura $M^{ac} me hsc$] curae M^{pc}
- 15.11 prout $M^2 Khc$] pro MV^{ac}
- 16.5 fuerit¹ *om. M*
- 17.7 fuerint *me hsc*] fuerant M
- 18.5 obstinatae sc] obstinata MKh , obstinate T
- 19.5 mensium *me hsc*] mensuum M
- 20.5 unguenta *me hsc*] ungenta M , ungunta F^{ac} , ungiuenta F^{pc}
- 20.10 credulitate $K^{pc} me hsmac$] crudelitate M

In a number of cases, preference is given to conjectures of Pierre Bonnerue in his edition of the *Concordia regularum*

- 1.16 quot $M^2 K h c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] quod $M F T$
 7.2 uerecunde $V T P A c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] uerecundae $M F' W$ ORTHOGRAPHIC
 15.7 mutant $V T P m e c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] mutant $M F A$, immutant h
 22.5 certe (*coni. Bonnerue*)] certe si $M F' V K m e h$
 22.9 copia $V m e h c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] copiam $M F'$

In one case preference is given to M^{ac} :

- 1.2 lucubrat $M^{ac} P A c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] lugubrat $M^{pc} F W V T$

Three times preference is given to readings of Losen or Holstenius where other witnesses are missing because these sections do not appear in the *Concordia regularum*:

- 5.20 donasse h] dones M
 5.21 nullaue h] nulla ire M
 11.1 pentecostes $M^2 K h$] pente M

At several occasions one has to assume an error in the archetype ω , which was corrected in one or more manuscripts. A decision against stemmatic evidence was made in:

- 10.9 pluribus cibis $F' m e h s$] pluriores cibi $\omega M W V T P A c$
 12.21 quae h] *om.* $\omega M F' V^{ac} W T P A m e$, qui $V^{pc} c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)
 16.6 et² *add.* $F^{pc} m e h c$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] *om.* $\omega M F'^{ac} V T P A$
 16.6 possit c (*coni. Bonnerue*)] possis $\omega M F'^{ac} T A^{ac}$, possibile h
 20.7 officio $F^{pc} V T P A^{pc} m e h s$] officia $\omega M F'^{ac} W A^{ac}$
 20.8 ut *add.* $V P A m e h s$] *om.* $\omega M F' W T c$
 21.1 septis $F^{pc} m e h s$] septa $\omega M F^{ac} W V T P A^{ac} c$, septo $P A^{pc}$
 22.14 commertium V] commeritum $\omega F' c$, commertio $M K h$

In two cases the text is emended against every manuscript. All those emendations follow the suggestions Matthew Ponesse made in various conversations with me:

- 12.1 egentis *coni. Ponesse*] egenis $\omega M h c$

16.9 commiserit *coni. Ponesse*] *om. M c*, aliquem commiserit frater *add. s*, aliquam commiserit *h*

Changes in grammatical gender in the Concordia regularum

Both the *Concordia regularum* and Smaragdus' *Expositio* change the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* into the male form. These changes are not documented in the apparatus criticus, whenever they are consistent. Errors related to the change of grammatical gender, either omitted changes or hyper-corrections, are documented in the apparatus. Ten errors (in one or more witnesses) related to the change of gender have been identified:

2.7 quam *F'*] quem *c*

3.13 quas] quod *F' W*

3.24 quae *F^{ac} W*] qui *c*

12.19 quae *F^{ac} W T A^{ac}*] qui *c*

15.1 harum *F^{ac} T^{ac}*] horum *c*

15.1 quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua *F^{ac}*, que *V^{ac} P*

15.12 hae *V*] hi *c*, haec *F^{ac} T A^{ac}*, *om. P, del. A^{pc}*

17.2 ipsa] ipse *T P A*, ille *s*

20.2 elata *s c*] elatus *F^{pc} P A*

24.6 deductam *F V W T A^{ac}*, deducti *c (coni. Bonnerue)*, deductis

Sentence numbering

For the parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that appear in the *Concordia regularum*, I follow Bonnerue's sentence numbering. The only exception is 2.13, where Bonnerue's sentence number is incorrect.¹⁷⁸

Orthography

The text follows the orthography of *M* despite some inconsistencies, especially in the use of *e* in place of *ae* and vice versa. Purely orthographic variants (esp. *ae/e*, *t/c* *mn/mpn*) are not

¹⁷⁸ See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 197.

documented in the apparatus criticus, except for a few cases in which a variant could help to understand the text (for example 10.4 *holeribus/oleribus*). The letter u is reproduced as u, regardless whether it is pronounced as a vowel or as a consonant. The uncial letter U is presented as capital V.

Punctuation and layout

Both *M* and *K* use an extensive system of punctuation, separating most of the subordinate clauses from the main sentences by periods, colons, semicolons, or by using an uncial N. A punctuation that consistently separates subordinate clauses (roughly according to the German rules of punctuation before the recent spelling reform) comes closest to the original punctuation and is therefore applied here.

The layout of the text in *M* does not contain specific features that are worth reproducing (except for some additions in the margin, which are documented in the apparatus criticus). The chapter titles are in uncial letters (upper case letters in the edition). In *M* the titles are written in red uncials, sometimes with a period at the end, sometimes without (which is normalized without a period in the edition). Usually the chapters are numbered; in some cases the numbering appears in the margin.¹⁷⁹ The text of each chapter starts with a large red initial (which is not documented in the edition).

Longer chapters that consist of clearly identifiable segments are divided in paragraphs. This paragraph division does not appear in *M* or in any of the other manuscripts. The folio numbering in the text **OR IN THE MARGIN?** refers to *M*, the main witness of the text.

Biblical quotations/apparatus biblicus

Biblical quotations are marked in *italics* in the main text. Biblical allusions are not specifically marked in the main text but documented in the apparatus biblicus. The apparatus biblicus gives both traditional and revised Psalm numbering. Psalm quotations from the Latin translation of the Septuagint are indicated with (*LXX*).

¹⁷⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 10; c. 14; c. 15.

The apparatus criticus

The apparatus criticus is usually negative, except for cases in which identification with the main text would be unclear. Besides its critical function, however, the apparatus aims to make a comparison with the edition of Holstenius possible and to give as much diplomatic information about the manuscript *M* as possible. The apparatus therefore contains the following variants:

- All variants that theoretically could appear in the archetype (critical apparatus in the strict sense).
- All variants that appear in *h* or which have led to a variant in *h*. This includes a selection of variants from *M*², *K*, and *me* that are not relevant for the reconstruction of the text. Readings in *ma* that make sense are documented as well.
- All first-hand corrections of *M*, even if they are purely orthographic. If the apparatus only gives *M*^{pc} on a reading that is reproduced in the main text, a correction is obvious but the original reading could not be reconstructed.
- Variants in the *Concordia regularum* or in Smaragdus' *Expositio* that may have been deliberate revisions by Benedict of Aniane or Smaragdus.
- All variants that point to errors or hyper-corrections with regard to the change of gender.
- All variants from the newly discovered fragment *R* (which applies only to chapter 3 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*).

Clearly erroneous *lectiones singulares* in the *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio* and all consistent changes of gender are omitted.

Emendations or editorial decisions against the stemmatic evidence are documented with the name of the emendator (*coni. Bonnerue*). Additionally, Matthew Ponesse (Ohio Dominican University, Columbus, OH) made a number of suggestions for emendations which are documented as *coni. Ponesse*.

If a variant shares the reading of the main text against other variants belonging to the same group, it is documented before the square bracket. Examples:

3.1 simul mercedem *s*] *tr. c*

means: *s* shares *simul mercedem* with *M*, while *c* gives *mercedem simul*.

15.1 quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua *F*^{ac}, que *V*^{ac} *P*

means *A* shares *quae* with *M* against *qui*, *qua*, and *que* in other versions.

In cases of clear errors of the archetype with reasonable emendations on some manuscripts (clearly better variants against stemmatic evidence), the better reading is documented in the main text and the reading of the archetype is documented as ω .

Apparatus fontium

Parallels in phrasing and terminology with the *Regula Benedicti* are indicated in **bold** in the main text. Obvious parallels with other texts such as the rules of Columbanus, the *Regula Basilii*, and the *Institutiones* of John Cassian are marked as SMALL CAPS. In order to make comparisons easy, the apparatus fontium gives the full text of sources used directly (*Regula Benedicti*, Columbanus's *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, *Regula Basilii*, Cassian's *Institutiones*, and *Vita Columbani*). For the sake of consistency, all reproduced Latin texts use the lowercase letter u both for u and v and the uppercase letter V both for U and V.

Fortleben

The *Concordia regularum* of Benedict of Aniane and Smaragdus' *Expositio* have a double function as important witnesses for the reconstruction of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and as sources on the reception history. For each segment of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that appears in the *Concordia regularum*, the Fortleben-apparatus documents the chapter given by Benedict of Aniane and the introductory sentences in Smaragdus' *Expositio*. Since the manuscript evidence is not the same for all fragments used in the *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio*, the manuscripts are documented for every fragment. In order to show how a fragment was integrated in the commentaries, the chapter titles (for the *Concordia regularum*) and the introductory sentences (for the *Expositio*) are also documented.

Chapter 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only part of the rule which left clear traces outside the works of Benedict and Smaragdus; it inspired chapter 22 of the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, one of the key texts of the monastic reforms of 816. The parallel section is quoted in the Fortleben-apparatus.

Evidence for the reception of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (esp. in the *Vita Bertilae*, the *Vita Sadalbergae*, the *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, and the *Memoriale qualiter*) are documented in the commentary.

The Commentary

The commentary intends to stimulate and satisfy the curiosity of the reader. Special emphasis is put on the place of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the tradition of early monastic rules and on the biblical and patristic roots of the text. It usually begins with a list of regulations on the same general topic in other early medieval monastic rules.¹⁸⁰ Occasionally this list is supplemented with references on the same topic in Merovingian and Carolingian hagiographic texts (without a claim of completeness). Lists of references to monastic rules are abbreviated and ordered chronologically. References to hagiographic texts are ordered alphabetically. A list of the abbreviations is given at the beginning of the edition.

The specific commentary focuses on parallel regulations in other rules, possible sources of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (based on parallels in formulation or content), traces of the use of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in later texts and remarkable terminology or grammatical structure. The commentary especially documents all parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the hagiographic works of Jonas of Bobbio.

The translation

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* forms a challenge for any translator. On the one hand, its Latin is convoluted, sometimes ungrammatical according to classical standards and not consistent in its uses of tenses and modi. On the other hand, the text is – as will be shown in the commentary – extremely subtle and every phrasing, word choice or grammatical construction potentially carries an important meaning. For this reason preference is given to a translation that stands as closely to the original text as possible instead of producing a free and easily readable translation – as Jo Ann McNamara did.¹⁸¹ The result is not at all a “beautiful” text. No translation fully renders the

¹⁸⁰ All regulations on order, hierarchy, and mutual love are given in the commentary on c. 5; regulations on eating, drinking, meal times, fasting are given in the commentary on c. 10; regulations on the care for monastic property and tools are given in c. 13; regulations on discipline, punishment, and excommunication are given in c. 18.

¹⁸¹ McNamara, Jo Ann and John Halborg, *The ordeal of community*, Toronto: Peregrina 1993.

meaning of the original and is free from – debatable – interpretations. Matthew Ponesse and Matthieu van der Meer provided indispensable help for producing this translation.

De accedendo ad Deum

As an appendix to the edition, I provide the text and a translation of the short treatise *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum* that appears at the very end of the *Concordia regularum*. In the study I refer to the work as *De accedendo*. The text has recently been edited by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl. I reprint the text of her edition (aside from normalizing v to u) along with a commentary on the content that is similar to the commentaries on each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The copyist of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* – and probably Benedict of Aniane himself – regarded *De accedendo ad Deum* as a treatise that stood at its own. Since the rest of fol. 216v of the Munich manuscript of the *Concordia regularum* is left empty, the text may have indeed been the very last of the collection. As I will show in Chapter 7 of this study, stylistic, semantic, and content-related observations indicate that *De accedendo ad Deum* originally formed a part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, possibly its final chapter.

Edition and translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines***List of sigla**

- ω* Subarchetype of the “*Codex Regularum*” on which all extant manuscripts are based
- M* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 207-214^v
M^{ac}=*M* before ninth-century correction
M^{pc}=*M* with ninth-century correction
M² Late medieval corrections ascribed to Arnold Losen
- K* Cologne, Historisches Archiv W. fol. 231, fol. 200^v-209
- c* Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, ed. by Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168A, Turnhout 1999, on the basis of the following manuscripts:
- F* Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, pp. 1-95, 202-271, 388-417
F' Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, pp. 96-201, 272-387
V Vendome, Bibliothèque municipale, 60, fols. 4^r-109^r
W Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 36, pp. 2-286
T Tarragona, Biblioteca publica, 69, fols. 1^r-176^v
P Paris, BnF, lat. 10879, fols. 5^v-129^v
A Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillips, 108, s. XII^e, fols. 1^r-144^r
- c^{bis}* Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 34.8 ed. by Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168 A, p. 301): *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 19.9-11 appears twice in the *Concordia regularum*
- R* Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 506, s. VIII^{ex}/IXⁱⁿ, from ed. Martin Claussen
- s* Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, ed. Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, *CCM* 8, Siegburg 1974.
- me* Nicolas Hugues Ménard (ed.), *Concordia regularum, auctore S. Benedicto Anianae abbate*, Paris 1638, reprinted in Migne, *PL* 103, col. 701-1380
- me*^{*} Variants from the apparatus of Ménard as documented by Bonnerue if they influenced the *editio princeps* of the *Regula cuiusdam*
- h* *h*³=*h*⁴
- h*³ Lucas Holstenius and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et Canoniarum*, vol. 1, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759, pp. 394-404

- h*⁴ Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 88, Paris 1862, col. 1053-1070
- ma* Mayo, Hope, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA 1974, pp. 142-213

coni. Bonnerue: conjectures of Pierre Bonnerue in his ed. of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*

coni. Engelbert/Spannagel: conjectures of Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel in their edition of Smaragdus' *Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*

coni. Ponesse: conjectures suggested by Matthew Ponesse in personal conversation

List of abbreviations of monastic rules used in the edition¹⁸²

<i>2RP</i>	<i>Regula patrum secunda</i>
<i>3RP</i>	<i>Regula patrum tertia</i>
<i>AugOM</i>	Augustine, <i>Ordo monasterii</i>
<i>AugPraec</i>	Augustine, <i>Praeceptum</i>
<i>EuagMon</i>	Evagrius Ponticus, <i>Prouerbia ad monachos</i>
<i>FruPac</i>	Fructuosus of Braga, <i>Pactum</i>
<i>LOrs</i>	<i>Liber Orsiesii</i>
<i>RAM</i>	Aurelianus, <i>Regula ad monachos</i>
<i>RAV</i>	Aurelianus, <i>Regula ad uirgines</i>
<i>RBas</i>	<i>Regula Basilii</i>
<i>RBen</i>	<i>Regula Benedicti</i>
<i>CaesRM</i>	Caesarius, <i>Regula ad monachos</i>
<i>CaesRV</i>	Caesarius, <i>Regula ad uirgines</i>
<i>RCas</i>	<i>Regula Cassiani</i>
<i>RColC</i>	Columbanus, <i>Regula coenobialis</i>
<i>RColM</i>	Columbanus, <i>Regula monachorum</i>
<i>RColV</i>	Columbanus, <i>Regula coenobialis</i> , female version
<i>Rcom</i>	<i>Regula communis</i>
<i>RCons</i>	<i>Regula consensoria</i>
<i>RcuiP</i>	<i>Regula cuiusdam patris (ad monachos)</i>
<i>RcuiV</i>	<i>Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines</i>
<i>RDon</i>	<i>Regula Donati</i>
<i>RFer</i>	<i>Regula Ferrioli</i>
<i>RFru</i>	<i>Regula Fructuosi</i>
<i>RI</i>	<i>Regula Isidori</i>
<i>RIVP</i>	<i>Regula quattuor patrum</i>
<i>RLea</i>	<i>Regula Leandri</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Regula Magistri</i>
<i>RMac</i>	<i>Regula Macharii</i>
<i>ROr</i>	<i>Regula orientalis</i>

¹⁸² This list of abbreviations of monastic rules is based on Bonnerue's edition of the *Concordia regularum*.

<i>RPac Inst</i>	<i>Regula Pachomii, Praecepta et instituta</i>
<i>RPac Iud</i>	<i>Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia</i>
<i>RPac Leg</i>	<i>Regula Pachomii, Praecepta ac leges</i>
<i>RPac Pr</i>	<i>Regula Pachomii, Praecepta</i>
<i>RPS</i>	<i>Regula Pauli et Stephani</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Regula Tarnatensis</i>

Other abbreviations

<i>VCol</i>	Jonas of Bobbio, <i>Vita Columbani</i>
<i>VIoh</i>	Jonas of Bobbio, <i>Vita Iohannis</i>

Edition and Translation of the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines and De accedendo ad Deum

[fol. 207^a] INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA

- I Abbatissa monasterii qualis esse debeat
- II Qualis debeat esse praeposita monasterii
- III De monasterii portaria
- IIII Qualis debeat esse cellararia monasterii
- V De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo
- VI De assidue danda confessione
- VII De non manifestandis sororum confessionibus
- VIII Qualiter ad signum dominicum surgendum est
- VIIII Qualiter in monasterio silentii regulam uel diurno opere uel ad mensam debeant custodire
uel ad mensam quomodo sit legendum
- X De ratione mensae qualiter administrandum uel obseruandum sit
- XI Quibus congruentibus horis hieme uel aestatis tempore sit reficiendum
- XII Quomodo cotidianis diebus manibus sit operandum
- XIII De utensilibus uel subpaellectilibus
- XIIII Qualiter in scola debeant dormire
- XV De cura infirmantium qualis esse debeat
- XVI De casibus qui per negligentiam aut euentu superueniunt
- XVII De eo quod nulla monacha in monasterio debeat proprium aliquid iudicare
- XVIII De culparum excommunicatione
- XVIIII Qualis debeat esse excommunicatio
- XX De his quae per sedulam correptionis curam saepius correptae emendare nolunt
- XXI De receptione sororis
- XXII Qualiter inuicem se humiliant uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint
seruanda praecepta
- XXIII De non defendenda proxima uel consanguinea in monasterio
- XXIIII De nutriendis infantibus

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS

- I. Of what sort the abbess of the monastery should be
- II. What sort of person the prioress of the monastery should be
- III. On the porter of the monastery
- IIII. What sort of person the cellerar of the monastery should be
- V. That one has to love each other and obey each other
- VI. On giving confession continuously
- VII. About not revealing the confessions of the sisters
- VIII. How one ought to rise after the sign of the Lord
- VIIII. How they should guard the rule of silence in the monastery both in daily work and at table, and how reading should be done at table
- X. On the order of the table: how it should be administered and observed
- XI. At which appropriate hours one should eat during the seasons of winter and summer
- XII. How one should do manual work during regular days
- XIII. On the tools and implements
- XIIII. How they should sleep in a common room
- XV. On the care of the sick – how it should be performed
- XVI. On accidents which occur through negligence or by chance
- XVII. On [the topic] that no nuns in the monastery should claim anything as her own
- XVIII. On the excommunication for offences
- XVIIII. Of what sort excommunication should be
- XX. On those who do not wish to better themselves after they have been reproached more often in keeping with the continuous care of reproachment
- XXI. On the re-admission of a sister
- XXII. How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts
- XXIII. On not defending a relative or a family member in the monastery
- XXIIII. On children – how they should be brought up

HERE END THE CHAPTERS

Apparatus criticus

INCIPIT...EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA *codd.: M K; edd.: h (h³ h⁴)*

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA...EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA *om. h⁴ | CAPITVLA] REGULE CUIUSDAM. add. K, REGULAE CUJUSDAM PATRIS add. h³ | I...XXIII h³ uses Arabic numbers | XIII subpaelectilibus M^{ac}*

[fol. 207^b] INCIPIT TEXTVS REGVLAE

I. **ABBATISSA MONASTERII QVALIS ESSE DEBEAT**

¹ Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, ² ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. ³ Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant. ⁴ Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur **doctrinam** ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, ⁵ ne si in aliquo uoci opus **contradixerit**, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. ⁶ Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi. Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta, et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriis imitabilis exemplo. ⁷ Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda. ⁸ Erga **peregrinorum** et hospitem **sollicitudinem** praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta.

⁹ Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat, ut ad cultum reigionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat.

¹⁰ Sic **miseri corditer** bonitatis dona distribuat, quatenus ex **nimia** bonitate facinorum fomenta non **nutriat**. ¹¹ Sit ergo bonis bona per meritum, sit malis mala per flagellum, quod mediante scientia agendum est, iuxta Psalmistae orationem dicentis: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scien*[fol.

207^{va}]*tiam doce me, Domine.* ¹² In utroque etenim abbatissae cauendum est, ne aut **nimia** bonitate in subiectarum cordibus **uitia nutriat**, aut nimia disciplinae austeritate ea, quae leni increpatione sananda fuerant, rigida **correctione** diripiantur. ¹³ Incautis etenim sic **blanda persuasione** subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat. ¹⁴ Sanis uero **moribus** ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant. ¹⁵ Nihil etenim prodest coepisse, si in opere bono quod coeperant non studeant

perseuerare. ¹⁶ Habeat ergo tot **animos** mater, quot **habet** in suo regimine filias, ut iuxta omnium mores **omnium** nouerit **uitia** coercere. ¹⁷ Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat. ¹⁸ Agat omnium **curam**, ut de **omnium** profectu **mercedis** recipiat lucra, ¹⁹ ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.

HERE BEGINS THE TEXT OF THE RULE

I. OF WHAT SORT THE ABBESS OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

¹ The abbess of the monastery must be noble not so much in birth as in wisdom and sanctity, ² so that she, who toils by night over her speaking in order to educate the souls by correct instruction, does not contradict [her speaking] through her own deeds. ³ For indeed, subordinates imitate the appearance of their superiors' deeds more than they lend their ear to the teaching that is introduced [to them]. ⁴ Therefore, [the abbess] must join sacred works to sacred speech, so that one who imitates [her] teaching based on her word may imitate her way of life based on her work, ⁵ lest if in anything the work contradicts the word, the profit of the word does not achieve result. ⁶ Therefore, she should be in such a way adorned through both the word and the work that the work accords with the word and the word with the work. She should be embellished with the flower of continence and chastity, praiseworthy in the mouth of everyone, through her example imitable for the desires of everyone. ⁷ She should be adorned with the benevolence of love, so that she delights the hearts of all the faithful. ⁸ [She should be] excellent in the attendance of strangers (*peregrini*) and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and needy.

⁹ She should correct the idleness of offenders to lead [their] lascivious and feeble minds back to a way of life of piety. ¹⁰ She should mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness in such a way that she does not kindle the fuel of their misdeeds out of too much kindness. ¹¹ Therefore she should be good to the good according to merit; she should be evil to the evil through the scourge. This ought to be done mediated by knowledge, according to the prayer of the Psalmist, who says: *Lord, teach me kindness, discipline, and knowledge.* ¹² Therefore, either way the abbess ought to

take heed: she should neither nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects through too much kindness, nor should they who should have been healed by gentle exhortation, be destroyed by too great a strictness of reproach. ¹³ She should therefore in such a way assist the reckless with mild persuasion that she pours, as it were, the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood. ¹⁴ But to those of sound character she should offer these things by admonishment, so that what they begun to do, they may bring to an end by improving themselves. ¹⁵ For indeed, there is no gain in having begun something, if they are not eager to persist in the good work that they have begun. ¹⁶ Therefore, the mother should have as many souls as she has daughters under her guidance, so that according to the character of each of them she may know to restrain the vices of all. ¹⁷ So great should the providence for all be that neither love takes away the place of punishment, nor punishment that of love. ¹⁸ She should perform the care of all so that she from the progress of all [sisters] receive the profits of her reward, ¹⁹ so that she, as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, receive as much profit for her toils as many protective measures she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy.

Apparatus biblicus

1.2 Cfr Ps. 1, 2 | **1.6** Cfr Tit. 2, 7 | **1.7-9** Cfr I Thess. 5, 14 | **1.11** Ps. 118/119, 66 | **1.15** Cfr Matth. 10, 22 | **1.18** Cfr Philem. 1, 21-25; I Cor. 3, 8/14; on *merces*, cfr Marc. 9, 41; Matth. 5, 12; Matth. 5, 46; Matth. 6

Apparatus criticus

1.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

1.1-19 *codd.*: *M F V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

1.title TEXTVS REGVLAE] REGULA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES *K*, REGULA CUJUSDAM PATRIS AD VIRGINES *h* | **1.2** *lucubrat M^{ac} P A c (coni. Bonnerue)] lugubrat M^{pc} F W V T | 1.3 imitantur F V P A] imitant M W c (coni. Bonnerue) | 1.5 ne si] nisi M^{ac} | obtineat V T P A c (coni. Bonnerue)] obtinere M F W K h, ualeat *add.* M² K h | 1.6 et⁶] ut M | 1.7 ut W] et c | 1.8 praestans M², praestus F V W T P A, praesto h c (coni. Bonnerue) | 1.9 religionis M^{pc} | 1.13 saniei V P A^{pc} me h | quoddammodo M^{ac} | medendo me h | 1.14 hortando M² K h | 1.16 quot M² K h c (coni. Bonnerue)] quod M F T | coherceri M^{ac} F W T | 1.17 ne V] nec me h c | piaetas M^{ac} | piaeti M^{ac} | 1.18 *lucru M^{ac}, lucrum c* | 1.19 *quandocunque h* | *ad inuicendum M^{ac} | suplementum M^{ac}**

Apparatus fontium

1.title *RBen* 2.title: **Qualis debeat esse abbas**

1.2-6 *RBen* 2.4-6: Ideoque abbas nihil extra praeceptum Domini quod sit debet aut docere aut constituere uel iubere, ⁵ sed iussio eius uel **doctrina** fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum

mentibus conspargatur, ⁶ memor semper abbas quia **doctrinae** suae uel discipulorum oboedientiae, utrumque rerum, in tremendo iudicio Dei facienda erit discussio.

RBen 2.11-13: Ergo, cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet **doctrina** suis praeesse discipulis, ¹² id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam uerbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini uerbis proponere, duris corde uero et simplicioribus factis suis diuina praecepta monstrare. ¹³ Omnia uero quae discipulis docuerit esse **contraria** in suis factis indicet non agenda, ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobis inueniatur,...

1.8 *RBen* 53.15: Pauperum et **peregrinorum** maxime susceptioni cura **sollicite** exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur; nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.

1.10-12 *RBen* 64.9-14: Oportet ergo eum esse doctum lege diuina, ut sciat et sit unde proferat noua et uetera, castum, sobrium, misericordem, ¹⁰ et semper *superexaltet misericordiam iudicio* (Iac. 2, 13), ut idem ipse consequatur. ¹¹ Oderit **uitia**, diligat fratres. ¹² In ipsa autem **correptione** prudenter agat et ne quid **nimis**, ne dum nimis eradere cupit aeruginem frangatur uas; ¹³ suamque fragilitatem semper suspectus sit, memineritque calamum quassatum non conterendum. ¹⁴ In quibus non dicimus ut permittat **nutriri uitia**, sed prudenter et cum caritate ea amputet, ut uiderit cuique expedire sicut iam diximus,...

1.13-15 *RBen* 2.31-32: Sciatque quam difficilem et arduam rem suscipit regere animas et multorum seruire **moribus**, et alium quidem **blandimentis**, alium uero increpationibus, alium **suasionibus**; et secundum uniuscuiusque qualitatem uel intellegentiam, ita se omnibus conformet et aptet ut non solum detrimenta gregis sibi commissi non patiat, uerum in augmentatione boni gregis gaudeat.

1.16-19 *RBen* 2.37-40: Sciatque quia qui suscipit **animas** regendas paret se ad rationem reddendam, et quantum sub **cura** sua fratrum se **habere** scierit numerum, agnoscat pro certo quia in die iudicii ipsarum **omnium** animarum est redditurus Domino rationem, sine dubio addita et suae animae. Et ita, timens semper futuram discussionem pastoris de creditis ouibus, cum de alienis ratiociniis cauet, redditur de suis sollicitus, et cum de monitionibus suis emendationem aliis subministrat ipse efficitur a **uitiis** emendatus.

1.18 *RBen* 64.6: ...scientes pro hoc se **recepturos mercedem** bonam, si illud caste et zelo Dei faciant, sicut e diverso peccatum si neglegant.

Fortleben

I Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 5.24, inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. I

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on the duty of the abbot/abbess in other rules and in hagiographic texts:

RPac Pr 115 | *LOrs* 7-11; 13-16; 40 | *RBas* 15 | *AugPraec* VII | *RIVP* 1.10-18; 2.1-9; 5.11-14 | *ROr* 1; 16-17 | *3RP* 2-3; 11 | *CaesRV* 18.1; 27.1; 35.4-10; 41; 47; 61; 64 | *RAM* 34; 43; 50 | *RT* 23.5-14 | *RFer* 30; 37-38 | *RM* 2; 7.53-56; 93 | *RBen* 2; 64 | *RI* 2; 9.3; 20.1 | *RFruc* 2; 19 | *RCom* 3; 10-11 | *RcuiP* 19-20, 22-24 | *RD* 1; 4; 59; 77 | Cassian, *Collationes* XVIII, c. 4 | *Memoriale qualiter* I IV, pp. 252-253 | *Memriale qualiter* II VII, p. 278 | *Institutio canonicorum* 123; 138 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 7; 14; 19 | Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, SC 345, pp. 418-436 | *V. Anstrudis* 4 | *V. Bertilae* 5-6 | *V. Geretrudis* 2; 6 | *V. Rusticulae* 22 | *V. Sadalbergae* 25

References to the abbess in the Regula cuiusdam: 2.7-8; 3.11; 3.17-19; 4.9; 6.23; 7.1-6; 8.11; 9.7-17; 10.1; 10.5-6; 10.14-17; 12.6-9; 13.1-15; 15.6-10; 16.1; 17.1-9; 19.1-8; 22.12-13

1.1 *VCol* II.1: *ex Burgundionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate; VCol* I.14: *et genere et prudentia nobilem; II.23: genere nobilis*. On nobility of the abbot/abbess and nobility by birth and morals: Jerome, *Ep.* 108.1; *V. Aldegundis* 2; *V. Amati* 2; *V. Austrobertae* 4; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 1; *V. Bertilae* 1; *V. Eustadiolae* 1; *V. Leobae* 3; *V. Romarici* 2; *V. Rusticulae* 1; *V. Sadalbergae* 1; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 1; *Virt. Geretrudis* 6.

1.3-4 Exemplary behavior of the abbess/abbot, cfr *RIVP* 2.3-9; *CaesRV* 35.6; *RM* 2.11; *RI* 2.2; *RcuiP* 19.1-3; Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 2-3, *SC* 345, pp. 424-428; *V. Aldegundis* 21; *V. Austrobertae* 12; 14; *V. Leobae* 3; 11 | *V. Bertilae* 6: *Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila exemplum et forma pietatis omnibus per continentiam et plenissimam dilectionem et non solum per sanctum eloquium, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu religionis studio subditorum instruebat mores, ut se inuicem diligenter (RcuiV 5.1-3) caritatis affectu (RcuiV 22.1) puriterque et caste seu et sobrie in omnibus conuersarent atque ad cursum uel orationem semper essent paratae hospitumque et pauerpum curam gererent (RcuiV 4.13) dilectionis studio et proximi amore.*

1.3 *Etenim*: twelve times in *RcuiV*; twelve times in all monastic rules together, 18 times in *VCol*, twice in *VIoh*, otherwise rare in hagiographic texts. | *Aurem accomodare*: *VCol* I.prologue; I.3; I.15; II.4; II.9.

1.4-6 Cfr *RBas* 130.

1.4 On the abbess/abbot as teacher: Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9; Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, *CCCM* 44, p. 99; *V. Austrobertae* 11; *V. Bertilae* 5; *V. Leobae* 3; *V. Rusticulae* 5.

1.5 *Fructus* in a (positive and negative) metaphorical sense appears in *RcuiV* 2.15; 6.17; 9.4; 9.20; 12.12; 12.13, also five times in *VCol* and once in *VIoh*.

1.6-8 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.5-10; 3.23. | The abbess represents the monastery, but the everyday interactions with outsiders seem to be assigned to the porters. Cfr also *CaesRV* 36.5; 61.2-3 | Similar lists of virtues: *V. Anstrudis* 4; *V. Filiberti* 4; *V. Sadalbergae* 17; 25.

1.6 *Sic ergo/sic tamen* (rarely in other rules): *RcuiV* 5.6; 9.18; 10.10; 12.2; 12.18; 14.5; 14.9; 15.6; 17.10; 21.4; *De accedendo* 2; 22. | *Castitatis flore*: Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 5; *V. Carileffi*, *PL* 74, col. 1250B | *V. Bertilae* 1: *ore laudabilior*.

1.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 15.9. | Care of the sick: *CaesRV* 32.3; *RBen* 36.10 | Care for the poor and guests: *CaesRV* 27.1; 38.1; 43.3; 61.2-3; *RI* 21.5; *RCom* 10; *Institutio canonicorum* 141; *VCol* II.4 | *V. Bertilae* 2: *...de caeteris sororibus sub ditione suae matris piam gereret ista sollicitudinem infirmorum; infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur; V. Geretrudis* 6.

1.9-19 Cfr Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 4, *SC* 345, pp. 430-432.

1.9-15 Cfr *RBen* 2.23-30 (without parallels in phrasing); *V. Wandregiseli prima* 15.

1.9 *VCol* II.10: *corrigere delinquentes | rationem reddere: AugPraec* VII.3; *CaesRV* 35.8, etc. | *Ignauia* (not in other rules) three times in *RcuiV*, also in *De accedendo* 8, ubiquitous in Columbanus' works | *cultus religionis: RcuiV* 24.5; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I.5; I.10; II.11; II. 12; II.23; *VIoh* 1; *V. Vedastis* 3.

1.10 *Fomenta: RcuiV* 5.16; 20.5; *RBen* 28.3; *VCol* II.1; II.2 | *nutrire* in a similar sense: *CaesRV* 24.5-6.

1.11-17 Cfr *RBen* 27. The motive of *discretio* and finding balance between moderation and strictness, and the necessity of an individual assessment of the nuns is an important topic in this rule, see e.g. *RcuiV* 2.6, 2.19, 3.15.

1.11 *Bonitate et disciplina: VCol* II.23 | *Scientia*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

1.12 Cfr *RT* 8.5 (*blanda exortatione*). | *subiecta* (for a nun): *VCol* II.11; *V. Sadalbergae* 25.

1.13-14 Cfr *RBen* 64.11-15; *CaesRV* 35.7-8: *Corripiant inquietas, consolentur pusilanimas, susteneant infirmas* (applies to all superiors). | *VCol* II.1: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praeberet et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur; VIoh 2: ut precedencium monachorum studia imitando prosequerentur et celestis antidoti pocula prebendo, quo peccatorum sanies pelleretur, omni nisu adortatus est.*

1.13 The text provides *eorum* instead of *earum*. | *Cura medendi* (not metaphorical): *RcuiV* 15.8.

1.14-15 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.3; 8.8; 17.4.

1.15 On *perseuerantia*: *Baudonivia, V. Radegundis* 21; *V. Sadalbergae* 28.

1.16 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.1; *RM* 2.7/33; *RcuiP* 24.1-6 *V. Bertilae* 5: *Quasi ergo mater proprios filios uel filias diligebat cunctos, ...*

1.17 *In omnis* appears 13 times in *RcuiV* and 15 times in *VCol*.

1.18-19 Cfr *RM* 93.88-90. Both use here *praesentis uitae*.

1.18 Other reward formulae: *RcuiV* 2.15; 3.6; 3.22; 3.25; 4.14; 4.21; 5.11; 9.20; 12.23; 13.5; 15.9; see also *RBen* 5.18; *CaesRV* 27.1; *RD* 1.20. *CaesRV* 35.8-9 emphasizes the superior's responsibility rather than her reward. | *V. Rusticulae* 7; 24; 28; *V. Vedastis* 1: *mercedis lucra*.

1.19. *Presidium*: *RcuiV* 6.16. See also *RcuiV* 22.3 on the *ambitus uirtutum*. | *Corruptio praesentis uitae*: Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* II, no. XXI.2. | Cfr also Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 5, c. 5, *CSSL* 103, p. 25 on the *praemia, lucra* and *munera* a priest would receive for his strict *cura animarum*.

II. QVALIS DEBEAT ESSE PRAEPOSITA MONASTERII

¹ Praeposita monasterii non aetate saenili sed moribus constituenda est. ² Multas etenim prolixitas annorum attollit, sed decus torpentis uitae ad infantiae **inmaturitatem** tepescendo reducit. ³ Constituenda ergo est praeposita moribus grauis, sermone sollers, ingenio fortis, consideratione uigil, cursu inpi[fol. 207^{vb}]gra, ⁴ correptione pia, disciplina moderata, actu casta, **moribus sobria**, dispensatione equa, humilitate ornata, patiens, mitis, **non turbulenta**, non iracunda, ⁵ non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata, non prodiga, non garrula, sed omni actu religionis ornata, ⁶ quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare. ⁷ Super quam abbatissa requiescat, ut in nullo ab eius praeceptis deuiet, ⁸ sed in omnibus subdita et in iussis senioris detenta **nihilque abbatisae uoluntati sit contraria**, aut **faciat** aut **ordinet** faciendum, sed omnia per eius INTERROGATIONEM, iuxta illud quod scriptum est: *INTERROGA PATREM TUUM ET ADNUNTIABIT TIBI, MAIORES TUOS ET DICENT TIBI*. ⁹ INTERROGANDUM semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum CONSILIO animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent. ¹⁰ Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio. ¹¹ Quae rei qualis dispendii fuerit occasio, Scripturae ueritas adtestatur, qui, omissam

dominationem undecim tribuum, uix cum una tribu inter tot praessurarum dispendia, absque mortis crudelitate reliquum uitae peregit.

¹² Debet namque esse omnium necessitatum tam corporis quam animae prouida, ut et subsidia presentis necessitatis porrigat, et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat. ¹³ Humiles et propter Christum subiectas honorando in sublime prouehat, sese uero attollentes castigationis [fol 208^a] flagello ad gradus humilitatis retrahat. ¹⁴

Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo negligentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata, ¹⁵ ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.

¹⁶ Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum negligentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum. ¹⁷ Itemque post completam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant.

¹⁸ Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. ¹⁹ Et eas, quas tarditate uel segnitia culpabiles reppererint, prout culpa uel aetas fuerit, aut increpatione aut flagello corripiant.

II. WHAT SORT OF PERSON THE Prioress OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

¹ The prioress of the monastery ought not to be appointed because of her old age but because of her character. ² For indeed, the abundance of years extols many, but it reduces the splendor of life of someone inactive to the immaturity of infancy by becoming tepid. ³ Therefore, a prioress ought to be appointed who is serious in her character, skillful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, indefatigable in service, ⁴ loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behavior, sober in character, equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, ⁵ not defiled by the vice of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous, but adorned with every behavior of piety, ⁶ so that she knows how to assist to those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid.

⁷ The abbess should rest above her, so that [the prioress] deviates by no means from her precepts, ⁸ but she should be subordinate in all regards and be bound by the commands of [her] senior. And she should never do anything that is opposed to the will of the abbess, or assign it to be done, but do all things by asking [the abbess], according to that which has been written: *Ask your father and he will make it known to you; [ask] your elders and they will tell you.* ⁹ One must always ask, so that the inferior souls by no means differ from the advice of the elders – [that] by

no means the sheep turn away from their path without the will of the shepherd. ¹⁰ For Roboam dismissed the advices of his elders, following the advice of the younger. ¹¹ The truth of Scripture testifies to what a cause of loss this matter was: [Roboam] spent, after he had lost governance over eleven tribes, with just one tribe in the midst of so many damages of hardship the rest of his life without the cruelty of death.

¹² In fact, [a prioress] ought to be provident to all necessities, both of body and soul, so that she provides the supply of the present needs, and incite the hearts of those under her to sing the praise of the Creator, rousing them by persistent admonition. ¹³ She should in an approving manner raise to the heights the humble and those who are for Christ's [sake] subjected, but draw those who exalt themselves back to a state of humility by the scourge of castigation. ¹⁴ She has to have such attentive care for the belongings of the monastery – be they vessels or implements – that by no means she be found darkened by the gloom of negligence, ¹⁵ so that, when she applies every care of sacred work, she receive from the Almighty the profit of [her] toil.

¹⁶ Every Saturday after the Ninth Hour of prayer, both the senior and the junior prioresses should visit the beds of all the sisters, and they should do [that] in order to investigate their negligence: whether anything may be found retained illicitly and without permission. ¹⁷ Likewise, after Compline, they should visit the beds of all [the sisters] with lanterns, so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters]. ¹⁸ This is to be done likewise at all nighttime services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity. ¹⁹ And those whom they find guilty of tardiness or sluggishness, they should chastise with exhortation or by the scourge, according to guilt or age.

Apparatus biblicus

2.3-6 Cfr I Tim. 3, 1-10; Tit. 1, 7-9 | **2.7** super...requiescat] biblical language, cfr e.g. Is. 11, 2; Mich. 3, 11 | **2.8** Deut. 32, 7 | **2.9** Cfr Is. 56, 10-11 | **2.10-11** Cfr I Reg. 12, 6-19; II Par. 10, 5-19 | **2.12** Cfr I Tim. 3, 4 | **2.15** Cfr Ps. 127/128, 2 | **2.16** Cfr Act. 3, 1

Apparatus criticus

2.title *codd.*: *MK*; *edd.* *h ma*

2.1-18 *codd.* *MF' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

2.1-9 *ed.*: *s*

2.title preposita *M^{ac}* | **2.2** decus] dedecus *A^{pc} me h*, decu *A^{ac}*, cfr commentary | **2.2** tepecendo *M^{ac}* | **2.3** ergo est] *tr. s c* | **2.5** superbae *M^{ac}* | **2.7** quam *F'*] quem *c* | **2.8** nihilque] nihil quod *V h* | contrarium *h* | tibi] *om. h* | **2.9** absque] a *me h* | **2.11** rei] res *V M² K me h*, regi *T P A* | attestatur *M² K me h* | omissa dominatione *h* | **2.12** ut] *om. P A* | excitanda *F' V T P A^{ac}* | **2.14** negligentiae *M² K me h* | **2.16** seniores *h* | earum *h* | negligentias *M² K me h* | aliquod *c* | illicite *M² K me h* | **2.17** expergiscentem *M^{ac} V P A^{ac}* | **2.19** signitia *M^{ac}*, seginitie *h* | reperint *me h*

Apparatus fontium

2.1-8 *RBen* 31.1-4: Cellararius monasterii eligatur de congregatione, sapiens, **maturis moribus, sobrius**, non multum edax, non elatus, **non turbulentus**, non iniuriosus, non tardus, non prodigus, ² sed **timens** Deum; qui omni congregationi sit sicut pater. ³ **Curam** gerat de omnibus; ⁴ sine iussione **abbatis nihil faciat**.

2.7 *RBen* 65.16: Qui tamen praepositus illa agat cum reuerentia, quae ab abbate suo ei iniuncta fuerint **nihil contra abbatis uoluntatem** aut **ordinationem faciens**.

2.8-9 *RColM* 9: Ergo si nihil sine CONSILIO faciendum, totum per CONSILIUM est INTERROGANDUM. Inde etiam per Moysen praecipitur, *INTERROGA PATRUM TUUM ET TE ANNUNTIABIT TIBI, MAIORES TUIS ET DICENT TIBI*.

Fortleben

2 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 27.16, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam

2.1-9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 65.21, *inc.* ...deinceps autem qualis esse debeat ex sententiis patrum demonstrandum est. “Paepositus...

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules on the praeposita/praepositus and on seniores: *RPac*, *praefatio Hieronymi* 2; *RPac Pr* 101 | *RPac Inst* 17-18 | *RPac Iud* 9 | *RPac Leg* 14 | *LOrs* 7-11; 14-18 | *AugPraec* VII | *ROr* 2-5; 16-17; 20-21; 29; 46 | *CaesRV* 18.1; 35.1-4 | *RT* 23.1-12 | *RFer* 17 | *RPS* 4.1-2; 5; 7; 9; 14.2; 17.1; 27-19; 31; 35-36; 39.1 | *RM* 11; 92 | *RBen* 21; 65 | *RI* 21.1 | *RFruc* 2; 19 | *RCom* 11 | *RcuiP* 19-20; 24-25 | *RD* 5 | *Institutio canonicorum* 139 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 24.

References to the praeposita in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines: 7.1; 9.9; 10.17; 11.7; 12.4; 12.9; 12.19; 12.27; 16.4; 22.17; 22.21

2.1-6 *RcuiV* and *RD* 5 apply independently from each other the duties of the *cellararius* as described in *RBen* 31.1-2 to the *praeposita*. For similar lists of qualifications, see *RPac Inst* 18; *RM* 92.11-25; Pelagius, *Verba Seniorum* I.8, *PL* 73, col. 855C-856A; Augustine, *Sermo* 258.3; *V. Wandregilisi prima* 11.

2.2 On *decus/dedecus*: Three manuscripts of Smaragdus *Expositio Regulae* emendate *decus* to *dedecus*: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275), s. IX^{ex}; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Reg. lat. 1025, s. XII; København, Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. S. 176. *VIoh* 19 also uses *decus* in the context of old age: *plenus etate corporis et decore religionis*.

2.3-5 *V. Geretrudis* 2.

2.3 *Cursus impiger*: Ambrose, *De Abraham libri duo* I.6.45 | *Sollers/solers* (also *RcuiV* 14.4): *VCol* I.2; I.24; II.1, otherwise rare.

2.4 *VCol* II.10: *piis correptionibus*.

2.5 *VCol* II.1: *arrogantiae uitio maculati*.

2.6 On motivation see, e.g. *RcuiV* 2.13, 2.16-18, 3.25; 4.23-24; 10.14; 12.23; 16.5; 22.5. | *Tepescens*: five times in *RcuiV*, otherwise rare.

2.7-11 This section can be read as a reply to the warnings against installing a *praepositus* in *RBen* 65. Compare also to *RBen* 3.

2.7 Contradicting *RBen* 64.16 on the abbot: *quia numquam requiescat*. | *In nullo*: six times in *RcuiV* (4 times in this chapter), only nine times in all other rules together.

2.8-10 On *interrogare*, see also *Ordo Casinensis* I. 2, *CCM* 1, p. 100.

2.8 Cfr *RBen* 65.8; 65.16-18; *RcuiP* 1.5. | Deut. 32, 7 appears in *RColM* 9 and Columbanus, *Epistula* 1.2. | On the necessity of *consilium*: *V. Balthildis* 16. | Possible sources on Rehoboam: Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam liber III*, c.4, or Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 21, *PL* 44, col. 907.

2.9-10 Cfr *RBen* 3.12-13=*RD* 2.12-13.

2.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.1; *CaesRM* 16 | *VCol* I.22: *corda excitare*; *VCol* II.1: *corda subitorum*.

2.13 Cfr *CaesRV* 35.1. | The sentence numbering in Bonnerue's edition (*erigat humiles, 13 et propter...*) does not make sense here.

2.14 Sacredness of vessels and tools: cfr *RBen* 31.10; *RColC* 15. See also Diem, 'The stolen glove'. | *Tenebris negligentiae*: Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* XIII.3; Ps.-Rufinus, *Commentarius in LXXV psalmos*, XVII.29; cfr also *RM* 91.33. | *VCol* II.6: *fructum recipere*; *VIoh* 1: *laboris fructus reciperet*; *V. Sadalbergae* 27: *fructum laboris*.

2.15-2.19 The "reward formula" in 2.15 reads like a concluding sentence, cfr *RcuiV* 1.19; 3.25. | *CaesRV* 35.8-9 emphasizes the responsibility of the superiors rather than their expectation of rewards. | The remainder of this chapter (c. 2.16-2.19) speaks, differently from the previous section, of several *prepositae* instead of only one. It may have been added at a later stage. *RM* 11 assumes as well that a monastery has several priors.

2.16-18 Cfr *RBen* 22.6-8; *RI* 13.2; *RFruc* 17.

2.16 Cfr *CaesRV* 9; 30.2; *CaesRM* 22.11; *RAM* 7.1; *RAV* 5; *RT* 7.4-6; *RM* 82.28; *RBen* 55.16-18; *RI* 13.2; *RFruc* 2; *RD* 24. | The rule uses *eorum* instead of *earum*. On hiding things near one's bed, see also Council of Tours (567) 15. | *Sine comeatu* also in 3.11; 4.8; *VCol* I.15 | *RD* 23.1-4: *tam iuniores quam etiam seniores*.

2.17 Cfr *RBen* 55.16-17. | Parallels in terminology: *V. Austrobertae* 15; *Mirac. Austrobertae* 3 | On rising for prayer: *RcuiV* 14.15 | *VCol* I.3: *...ut de suo ingenio cognoscant uel flagrantem ubertate sensum uel negligentiae somno torpentem, coepit ab eo ex difficilium quaestionum materia sensus querere*. In *V. Austrobertae* 15, the abbess herself controls the dormitory.

2.18 *Cursus* as reference to liturgy is not used in *RBen* and *CaesRV* (here rather: *opus Dei*), but it is common in the rules of Columbanus (esp. *RColM* 7) and in several other rules, for example *2RP*; *RAM*; *RAV*; *RFer*. | *Tepiditas* appears in *CaesRV* 15.2; *VCol* II.7; foundation charter of Solignac 4 (*MGH SRM* 4, p. 748), otherwise rare. | On motivation, cfr *RColM* 1; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9. | On raising for prayer, cfr *RBen* 22.8; on being angry when awoken from sleep, cfr *RBas* 75-76. | Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9; *V. Bertilae* 2: *et ad cursum diuinum uel ad orationem cum feruore mentis deuotissime festinaret*.

2.19 Cfr *RBen* 30.2-3 on punishment on the basis of age. | *Segnitia*: *VCol* I.17; *V. Eligii* II.43, otherwise rare.

III. DE MONASTERII PORTARIA

¹ Portaria seu ostiaria **monasterii** tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate **senili**, *quibus mundus* si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent, ² sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: *Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in*

Domino Deo spem meam. 3 Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt? 4 Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae, ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant: *Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos.* 5 Tale semper [fol. 208^b] superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur, iuxta quod Dominus ait: *Sic luceat lux uestra coram omnibus hominibus, ut uideant opera uestra bona et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est.* 6 Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.

7 Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant. 8 Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. 9 Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.

10 **Pauperum, peregrinorum** et hospitem **curam** inter omnia habentes, quia in his Christus **recipitur**, sicut ipse ait: *Quaecumque his minimis fecistis, mihi fecistis.* 11 Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid **accipere, nullatenus sine** comite **abbatissae** facere praesumant. 12 Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elemosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.

13 Fabulis, quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet **audierint**, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audierint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis **referant**. 14 **Si** horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, **regulari** paenitentia castigentur. 15 Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis [fol 208^{va}] cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur. 16 Si uero **CONTUMACIE CRIMEN INCURRIT**, et modum paenitentiae augebit.

17 Clauis ostiorum uel portae nullatenus penes se nocte retineant, sed ad abbatissam nocte deferentes praesentent et mane post secundam recipiant. 18 Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocumque implere studeant, ut ab occasu solis uel cum fuerit opus necessitatis perfectum, usque ad secundam abbatissa clauis retineat, 19 nisi necessitas euenerit, ut per comitatum abbatissae nocte retineantur et post secundam denuo tribuantur. 20 A signo uespertino usque ad secundam impletam nullatenus portarum fores aperiantur, neque ullus a foris introitus patefiat, sed si necessitas talis aduenerit, ut post uesperam sit deliberandum, per fenestram, quae in eadem porta fuerit, totum deliberetur.

21 Si talis necessitas hospitem uel peregrinorum aduenerit, ut hora refectionis cum sororibus esse non possint, post **cum cocis** uel ministris, uel cum reficiendi spacium habuerint, **reficiant**. 22 **Vasa** uel reliqua utensilia, quae ad opus hospitem baiulant, **ac si sacrata** Deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant, cuius res deripiendo non reseruant. 23 Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per abba-[fol. 208^{vb}]tissae ordinationem ministrent. 24 Intus uero tantummodo, quae sacram Deo uouerunt reigionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus. 25 Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum Dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.

III. ON THE PORTER OF THE MONASTERY

1 A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought be of the sort who build up reward for all the nuns together: [sisters] who are old in age, to whom the world [is crucified] if they desire nothing of the present pomp any more, 2 but let all say, clinging with all affection of the heart to the Creator: *It is good for me to adhere to God, to place my hope in the Lord God.* 3 For what do they desire from present vanities? For they have begun to love Christ after they have despised superficial things. They have understood through contemplation of the mind that the highest good remains in Christ. 4 Therefore, [porters] should be very steadfast in the state of their mind, so that they may say to the Lord in prayer with the Prophet: *Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way.* 5 They should always show such an example to those who arrive, that also outside [the monastery] the name of the Lord be glorified by strangers, according to what the Lord says: *So should your light shine before all men, that they see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.* 6 And inside [the monastery] let them acquire the profits of reward from their fellow sisters while they take in their turn care of all outside. 7 They should be so secure in character with humility – the mistress of the virtues – that they show the favors of all patience in their friendly conversation. 8 They should never speak alone or in pairs without a third as a witness. 9 They should never look attentively at lay persons or clerics by lifting up their eyes, but should speak what is necessary with a face lowered through humility and eyes cast down.

¹⁰ Above all things they are to take care of the poor, strangers (*peregrini*), and guests, because in them Christ is received, just as He himself says: *Whatever you have done for the least of these, you have done for me.* ¹¹ They should by no means dare to give anything to the outside [world], to serve anyone, or to receive anything from outside without the permission of the abbess. ¹² And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented it.

¹³ They should by no means lend their ears to the stories they hear at the gate from worldly people or from anyone. And if they hear or notice something against their will, they by no means should repeat it to their fellow [nuns]. ¹⁴ If they transgress in anything which we have spoken, they should be castigated with penance according to the rule. ¹⁵ If they reveal [their transgressions] with humble recompense, the guilt of the offender should be determined in as much as one can observe the humility of the [sister] who confesses. ¹⁶ But if she commits the crime of obstinacy, she will also increase the measure of penance.

¹⁷ They may under absolutely no circumstances retain the keys to the doors or to the gate at night, but they should deliver [the keys] to the abbess and present them, and receive them back in the morning after the Second Hour. ¹⁸ The cellarers, the bakers, and the cooks should strive to follow the same [rule], so that after dusk, or when the necessary work is completed, the abbess keeps the keys until the Second Hour, unless the necessity occurs that they are kept overnight with the permission the abbess and are handed out again after the Second Hour. ²⁰ From the sign for Vespers until the completion of the Second Hour the doors should by no means be opened to the outside, nor should any entrance from outside be open. But if such necessity occurs that consultation must be held after Vespers, everything should be consulted through the window that is to be in the same gate.

²¹ If such needs of guests and pilgrims arise that [the porters] cannot be with the sisters at the hour of the meal, they should eat afterwards with the cooks or servants or whenever they have the time to eat. ²² They should administer and guard the vessels or other tools which they bring for the service of the guests as if they were consecrated to God, lest through their carelessness they do not receive the reward of Him, whose belongings they do not preserve from being snatched away. ²³ Within the confines and doors of the monastery they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] outside in the guesthouse, just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. ²⁴ But we determine that only those may eat and drink inside who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.

25 The doorkeepers should always act in such a way that they preserve the wording of the rule and have the zeal of God in all things, so that they receive an uncorrupted reward for to the work of their eagerness and care.

Apparatus biblicus

3.1 quibus mundus] cfr Gal. 6, 14 | **3.2** Ps. 72/73, 28 | **3.4** Ps. 118/119, 37 | **3.5** Matth. 5, 16 | **3.7** Cfr II Cor. 13, 1 | **3.9** Cfr Is. 2, 11; Prou. 9, 16 | **3.10** Cfr Matth. 25, 40; on *pauperi, peregrini*: Leu. 19, 10 and 23, 22 | **3.25** Cfr I Mach. 2, 54

Apparatus criticus

3.title *codd.*: *MK*; *edd.* *h ma*

3.1-25 *codd.*: *MF' VWK*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

3.1-2 *ed.*: *s*

3.4-25 (auerte oculos...recipiant mercedem) *cod.* *R* (from ed. Classen)

3.5-7 *ed.*: *s*

3.10-11 *ed.*: *s*

3.13-16 *ed.*: *s*

3.20-22 *ed.*: *s*

3.1 portarii *c*, portarius *F' W s* | seu ostiaria] *om.* *s* | ostiarii *c*, ostiarius *F' W* | simul mercedem] *tr.* *F' V*, simul *om.* *W s* | quibus mundus si quae] qui *V*, quibus mundus sequi *F' W me*, quibus mundus silet *h^l*, quibus mundus crucifixus est si qui *s* (*coni. Engelbert/Spannagel, see also commentary*) | **3.2** adhere *M^{ac}* | domino *om.* *h* | **3.3** perfunctoriis contemptis *h c*, perfunctorii *F'*, perfunctori *V*, perfuntorii *W*, contempti *F' V W* | **3.4** ergo] *om.* *c* | meos] nostros *h* | **3.5** ostendant *V*] ostendam *R F' W* | uestra] *om.* *R* | omnibus] *om.* *h* | 3.6 lucre *R* | **3.8** singule *M^{ac}* | **3.9** Num quamquam *M²* | sed] se *R* | dimisso *M^{ac} R*, remisso *h* | uultu] *om.* *R* | **3.10** recipitur] suscipitur *R s c* | quaecumque his] Quod uni ex *s* | **3.11** foris *R s c* | **3.12** uel] et *R c* | antea] ante ea *R* | cellarium *F' c*] cellararium *R V W* | **3.13** quas] quos *R*, quod *F' W* | ad portam uel] *om.* *s* | aurem] autem *h* | nolentes *me h* | castigentur *R* | **3.15** satisfactionem *R* | patefaciant *me h* | **3.16** occurrit *h* | **3.17** retineat *R* | nocte *R* | praesentes *R* | **3.18** cellariae *M^{ac} h*, cellarii *F^{ac}*, cellararii *F^{pc} R* | ut *R W c*] et *F' V me* | necessitate *R c* | **3.20** uespertino] uesperna *R* | necessitas] *add.* hospitum *R* | talis] *om.* *s* | ut...deliberandum] *om.* *s* | quae...fuerit] *om.* *s* | **3.21** habuerunt *R* | **3.22** opus] *om.* *R s c* | hospitum *F^{ac} W R*] hospitium *F^{pc} c* (*coni. Bonnerue*), hospitem *V*, *add.* usus *s* | sacrata *V s*] sacra *R c* | gubernent atque] *om.* *s* | per ipsarum *M^{pc}* | diripiendo *M² K me h* | reseruant] seruant *R s c* | **3.23** Intra] de hospitibus *add. in marg.* *M* | edere] aedere *M* | hospitale *R c* | **3.24** quae *F^{ac} W*] qui *c* | religionem *M² K me h* | aedere *M^{ac}* | **3.25** curae] culture *F'*, culturae *V*

Apparatus fontium

3.1-4 *RBen* 66.1: Ad portam **monasterii** ponatur **senex** sapiens, qui sciat accipere responsum et reddere, et cuius maturitas eum non sinat uagari.

3.10 *RBen* 53.15: **Pauperum** et **peregrinorum** maxime susceptioni **cura** sollicite exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus **suscipitur**; nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.

3.11 *RBen* 54.1-2: **Nullatenus** liceat monacho neque a parentibus suis neque a quoquam hominum nec sibi inuicem litteras, eulogias uel quaelibet munuscula **accipere** aut dare **sine**

praecepto **abbatis**.² Quod si etiam a parentibus suis ei quicquam directum fuerit non praesumat suscipere illud, nisi prius indicatum fuerit abbati.

3.13-14 *RBen* 67.5-6: Nec praesumat quisquam **referre** alio quaecumque foris monasterium uiderit aut **audierit**, quia plurima destructio est. ⁶ Quod **si** quis praesumpserit, uindictae **regulari** subiaceat.

3.21 *RBen* 38.10-11: Frater autem lector hebdomadarius accipiat mixtum priusquam incipiat legere, propter communionem sanctam, et ne forte grave sit ei ieiunium sustinere. ¹¹ Postea autem **cum coquinae** hebdomadariis et servitoribus **reficiat**.

3.22 *RBen* 31.10: Omnia **uasa** monasterii cunctamque substantiam **ac si** altaris uasa **sacrata** conspiciat.

Fortleben

3 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 71.4, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. III

3.1-2; 3.5-7; 3.10-11; 3.20-21 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 66.4, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum quidem magister ait “Portarii...

3.13-16 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 67.6, *inc.* Hic et alius pater dicit “Fabulis...

3.22 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 66.5, combined with a quotation from *RM* 95.1-3 (Duobus...abbati)

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules on the *portaria/portarius*:

RPac Pr 53 | *ROr* 26; 40-41 | *CaesRV* 30.1; 43.2-4 | *RT* 11 (on the *prouisor*) | *RM* 95 | *RBen* 66 | *RI* 21.2 | *RD* 60 | *Constitutiones Corbeienses* 18 | *Institutio canonicorum* 117; 143 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 26

Reference the *portaria* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 9.12

3.1-3 *V. Sadalbergae* 12 (in a different context): ...*flagrabatque instantissime animus, ut spreta faleramenta saeculi pompisque mundanis postpositis, ad uirtutum culmen (RcuiV 22.8) apicemque sanctitatis ualeret ascendere; VCol* I.10: *faleramenta saeculi et praesentium pompam; V. Wandregisili altera* 3: *ex praesentibus pompis; V. Geretrudis* 2: *senilem antecessit aetatem.* | The term *faleramenta* appears in the *VCol* I.prologue; I.10; I.14 (*faleramentis praesentis uitae*); II.1; II. 9; II.12. It may have been a neologism created by Jonas. | *VCol* II.23: *calcando perfuncturia.*

3.1 *RBen* 66 uses *portarius*, *VCol* I.22 uses *ostiarius*. | Old age of the porter: *RM* 95.1-4, *RBen* 66.1 | *Omnes simul (congregatio)* also in *RcuiV* 3.12; 11.6; 18.3; *VCol* I.5 | The fact that *quibus mundus, si qui...* is retained in most manuscripts (except for two later manuscripts of Smaragdus’ *Expositio*) shows that the audience of the *RcuiV* could easily fill in the obvious lacuna:

...*crucifixus est*, according to Gal. 6, 14. This biblical verse appears also in *RcuiV* 17.2; 23.2 and in numerous other monastic rules: *RBas* 4; 82; *RM* 91; *RAM/RAV* prologue; *CaesRV* 52.7; *RColM* 4; *RcuiP* 11.4; *RLea* 17; *RFru* 1. See also Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 7.9; *VCol* II.13.

3.2 *V. Bertilae* 1: *pleno cordis affectu.*

3.3-5 Cfr Cassian, *Collationes* XXIV.23.

3.3-8 Cfr *V. Bertilae* 2: *Totum uoluit esse in Christo et cum Christo quod uixit. Non oculum uoluptati, non aurem ludibrio, non animum accommodans uoluptati, semper se regens anchora*

grauitatis, talem se intra septa monasterii tractauit, ut esset in multis utilitatibus matri spirituali similis.

3.3 Similar rhetorical questions can be found in *RcuiV* 9.6; 17.2; 17.3; 17.8; 23.2-3; 23.4; *De accedendo* 8-9; *VCol* II.25. All of them express the incompatibility of certain acts with the monastic decision to leave the world and to live a monastic life. Other examples in *RBas* 21; *CaesRV* 21.5; 24.5-7; 52.4-5; *CaesRM* 13.14; *RT* 14.8; *RFer* 8.3; *RI* 13; *RD* 52.10. | The term *manere* is used in a similar manner ten times in the *RcuiV* and 13 times in *VCol*.

3.4 Similar construction in *De accedendo* 5: *et cum eodem [Prophetam] dicere possimus: Inquisiui Dominum...*

3.5-10 *RcuiV* 1.6-8 assigns this task to the abbess. See also Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam* 5, *SC* 345, pp. 434-438.

3.5 Cfr *RT* 11.1-2. Matth. 5, 6 appears also in *RFru* 11.

3.6 On *humilitas* as *magistra uirtutum*: Cassian, *Collationes* XV.7 | *Consodales*: *VCol* II.13 (cfr *MGH SRM* 4, p. 134, footnote g); *VIoh* 9: *suis consodalibus*; *V. Balthildis* 2; 16; *V. Bertilae* 2. Much more common is *sodales*.

3.7 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.6.

3.8 On mutual control and witnesses: *RPac Pr* 56; *ROr* 22; *3RP* 8; *CaesRV* 36.5-6; 50.3; *RT* 4.1; *RFer* 4.5-6; *RLea* 17; *RCom* 15; *RColC* 15; *RD* 57, and especially *CaesRV* 23.6; 38.1; 51.3 | *CaesRV* 38.1 describes the abbess as the only person who interacts with the outside world. See also *V. Anstrudis* 9; *V. Sadalbergae* 22. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 246, similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

3.9 On looking and eye contacts: *RcuiV* 10.12; *AugPraec* IV.4; *CaesRV* 23; *RBen* 7.62-63; 53.23-24 | *VCol* I.17: *intentis oculis*.

3.10 On the care for guests and pilgrims: *RPac Pr* 50-55; *RBas* 98; *RIVP* 2.36-40; *2RP* 3.14-15; *RMac* 20; *RAM* 14-16; 48; *RAV* 14; John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines*, *PL* 72, col. 840B; *RM* 19.18; 79; *RBen* 53.21-22; 66.3-4; *RI* 1; 9.1; 23; *RFruc* 9; *RcuiP* 12.4-5; Rufin, *Historia monachorum* XVII.5; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 18-19; *V. Balthildis* 12. | The only other sources that quote Matth. 25, 40 in a similar way are Alcuin, *V. Vedastis*, dedication letter; Smaragdus, *Summarium in epistolas et euangelia*, *PL* 102, col. 567D; Odo of Cluny, *Collationes* III.26, *PL* 133, col. 609C.

3.11-12 Giving and receiving gifts, cfr *RPac Pr* 53; *RBas* 31; *RCas* 21; *RMac* 24; *2RP* 1.10; *CaesRV* 25.1-2; 30.4-5; 43.1-2; 51.5; *CaesRM* 15; *RT* 19.1; *RI* 19.4; *RColC* 15; *RD* 53; 60.3. | *VCol* I.15: *nullum alium esse, qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset*. The expression *sine comeatu* also in *RcuiV* 2.16; 4.8; *commeatus* appears nine times in *RcuiV*, once in *RD*, three times in *VCol*, but in no other rule. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 247; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

3.12 *RD* 56.3-5 on visitors: *Cumque partes, quas ipsa uoluerit, circumierint, protinus aut in saluatorium aut ad portam redeant; ubi deinceps, si abbatissae uisum fuerit, illa si uoluerit praesente uel reliquis eulogias accipiant aut reliquum, quod offerre decreuerint. Hae uero, quae ministrant, et omnes non alibi nisi in refectorio, ubi decretum est, aliquid accipere praesumant; RD* 58.4-5: *Sed si aliquis tam de parentibus, propinquis uel quicumque eis uoluerit inpendere aliquid quantum decreuerit, per potarias in monasterium transmittat, et ipsae secundum sanctam consuetudinem sibi, ut expedit, praeparent*. Both sections belong to the few parts of the *RD* that were not quoted verbatim from *CaesRV*, *RBen* or *RColC*. | See also *VCol* I.14 and *VCol* I.22 on Flavia and Procula giving gifts to the monastery and receiving prayer. In the case of Procula, the *ostiarius* is even mentioned. | On praying for external people, cfr *CaesRV*, prologue.4-6; 25.4-7;

30.5; 43.2-3; 51.5; 72.2; *RT* 11.4; *RFer*, dedication letter.4; *RM* 76; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10; *V. Eustadiolae* 5; *V. patrum Iurensium* 172; *V. Rusticulae*, prologue.30; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 3. See also Bobbio Missal, no. 438/440, ed. E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal*, London: Harrison 1920, p. 130.

3.13-16 Cfr *CoenCol* 4; *RD* 28.103.

3.13 Cfr *RPac Pr* 57; 85-86; *2RP* 3.16; *ROr* 13; *RAM* 5; *RAV* 3; *RT* 2.3; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 36. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251: *Seculares fabulae longe sint a uobis*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 280.

3.14 *CaesRV* 43.4; *RD* 60.5 | *Regulari paenitentiae: RColC* 4; 9; 15.

3.16 *Contumaciae crimen incurrit: RColM* 1; Columbanus, *Epistula* 1.3; *VCol* II.16.

3.17 On keys: *RCas* 34.1; *CaesRV* 28.4; 32.4; 59.2 (with a similar provision); *RAM* 21; *RAV* 17; *RM* 79.18-21; 93.13; 93.37; *RD* 11.1; *V. Anstrudis* 15; *VCol* I.17.

3.18-19 On the *Secunda Hora*: Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, p. 118.

3.18 *V. Bertilae* 2: *studebat adimplere*.

3.20 Cfr *CaesRV* 38.3; 59.1-3; *RM* 95.22-24.

3.21 Cfr *RPac Pr* 50; *RBas* 107; *RBen* 53.16-17. | *Hora refectio* (also in *RcuiV* 11.4) appears six times in *VCol*.

3.22 Cfr *RBas* 104; *RIVP* 3.28-30; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.19.3; *CaesRV* 32.4-5; *RM* 16.11; 79.3-4/14-15; *RBen* 31.10; *RCons* 8; *RcuiP* 28.1-4; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 4 | *VCol* I.22: *uelut sacrata omnia quae ad uirum Dei pertinebant attingere non auderent*.

3.23 Cfr *CaesRV* 36; 39; 53; *Institutio sanctimonialium* 28. | For *septa monasterii*, cfr *RcuiV* 20.9; 21.2; *VCol* I.20; II.5; II.17; II.19; *RD*, dedication letter.15; 31; *V. Amati* 3; *V. Bertilae* 2: *intra septa monasterii*; *V. Geretrudis* 2; *V. Germani Grandiuallensis* 6; *V. Rusticulae* 3; *V. Walerici* 2; 3. | Guest house, cfr *RM* 79; *RBen* 53.21; *RI* 23.2. | *VCol* I.19: *se et oportuna aptaque loca ad hoc habere parata, quo omnium hospitem aduentus suscipiatur*.

3.24 Cfr *CaesRV* 37. | On *censemus*, see p. §.

3.25 *Tenor regulae/tenor regularis* also in *RcuiV* 15.12; 20.9; *RD*, dedicatory letter; *VCol* II.1; II.10; II.13; *Vloh* 2; 3; 19; *V. Germani Grandiuallensis* 5; *V. Sadalbergae* 19 | *zelum Dei*: Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17 | The expression *in omnibus* appears eleven times in *RcuiV* and 13 times in *VCol*. | Similar concluding statements (all using *ut in omnibus*) can be found in *RcuiV* 10.2; 23.3; 24.11. | *VCol* II.25: *...nisi qua hi qui simile simplicitate uiuunt et oboedientiae ac mortificatione uoluntariae subiciuntur, similem remunerationem expectent claritatemque aeterni luminis potiantur?* | *CaesRV* 35.8-9 emphasizes the responsibility of the superiors, rather than the expected reward.

III. QVALIS DEBEAT ESSE CELLARARIA MONASTERII

¹ **Monasterii cellararia sapiens** et religiosa ex **omni congregatione eligenda** est, quae non sibi, nec suis uoluntatibus, ² sed toti **congregationi** aequanimiter et piaae placeat dispensando, ³ nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat. ⁴ Id est, ut nihil extra debitam mensuram pro qualibet familiaritate pro gratia meriti

dispensando distribuatur, sciens, *quia iustus Dominus iustitiam a saeculo dilexit aequitatem uidit uultus eius.* ⁵ Sit ergo omnibus iusta dispensatione grata; ⁶ sit **moribus matura**; sit **sobria, non edax, non elata, non turbulenta, non iniuriosa, non tarda** uel pigra, sed in omnibus actibus bene composita, ⁷ quae **congregationi omni**, id est tam senioribus quam etiam iunioribus, pro affectu et **materno** ordine debeat ministrare. ⁸ **Curam de omnibus** sibi commissis rebus **habeat.** ⁹ **Nihil** tamen **sine** comite **abbatissae** **facere** praesumat.

¹⁰ Sorores tam seniores aetate quam iuniores nullatenus conturbet. ¹¹ Et **si aliqua** sororum **ab ea inrationabiliter aliquid** poposcerit, leni responsione cum uoce **humilitatis** contra **rationem petenti deneget.** ¹² In **infirmis** positis sororibus diligenti **cura** et promptissimo affectu ministret. ¹³ Similiter **pauperum curam gerat**, [fol. 209^a] ¹⁴ **in omnibus** **timorem** Domini praeponens et **sciens** se illi exinde **rationem reddituram**, si non pro eius preceptis implendis **haec omnia** faciat, memor semper illius qui dixit: *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur.* ¹⁵ Omni ergo OPERI bono quod facimus Domini **timorem** iungamus. ¹⁶ Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo **NEGLEGENTIAE DAMNA INCURRAT.** ¹⁷ **Auaritiae** et cupiditatis pestem omnino fugiat. Similiter sicut non auara, sic **non sit prodiga**, ¹⁸ id est, sicut dona omnipotentis Dei sub auaritiae uitio occultando subtrahere non debet, sic sine iusta dispensatione nimis fenerando **COMMUNEM substantiam** non debet diripere, **sed omnia** per discretionem temperando pensare. ¹⁹ Et si non habeat, quod ab ea quaeritur, **quod tribuat, sermone** leni sine ulla asperitate in **responsione** procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat, ²⁰ iuxta QUOD SCRIPTUM EST: *Fauum mellis sermones boni.* Et illud: *Sermo bonus super datum bonum.* ²¹ Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si **omnia** cum **humilitate** ac pietate studuerit agere. ²² Et quamuis quod petitur, non sit unde tribuatur, nullatenus respondeat se non habere, sed dicat fidei uoce: *Dominus dabit.* ²³ Ea uero quae **danda sunt, sine mora** tribuantur, ne **scandali OCCASIO** aut offensionis casus ex ipsa tarditate generetur. ²⁴ **Memor** semper praeceptorum Domini, qui ne minimum suorum **PATITUR scandalizari.**

III. WHAT SORT OF PERSON THE CELLERAR OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

¹ A wise and pious cellarer of the monastery ought to be chosen from the entire congregation ² – one who pleases not herself or her own will but the entire congregation by managing in an even-

tempered and loving manner. ³ And she therefore should not strive to please since she would, on the one hand, lead herself into the destruction of sin and, on the other hand, the others as well through the offence of transgression by agreeing with her. ⁴ That is [to say], that she should distribute nothing above the appropriate share by giving out for the sake of friendship or for the sake of doing a favor, knowing this word: *Because the Lord is just and has loved justice in the world, his face sees equity.* ⁵ Therefore, she should be favorable to all in just provision; ⁶ she should be of mature character; she should be sober, not gluttonous, not haughty, not disordered, not unjust, not slow or lazy, but in all [her] behavior well disposed, ⁷ so that she should serve the entire congregation – that is, both the elders and the juniors – in keeping with affection and maternal order. ⁸ She should take care of all things entrusted to her. ⁹ Yet she should not dare to do anything without the permission of the abbess.

¹⁰ She should by no means disquiet the sisters – neither those of older age nor the younger. ¹¹ And if any sister unreasonably demands something from her, she should deny [it] in a gentle response with a voice of humility to the one who requests against reason. ¹² She should serve the sisters who are in a state of sickness with loving care and the most ready affection. ¹³ Likewise, she should perform the care of the poor, ¹⁴ placing above all the fear of the Lord, and knowing that she thereafter will have to give account to him, if she does not do all of this for the sake of fulfilling his commands, keeping always him in mind who says: *Who serves me, may follow me.* ¹⁵ For let us attach the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do.

¹⁶ In such a way should [the cellarer] take care of all things that in no regard she incurs the harm of negligence. ¹⁷ She should altogether flee the pestilence of greed and avarice. Just as she should not be greedy, she also should not be lavish, ¹⁸ that is to say, just as she must not hold back the gifts of the almighty God by hiding them out of the vice of greed, she also must not destroy the common resources by squandering too much without just provision. But she must weigh everything out by being moderate through [her] discretion. ¹⁹ And if she does not have what is asked of her, what she gives out should come forward with gentle words without any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response, ²⁰ according to that which is written: *Good words are like a honeycomb.* And this word: *Speaking well is above a good gift.* ²¹ If she strives to do everything with humility and love, she will know that the work entrusted affects in this way the reward. ²² And although there is nothing from which can be handed out what is requested, she should by no means answer that she has not got it, but she should say with a sincere voice: *The Lord will give.* ²³ These things that are to be given, should be given out without delay, lest out of tardiness itself the occasion of scandal or the opportunity of a complaint arises. ²⁴ [She should] always be mindful of the precepts of the Lord, who does not endure that the least of his people be scandalized.

Apparatus biblicus

4.3 Cfr Prou. 12, 13 | **4.4** Ps. 10/11, 7 (*LXX*) | **4.5-7** Cfr I Tim. 3, 1-10; Tit. 1, 7-9 | **4.12** *rationem reddituram*] biblical language, e.g. Luc. 16, 2; Act. 19, 33; Act. 25, 8; Rom. 14, 12 | **4.14** Ioh. 12, 26 | **4.20** Cfr Prou. 16, 24; Eccli. 18, 17 | **4.22** Cfr II Tim. 2, 7; Iob 1, 21 | **4.24** Cfr Matth. 18, 6

Apparatus criticus

4.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

4.1-24 *codd.*: *M F V T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

4.12 *ed.*: *s*

4.1 *cellaria h* | *non*] *nec h ma* | **4.3** *placre M^{ac}* | *per*] *om. h* | *ut*] *om. K h* | **4.4** *familiaritate*] *uel add. c, uel om. F A* | **4.6** *uel*] *non c* | **4.11** *responsione M² F^{pc} T P A^{pc} K h c*] *responsioni M F^{ac} A^{ac}, responsiono F^{pc}, responsionis V* | **4.14** *proponens h* | *et M^{pc}* | *dono h* | **4.19** *responsione*] *sermone c, sermonem P A* | **4.20** *iuxta*] *illud add. h* | *fauum*] *fauus V^{pc} P A me h* | *bonum*] *optimum F T* | **4.21** *commisum*] *bonum add. V T P A* | *ac*] *et me h* | *agere*] *facere h* | **4.24** *Memor M^{pc}* | *ne minimum c*] *neminum M, neminem K h*

Apparatus fontium

4 *RBen* 31: De **cellarario monasterii, qualis sit.**

¹ **Cellarius monasterii elegatur de congregatione, sapiens, maturis moribus, sobrius, non multum edax, non elatus, non turbulentus, non iniuriosus, non tardus, non prodigus,** ² sed timens Deum; qui **omni congregationi** sit sicut pater. ³ **Curam** gerat **de omnibus;** ⁴ sine iussione **abbatis nihil** faciat. ⁵ Quae iubentur custodiat; ⁶ fratres non contristet. ⁷ **Si quis** frater **ab** eo forte **aliqua inrationabiliter** postulat, non spernendo eum contristet, sed **rationabiliter** cum **humilitate** male **petenti deneget.** ⁸ Animam suam custodiat, memor semper illud apostolicum quia **qui bene ministraverit gradum bonum sibi acquirit** (I Tim. 4, 13). ⁹ **Infirmorum,** infantum, hospitem **pauperumque** cum omni sollicitudine **curam gerat, sciens** sine dubio quia pro **his omnibus** in die iudicii **rationem redditurus** est. ¹⁰ Omnia uasa monasterii cunctamque **substantiam** ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. ¹¹ Nihil ducat **neglegendum.** ¹² Neque **auaritiae** studeat, neque **prodigus** sit et stirpator **substantiae** monasterii, **sed omnia** mensurate faciat et secundum iussionem abbatis. ¹³ **Humilitatem** ante **omnia** habeat, et cui substantia non est **quod tribuatur, sermo responsionis** porrigatur bonus, ¹⁴ ut scriptum est: **Sermo bonus super datum optimum** (see Eccli. 18, 17). ¹⁵ **Omnia** quae ei iniunxerit abbas, ipsa **habeat sub cura** sua; a quibus eum prohibuerit, non praesumat. ¹⁶ Fratibus constitutam annonam **sine** aliquo typho uel **mora** offerat, ut non **scandalizentur, memor** diuini eloqui quid mereatur **qui scandalizauerit unum de pusillis** (Matth. 18, 6). ¹⁷ Si congregatio maior fuerit, solacia ei dentur, a quibus adiutus et ipse aequo animo impleat officium sibi commissum. ¹⁸ Horis competentibus dentur quae **danda sunt** et petantur quae petenda sunt, ¹⁹ ut nemo perturbetur neque contristetur in domo Dei. **4.15-24** *RBas* 107: Interr. Si is qui circa cellarium uel coquinam uel alia huiusmodi OPERA occupatus est non occurrat adesse in ordine psallentium uel ad orationem, nihil DAMNI PATITUR in anima? Resp. Vnusquisque in OPERE suo obseruare debet propriam regulam sicut membrum in corpore, et DAMNUM habebit si NEGLEXERIT in eo quod iniunctum est ei, sed et communem fratrum utilitatem neglegens amplius periclitabitur. Et ideo tota mente et deuotione complere debet id QUOD SCRIPTUM EST *Cantantes et psallentes in cordibus uestris domino* (Eph. 5, 19). Si enim corporaliter non occurrat adesse cum ceteris ad orationis locum, in quocunque loco

inuentus fuerit quod deuotionis est expleat. Oportet tamen obseruare ne forte quis possit quis complere in tempore suo quod complendum est et occurrere, sed dum loqui uult OCCASIONES nectit tanquam in ministerii opere occupatus. Quod qui facit et offendiculum caeteris praestat, et ipse NEGLEGENTIS crimen INCURRIT.

Fortleben

4 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 40.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. IIII

4.12 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 31.9

Commentary and parallels

Monastic rules and saints' lives on the *cellararia/cellararius*: *RPac Pr* 77-78; 137 | *LOrs* 26 | *RBas* 107; 111-113 | *AugPraec* V.9 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.22 | *RIVP* 3.23-27 | *ROr* 25 | *CaesRV* 28.4; 30.1 | *RAM* 7 | *RAV* 5 | *RT* 10.6-8 | *RPS* 25-26 | *RM* 16; 21 | *RBen* 31; 64.5-6 | *RColC* 8 | *RI* 21.2 | *RCom* 6 | *RD* 61 | *Institutio canonicorum* 140 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 25 | *Constitutiones Corbeienses* 14-15; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10 | *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 2; 21 | *V. Filiberti* 37 | *V. Caesarii* I.6 | *VCol* I.7; I.16; II.11 | *Vita patrum Iurensium* 68 | *V. Sadalbergae* 19-20

References to the *cellararia* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *RcuiV* 3.12; 3.18; 12.20; 12.29; 15.9

4.1 Cfr *CaesRV* 30.1; *RM* 16.62. | The position of the *cellararia* is the only one that is chosen from all nuns – probably because her acting has a directly affects the community. *V. Caesarii* I.6 describes how Caesarius had to be deposed as *cellararius* because of his austerity.

4.5-7 Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* I.8, *PL* 73, col. 855D-856A; *V. Geretrudis* 2; *V. Sadalbergae* 25; *V. Rusticulae* 6 provide a similar list of virtues.

4.5 Cfr *RBen* 4.34-40.

4.6 On *non edax*, cfr *RM* 16.62-66.

4.7 *VCol* I.5; II.7: *paterno affectu*; *V. Bertilae* 7: *materno affectu*. Very rare in other monastic rules.

4.9 Cfr *CaesRV* 30.7; *RM* 16.32; *V. Sadalbergae* 20. | *Sine com meatu* also in *RcuiV* 2.16; 3.11; *VCol* I.15.

4.11 *VCol* I.3; I.22: *humili uoce*.

4.12-13: *V. Bertilae* 2: *De caeteris sororibus sub ditione suae matris piam gereret ista sollicitudinem; infirmorum, infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur.*

4.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 32.1-4; *RM* 70. | Similar constructions with *positus/posita* appear twelve times in the *RcuiV* and 23 times in the *VCol*.

4.13 Cfr *VCol* I.22: *minister totum simul pauperi tribuit, nihil ad necessitatem communem reseruans.* | *V. Bertilae* 6: *et pauperum curam gererent.* For other parallels, see commentary to *RcuiV* 1.3-4.

4.14 Cfr *RM* 16.27-31.

4.16 *VCol* I, prologue: *ne negligentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae*; *VCol* II.12; II.13: *damnum incurrere*; *VIoh* 7: *adque negligentiae damnum patri nuntianda properant.*

4.18 Cfr *RColM* 8 on discretio.

4.21 Cfr *RIVP* 3.26-27.

4.22 Cfr *RBas* 113; *RBen* 2.35-36.

V. DE SE INVICEM DILIGENDO VEL SIBI INVICEM OBOEDIENDO

¹ Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura debeant, per euan[fol. 209^b]gelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, ² cum dicit: *Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* ³ Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis.* ⁴ Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit, ⁵ iuxta Apocalipsin: *Et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo.* ⁶ Sic ergo soror sororem propter Christum diligit, ut Christum a se per temporalem dilectionem non repellat, ⁷ quae uera et secundum Christum *dilectio est proximae malum non operatur.* ⁸ Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu, sed piaetatis ministerio. ⁹ Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum, sed secundum Deum maneat amor. ¹⁰ Sic enim a Domino praecipitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* ¹¹ Si soror sororem diligit sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet. ¹² Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, ¹³ sicut scriptum est: *Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* ¹⁴ Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat, ¹⁵ sicut Iohannes Apostolus testatus est, dicens: *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est.* ¹⁶ Diligatur proxima, ne per [fol. 209^{va}] aliqua discordiae fomenta retenta proprii facinoris uinculo non soluatur, ¹⁷ sicut Dominus in Euangelio testatus est, dicens: *Si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater uester caelestis dimittet uobis peccata uestra.* ¹⁸ Remittamus proximis, ut ab omnipotente remittatur nobis. ¹⁹ *Date, inquit, et dabitur uobis.* ²⁰ O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse, ²¹ si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur! ²² Sic et Apostolus ortatur dicens: *Estote inuicem benigni misericordes, donantes inuicem, sicut et Deus in Christo donauit uobis.* ²³ Nihil aliud dare precipimur, nisi quod nobis dare petimus. ²⁴ Sic et orando dicimus: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* ²⁵ Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a

debito. ²⁶ Soluamus ergo per dilectionem et amorem proximos, ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus. AMEN.

V. THAT ONE HAS TO LOVE EACH OTHER AND TO OBEY EACH OTHER

¹ The Lord shows through the Gospel of John with how much care the nuns in the monastery should love each other in Christ, ² when he says: *It is my precept that you love each other. No one has a greater love (dilectionem) than to lay down the soul for one's friends.* ³ And this [word]: *In this everyone will recognize that you are my disciples: if you love each other.* ⁴ We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate him through mutual love (*dilectio*) who has loved us, ⁵ according to the Apocalypse: *And he washed us from our sins in his blood.* ⁶ A sister should therefore love a sister for Christ's sake in such a way that she do not cast Christ away from herself through worldly love (*dilectionem*). ⁷ That love (*dilectio*) which is true and according to Christ *does not do evil to one's fellow.* ⁸ Therefore, a fellow [sister] is to be loved not with affection of the flesh, but with the service of love (*pietas*). ⁹ She is to be loved with purity, is to be loved with piety, is to be loved with mildness, and is to be loved with love (*caritas*), so that in every love (*amore*) Christ is always found. Love (*amor*) should not remain in favor of the world but in favor of God. ¹⁰ In such a way it is prescribed by the Lord: *Love your neighbor as yourself.* ¹¹ If a sister should love a sister as herself, she will never incur the stain of sin, but adorned by the practice of love (*pietatis*) and love (*dilectionis*) she will receive eternal reward. ¹² Love (*dilectio*), therefore, should always remain within the heart, so that it extinguishes the poison of the ancient enemy's malice, through which he opened the entrance of death in the beginning by deceiving the Protoplast [Adam], ¹³ as it is written: *But through the envy of the devil death will enter into the world.* ¹⁴ A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she incurs the crime of bloodshed through the stain of hatred, ¹⁵ as the Apostle John has testified, saying: *He who hates his brother is a murderer.* ¹⁶ A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she not be freed from the bond of her own misdeed, because some sparks of discord have been retained, ¹⁷ as the Lord has testified in the Gospel, saying: *If you do not forgive men their sins, your heavenly father will not forgive you your sins either.* ¹⁸ Let us forgive our fellow [sisters], so that we may be forgiven by the Almighty. ¹⁹ *Give*, he says, *and it shall be given to you.* ²⁰ Oh,

what a just exchange! Oh, what a loving compassion to have received in giving and to have given in receiving, ²¹ if no growth and no nourishment of contention is retained! ²² In such a way the Apostle also encourages us, saying: *Be kind and merciful to each other, giving to each other, just as God in Christ has given to you.* ²³ We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us. ²⁴ In such a way we also say when we pray: *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.* ²⁵ By forgiving our debtors we ourselves are relived from debt. ²⁶ Let us therefore release our fellow [sisters] by love (*dilectionem*) and love (*amorem*), so that God releases us from our crimes through love (*pietate*) and mercy. Amen.

Apparatus biblicus

5.2 Ioh. 15, 12-13 | **5.3** Ioh. 13, 35 | **5.4** Cfr Iac. 5, 16 (cfr *RcuiV* 6.14) | **5.5** Apoc. 1, 5 | **5.7** Rom. 13, 10 | **5.9** Cfr Eph. 2, 2 | **5.10** Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14 | **5.11** Cfr Matth. 5, 46 | **5.13** Sap. 2, 24 | **5.15** I Ioh. 3, 15 | **5.17** Matth. 6, 15 | **5.19** Luc. 6, 38 | **5.22** Eph. 4, 32 | **5.24** Matth. 6, 12

Apparatus criticus

5.title-26 *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

5.1 ab] ad *h* | **5.2** est *M^{pc}* | **5.4** ad invicem *h* | **5.3** Sic] Si *h* | **5.7** quae] quia *h* | operari *h* | **5.10** diligis *M^{ac}* | **5.11** pietatis *M^{ac}* | **5.13** introiuit *K*, introivit *h* | **5.14** cruentationis] cruenta homicidii *h* | **5.15** sicuti *h* | **5.20** donasse *h*] dones *M* | **5.21** Si] *om. h* | nullaue *h*] nulla ire *M* | **5.22** hortatur *K h* | **5.25** relaxamur *K h* | pietate *M^{ac}*

Apparatus fontium

5.title *RBen* 71.title Vt **oboedientes** sibi sint **inuicem**. (but no further parallel in this chapter)

Fortleben

Omitted in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio*.

Commentary and parallels

Monastic rules and saints' lives on internal order, hierarchy, peace and mutual love:

RPac Inst 10; *RPac Iud* 1-6; 10-11; 15; *RPac Leg* 5-13 | *LOrs* 54 | *RBas* 1-3; 15; 17; 37-39; 41-46; 64; 100; 155 | *AugOM* 1 | *AugPraec* I.2; I.8; VI | *RIVP* 1.8-9 | *2RP* 1.5-6 | *RMac* 2-3; 7 | *ROR* 30 | *CaesRV* 21.6; 26; 33; 34.2-6 | *CaesRM* 12-13, 19 | *RAM* 12-13; 39 | *RAV* 10-11; 29 | *RT* 14; 19.10 | *RFer* 2-3; 7-9; 21-23; 39.34-47 | *RPS* 1; 38 | *RM* 11.63-74; 63; 65; 92 | *RBen* 63 | *RLea* 5 | *RFruc* 8 | *RCom* 13 | *RCons* 6 | *RcuiP* 2; 3.6-7; 15.1/4 | *RD* 20.13-18; 52; 66 | *Ordo Casinensis* I.12. See also Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 6.1 | Columbanus, *Instructio* 11.1 | *VCol* I.5; II.12 | Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.62 | *V. Bertilae* 16

References to internal peace and mutual in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.7; 1.17; 1.18; 2.4; 4.1; 4.7; 4.12; 4.21; 6.30; 15.1-2; 15.12; 20.5; 20.7; 21.3; 22.1-10; 23.6-8. 24.1-5

- 5.1** The construction of this sentence reminds of *RColM* 5 and of *De accedendo* 1-2. *Monacha* (also in *RcuiV* 5.1; 7.4; 9.6; 12.9; 17.title; 17.5; 22.21) does not appear in other monastic rules except for *RD*, but it appears in Columbanian monastic texts.
- 5.2** Cfr *RBas* 38.
- 5.3** Cfr *RBas* 2; *CaesRM* 13.10. Jonas probably used *RBas* 2, which shares the variant *si inuicem diligatis* instead of *si uos inuicem diligatis*.
- 5.4-5** *RcuiV* 20.7-8.
- 5.6** *VCol* I.5: *Tanta pietas, tanta caritas omnibus, ut unum uelle, unum nolle, modestia atque sobrietas, mansuetudo et lenitas quae in omnibus redolebat.*
- 5.7** *uera dilectio*: Columbanus, *Instructio* 11.1.
- 5.8** Cfr *RcuiV* 23; *AugPraec* VI.3; *CaesRV* 61.1; *RT* 22.11; *RD* 77.1; Jerome, *Epistula* 22 ad *Eustochium* 17.
- 5.9** *VCol* II.25: *eius puritatis et religionis in omnibus imitatores essent.*
- 5.11** Cfr *RColM* 6. | *VIoh* 16: *contagione peccatorum maculatus* | *VCol* I.11; II.13: *cultus pietatis* | *De accedendo* 23: *ad aeterna praemia tendat*; *VCol* I.10; II.14: *aeterna praemia caperent*; *VIoh* 1: *et eterne uite premia capere* | *V. Bertilae* 9: *corona praemii aeternam recepit*. | *V. Geregrudis*, prologue: *ad aeterna praemia obtinenda...*
- 5.12** Cfr *CaesRV* 49.4. | *VCol* I.3: *Antiquus hostis*. Jonas refers to Adam in a different context in *VIoh* 18, describing *gula*, *elatio*, and *superbia* as the primordial sins.
- 5.14-18** Cfr *CaesRM* 13. | *VCol* II.12: *Scriptum est enim: Date et dabitur uobis, et alibi in oratione: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Non enim dimisisti sodalibus totum, quia tibi inlatas molestias retinuisti.*
- 5.14** *VCol* II.16: *contumaciae crimen incurrere.*
- 5.16** *VCol* II.10: *discordiae fomitem.*
- 5.17-24** Cfr Caesarius, *Sermo* 39.1; 235.3; *VCol* II.12.
- 5.17** Cfr *CaesRV* 34.2-4; *CaesRM* 13.4; *RBen* 13.13. | *Passio prima Leodegari* 23 quotes exactly the same variant of Matth. 6, 15. | *V. Rusticulae* 18.
- 5.18-26** *RcuiV* 20.7-8 | Cfr *Historia monachorum* I.3.19; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.62.
- 5.19** Luc. 6, 38 is also used in *VCol* II.12.
- 5.21** *VCol* II.1: *qui et iurgiorum, ut credebatur, incrementa ministrabat.*
- 5.24** Matth. 6, 12 is also used in *VCol* II.12. | Cfr *RM Thema* 2.57-66; *CaesRM* 13.3.
- 5.25** Cfr *CaesRV* 34.2.
- 5.26** Chapters of rules ending with *amen*: *CaesRV* 65; *RLea* 5; *RCom* 19; *RColM* 7; *De accedendo*.

VI. DE ASSIDVE DANDA CONFESSIOE

¹ Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta Scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrat. ² Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscaturum rudem semper custodiat, ³ sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* ⁴ Sic quippe beatus

Dauid orando Domino dicebat: ***Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non operui. Dixi: confitebor ad***[fol. 209^{vb}]***uersum me iniustitiam meam, et tu remisisti impiaetatem peccati mei.*** ⁵ Quantum ualet pura et non tarda confessio, ut sic segura eam subsequatur inpetratio. ⁶ Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo. ⁷ Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrauit spem. ⁸ Non enim precessit spei fidutiam, quia meminerat se olim per spiritum sanctum Domino inluminatus dixisse: *Quia apud te est propiciatio, et propter legem tuam sustinui te Domine.* ⁹ Et iterum: *Quia apud Dominum misericordia est et copiosa apud eum redemptio.* ¹⁰ Apud quem misericordiam perhennem agnoscit, apud eum copiosam et redemptionem. ¹¹ Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam. ¹² Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpae inueniatur medicina. ¹³ Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata. ¹⁴ Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* ¹⁵ Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur! ¹⁶ Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium. ¹⁷ Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus acquiritur. ***Reuela***, inquit Psalmista, ***Domino uiam tuam, et ipse te enutriet.*** ¹⁸ Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima COTIDIANO ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur.

¹⁹ Sed quibus horis congruentibus cotidiana delicta sunt [fol. 210^a] ABLUENDA, a nobis inserendum est. ²⁰ Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia MENS uel caro per FRAGILITATEM deliquerit, post secundam PER CONFSSIONEM curandum est expiari. ²¹ Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, **cogitatu** tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut PURGETUR, censendum est. ²² Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae ADTRAXERIT, ante completam confitendum est. ²³ Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante completorium faciendum est.

²⁴ Hae uero sorores, quae **pro grauibus culpis** in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent. ²⁵ Et expleto cursu egredientes **ante fores** ecclesiae, in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur. ²⁶ Et egrediente congregatione supra humum **prostratae** rogent **pro** se Dominum **exorari**, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, ²⁷ meminentes illud: *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus*

non spernit. ²⁸ Et: *In humilitate nostra memor fuit nostri Dominus.* ²⁹ In oratione posita semper penitens dicat: *Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele,* ³⁰ ut ira arguentis iudicis et in proximo uindictam reddentis per piaie mentis affectum ac humili oratione sedetur.

VI. ON GIVING CONFESSION CONTINUOUSLY

¹ The tradition of many fathers has shown in accordance with a series of scriptures how frequently and with what accurate care confession is to be given. ² Therefore, confession is to be given at all times, so that at all times it guards the state of the mind which is growing old and is rough, darkened by the gloom of sins through daily allurements, ³ just as Scripture taught when it said: *Guard your heart with all vigilance, for out of it comes life.* ⁴ In such a way, indeed, did blessed David say in prayer to the Lord: *“I made my offence known to you, my faults I did not cover.” I said, “I will confess my fault before me, and you have relieved me from the ungodliness of my sin.”* ⁵ So strong is a plain and timely confession that it is followed by sure gratification! ⁶ Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, [David] lamented through confession and glorified his redemption through receiving it. ⁷ He revealed his crime in grief and by giving [confession] he restored [his] hope. ⁸ For he did not pass over the assurance of hope, because he recalled that once, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, he has said to the Lord: *For with you is atonement, and on account of your law I expected you, Lord.* ⁹ And again: *For with the Lord is mercy, and with him is plentiful redemption.* ¹⁰ [David] recognizes that with the one who has endless mercy there is also plentiful redemption. ¹¹ Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption. ¹² Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. ¹³ Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgive us our sins. ¹⁴ In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another, and pray for each other.* ¹⁵ It is known how much love of the mild judge has been poured upon us, so that the misdeed contracted through wretched acts is dissolved by mutual prayer. ¹⁶ The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, protection is obtained. ¹⁷ For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences. The

Psalmist says: *Reveal to the Lord your way, and He will feed you.* ¹⁸ If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy.

¹⁹ But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences. ²⁰ Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. ²¹ But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought at daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. ²² But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline. ²³ The abbess, however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given. Likewise, this ought to be done after the Ninth [Hour] and before Compline.

²⁴ But these sisters who are bound in penance on account of serious guilt, should not stand in the church with the others who take Communion, but should sing the service separated [from the rest] in another church. ²⁵ And when [their] service has been completed and they leave, let them be instructed to stand outside of the church in which those who are receiving Communion complete the service. ²⁶ And when the congregation leaves, [the penitents] should ask, while prostrated on the ground, that [the congregation] implore the Lord on their behalf in order that the serious deeds be erased through contrition of the heart, ²⁷ recalling this: *God does not dismiss a contrite and humbled heart.* ²⁸ And: *The Lord was mindful of us in our humility.* ²⁹ In the position of prayer the penitent should say at all times: *Turn away your face from my sins, and erase all my injustice,* ³⁰ so that the anger of the judge who accuses and imposes punishment to the fellow nun, is calmed through the disposition (*affectus*) of the loving mind and with humble prayer.

Apparatus biblicus

6.2 Cfr Gen. 1, 2 | **6.3** Prou. 4, 23 | **6.4** Ps. 31/32, 5 | **6.5** Cfr Num. 15, 28 | **6.6** Cfr Iob 23, 6 | **6.8** Cfr Ps. 129/130, 4 | **6.9** Ps. 129/130, 7 | **6.14** Iac. 5, 16 | **6.17** Cfr Ps. 36/37, 5; Ps. 54/55, 23 | **6.27** Ps. 50/51, 19 | **6.28** Ps. 135/136, 23 | **6.29** Ps. 50/51, 11 (*LXX*) | **6.30** Cfr Iudae. 1, 15.

Apparatus criticus

6.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

6.1-23 *codd.*: *M F' V T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

6.24-30 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

6.1 crebra *F^{vac} me h* | sit danda] *tr. h* | **6.4** meum *om. h* | meam] Domino *add. c* | peccati] cordis *add. c* | **6.8** sanctum] *a add. me h* | inluminatum *h* | **6.13** confiteantur *F'*, confitemini *h* | **6.14** dicendo] dicente *TP, om. F' VA c* | hortatur *M² K h c* | inuicem] ut saluemini *add. VPA* | **6.16** cupiatur *h* | **6.17** Magis *h* | fructum *c* | **6.20** completurium *M^{ac}* | fragilitatem] facilitatem *h* | per³] *om. M^{ac}* | **6.23** completurium *M^{ac}* | **6.24** pro] *om. c* | grauibus] grauioribus *F' VTPA* | **6.25** Et] *om. c* | **6.27** deus *M^{pc}* | **6.30** reodentis *M^{ac}* | ac] hanc *h*, hac *F' me*

Apparatus fontium

6.4-17 *RBen* 7.44-48: Quintus humilitatis gradus est si omnes **cogitationes** malas cordi suo aduenientes uel mala a se absconse commissa per humilem confessionem abbatem non celauerit suum. ⁴⁵ Hortans nos de hac re scriptura dicens: **Reuela ad Dominum uiam tuam et spera in eum** (Ps. 36/37, 5 [LXX]). ⁴⁶ Et item dicit: **Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius** (Ps. 105/106, 1 [LXX]); Ps. 117/118, 1 [LXX]). ⁴⁷ Et item propheta: **Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci et iniustitias meas non operui**. ⁴⁸ **Dixi: Pronuntiabo aduersum me iniustias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei** (Ps.31/32, 5, [LXX]).

6.24-30 *RBen* 44.1-4: Qui **pro grauibus culpis** ab oratorio et a mensa excommunicantur, hora qua opus Dei in oratorio percelebratur, **ante fores** oratorii **prostratus** iaceat nihil dicens, ² nisi tantum posito in terra capite, stratus pronus omnium de oratorio exeuntium pedibus; ³ et hoc tamdiu faciat usque dum abbas iudicauerit satisfactum esse. ⁴ Qui dum iussus ab abbate uenerit, uoluat se ipsius abbatis, deinde omnium uestigiis, ut **orent pro ipso**.

6.19-22 *VCol* II.19: Erat enim consuetudinis monasterii et regulae, ut ter in die PER CONFESIONEM unaquaeque earum MENTem PURGaret, et qualemcumque rugam mens FRAGILITATE ADTRAXisset, pia proditio ABLUERet. In hanc ergo labem MENTes supradicatum puellarum diaboli iacula dimerserant, ut nulla confessio uera ab ore prodiret, seu quae in saeculo commiserant, seu quae COTIDIANA FRAGILITAS ADTRAhebat, uel in cogitatione uel in sermone uel in opere, ne uera confessio per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati.

Fortleben

6.1-23 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 15.9, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VI

6.24-30 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 32.4, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VI

Commentary and parallels

Monastic rules, hagiographic works, and other sources on confession: *RBas* 21, 117, 199-200 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.9; IV.16; IV.37 | Cassian, *Conferences* XX.8.3 | *RCas* 10.2, 29 | *CaesRV* 25.1 | *RM* 3.63; 10.61-65; 15; 80.1-7 | *RBen* 4.50/57; 7.44-48; 46.5-6 | *RI* 13.3-5; 16.2 | *RFruc* 12 | *RCom* 12; 13; 19 | *RColV* 33-36 | *RD* 3.50; 19.3-5; 23; 41 | Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula* 14; 34; *Regula interpolata* 18; 31 | Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium* XII.13-14 | Cassian, *Collationes* II.13 | Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II.7 | Caesarius, *Sermo* 59; 234.4; 235.3-4 | Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo* 254.1-2 | Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 3.14 | Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelium* 40.2 | Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII | Columbanus, *Poenitentiale* B 30 | Columbanus, *Instructio* 1, c. 1-2 | *Poenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue.6 | *Canones Hibernenses* II.3-4 | *Canones Wallici* 34 | *Poenitentiale Vinniani* 5 | *Memoriale qualiter* I I.2, p. 233; II.5, p. 234; II.7, p. 238; IV, 243; VI.17, p. 259 | *Memoriale qualiter* II I.2, p. 269; II.4, p. 269; II.7, p. 271; VII, p. 280; VIII.19, p. 282 | *The demar Ep. ad Theodoricum* 23, *CCM* 1,

p. 134 | Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum* 16 | Irish Rules: *Rule of Ailbe* 10; 29; *Rule of Ciarán* 16; *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin* 6; *Rule of Carthage for a Spiritual Director* 2 and 18; *Rule of the Céili Dé*; *Rule of Tallaght* 20-22 and 74; *Testimony to the monastery of Sinchell the Younger*; *Alphabet of Devotion* 1 | *Passio Praeiectionis* 19 | *V. Adelphi* 2 | *V. Antonii* 28(55) | *V. Amati* 11 | *V. Balthildis* 16 | *V. Bertilae* 2; 6 | *VCol* II.1; II.3; II.12; II.13; II.17; II.19; II.22: II.24 | *V. Eligii* I.7; II.8; II.25 | *V Filiberti* 14 | *VIoh* 8 | *V. Wandregisili prima* 17.

References to confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 3.15; 5.5; 7; 16.5-10; 21; 22.17-18

6.1 *RcuiV* 5; 6; 9; 15; 16; 22, *De accedendo*, and *RColM* 5 begin with an invocation of the Bible or the *sancti pates*. | *Sagax* appears nine times in *VCol*; *RD*, dedication letter.1/22; *RBen* 27.5. | *scripturarum series* (also *RcuiV* 9.1): *VCol* I.3; II.9.

6.2 *VCol* I.3: *saeculi inlecebris* | *status mentis*: *RcuiV* 22.6 (in no other rule) | On *tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum*, cfr Cyprian, *Heptateuchos*, *Genesis* 1, v. 3: *Dum chaos et nigrae fuscabant cuncta tenebrae*.

6.4 Cassian, *Conferences* XX.8.3

6.4 Ps. 31/32, 5 is quoted in a similar way in *RBen* 7.47-48; Caesarius, *Sermo* 59.1 quotes a different translation. | Cfr *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue.6.

6.5 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* III, Ps 101: *de impetratione securus est*. | *Pura confessio*: *RcuiV* 16.5; 16.8; 16.9; *Memoriale qualiter I* II.5, p. 234.

6.6 The masculine form (*confessus*) indicates that the entire passage 6.4-8 refers to David and not directly to the nuns. | *De accedendo* 8: *et facinorum mole obstante*. Cfr also Cassian, *Collationes* I.18; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps 129, *Sermo ad plebem*. | *Ingenuit confitendo*: Ambrose, *Apologia Prophetarum David* II. 5.

6.7 *Redintegrare*: *RcuiV* 7.2; Columbanus, *Paenitentiale A* 8; *VCol* I.7; II.6: *omnia saluti redintegraret*; II.8. The term does not appear in any other rule.

6.9 Ps. 129/130, 7 appears as well in Eligius, *Sermo* 18=*V. Eligii* II.15. See also commentary to *RcuiV* 6.27.

6.14-16 *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 268: *Tunc decantent septem penitentiae psalmos tripertite, uidelicet primos tres pro sororibus defunctis, item duos pro abbatisa et congregatione, postremos duos pro quibus sibi uisum fuerit*.

6.14 Cfr *RBen* 8.44-48. | Iac. 5, 16 is also used in Caesarius, *Sermo* 59.1 | *Memoriale qualiter I* II. 5, p. 234: *Iterum conuenientes ad Primam, dum percompletur ipsud officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum donent confessiones suas uicissim puriter supplicii corde certatim pro se orantes*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.4, p. 269.

6.15 *De accedendo* 26: *sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat*. On *iudex clemens*, cfr also *VCol* I.4; II.11; *V. Eustadiolae* 5. | *Mutua prece* appears here for the first time. | *Erumnosus* (also *RcuiV* 17.3) appears four times in *VCol* but in no other monastic rule.

6.16 Cfr *RM* 15.16-27; *RI* 16.2. | Instead of following *RBen* 7.45 the author combines two Psalms: Ps. 36/37, 5 and Ps. 54/55, 23. The same hybrid appears in the *Penitentiale Vallicellianum*, ed. Adriaan Gaastra, *Between liturgy and canon law: a study of books of confession and penance in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy*, Ph.D. thesis University of Utrecht 2007, p. 264. | Compare the use of *presidium* with *RcuiV* 1.9; 22.3 (on the *ambitus uirtutum*) and *De accedendo*.10.

6.18 Cfr *CaesRV* 24.5-6, also using *uulnus* and *nutrire*.

6.19-22 *RColC* 1: *Statutum est, fratres carissimi, a sanctis patribus, ut demus confessionem ante mensam siue ante lectorum introitum aut quandocumque fuerit facile [de omnibus non solum*

capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis], quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant. Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata, quia ut scriptum est, Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit (Ecclus. 19, 1). RD 23.1-4: Inter ceteras regulae obseruantias hoc magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniores monemus sorores, ² ut assidue et indesinenti studio tam de cogitatu quam etiam de uerbo inutili uel opere seu aliqua commotione animi confessio omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momentis semper donetur, ³ et matri spiritali nihil occultetur, ⁴ quia statutum est hoc... (further following the Regula coenobialis, see above).

6.19 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.2.

6.20-22 Theodomar, *Ep. ad Theodoricum* 23, CCM 1, p. 134 requires two confessions per day.

6.20 Cfr *RD* 19.3-5: *Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, ⁴ demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te (Ps 32/33, 22). ⁵ Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniore[m]: “Da commeatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri.”* The same passage (with small variants) appears in the fragment of a female version of the *Regula Columbani: RColV* 33-36. This is one of sections of this fragments that do not appear in in *RColC*. See Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 203-204.

6.21 *Expleto cursu: RcuiV* 6.25; 7.4; 7.9; *RColC* 2; *RD* 26.2. *Expleto cursu* appears in no other rule. Cfr also *VCol* II.23: *expleto psallendi officio. | Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, p. 238: *...necesse est enim ut omnes nostras neglegentias, id est cogitationum, linguae uel operis, in praesenti uita per ueram confessionem et humilitatem semper iudicentur, ut non post mortem nos reos faciant.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

6.22 *Memoriale qualiter I* VI.17, p. 259: *Recepto silentio, cum reuerentia intrent ad Completam, orent cum intentione mentis, dent confessiones suas alternatim, incipient Completam.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.19, p. 282.

6.23 *Peracta oratione: VIoh* 2; 7; 13.

6.24-30 Cfr *RM* 14.1-78; 15.19-27; *RColC* 9; *RI* 18.1; *RD* 34.4; *VCol* II.13. | *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, p. 237: *Post haec, qui culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater ad domnum abbatem aut praepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus, cum ille senior/illa dixerit Quae est causa frater? Ille qui ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondat Mea culpa, domne; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit, iudicetur exinde culpabilis.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

6.24 Different churches within the monastery: *V. Austrobertae* 13; *V. Sadalbergae* 17.

6.25 Cfr *RM* 13.63; 14.

6.26 *Contritio cordis: RcuiV* 19.8; *De accedendo* 7 | Cfr *RBen* 44; 71.8; *RColC* 3. | *Supra humum: RcuiV* 22.18; *VCol* I.21 | *humo prostratus: VCol* II.3; II.7.

6.27 Ps. 50/51, 19 appears as well in Eligius, *Sermo* 18=*V. Eligii* II.15 (see also commentary to *RcuiV* 6.9).

VII. DE NON MANIFESTANDIS SORORVM CONFSSIONIBVS

¹ Abbatissa uel praeposita uel quaelibet [fol. 210^b] seniorum sororum, cui ab abbatissa fuerit commissum, ut confessiones recipiat, crimina minora uel maxima nullatenus manifestent, nisi

solo iusto iudici, qui omnium confitentium crimina lauat. ² Illa etenim, quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est, iustum habens testem Deum, a quo et mederi exspectat. ³ Ea uero senior, quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem. ⁴ Nulla tamen monacharum uel confessionem recipere uel paenitentiam dare sine ordinatione abbatissae praesumat, ⁵ ne uitium commissum abbatissae caeletur, sed omnia per eius noticiam agantur. ⁶ Si uero inuenta fuerit, quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur, graui paenitentiae sententia corripiatur, quia delicti fomitem abbatissae uoluit occultare.

VII. ABOUT NOT REVEALING THE CONFESSIONS OF THE SISTERS

¹ The abbess, prioress or any of the elder sisters to whom it is entrusted by the abbess that she receives confessions, should by no means make lesser crimes or the greatest ones known, except only to the just judge who washes away the crimes of all who confess. ² For she who has confessed her wounds in shame, has confessed not for the purpose of receiving disgrace but for the purpose of restoring health, having God as a just witness from whom she also expects that he heals her. ³ But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendor of her own mind. ⁴ But none of the nuns should dare to receive confession or impose a penance without the order of the abbess, ⁵ lest a committed vice be concealed from the abbes, but everything is to be done with her knowledge. ⁶ But if [a sister] is found who dares to violate this purpose of the rule, she is to be reproached with a severe sentence of penance, because she wanted to hide the tinder (*fomes*) of an offence from the abbess.

Apparatus biblicus

7.1 iusto iudicii] cfr Ps. 7, 12; II Tim. 4, 8

Apparatus criticus

7.title codd.: *M K*; edd. *h ma*

7.1-6 codd.: *M F' V T P A K*; edd.: *me h ma c*

7.title MANFESTANDIS *M^{ac}* | **7.1** uel² *c*] aut *V W P A* | soorum *M^{ac}* | ab] *add. M* | fuerit commissum] *tr. c* | soli *V T P A^{pc}* | **7.2** enim *h* | uerecunde *V T P A c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | uerecundae *M F' W* | **7.5** omnia per eius] ei omnia per *c*, eius omnia per *V T* | notiam *M^{ac}* | **7.6** hunc] hoc *V P A^{pc} me h* | sentia *M^{ac} T*, scientia *h*

Apparatus fontium

Fortleben

7 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 15.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VII

Commentary and parallels

Monastic rules on the secrecy of confession: *RBas* 122, 200 | *2RP* 2.13 | *ROr* 32.1-2 | *RBen* 46.5-6 | *RT* 8.1-3 | *RFer* 39 | *RM* 80 | *RBen* 27.3; 46.5-6 | *RI* 13.3

7.1 On the abbess hearing confession: *VCol* II.22.

7.2 *Mederi* (metaphorically): *RcuiV* 1.13; 7.2; 20.4 | *Salutem redintegrandam*: *VCol* II.6: ...*et ueteres maculas delens, omnia saluti redintegret.* | *Iustus iudex*: *VCol* I.28; II.10 and esp. II.19: II.24.

7.2-3 Both the “medical” aspect of confession and the harm that confession could cause to unauthorized ears are described in *RBas* 200.

7.3 *Cum grauitate et moderatione* (different context): *RBen* 42.11 | *RBen* 70.3 prescribes that sins have to be reproached in presence of the entire community as a deterrent.

7.4-6 Cfr *RBen* 70.2.

7.6 *VCol* I.19: *uiolare conaris.*

VIII. QVALITER AD SIGNVM DOMINICVM SVRGENDVM EST

¹ Quandocumque uel **diurnis** uel nocturnis **horis ad opus diuinum signum** insonuerit, **mox cum summa festinatione** surgendum est, ac **si** praeco regis insonet, **omni opere, quod in manibus** habebatur, postposito, ² ut **nihil operi Dei praeponatur**, sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi Dei innixa ³ **cum** omni **grauitate** et mansuetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina **currat**. ⁴ Quod si **morose** et segniter ueniens **post primi psalmi, qui** in cursu canitur, finem, nouerit se a **suo ordine**, dum cursus expletur, reuocari, [fol. 210^{va}] ⁵ ut **in loco ultimo** posita, id est **in eo loco, qui talibus neglegentibus** fuerit deputatus **adstare** et ibi cum **uerecundiae** metu expectare, ⁶ et post **inpletum** cursum proluxa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium **satisfacere**. ⁷ **Nam foris** omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae **dormiant aut** in aliquo **maligno** hosti adeundi detur occasio. ⁸ **Intus** etenim

posita **nec totum perdit**, quod coeperat, et uerecundia ac metu frangitur, dum **ab omnibus uidetur**. ⁹ Et quando caeterae expleto **officio** foras egrediuntur, illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita duodecim psalmos supra cursus seriem cantet. ¹⁰ Si uero ex toto cursum suum perdiderit, praecipuae nocturnis horis, in quibus nullum aliud opus inedit, superpositione damnetur.

¹¹ **Horas** uero ad cursum **procurare** iuxta dispensationem **abbatissae** debet cuicumque ordinatum fuerit, id est quae mente **sollicita** et inpigra fuerit ad hoc opus idonea inuenta, **ut opus Dei** non tardetur. ¹² Si uero qualibet occasione a iusto ordine deuiatum fuerit, ut non secundum suum ordinem horae custodiantur, superpositione damnetur.

VIII. HOW ONE OUGHT TO RISE AT THE SIGN OF THE LORD

¹ Whenever the sign for the divine work at the Hours of the day or the night resounds, one ought to rise directly with the greatest hurry, as if the announcer of the King resounds. And they should lay aside all work that was held in their hands, ² in order that nothing is set before the work of God. But the mind, which is attentive to the sound of the announcer and inclined to the work of God, ³ should move swiftly with all dignity and gentleness to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love. ⁴ But if someone comes slowly and sluggishly after the end of the first Psalm that is sung in the service, she should know that she is recalled from her rank until the service is completed. ⁵ Put in the most distant place, that is in that place which is assigned to such negligent nuns, she should stay there and wait with the fear of shame. ⁶ After the completion of the service she should give satisfaction through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave. ⁷ For they should by no means be set apart outside, lest they sleep because they were kept from sleep, or an opportunity is given to the enemy to approach them with something malign ⁸ Because the one who is placed inside does not lose the entirety of what she had begun, and she is crushed by shame and fear, while she is being watched by everyone. ⁹ And when the others go outside after completing the service, she who is placed in the church because of her tardiness, should sing twelve Psalms on top of the series of the service. ¹⁰ But if she misses her service entirely, especially during the Hours of the night, at which nothing else constrains the work [of God], she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.

¹¹ A nun who has been appointed by the arrangement of the abbess, that is, who has been found suitable for this work because of her passionate and energetic mind, must make provisions for the Hours of the service, so that the work of God is not delayed. ¹² But if for whatever reason a digression from the just order occurs, so that the Hours are not kept according to their order, she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.

Apparatus biblicus

Apparatus criticus

8.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

8.1-12 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

8.1-3 *ed.*: *s*

8.5-7 (id est...satisfacere) *ed.*: *s*

8.7-12 *ed.*: *s*

8.1 Quandocumque] De excommunicatione *in marg.* *M* | **8.2** sonito *M^{ac}* | **8.3** pietati *me h* | **8.4** Quod] Et *h* | veniat *me h* | suo ordine] suordine *M^{ac}* | reuoca *M^{ac}* | **8.5** ut] et *me h* | positam *h* | eo loco] loco ultimo *s* | deputatus] iubeatur *add. s* | **8.6** inpletum] expletum *me h* | coetum] ceteram *M²* | **8.7** detente *M^{ac}* | **8.9** super *K h* | **8.10** alium *h* | impendit *M² K me h s* | suppositione *h* | **8.11** iuxta] see commentary | procurere *F' V W P* | impigra *M² K me h s* | **8.12** suum ordinem] *tr. s c* | suppositione *h*

Apparatus fontium

8.1-10 *RBen* 43.1-9: De his qui ad opus Dei uel ad mensam tarde occurrunt

Ad horam diuini officii, mox auditus fuerit **signus**, relictis **omnibus** quaelibet fuerint **in manibus, summa cum festinatione curratur**, ² **cum grauitate** tamen, ut non scurrilitas inueniat fomitem. ³ Ergo **nihil operi Dei praeponatur**. ⁴ Quod **si** quis in nocturnis uigiliis post gloriam psalmi nonagesimi quarti, quem propter hoc omnino subtrahendo et **morose** uolumus dici, occurrerit, non **stet in ordine suo** in choro, ⁵ sed **ultimus** omnium **stet** aut **in loco quem talibus neglegentibus** seorsum constituerit abbas, ut **uideantur** ab ipso uel **ab omnibus**, ⁶ usque dum **completo** opere Dei publica **satisfactione** paeniteat. ⁷ Ideo autem eos **in ultimo** aut seorsum iudicauimus debere **stare** ut, **uisi ab omnibus**, uel pro ipsa **uerecundia** sua emendent; ⁸ **nam**, si **foris** oratorium remaneant, erit forte talis qui se **aut** re collocet et **dormit**, aut certe sedit sibi foris uel fabulis uacat, et datur occasio **maligno**; ⁹ sed ingrediantur **intus**, ut **nec totum perdant** et de reliquo emendent. ¹⁰ **Diurnis** autem **horis**, qui **ad opus Dei post** uersum et gloriam **primi psalmi, qui** post uersum dicitur, non occurrerit, lege, qua supra diximus, **in ultimo stent**, ¹¹ nec praesumant sociari choro psallentium usque ad **satisfactionem**, nisi forte abbas licentiam dederit remissione sua, ¹² ita tamen, ut **satisfaciat** reus ex hoc.

8.11-12 *RBen* 47.1: Nuntianda **hora operis Dei** dies noctesque sit **cura abbatis**: aut ipse nuntiare aut tali **sollicito** fratri iniungat hanc **curam, ut** omnia horis competentibus compleantur.

Fortleben

8.1-10 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 52.34, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII

- 8.11-12** Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 54.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII
8.1-3 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.3, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magister ait “Quandocumque...
8.5-7 (id est...satisfacere) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.7, attributed to Cassian
8.7-10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.9, *inc.* Hinc et alibi scriptum legimus “Nam...
8.11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 47.1, *inc.* Hinc quidam pater ait “Horas...
8.12 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 47.1, following a fragment from Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17: ...uel eadem festinus anticipet”, “Si uero qualibet...

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules on punctuality at prayer: *RPac Pr* 3; 5; 9-10; 121 | *RBas* 75 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; IV.12 | *RCas* 16-17; 39.2 | *2RP* 6.31-39 | *ROr* 12 | *3RP* 6 | *CaesRV* 12 | *CaesRM* 11.2-3 | *RAM* 30 | *RAV* 24 | *RT* 5.1 | *RFer* 13 | *RPS* 4 | *RM* 11.114-117; 32-33, 54-55, 73 | *RI* 6.1 | *RColC* 14 | *RcuiP* 31 | *RD* 13-14 | *Institutio canonicorum* 126-121 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 15-17 | *Memoriale qualiter* I I.1, pp. 231-232 ; III.9, pp. 239-240 | *Memoriale qualiter* II I.1, p. 268.

References to liturgy and communal prayer in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.17-19; 3.12; 6.13-16; 6.23; 6.24; 6.26; 6.29; 9.8; 10.7; 10.13-16; 12.9-11; 12.16-17; 12.24; 12.28; 14.15; 19.5

8.title *Signum dominicum* is unique. Other rules use *signum*.

8.1-3 Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.12 | *Memoriale qualiter* I I.1, p. 230: ...*et sic ad oratorium festinet psallendo psalmum Ad te, domine, leuauit animam meam, cum summa reuerentia et cautela intrans...*; I.3, pp. 233-234: *Cum autem inchoante aurora diei signum sonauerit, omnes festinantes occurrant cum hilaritate cordis, quasi deum clementem ac misericordem sibi placabilem factum, Matutinas Laudes, prompta mente, uocibus modulatis, nec nimis producte, nec multum correpte, cum summa grauitate et honestate persoluere*; III.9, p. 239: *Cum ad opus diuinum horis canonicis auditum fuerit signum, sicut continetur in regula, relinquentes statim quicquid in manibus est, sic tamen ut non pereat, tunc conueniant simul ad introitum oratorii...*; IV, p. 250: *Cito ad oratorium hora canonica audito signo recurrant*. Similar *Memoriale qualiter* II I.1, p. 268; I.3, p. 269; VII, p. 280. | The use of *praeco* in combination of *insonere/sonitum* needs an explanation. Possibly it is the person mentioned in *RcuiV* 8.11 who is in charge of the nightly service. Therefore the nuns have not only to follow this call but also listen to it with their mind (*mente intenta*). Cfr also *De accedendo* 26; *VCol* II.4; *VIoh* 4.

8.1 *Opus diuinum*: cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.12; *RBen* 19.2; *RM* 54.1. Jonas otherwise uses *opus Dei*, which is also the preferred term in the *Regula Benedicti*.

8.3 *VCol* II.4: *Grates simul parentes conditori referunt*; II.6: *Gratias deinde refert omnipotenti*. | *V. Bertilae* 2: *Cum omni enim grauitate et mansuetudine*.

8.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 2.17-19. | *nouerit se*: *RBen* 27.6; 63.8.

8.5-6 This sentence is corrupt. The *ut*-clause has no finite verb. A main verb is missing in the sentence. | Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; *RcuiP* 31.1-2.

8.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 65.1-3. Migne and Ménard emendated *ut* with *et* against the manuscript evidence. Their reading makes more sense. *Ut* is retained as *lectio difficilior*.

8.6 *VCol* II.10: *uerecundiae metu pepulit*; cfr also *RcuiV* 8.5.

8.7 Cfr *RPac Pr* 11; *2RP* 6.32/37; *RT* 6.1; *RPS* 5. | Cfr Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II.4 on a monk wandering around outside during prayer because he was possessed by a demon.

8.8 *Frangere*: *RcuiV* 20.7; *VCol* I.7; I.19; II.7; II.9. It also appears in Visigothic rules. | *Cooperunt*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.14-15.

8.9 *RColC* 12: *Et qui non audierit sonitus orationum XII psalmos*. | Additional prayer as form of penance does not appear in the *RB*. | *In ecclesia posita* (also in *RcuiV* 11.2): *VCol* I.17; I.20.

8.10 Cfr *RColC* 14, but without *superpositio*. | The precise meaning of *superpositio* is unclear. See p. §.

8.11 Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; *RM* 31.1-32.4; 52.3; *RD* 15.1-2. | *V. Austrobertae* 16 tells a miracle of a nun who almost failed to awaken the community in time for service. When the nuns finally gathered in the church, the dormitory collapsed. Cfr also *VIoh* 16. | On *iuxta*: a number of manuscripts of Smaragdus *Expositio Regulae* provide *iusta* instead of *iuxta*, which cannot be supported by the stemma but makes a lot more sense: Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemilian. 26, s. X; Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 1, s. IX^{ex}; Valvanera, Archivo del Monasterio, A.D. 954; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275), s. IX^{ex}, cfr ed. Engelbert/Spannagel, p. 270.

VIII. QVALITER IN MONASTERIO SILENTII REGVLAM VEL DIRVNO OPERE VEL AD MENSAM DEBEANT CVSTODIRE, VEL AD MENSAM QVOMODO SIT LEGENDVM

¹ REGULAM SILENTII **omni tempore** seruandam sanctarum SCRIPTURARum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *CULTUS IUSTITIAE SILENTIUM ET PAX*. ² TACENDUM namque EST ab OTIOSIS et friuolis et **scurrilibus** et prauis et malitiosis FABULIS, [fol. 210^{vb}] ³ de quibus Propheta orabat, dicens: *Pone Domine custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala*. ⁴ Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne DAMNATIONIS per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat, ⁵ quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de OTIOSO iuxta Domini praeceptum RATIONEM sumus REDDITURI. ⁶ Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?

⁷ Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad completam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae comitatum loquendum est. ⁸ Ab hora uero **completionis**, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, **nulla** omnino **loqui** praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit. ⁹ Cui ab abbatissa fuerit ordinatum, loqui studeat, uel etiam a praeposita quae curam aliorum portat. ¹⁰ Ad mensam uero nulla penitus praeter abbatissam uel cui abbatissa praeceperit pro communi NECESSITATE sororum loqui praesumat, ¹¹

sed omnes intento animo gratias reddentes creatori in cordibus suis, cibi ac potus solidae mensurae largitione fruuntur.

¹² Portaria uero, quae pro **necessariis** causis ad eloquium expetierit, **abbatissae** loqui permittatur, quia forsitan talis **superuenit** necessitas, quae moram habere non debeat.

¹³ Ante mensam uero semper capitulus regulae unus aut amplius, si abbatissae placuerit, legatur, [fol. 211^a] ¹⁴ ut, cum cibus carnem reficit, lectio animam satiet. ¹⁵ Haec omnia **cum grauitate** animi **et moderatione** leni **fiant**, quatenus in his omnibus Dominus delectetur. ¹⁶ Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollemnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda, ¹⁷ si ex permissu abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus, ¹⁸ sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce LOQUANTUR, ne GARRULA uoce in sonum PRORUMPentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur. ¹⁹ Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio Scripturarum, quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum. ²⁰ Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis studeant custodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere. ²¹ Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae, necessaria conloquantur.

VIII. HOW THEY SHOULD GUARD THE RULE OF SILENCE IN THE MONASTERY BOTH IN DAILY WORK AND AT TABLE, AND HOW READING SHOULD BE DONE AT TABLE

¹ A series of Holy Scriptures has demonstrated that the rule of silence ought to be kept at all times, as it is said through the Prophet: *The service of justice is silence and peace.* ² For one ought to refrain from idle, silly, ludicrous, improper and malicious stories, ³ about which the Prophet used to say in prayer: *O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words.* ⁴ Indeed, one has to cease from superfluous stories, lest the soul catches the fruit of damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind, ⁵ since we are to give account not only of ludicrous or unjust but also of idle talk, according to the precept of the Lord. ⁶ What else should a nun strive for, other than to devote herself, both with the speech of the mouth and the desire of the soul, only to God, to whom she once and for all directed her desire?

7 Therefore, during all the daily Hours, from the Second Hour until Compline, except at table, whatever the usefulness for the sacred rule demands should be said by permission of the abbess. 8 But from the Hour of Compline, when prayer is given in order to obtain sleep, no one should dare to speak at all, unless a major need the monastery demands it. 9 Whoever is ordered by the abbess – or also by the prioress, who takes care of the others – should be eager to speak. 10 But at table no one should dare to speak at all except the abbess, or one whom the abbess orders to speak on behalf of the common necessity of the sisters, 11 but with attentive mind (*animus*) all should give thanks to the Creator in their hearts and enjoy the dispensation of a substantial quantity of food and drink.

12 But the porter, who for necessary reasons asks to speak, should be allowed by the abbess to do so, because perhaps such a necessity arises that should have no delay.

13 But let one chapter of the rule always be read before table, or more if it pleases the abbess, 14 so that reading may satiate the soul while food feeds the flesh. 15 All this should happen with a dignity of the mind and gentle moderation, to the extent that in everything the Lord may be pleased. 16 But on the feast days of the Lord, that is at the day of the birth of the Lord, the feast of Easter and of Epiphany and at Pentecost, or if there are any other special sacred feasts of the Lord or of holy martyrs are to be celebrated, 17 we do not forbid to speak at table if it happens by permission of the abbess, 18 but in such a way, that they speak with a lowered voice and not with an unrestrained one, lest that for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged. 19 And it should be such a conversation on the basis of a discussion of the Scriptures that it creates profit and not harm to the soul.

20 Those who receive silence as a penance should altogether be eager to keep it, so that they deserve to obtain the fruit through genuine mortification.

21 But two [sisters] who are placed at whatever place, should by no means dare to speak without a third one as witness, but they should always speak what is necessary when they are put together [in groups of] three.

Apparatus biblicus

9.1 Cfr Is. 32, 17 | **9.3** Ps. 140/141, 3-4 (*LXX*) | **9.5** Cfr Matth. 12, 36

Apparatus criticus

9.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

9.1-10 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

9.1-3 (Regulam...meis) *ed.: s*

9.8-10 *ed.: s*

9.11-18 *codd.: M F W K; edd.: me h c*

9.title QVOMO *M* | **9.2** Tacendum...dicens] et illud *s* | **9.3** mala *W*] malitiae *c* | **9.7** praeterquam *me h* | hora *M^{pc}* | **9.8** completionis *M^{pc}* | **9.9** ab *M² K h ma s c*] *om. M* | a *me h s c*] *om. M* | aliarum *h* | **9.10** abbatissa] ipse *s c* | **9.12** ad eloquium] alloquium *h* | abbatissae] abbatis *F W*, abbati *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | supervenerit *h* | **9.13** capitulum *F me h* | unum *F me h* | **9.16** Theophania *h* | pentecostes] pente *M^{ac}*

Apparatus fontium

9.1 *RColM 2*: SILENTII REGULA diligenter custodienda decernitur, quia scriptum est: *CULTUS* autem *IUSTITIAE SILENTIUM ET PAX* (cfr Is. 32, 17). Et ideo ne reatus de uerbositate conquiratur. exceptis utilitatibus ac NECESSARIIS opus est ut taceatur, quia iuxta SCRIPTURAM *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum* (Prou. 10. 19). Idcirco saluator ait: *Ex uerbis tuis iustificaberis et ex uerbis tuis condemnaberis* (Matth. 12, 37). Iuste DAMNABUNTUR qui iusta dicere noluerunt cum potuerunt, sed mala iniusta impia inania iniuriosa incerta falsa contentiosa contumeliosa turpia FABULOSA blasphema aspera ac flexuosa LOQUI GARRULA uerbositate maluerunt. TACENDUM igitur EST de his et talibus et cum cautela et ratione loquendum est ne aut detractiones aut tumidae contradictiones in loquacitate uitiosa PRORUMPant.

RColC 15: In OMNI loco et opere SILENTII REGULA magnopere custodiri censetur, ut omne quantum ualuerit humana fragilitas, quae prono ad uitia praecipitari solet cursu oris, mundemur uitio, aedificationemque potius proximorum, pro quibus saluator noster Iesus sanctum effudit sanguinem, quam delacerationem absentium in pectore conceptam et OTIOSA passim uerba, de quibus iusto sumus retributori RATIONEM REDDITURI, ore promamus.

RBen 42.1: **Omni tempore silentium** debent studere monachi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis.

9.2 *RBen 6.8*: **Scurrilitates** uero uel uerba **otiosa** et risum mouentia aeterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aperire os non permittimus.

9.8-12 *RBen 42.8-11* ...omnes ergo in unum positi **compleant** et, exeuntes **a completoriis**, **nulla** sit licentia denuo cuiquam **loqui** aliquid – 9 quod si inuentus fuerit quisquam praeuaricare hanc taciturnitatis regulam, graui uindictae subiaceat – 10 excepto si **necessitas** hospitem **superuenerit** aut forte **abbas** alicui aliquid iusserit, 11 quod tamen et ipsud **cum** summa **grauitate et moderatione** honestissima **fiat**.

Fortleben

9.1-9 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 51.8, *inc.* Ex regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII

9.1-3 (Regulam...meis) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 52.1, *inc.* Hinc et alibi legitur “Regulam...

9.8-9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 42.11, *inc.* Hinc et alibi scriptum legitur “Ab...

9.10- 11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 38.9, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magistri ait “Ad...

9.10-16 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 47.14, *inc.* Ex regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on silence in other monastic rules: *RPac Pr* 8; 33; 59; 60; 86; 88; 94; *RPac Inst* 18; *RPac Iud* 10 | *RBas* 12; 40; 130; 136-137 | *EuagMon* 47; 94 | *RIVP* 4.13; 5.2-6 | *2RP* 2.11-12;

6.39; 7.46 | *RMac* 15.7-8; 18 | *ROr* 5; 36; 44 | *3RP* 7 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.17 | *CaesRV* 9.3; 10; 18.2-3; 19.2-5; 20.1-2 | *CaesRM* 8-9 | *RAM* 35; 49 | *RAV* 32 | *RT* 2.4; 8.8-10; 9.4 | *RFer* 24-25; 29 | *RPS* 37 | *RM* 8-9; 11.30-62; 30; 47; 50.19-26; 68 | *RBen* 6; 7.57-61; 38.5-7; 42.1/9-11; 48.5; 52.1 | *RLea* 30 | *RI* 3.3; 9.2; 13.2-3 | *RFruc* 2; 6; 16 | *RColM* 2 | *RColC* 15 | *RcuiP* 8; 16 | *RD* 3.51-54; 4.1; 16.2-4; 17.8; 17.10; 18.3; 19; 20.2-16; 21.6-7; 25.3; 28; 32-33; 35; 37.17; 45-47; 49; 52; 71; 75.14-16 | *Ordo Casinensis* I.10 | *Memoriale qualiter I* III.8, pp. 238-239; IV, pp. 241-251; V.11, pp. 254-255; VI.17-18, pp. 259-260 | Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum* XVII.1.

References to silence and controlled speech in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.4-6; 3.7-10; 4.11; 4.19-22; 7.3; 12.9-12; 12.18-19; 12.22; 14.5-8; 14.15; 19.9-11; 22.4-5; 22.22-23; 23.7

9.1 Cfr *RBen* 7.56-58. | Is. 32, 17 (Vulgate): *Et erit opus iustitiae pax, et cultus iustitiae silentium, et securitas usque in sempiternum*. It is quoted as *cultus autem iustitiae, silentium et pax* in *RColM* 2 and *RD* 49.1, possibly on the basis of Ps.-Jerome, *Breuiarium in psalmos*, Ps XXXVIII, *PL* 26, col. 998A, which formed the basis of Columbanus' lost commentary on the Psalms according to Walker, *Columbani Opera*, p. LXIV. | *Scripturarum series* (also *RcuiV* 6.1): *VCol* I.3; II.9. I assume that *scripturae* refers to biblical books, though we should not be entirely sure. It might also refer to the *sancti patres*.

9.2 Cfr Columbanus, *Instructio* 13.1.

9.3 Ps. 140/141, 3-4 (*LXX*): *RFer* 22.2; *RM* 11.44; 30.12.

9.4 Cfr *CaesRV* 19.2-5. | *Ineffrenatus* is extremely rare.

9.5 Cfr *RcuiP* 8.4.

9.6 On perseverance after conversion: *RcuiV* 1.15; 3.1; 17.3 | *semel*: *RcuiV* 14.8; 17.3.

9.7 Cfr *CaesRV* 18.2.

9.8 *Oratio ad somnum capiendum*, see commentary *RcuiV* 10.1. *RM* 30.1-10 includes such a prayer before going to sleep. | Silence after Compline: *RM* 30.11-27; *V. Aldegundis* 12. | *VIoh* 16: *cum somno caperet*. | *VCol* I.30: *ad monasterii necessitatem*; *V. Sadalbergae* 20: *quod in talibus rebus adesse necessitas poposcit*.

9.9 *RBen* 7.56; 42.10.

9.10 Cfr *2RP* 7.46; *RT* 8.8; *RColC* 1; *RcuiP* 16.1. | *VCol* II.7: *pro communi necessitate*; *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, pp. 237-238: *in communi necessitate*; *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

9.13-14 Reading at table: *AugOM* 7; *AugPraec* III.2; *CaesRV* 18.6; *CaesRM* 9; *RAM* 49; *RAV* 32; *RT* 8.10-12; *RPS* 16; 18; *RM* 24.4-5; 24.15; *RBen* 38.1; *RI* 9.2; *RFruc* 3; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17 | Reading the *regula*: *3RP* 1.4; *RAM* 1; *RAV* 1; *RFer* 5.4; *RBen* 58.12-13; 66.8; *RT* 23.15; *RPS* 41; *RM* 79.24; 87.3; 89.1/8; 90.5; 90.64; *RFruc* 2; *RD* 6.8; *Memoriale qualiter II* II.6, pp. 270-271.

9.13 On physical and spiritual nourishment, cfr *VIoh* 8.

9.14 Cfr *CaesRV* 18.2-6; *RM* 24.5; *RI* 9: *Et sicut illis corporalis cibus refectionem carnis praestat, ita mentem eorum spiritalis sermo reficiat*. | Cfr also Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 17.

9.15 Cfr *RBen* 7.59-61.

9.16 A similar listing of feast days appears only in a forged donation charter of Dagobert I for the monastery of St. Denis to 633/634, *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, vol. 1, no. 44, p. 116: *nec curiam nostram solempnem celebrabimus aut tenebimus in solempnitatibus dierum Pasche, Pentecostes, Natalis et Theophanie*. | *Festa* for feast day: *RcuiV* 10.7; 10.9; 12.1; 12.14,

also in *CaesRM* 25.1; *RAM* 55; *RAV* 40; *RPS* 10.1; *RM* 25; 27; 39; 43; 45; 81. Other rules (including *RBen*) use *festiuitas*; *CaesRV* uses both terms.

9.17-20 Cfr *RM* 9.49-51.

9.17 Cfr *2RP* 7.46; *CaesRV* 18.2; *RT* 8.10; *RcuiP* 16.1.

9.18 Cfr *RBen* 6.8; *RColC* 5; *RD* 49.9. | *garrula uoce: RColM* 2 | *Sic tamen*, cfr commentary to *RcuiV* 1.6.

9.19 Cfr *RIVP* 2.42; *RcuiP* 8.6. | The juxtaposition of *damnum* and *lucrum* appears in *RBas* 75 in a different context.

9.20 Cfr *RcuiV* 12.12

9.21 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.8; 12.18-19; *RLea* 30.

X. DE RATIONE MENSÆ QUALITER ADMINISTRANDVM VEL OBSERVANDVM SIT

¹ Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobriaetate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum, ² ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes. ³ Ministrandum namque est omnibus aequa libratione tam potus quam cibus, prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint. ⁴ Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus **duo** fercula, exceptis **pomorum** donis, de **leguminibus** uel de holeribus conferta, seu [fol. 211^b] farinae qualibet consparsione. ⁵ Omnibus etenim aequa mensura ministrandum, praeter si aetas infirmior, quae sustinere non ualeat, aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. ⁶ Potus uero, si sycerae liquoris, id est ceruisae, mensura solita tribuatur. ⁷ Si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit, si labor uel festus dies uel hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitaerit, uini potio augenda est. ⁸ Et si duabus uicibus reficiendum sit, praeter uini potionem similis regula seruetur. ⁹ Festis uero diebus pro reuerentia sacrae sollemnitatis pluribus cibus, id est ternis uel quaternis ferculis, sunt corpora reficienda, ¹⁰ sic tamen, ut si pluriora sunt cibaria, numero sint minora, ¹¹ ut corpora necessario cibo reficiantur, non nimia saturitate damnentur.

¹² Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur. ¹³ Quando in mensam cibus administratur, nulla prius cibum comedat, quam signum ad benedicendum insonet. ¹⁴ Abbatissa uero uigilet, ut confestim cum cibus ministratus fuerit signum tangere procuret. Et omnes, cum signum audierint, una uoce benedictionem rogent. ¹⁵ Quarum uocem abbatissa subsequatur dicens: Dominus dignetur benedicere. ¹⁶ Hoc ad omnia fercula uel pomorum ac potus administrationem obseruandum est.

¹⁷ Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere ab altera praesumat, praeter [fol. 211^{va}] abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatisa commissum est.

¹⁸ Si uero aut nouitate aut temeritate aliqua haec, quae supra diximus, fuerit transgressa, disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia.

X. ON THE ORDER OF THE TABLE: HOW IT SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED AND OBSERVED

¹ It has to be pondered by the wisdom of the abbess with how much uniformity and austerity the organization and the observance of the table should proceed, ² so that the tinder of piety is strong in all [sisters], as it behooves the servants of God. ³ In fact, all are to be served both drink and food in equal measure, as the season, feast days, [days of] abstinence or the daily practice requires. ⁴ Indeed, we decide that on regular days, aside from the gifts of fruit, two dishes suffice, which are filled with legumes or vegetables and some sort of pastry of flour. ⁵ For everyone is to be served with equal measure, unless a weaker age, which does not have the strength to sustain, or a sickness of the body, or the untrained novelty of a recent conversion cannot endure [this]. This has to be considered by the judgement of the abbess. ⁶ But drink, if it is of fermented fluid, that is to say beer, should be given according to the accustomed measure. ⁷ If it is the wish of the abbess, the drink of wine is to be increased if work or a feast day or the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this. ⁸ And if there must be two meals eaten, the same rule should be observed, aside from the drink of wine. ⁹ But on feast days the bodies are to be nourished with more food, that is to say, with a third or fourth dish, out of reverence for the sacred feast, ¹⁰ but in such a way that if there are more dishes, they should be smaller in size, ¹¹ so that the bodies are fed with necessary food and not condemned by too great a satiety.

¹² When the sisters sit at table, no one should lift up her eyes and look at another when she is eating, nor should she gaze at the share of someone else's food or drink with hostile consideration. ¹³ When food is served at table, no one should eat food before the sign for the blessing resounds. ¹⁴ But the abbess should be watchful that she goes ahead with striking the sign immediately when the food is served. And all the sisters should ask for the blessing with one

voice when they hear the sign. ¹⁵ The abbess should follow their voice with the words: “May the Lord deign to bless.” ¹⁶ This is to be observed for all dishes and the serving of fruit and drink.

¹⁷ We decide in particular that no one should dare to give to another from her share or to receive anything from another, except for the abbess or the prioress to whom it is enjoined by the abbess.

¹⁸ But if anyone, on account of novelty or thoughtlessness, transgresses what we have said above, she should be corrected by the punishment of the rule in keeping with the boldness of having dared to be presumptuous.

Apparatus biblicus

10.2 Cfr II Cor. 6, 4

Apparatus criticus

10.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

10.1-18 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

10.9-11 (sufficere...pomis) *ed.*: *s*

10.13 *ed.*: *s*

10.14-15 (Et omnes...benedicere) *ed.*: *s*

10.17 *ed.*: *s*

10.1 debet *c* | abbatis *c*, abbas *F' V W* | **10.2** religionis *M² K me h* | **10.3** namque est] *tr.* *c* | aequali *h* | **10.4** cotidianis] de cibis *add. in marg. M* | de¹] *om. c* | holeribus] oleribus *K h* | **10.6** improbata *M² K me h* | **10.6** si] *om. T K h c (coni. Bonnerue)* | ceruise *K*, cervisiae *h* | **10.7** abbatissae] *om. c* | uino *M^{ac} c* | **10.9** pluribus cibis *F' me h s*] pluriore cibis *ω M V W T P A c* | **10.10** plura *me h* | **10.12** consideratione] oculorum *add. F' W A* | **10.17** praecipuae *M^{ac}*

Apparatus fontium

10.4 *RBen* 39.3: Ergo **duo** pulmentaria cocta fratribus omnibus sufficiant et, si fuerit unde **poma** aut nascentia **leguminum**, addatur et tertium.

Fortleben

10 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 48.10, *inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam*

10.9-11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3, combined with a quotation from *RM* 26.1 (sufficere... pomis)

10.13 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3

10.14-15 (Et omnes...benedicere) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3

10.17 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules and saints' lives on eating, drinking and fasting: *RPac Pr* 28-46; 54; 64; 73-80 | *RBas* 9.9-22; 48; 57; 88-91; 97; 128; 181 | *EuagMon* 38-39; 97 | *AugOM* 8 | *AugPraec* III.1-5 | *RIVP* 3.1-7 | Cassian, *Institutiones* V.17; V | *RCas* 4; 18; 35-36 | *RMac* 29 |

ROr 36-38 | *3RP* 11 | *CaesRV* 12.2; 13.2; 14; 30.2-3; 39; 41-42; 67; 71 | *CaesRM* 9, 22, 24 | *RAM* 7; 50-53; *ordo conuiuii* | *RAV* 5; 34-36; *ordo conuiuii* | John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines* | *RT* 9.14-15; 10.1-4 | *RFer* 27; 35; 39.16-33 | *RPS* 16-21 | *RM* 19-28; 38; 53; 59; 61-62; 72; 73.8-12; 74; 77-78; 84; 90.4; 90.26 | *RBen* 35; 39-41; 49; 51; 56; 63.18 | *RLea* 13; 18-19; 24 | *RI* 9-11 | *RFruc* 3; 17-18 | *RCom* 5-6 | *RColM* 3 | *RColC* 1; 3; 8; 9; 13; 14; 15 | *RcuiP* 11 | *RD* 25; 33; 36; 58; 67; 76 | *Ordo Casinensis* II.1 | Theodomar, *Ep. ad Karolum regem* 4 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 250 | *Memoriale qualiter II* IV.8, pp. 271-272; V, pp. 274-275; VI.17, p. 276; VII, pp. 277-281 | *Institutio canonicorum* 121-122 | *Historia monachorum* III.2-3 | Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum* I.3; XI.1 | *V. Anstrudis* 17

References to eating and drinking, cooking and baking in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:
3.18-19; 3.21; 3.23-24; 9.4; 9.10-19; 11; 12.18-29; 15.7; 19.4-9; 24.7-11

10.1 The author of the *RcuiV* tends to turn the authority of the abbess into the true agent. We find similar expressions in *RcuiV* 10.5: *quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est*; 12.6: *hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est*; 16.1 *abbatissae iudicio pensandum est*; 19.3: *Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum*; 24.10: *abbatis arbitrio pensandum est*. These constructions do not appear in other monastic rules. | The expression *obseruatio mensae* appears in no other source. | This sentence may be inspired by Cassiodorus, *Variae* VII.14, *MGH AA* 12, p. 211: *Sed quantum amministratio tua inter mediocres agitur, tanta debet aequalitate trutinari...* | Compare the sentence structure to *RcuiV* 13.1-2.

10.2 Similar statements, all using *ut in omnibus*, can be found in *RcuiV* 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11 and in *VCol* II.11: *ut in omnibus paratam habeat*; II.12: *ut in omnibus sancti Spiritus gratia in ea uideretur flagrare*.

10.4 *RI* 9: *In utrisque temporibus refectio mensae tribus erit pulmentis; olerum scilicet et leguminum; et si quid tertium fuerit idem pomorum*. | *Conspario farinae*: *RColM* 3; *RPac Pr* 116. Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 4; 15; 21 and *V. Sadalbergae* 22 might refer to similar dishes. | *Decernimus*, see p. 5.

10.5 *Nouitas improbata/nouitas non probata*: cfr *RcuiV* 14.12 (in no other monastic text, but compare *RT* 4.3 on the use of *nouitas*). | *abbatissae iudicio*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1. | Special food regulations for the young and the sick, cfr *RPac Pr* 40-46; *RAM* 53; *RM* 26.14; *RcuiP* 11.2-3; *RColC* 13.

10.6-7 In *RcuiV* 9.11 we find *mensura solida* (substantial measure). It is possible that this is meant here as well. On drinking wine and the size of the portions of wine, cfr Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, prologue II.10-13; *Historia monachorum* III.1; *CaesRV* 30.4; *CaesRM* 19.19; *RFer* 39.24-33; *RM* 27; 30.7; *RBen* 40; 53.10-11; *RFruc* 3; *RcuiP* 11.5; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10. The *RBen* and the *RM* allow to drink wine; *RcuiP* 11.5 prohibits it altogether. The *RcuiV* may be influenced by Jerome's strong advice to sacred virgins to abstain from wine except in cases of illness: *Epistula 22 ad Eustochium* 8. Jerome's letter is the only other source using *uini potio*. The custom to serve wine at the arrival of guest is mentioned in *V. Sadalbergae* 20; see also John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines* on not drinking with guests.

10.7 On the arrival of guests, cfr *RM* 72; *RBen* 53.10; *V. Sadalbergae* 15; 20; 23.

10.8 Cfr *RBen* 40.5-7.

10.9 *De uirtutibus Geretrudis* 11: the feast of Gertrud gives reason for a *conuiuium*, even if it falls on the last Friday of Lent. | *VCol* I.9: *ut cum dominicis festis uel quorumlibet sanctorum sacrae sollempnitatis adpropinquaret aduentus*.

10.11 *RColM 3 | RI 9.4-5: Per omnem autem hebdomadam fratres uiles olerum cibos ac pallengia utantur legumina. (...) Non erit usque ad satietatem reficiendum corpus, ne forte intereat animus; nam ex plenitudine uentris cito excitatur luxuria carnis. (...) Tanta cum discretionem reficiendum est corpus, ut nec nimis abstinentia debilitetur, nec superflua edacitate ad lasciuiam moueatur. Cfr also RBas 9.9-22; Cassian, Institutiones V.5.2; RBen 40.5; RI 21.3.*

10.12 On preying at each other's dishes: *RPac Pr 30; Cassian, Institutiones IV.17; RFer 39.16-17.*

10.14-16 Cfr *RM 9; RColC 1; 3; 14; RD 25.1 | Rcuiv 4.23.*

10.14 *Memoriale qualiter I V.14, p. 257.*

10.15 *Dominus dignetur benedicere* appears only here and in two Mass formulae, which are edited in *PL 78, col. 249B* and *PL 138, col. 1328C*. | Prayers at table, cfr *RPS 18; RM 23.2; 23.15-29; 27.1-3; 77.1-4.*

10.17 Cfr *RPac Pr 39; 98; 106; RBas 30; 88; 105; ROr 9; 39; RFer 39.16-23; CaesRV 42.1-4; RBen 34; RD 21.*

10.18 *VCol II.10: et iste praesumptae temeritatis audaciam.*

XI. QVIBVS CONGRVENTIBVS HORIS HIEME VEL AESTATIS TEMPORE SIT REFICIENDVM

¹ Ab aduentu sacratissimae sollemnitatis, id est ab introitu **sanctae paschae**, quo immaculati agni resurrectio celebratur, **usque** ad sacratam sollemnitatem **pentecostes**, qua Apostolis spiritus sanctus fuit diffusus, id est quinquaginta dierum spatio, **ad sextam** horam est **reficiendum**. ² Similiter et uesperum erit **caenandum**, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit, ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret. ³ A **pentecosten** uero, **si** grauis **labor non** exigat, aut hospitem non cogat aduentus, usque ad quadragesimae inuocationem **ad nonam**, id est semel, reficiant, exceptis magnarum sollemnitatum euentibus, aut si labor grandis exigerit, ut duabus reficiant uicibus. ⁴ Ab inuocatione **quadragesimae usque** sacratissimam sollemnitatem **pascae** exceptis dominicis diebus **ad uesperum reficiendum** est, ut ante noctis inuocationem cum statione **lucis** refectionis impleatur hora.

⁵ Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant, et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobrietate ueniant, ut nullum strepitum pedum uel uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent. ⁶ Et primum ad senio[fol. 211^{vb}]rem mensam simul omnes ministrent. ⁷ Sic demum ad suam mensam, qua sederint, deferant fercula. ⁸ Praeposita mensae gubernet quomodo ex ipsa mensa mutuatim uicibus uel aetate iuniores, si fuerint, debeant ministrare.

XI. AT WHICH APPROPRIATE HOURS ONE SHOULD EAT DURING THE SEASONS OF WINTER AND SUMMER

¹ From the arrival of the most sacred feast, that is from the beginning of holy Easter, at which the resurrection of the immaculate lamb is celebrated, until the sacred feast of Pentecost, at which the Holy Spirit has been poured forth on the Apostles, that is to say for the period of fifty days, one has to eat at the Sixth Hour. ² Likewise one will also have to have a meal [at] Vespers, because the order of the holy season requires that no one who is part of the church should show [signs of] sadness. ³ But if heavy work does not require it, or the arrival of guests compels it, from Pentecost until the beginning of the forty days [of Lent] they should eat at the Ninth Hour, thus only once, except at the end of great feast days, or if heavy labor requires that they eat two times. ⁴ From the beginning of the forty days until the most sacred feast of Easter they should eat at Vespers except on the days of the Lord – so that the hour of meal is completed before the beginning of the night while there is still light.

⁵ But when [the meal] is to be served, from each table one [sister] should rise, and they should come to the window of the kitchen with such moderation, that they do not incite any clatter of feet or dishes or any sound whatsoever. ⁶ And all of them together should first serve at the table of the elders. ⁷ Afterwards they should carry the plates to their table where they sit. ⁸ The prioress of the table has to direct how they ought to serve each other in turn at that table, or (whether) the younger, if there are any, ought to serve.

Apparatus biblicus

11.1-2 Cfr Matth. 9, 15; Marc. 2, 19; Luc. 5, 34

Apparatus criticus

11.title-8 *codd.: M K; ed.: h ma*

11.1 sancti *h* | pentecostes *M² K h* | pentec^c *M* | quia *M^{ac}* | **11.2** vesperi *h* | nullus] nec *add. h* | **11.3** pentecoste *K h* | exigit *M^{ac}* | reficient *h* | exegerit *M² K h* | **11.4** inchoatione *M² K h* | usque] ad *add. h* | inchoationem *M² K h* | **11.5** venient *h* | **11.6** seniorum *h ma* | **11.7** mutuatim *M^{pc}*

Apparatus fontium

11.1-4 *RBen* 41: **Quibus horis** oportet **reficere** fratres?

¹ **A sancto Pascha usque Pentecosten, ad sextam reficiant** fratres et sera cenent. ² **A Pentecosten** autem, tota aestate, **si labores** agrorum **non** habent monachi aut nimietas aestatis non perturbat, quarta et sexta feria ieiunent usque **ad nonam**; ³ reliquis diebus ad sextam prandent; ⁴ quam prandii sextam, si operis in agris habuerint aut aestatis feruor nimius fuerit, continuanda erit et in abbatis sit prouidentia. ⁵ Et sic omnia temperet atque disponat qualiter et animae saluentur et quod faciunt fratres absque iusta murmuratione faciant. ⁶ Ab idus autem septembres usque caput quadragesimae, ad nonam semper reficiant. ⁷ In **quadragesima** uero **usque in Pascha, ad uesperam reficiant**; ⁸ ipsa tamen uespera sic agatur ut lumen **lucernae** non indigeant reficientes, sed luce adhuc diei omnia consummentur. ⁹ Sed et omni tempore, siue cena siue refectionis hora sic temperetur ut luce fiant omnia.

Fortleben

Omitted in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*.

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on food and meals in this rule and in other rules: see chapter 10.

11.1-7 *Memoriale qualiter I V.11-13, pp. 254-256: Cum autem audierint cymbalum, cito et ordinate sine ullo strepitu festinent lotis manibus introire refectorium salutantes crucem uersis uultibus ad orientem; et cum secundo cymbalum sonuerit ad mensam, omnes congregati simul dicant uersum et orationem dominicam flectentes genua; data benedictione a priore sedeant singuli ordine suo ad mensas cum summo silentio; et nullus praesumat prius accipere quicquam cibi aut potus antequam dominus abbas, ipse tamen non tardet. Cum primum accipiat panem dicat patri suo Benedicite, et ille respondeat Deus. Similiter faciant de potu, cum primum biberint. De ceteris uero pulmentariis, quae tunc in mensa sunt, non est necesse amplius benedictionem petere. Et antequam incipiant cibum sumere, petat lector benedictionem et incipiat legere, et sicut docet regula, nullius uox ibi audiatur, nisi solius legentis, nisi certe pro aedificatione aliquid exinde breuiter dicatur. Postea autem quicquid pulmentarium ex coquina ministratur, qui ministrant a nouissimis incipiant et usque ad dominum abbatem ministrando perueniant. Tunc sonent cymbalum tacite et dicant fratres Benedicite aequa uoce et producte. Data communi benedictione expectent, sicut iam diximus, ut abbas prior accipiat, postea singuli dicentes alterutrum Benedicite. Quando prior benedicit cibum uelpotum uel aliud quicquam, non sedendo sed stando benedicat. Similar: Memoriale qualiter II V.10-12, pp. 274-275. | Cfr RM 28; Rcuip 11.2.*

11.1 The expression *sacrata solemnitas/sacratissima solemnitas* usually refers to Easter. This is the only text that applies it to Pentecost.

11.2 The text gives the male form *nullus positus*. This might be an indication that there was a male version of the *Regula cuiusdam* but it may also indicate a general statement. | *In ecclesia positus* (also in Rcuiv 8.9): *VCol I.17; I.20*.

11.3 *labor grandis*: *VCol I.9; De accedendo 8*.

11.4 Cfr *RM 50.70-71*.

11.5 Cfr *CaesRV 18.4-6; RD 33.3-5 | RPS 18.2: Non cum contentione et murmuratione et indignatione et clamoris uocibus et strepitu pedum et sonu uasorum donum dei, sed cum caritate et quiete et dulcissimo disciplinae freno sumamus; ... | RI 9: Refectorium pariter unum erit. Ad singulas mensas deni conuescentes resideant; reliqua turba paruulorum adsistent;*

*tempore conuescentium fratrum omnes disciplina gerant silentium Apostolo obtemperantes, qui dicit: Cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent (II Thess. 3, 13). (...) Nullus ad mensam clamor excitetur; soli tantum **praeposito** sollicitudo maneat in iis quae sunt uestentibus necessaria. Abba citra langoris necessitatem cibos in conspectu pariter cum fratribus sumat. Neque aliud quam caeteri neque cultius quam ea quae in commune consistunt praeparari sibi quidpiam expectet; sicque fiet ut dum praesens est omnia diligenter **administrentur**, et dum communia sunt salubriter et cum karitate sumantur. Aequalia quippe erunt mensarum omnium fercula, similisque alimentis cuncti reficiendi sunt fratres.* | The office of a *praepositus mensae* appears in *RColC* 9.

11.8 *CaesRV* 18.4; *RI* 9.2. | *Memoriale qualiter I* V.14, pp. 256-257 and *Memoriale qualiter II* V.13, p. 275 on the *iuniores* serving the rest of the community.

XII. QVOMODO COTIDIANIS DIEBVS MANIBVS SIT OPERANDVM

¹ Operandum namque est omni **tempore** praeter dies festos, ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium. ² Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est, ut **lectionis** fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps **lectioni diuinae uacetur**. ³ Operatio manuum **ab hora** secunda sumat exordium et in horam nonam finem accipiat. ⁴ Ab hora uero nona lectio usitetur.

⁵ Et si aliqua proprium aliquod opus **faciendum** aut uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi aut quodlibet aliud opus per abbatissae uel praepositae commeatum faciat. ⁶ Et si forte opus fortius superuenerit, ut maturius arripiant operari, uel propter feruentem aestum, hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est, ⁷ ut secundum quod tempus exigit aut fortioris laboris pondus uel ad sextam, ut iuste iudicauerit, ab opere sit quiescendum, ⁸ et post quietem uel refectionem **usque ad uesperum** sit operandum.

⁹ Illud inter omnia uel abbatissa, si praesens fuerit, coerceat, aut praeposita, quae eius uice relinquatur, ut nullam paenitus monacham **fabulis otiosis** praeter necessariam interrogationem **uacare** permittat. Sed in ipso opere [fol. 212^a] manuum operis Dei recordatio teneatur, ¹⁰ id est, ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, ¹¹ interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmodum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat. ¹² Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae fabulatione delectetur, silentii poena castigetur.

¹³ Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant. ¹⁴ Similiter ad caput sororum lauandum per singula sabbata uel balnearum usus per festas sollempnitates praeparent, ¹⁵ ut si sunt alia extrema facienda, penitentes faciant, ut dum mente humili et contrito

corde haec propter timorem Domini faciunt, ab omnipotentis Dei misericordia celerius a suis delictis lauentur.

¹⁶ Quando ad opera eundum est, iste capitulus psallatur: *Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos, et opera manuum nostrarum dirige super nos, et opus manuum nostrarum dirige.* ¹⁷ Quando uero finitur opus, istud dicatur capitulum: *Benedicat nos Dominus Deus noster et benedicat nos Deus, et metuant eum omnes fines terrae.*

¹⁸ Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem. ¹⁹ Et si necesse fuerit, ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat.

²⁰ Et panem, quem faciunt per uices, senior, quae ex eis est cellarariae representet, ut omni custodia tutae in nullo reprehensibiles [fol. 212^b] repperiantur. ²¹ Similiter et quae in bracisatorium ad ceruisiam faciendam inhabitauerint, una ex eis senior sit preposita, quae secundum regulam pistricis omnia custodiat.

²² Cocae uero per ebdomadas **cocinent**, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad **coquinandum** deputentur, ²³ ne inpositus sine discretione **labor**, unde **mercedem** mercari debuit, inde **murmurii** fructum reportet. ²⁴ **Ingredientes** autem **pro se orari** rogent omnem coetum sororum, ²⁵ orantes in **oratione** dicant: *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram, et Adiuua nos Deus salutaris noster.* ²⁶ **Exeuntes** uero **lauent** omnium sororum **pedes**. ²⁷ Et omnia **uasa**, quae ad necessarium usum habuerunt lauata praepositae repraesentent. ²⁸ Similiter **pro se orari** rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: *Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me.* ²⁹ Propter singulas negligentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussionibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiiores repperiantur.

XII. HOW ONE SHOULD DO MANUAL WORK DURING REGULAR DAYS

¹ One has to work at all seasons except for feast days, in order that enough capacity is obtained from which support can be given for their own need or for someone else's need. ² But in such a way is manual work to be pursued that the profit of the reading is not missed but, as determined by the season, attention is to be given to work and afterwards [time] should be made free for the

divine reading. ³ Manual work should have its beginning at the second Hour and receive its completion at the Ninth Hour. ⁴ But after the Ninth Hour, reading should be practiced.

⁵ And if [a sister] has to do any work for herself, either that clothes are to be sewn or washed or whatever other work, she may do so with the permission of the abbess or the prioress. ⁶ And if by chance heavier work comes up, so that they begin to work earlier, or because of the hot summer, the abbess has to consider with judgement ⁷ that according to what the season or the burden of heavier work requires, as she decides rightfully, one may rest from work until the Sixth Hour, ⁸ and after a rest or after meal they should work until Vespers.

⁹ Above all, the abbess – if she is present – or the prioress, who is left in her place, should enforce that she does not allow any nun to make time for idle conversation aside from asking what is necessary. But in manual work the remembrance of the work of God should be kept, ¹⁰ that is to say, that while on the outside the hands are occupied with works according to the opportunity of the season, ¹¹ on the inside the mind becomes sweet through the tongue's meditation of the Psalms and the remembrance of the Scriptures. ¹² For, if a violator of his rule should please [herself] in storytelling, she should be castigated by the punishment of silence.

¹³ However, the penitents – if there are [penitents] – should make the fires in the common room in two pairs throughout the weeks. ¹⁴ Likewise they should prepare to wash the heads of the sisters each Saturday, and for each solemn feast [they should prepare] the use of the baths – ¹⁵ or, if other very mean things are to be done, the penitents should do them, so that while they do this with a humble mind and a contrite heart out of fear of the Lord, they are cleansed more quickly by the mercy of the almighty God from their offences.

¹⁶ When one has to go to work, this verse of the Psalms is to be recited: *May the splendor of the Lord God be over us, and guide above us the works of our hands, and guide the work of our hands.* ¹⁷ But when the work is finished, this verse should be said: *May the Lord God bless us and may bless us God, and may all the ends of the earth fear him.*

¹⁸ But the bakers should do the common work alternating in turns, in such a way, however, that they are not less than three, because of the necessity to speak. ¹⁹ And if it is necessary that they stay there [in the bakery], they should be no less than four, and one elder among them whose piety should be trustworthy should be the prioress, who has the permission to speak. ²⁰ And the elder among them should present the bread, which they make in turns, to the cellarer, so that they, entirely controlled by vigilance, be found reprehensible in nothing. ²¹ Likewise those who

stay in the brewery in order to make beer, should have a senior among them as prioress, to guard everything according to the rule of the baker.

22 But the cooks should cook in weekly shifts, so that every week three or, if necessary, more are assigned to kitchen service, 23 lest work (*labor*) that is imposed without discretion bears the fruit of murmuring where it should earn reward. 24 But those who enter [the kitchen shift] should ask the entire group of sisters to pray for them 25 and reciting the prayer they should say: *Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth, and Help us, our God Savior.* 26 But those who leave [the kitchen shift] should wash the feet of all sisters. 27 And they should present all vessels cleaned to the prioress, which they handled for necessary use. 28 Likewise they should ask that prayer be done for them, and they should say this verse in their prayer: *Because you, Lord, have helped me and you have comforted me.* 29 For each negligence both the cook and the cellarer should be corrected with twenty-five lashes on the palm of the hand on ordinary days, lest those who care little for the smallest offences be found more prone to greater ones.

Apparatus biblicus

12.15 *contrito corde*] cfr Ps. 50/51, 19 | **12.16** Ps 89/90, 17 (*LXX*) | **12.17** Ps 66/67, 7-8 (*LXX*) | **12.25** Ps. 123/124, 8 (*LXX*); Ps. 78/79, 9 (*LXX*) | **12.28** Ps. 85/86, 17 (*LXX*)

Apparatus criticus

12.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.* *h ma*

12.1-17 *codd.*: *M F' V W K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

12.9-13 (*operis dei...castigetur*) *ed.*: *s*

12.18-21 *codd.*: *M F' W T P A*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

12.22-29 *codd.*: *M F V P A*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

12.title *DIEBVS om. M^{ac} | SIT om. M^{ac} | 12.1* *egentis coni. Ponesse*] *egenis ω M c h | 12.5* *aliqua*] *aliquando me h | faciet h | 12.7* *pond M^{ac} | 12.9* *permittatur F' V | 12.12* *Nam*] *Ac h | 12.13* *focus M^{ac} c, focum V^{pc} | facient h | 12.14* *festas*] *fectas F^{ac} W, certas F^{pc} | 12.15* *Vt*] *aut V^{pc} me h c | facient h | mente F' V^{pc}] menti M^{ac} c | 12.16* *istud capitulum h | 12.17* *dominus*] *deus h | 12.19* *maneant h | quae F^{ac} W T A^{ac}] qui c | 12.20* *cellariae h | omnia M^{ac} V T | 12.21* *brachisitorium c, braxatorium h | ceruisiam me h c*] *ceruisiam M V T | quae h*] *om. ω M F' V^{ac} W T P A me, qui V^{pc} c (coni. Bonnerue) | 12.22* *unaquaque c me h*] *unaquaque M | 12.23* *murmurationis h | 12.27* *praepositis F^{pc} P A^{pc}, praeposito W | 12.29* *cellariae h | XXV*] *viginti quinque K h*

Apparatus fontium

12.title, 1-8: *RBen* 48.title, 1-6/10-13: De **opera manuum cotidiana**

1 **Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione diuina.** 2 Ideoque hac dispositione credimus utraque tempore ordinari: 3 id est ut a Pascha usque kalendas octobres a mane exeuntes a prima usque

hora paene quarta laborent quod **necessarium** fuerit; 4 **ab hora** autem quarta **usque** hora qua sextam agent **lectioni uacent**; 5 **post** sextam autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio, aut **forte** qui uoluerit legere sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet; 6 et agatur **nona** temperius mediante octaua hora, et iterum quod **faciendum** est **operentur usque ad uesperam**.

10 A kalendas autem octobres usque caput quadragesimae, usque in **hora secunda** plena **lectioni uacent**; 11 **hora secunda** agatur tertia, et usque **nona** omnes in opus suum laborent quod eis iniungitur; 12 facto autem primo signo **nonae horae**, deiungant ab opera sua singuli et sint parati dum secundum signum pulsauerit.

12.9-12 RBen 48.17-20: Ante **omnia** sane deputentur unus aut duo seniores qui circumeant monasterium horis quibus uacant fratres lectioni, 18 et uideant ne forte inueniatur frater acediosus qui **uacat otio** aut **fabulis** et non est intentus lectioni, et non solum sibi inutilis est, sed etiam alios distollit: 19 hic talis si – quod absit! – repertus fuerit, corripiatur semel et secundo; 20 si non emendauerit, correptioni regulari subiaceat taliter ut ceteri timeant.

12.22-29 RBen 35: De septimanariis **coquinae**

1 Fratres sibi inuicem seruiant, ut nullus excusetur a **coquinae** officio, nisi aut aegritudo, aut in causa grauis utilitatis quis occupatus fuerit, 2 quia exinde maior **merces** et caritas acquiritur. 3 Imbecillibus autem procurentur solacia, ut non cum tristitia hoc faciant; 4 sed habeant omnes solacia secundum modum congregationis aut positionem loci. 5 Si maior congregatio fuerit, cellararius excusetur a coquina, uel si qui, ut diximus, maioribus utilitatibus occupantur; 6 ceteri sibi sub caritate inuicem seruiant. 7 Egressurus de septimana sabbato munditias faciat. 8 Lintea cum quibus sibi fratres manus aut pedes tergunt lauent. 9 **Pedes** uero tam ipse qui egreditur quam ille qui intraturus est omnibus **lauent**. 10 **Vasa** ministerii sui munda et sana cellarario reassignet; 11 qui cellararius item intranti consignet, ut sciat quod dat aut quod recipit. 12 Septimanarii autem ante unam horam refectionis accipiant super statutam annonam singulas biberes et panem, 13 ut hora refectionis sine **murmuratione** et graui **labore** seruiant fratribus suis. 14 In diebus tamen sollempnibus usque ad missas sustineant. 15 Intrans et exeuntes hebdomadarii in **oratorio** mox matutinis finitis dominica omnibus genibus prouoluantur postulantes **pro se orari**. 16 Egrediens autem de septimana dicat hunc uersum: Benedictus es, **Domine** Deus, qui **adiuuasti me et consolatus es me**; 17 quo dicto tertio accepta benedictione egrediens, subsequatur **ingrediens** et dicat: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps. 69/70: 2 [LXX]), 18 et hoc idem tertio repetatur ab omnibus et accepta benedictione ingrediatur.

Fortleben

12.1-17 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 55.26, inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam Patris [sic!] cap. XII

12.18-21 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 71.5, inc. Item ex eadem Regula cap. XII

12.22-29 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 44.10, inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam ex cap. XII

12.9-13 (operis dei...castigetur) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 48.13, following *RBen* 48.10-13

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules on manual labor and the organization of the day: *RPac Pr* 15; 26-27; 58-72; *RPac Leg* 1-3 | *RBas* 82; 85-86; 131-132; 173 | *AugOM* 3; 9 | *RIVP* 3.6-22 | *RCas* 23; 33; 37-39 | *2RP* 2.11; 5.22-26 | *RMac* 8; 30 | *ROr* 6; 13; 24; 28 | *3RP* 5 | *CaesRV* 7-8; 14; 16; 19; 28.1; 29; 46; 57 | *CaesRM* 7; 14; 18 | *RT* 9-10 | *RFer* 19; 26; 28 | *RPS* 11; 13; 22; 32-33 | *RM* 18-

19; 23; 50 | *RLea* 15 | *RI* 5; 9.7; 21 | *RFruc* 4; 6-7 | *RCom* 9 | *RcuiP* 12-14 | *RD* 20; 23.2; 29 | *Memoriale qualiter I* III, pp. 238-240; IV, pp. 244-251 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VI, p. 276; VII, pp. 277-281

References to manual work in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 3.17-20; 13.3-5; 16.2-4; 22.19

12.1 *Suffragium* appears five times in *VCol*, once in *VIoh*, once in *CaesRV*, prologue.5, but not in other monastic rules.

12.2-4 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251: *Certis horis et constitutis opera manuum non neglegant, quia uirtus est animae et corporis; certis iterum horis lectionem pleniter uacent, et si fieri potest, in una claustra sedeant, ut se inuicem uidentes cohortentur, et sub silentio legant, et ne unus alium iungat, nisi necessitas discendi exposcerit, ipsud tamen sine inquietudine alterius fiat;* similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 281.

12.2 *VIoh* 12: *oratione adque deprecatione intentionem dedit.* The terms *intentus* and *intentio* appear six times in *RcuiV*, 19 times in *VCol*, twice in *VIoh*, and four times in *De accedendo*.

12.3 Cfr *CaesRV* 19.1-2; *Memoriale qualiter I* III.10, p. 240: *A kalendis octobris usque in Pascha hora nona hoc faciant; a Pascha autem usque kalendas octobris hora tertia et hora undecima.* | *exordium sumere*: *RBas* 22 | *finem accipere*: unusual.

12.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum* | On periods of reading, cfr *AugOM* 3; *CaesRV* 19.1; *RT* 9.5; *RM* 50.10-12; *RColM* 3.

12.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 8; 29; 46; 51.4; *RPS* 28; *RD* 20.9.

12.6 *Abbatissae arbitrio*: commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1 | *feruentem aestum*: *VCol* I.4.

12.9-12: *Memoriale qualiter I* III.8, p. 239: *Tunc uadant aut simul aut separatim ad opus sibi iniunctum, custodientes silentium, decantent psalmos suos aut partier aut bini aut singuli, iuxta quod congruum est, nihil aliud loquentes, nisi forte de ipsa arte necesse fuerit dicere caute.*

12.9 Cfr *2RP* 2.11; *RAM* 34; 50; *RAV* 27; *RBen* 7.56; *RColM* 2; *RColC* 4. | Compare *quae eius uice relinquitur* with *RcuiV* 2.7: *Super quam abbatissa requiescat.*

12.10-11 *Exterius/interius* or *exterior/interior*, cfr *RAM* 49; *RAV* 32; *RT* 1; *De accedendo* 6.

12.11 *Meditiatio cordis/oratio de corde*, cfr *CaesRV* 18.3; 20.3; 21.7; 22.

12.12 Cfr *RColC* 4: *Fabulas otiosas proferens ad alterum, statim semet ipsum reprehendens, uenia tantum; si autem se non reprehenderit [sed detractauerit qualiter eas excusare debeat] superpositione silentii aut L percussioibus.* | Silence as penance: *RcuiV* 9.20.

12.13-15 On *paenitentes*: *RcuiV* 6.24-25; 9.20; 18.6-7; 19.7; 20.9; 21.3 | On dirty work, cfr Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17; 23.

12.13 Cfr *Legislatio Aquisgranensis* (816), 36, *CCM* 1, p. 468; *Regula Benedicti Anianensis* 31, p. 524.

12.14 On washing hair and preparing baths as an act of humility: Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 2; 4; 17; *V. Eustadiolae* 6.

12.15 Dirty work, cfr *RM* 50.75-77; *RColC* 9; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 23-24; *V. Balthildis* 11; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 2. | *V. Sadalbergae* 20: *omnipotentis Dei misericordia.*

12.16-17 Cfr *RM* 24.6-13.

12.18 Cfr *RPac Pr* 116-117; *CaesRV* 20.1; *RT* 10.1; *V. Austrobertae* 10.

12.19 Cfr *RM* 11.20-34; 11.40-48.

12.20 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.3; *RI* 21.2.

12.21 On brewing beer: *VCol* I.16; *V. Sadalbergae* 20; on the brewery (*bratiarium*): *Supplex Libellus XVI*.

12.22 Cfr *RIVP* 3.21-22; *CaesRV* 14: *Quae coquent, singuli illis meri pro labore addantur. In omni ministerio corporali, tam in coquina, uel quicquid cotidianus exigit usus, uicibus sibi, excepta matre uel praeposita, succedere debent.* See also *RD* 67; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 24; *V. Sadalbergae* 23; 25.

12.22-29 Cfr *RM* 18-29 81.21-24; *RFruc* 7; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.19-20.

12.23 Cfr *CaesRV* 28.2-3; *RT* 10.1; *RColM* 5: *Non exeat igitur uerbum grande de ore monachi, ne suus grandis pereat labor.*

12.24 Cfr *RM* 19.1-8; 24.9.

12.26 Cfr Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 24.

12.27 Cfr *RM* 16.39; *RBen* 31.10; *RI* 5.7. | *RcuiV* 2.1-8: the *praeposita* takes over responsibilities that were given to the *cellarius* in *RBen*. Cfr also *RM* 19; *RD* 67.7-8.

12.29 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12; 16.4; 24.3; *CaesRV* 6.4-6; *RBen* 63.16-19.

XIII. DE VTENSILIBVS VEL SVPELLECTILIBVS

¹ Vtensilia **monasterii** et quaeque sunt ad commune opus necessaria **abbatissae** cura disponantur. ² Et tales in congregatione quaerantur, **quorum** et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata. ³ Et ipsis cura committatur, ut cuique necessaria fuerint, oportunitate exigente tribuantur. ⁴ Et sic ipsa utensilia, seu quaecumque eis ab **abbatissa** commissa [fol. 212^{va}] fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent, ⁵ ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, ⁶ antepontes illud mentis oculis: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei **neglegenter**.*

XIII. ON THE TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

¹ The tools of the monastery and whatever is necessary for communal work should be administered under the care of the abbess. ² And among the congregation such [sisters] should be looked for whose care of the soul is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved. ³ And the care should be entrusted to them, so that everyone is given out what is necessary, just as convenience requires. ⁴ And they should manage these tools or whatever is entrusted to them by the abbess with such anxious zeal of fear, ⁵ that they receive the reward for the care entrusted [to

them] and not incur the judgment of damnation, ⁶ holding this [word] before the eyes of their mind: *Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God.*

Apparatus biblicus

13.6 Jer. 48, 10

Apparatus criticus

13.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

13.1-6 *codd.*: *M F V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

13.title *supelectilibus* *M^{ac}* | **13.2** *viget* *h* | **13.3** *ut*] *quae* *add.* *A^{pc} me h c* | *oportunitate* *M^{ac}* | **13.4** *gubernentur* *h* | **13.6** *anteponentes* *M^{pc}* | *negligenter* *M² K h*

Apparatus fontium

13 *RBen* 32: De ferramentis **uel** rebus monasterii

¹ Substantia **monasterii** in ferramentis uel uestibus seu quibuslibet rebus praeuideat **abbas** fratres de **quorum** uita et moribus securus sit, ² et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda. ³ Ex quibus **abbas** breuem teneat, ut dum sibi in ipsa assignata fratres uicissim succedunt, sciat quid dat aut quid recipit. ⁴ Si quis autem sordide aut **neglegenter** res monasterii tractauerit, corripiatur; ⁵ si non emendauerit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat.

Fortleben

13 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 41.12, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XII. [*sic!*]

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on care of communal property, tools and food in other rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 66; 81; 102-103; 105; 124-125; 131 | *RPac Inst* 5-8; 11 | *RBas* 103-106; 111 | *AugPraec* V.2 | *EuagMon* 75 | *RIVP* 3.28-30 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.13-14; IV.19-20 | *RCas* 33; 37-39 | *CaesRV* 32.4-5 | *RT* 12.3-4 | *RPS* 24-25; 35 | *RM* 16.40-61; 17; 93.13 | *RI* 8.1; 20-21 | *RFruc* 5 | *RCom* 3 | *RCons* 8 | *RColC* 2; 3; 15 | *RcuiP* 28 | *RD* 26; 62 | *VIoh* 7 | Gregory the Great, *Registrum* VIII.5

References to the care of communal property and tools in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.14-18; 3.22; 4.8; 4.17-18; 12.27; 16.

13 Cfr *CaesRV* 32.4-5.

13.1 *RM* 16.57 | *Suppellectilis*: *VCol* I.4; I.23 (three times); II.5.

13.3 Cfr *RPac Pr* 66 | *V. Sadalbergae* 20.

13.4-6 *V. Sadalbergae* 21 describes how carelessness almost lead to a serious accident in the monastery. Cfr also *VIoh* 7.

13.5-6 *V. Bertilae* 2: *timorem uero Dei semper prae oculis habens.*

13.5 See commentary on *RcuiV* 1.18. | *VIoh* 4: *iudicium damnationis*; *VCol* II.12: *damna incurrat uitae aeternae*; II.13: *ne tanti damni incurreret causam.*

XIII. QVALITER IN SCOLA DEBEANT **DORMIRE**

¹ Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis **paratam** Deo mentem praeparant, ² ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiiis peruigil maneat, ³ iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio et cor meum uigilat*, ⁴ tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per negligentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.

⁵ Proinde ergo decernimus, ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in **lectulis dormiant**, ⁶ sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur. ⁷ Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, ⁸ ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria. ⁹ Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis **senior** sit, de cuius relegione non dubitetur. ¹⁰ Iuuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur. ¹¹ **Omnes enim, si fieri potest, una domus ad dormiendum capiat**, ¹² praeter si infirmitas aut senilis aetas poposcerit aut culpa damnauerit aut nouitas probata non fuerit, ut in cella separentur. ¹³ Omnes **uestitae et cinctae dormiant**. ¹⁴ In scola, qua dormitur, per totam noctem lucerna **ar[fol. 212^{vb}]deat**.

¹⁵ **Ad** cursum **uero** cum **festinatione surgentes** signum crucis fronti inferatur, simulque SUB SILENTIO **dicatur: DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM MEUM INTENDE. DOMINE AD ADIUUANDUM ME FESTINA.**

XIII. HOW THEY SHOULD SLEEP IN A COMMON ROOM

¹ It is true that souls, who are always pious and dedicated to God, prepare the mind which is ready for God, both at the daily and the nightly Hours, ² in order that the soul forcefully remains attentive to the praises of the Creator in incessant vigilance, even though the limbs grow stiff with sleep, ³ according to this word: *For I sleep, and my heart keeps watch*. ⁴ Nevertheless one has to observe at all times with skillful care that the subdued limbs do not contract the harm of weakness through negligence of maternal attentiveness.

⁵ We therefore decide that, with the exception of the sick and the old, they should sleep in their

beds in pairs of two, ⁶ but in such a way that they do not speak to each other. ⁷ And they should not look at each other, that is to say face to face, but one should sleep resting behind the other, ⁸ lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation. ⁹ And this has to happen in such a way, that one of them is always an elder whose piety is beyond doubt. ¹⁰ We determine that the young [nuns] by no means sleep together, lest they are seduced to some offence by passion because of the adversity of the flesh. ¹¹ For indeed, if possible, one building should hold all [nuns] for sleeping, ¹² unless sickness or old age demands, or guilt condemns them or because they are new and unproven, so that they should be separated in a [special] cell. ¹³ All should sleep clothed and girded. ¹⁴ In common room where one sleeps a lamp should burn throughout the entire night.

¹⁵ But when they rise to the service with hurry, they should make the sign of the cross on their brow and say together in silence: *God, come to my help. Lord, haste to help me.*

Apparatus biblicus

14.1 Cfr Apoc. 12, 6; 19, 7; 21, 2 | **14.3** Cant. 5, 2 | **14.4** Cfr Eph. 3, 5 | **14.15** Ps. 69/70, 2 (*LXX*)

Apparatus criticus

14.title-10 *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *me h*

14.11-15 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

14.15 *ed.*: *s*

14.1 religiosae *M² K h* | **14.2** sapore *M^{ac}* | **14.4** solerti *M^{ac}* | semper] specialiter *h* | negligentiam *M² K h* | imbecillitatis *M² K h* | **14.5** seniores *h* | **14.8** immittat *M² K h* | conloquendo *M^{ac}* | **14.9** semper ex illis] ex illis semper *h* | religione *M² K h* | **14.11** enim] *om. c* | **14.12** in *om. c* | **14.13** et cinctae dormiant] dormiant et cincti *c* | **14.14** scola] domo *c* | **14.15** inferatur *c*] feratur *V*, inferantur *T^{ac}*, inferant *P A^{ac}*, inferat *A^{pc}*; inferant suis *s*

Apparatus fontium

14 *RBen* 22: Quomodo dormiant monachi

¹ Singuli per singula lecta dormiant. ² Lectisternia pro modo conuersationis secundum dispensationem abbatis sui accipiant. ³ **Si potest fieri omnes in uno loco dormiant**; sin autem multitudo non sinit, deni aut uiceni cum senioribus qui super eos solliciti sint pausent. ⁴ Candela iugiter in eadem cella ardeat usque mane. ⁵ **Vestiti dormiant et cincti** cingellis aut funibus, ut cultellos suos ad latus suum non habeant dum dormiunt, ne forte per somnum uulnerent dormientem; ⁶ et ut **parati** sint monachi semper et, facto signo absque mora **surgentes, festinent** inuicem se praeuenire ad opus Dei, cum omni tamen grauitate et modestia. ⁷ Adulescentiores fratres iuxta se non habeant lectos, sed permixti cum senioribus. ⁸ **Surgentes uero ad** opus Dei inuicem se moderate cohortentur propter somnulentorum excusationes.

14.15 *RBen* 18.1: In primis **dicatur** uersu *Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps. 69/70, 2 [LXX]), gloria, inde hymnum uniuscuiusque horae.

14.15 *RColC* 9: In commune autem omnes fratres omnibus diebus ac noctibus tempore orationum in fine omnium psalmorum genua in oratione, si non infirmitas corporis offecerit, flectere aequo animo debent, SUB SILENTIO DICENTES: *DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM MEUM INTENDE, DOMINE AD ADIUUANDUM ME FESTINA.*

Fortleben

14.1-10 Omitted in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*

14.11-15 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 29.8, inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XIII

14.15 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 22.6, combined with a quotation from Isidore, *Etymologiae* IX.4.31 (Grauitas...animae)

Commentary and parallels

Other rules on the sleep of monks or nuns and on physical distance: *RPac Pr* 87-89; 92-96; 106; 109; 112; 118 | *RBas* 3.20-23; 9.8; 35; 55; 75-76; 129 | *EuagMon* 46-52 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.15 | *RCas* 10 | *ROr* 7-8; 44 | *CaesRV* 9; 51.1 | *CaesRM* 3 | *RAM* 8; 33; 35 | *RAV* 6 | *RT* 2.1; 4.7; 7.4 | *RFer* 16; 32 | *RPS* 11 | *RM* 11.109-121; 29-33; 50.56-61; 80 | *RBen* 8-14; 22; 43-7-9; 48.5; 58.5 | *RI* 13; 17.3; 19.2 | *RFruc* 1-2; 16 | *RCom* 19 | *RD* 11; 32; 65 | *RColV* 31-36 | *Ordo diurnus Anianensis*, *CCM* 1, pp. 313-314 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VI.18-19, pp. 260-261 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.21, p. 282 | *Institutio canonicorum* 136 | See also *VIoh* 16 | *V. Austrobertae* 15 | *V. Wandregisili prima* 8.

References to the nuns' sleep in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.16-19; 6.20; 8; 9.8; 16.2; 24.10

14.title *Scola* for sleeping quarters: *CaesRV* 4.3; *CaesRM* 3; Council of Tours (567) 15. In *RcuiV* 16.2 the author uses *dormitorium*. According *RcuiV* 6.26, the nuns gather in the *scola* after the Secunda. In this context the term seems to refer to some sort of common room. In *RT* 7.2 *scola* refers to the room where all the monks gather to read.

14.1-5 Cfr Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 8-9/19.

14.2 Aquilinus Iuuenius, *Euangelicae historiae libri IV*, I.137: *Talia tractanti torpescunt membra sopore*; see also *VCol* I.2: *postquam sopor membra laxauit*; I.3: *somno torpentem*; II.18: *cum sopore membra*; *VIoh* 16: *sodalium membra nimio occubuissent sopore*. | *uigor*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.2. | *praeconia* (also *RcuiV* 8.2), appears seven times in *VCol*, once in *VIoh* and once in *De accedendo*, but in no other monastic rule.

14.3 Only *VIoh* 16 quotes Cant. 5, 2 as *Ego enim dormio* instead of *Ego dormio*.

14.4 *subiecta membra*: *VIoh* 3.

14.5 On *decernimus*, see p. \$. | *RAM* 33 requires separate beds; *RAV* omits this regulation.

14.6 Cfr *RT* 4.8; *RI* 13.2.

14.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 9.6; *CaesRV* 49.4; *VCol* I.3: *coepit tandem contra eum antiquus hostis loetifera tela laxare...* | Cassian, *Collationes* II.13.7; XII.6.3; XII.11.3 and *Institutiones* IV, 9 on the *iacula* of the devil.

14.9 *De cuius relegione non dubitetur* (also in *RcuiV* 24.8): *VCol* I.10; II.5. | On *censemus*, see p. \$.

14.12 *Nouitas probata*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.5. Here, the rule diverts from *CaesRV* 9.2. See also *CaesRV* 4. | On incarceration, cfr *RD* 3.10; 5.9, two sections of the rule that were original contributions of Donatus.

14.15 Cfr *RcuiV* 2.17. | *VCol* I.8: *frontem signo crucis armans*. | *VCol* I.9: *sub silenti uoce* | Ps. 69/70, 2 appears also in *VCol* I.8 and in a similar context in *RColC* 9 and *RD* 34.7. | *Memoriale qualiter* I I.1, p. 230: *In primis, nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum de lectulo surrexerit frater, primum signum sibi sanctae crucis imprimat per inuocationem sanctae trinitatis; deinde dicat uersum Domine labia mea aperies; inde psalmum Deus in adiutorium meum intende totum cum Gloria. (...) Tunc referat gratias deo ita dicendo: Gratias tibi ago, omnipotens pater, qui me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire...;* similar: *Memoriale qualiter* II I.1, p. 267. | On praying at the moment of awakening: Cassian, *Collationes* XXI.26. | On praying *Deus in adiutorium* at the moment of falling asleep: *V. Wandregisili prima* 8.

XV. DE CVRA INFIRMANTIVM QVALIS ESSE DEBEAT

¹ Harum **cura**, quae in **infirmis** detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat, cum dicit: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter*. ² Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum, praecipue tamen in infirmantium **cura** haec praecipio est exhibenda, ³ quia Dominus dixit: ***Infirmus fui, et uenistis ad me***. ⁴ Ita **ergo cura** infirmis quaerenda est, ac si praesente **Christo** ministrare putetur. ⁵ **Reuera** etenim quaecumque pro Christo infirmis curam inpendit, Christo in infirmis ministrat.

⁶ Sic tamen **abbatissae cura sit**, ut separatim **cellam** habeant cum omnibus oportunitatibus, ut nullum exteriorem laborem sentiat, quae in **infirmis** carne poenam portat. ⁷ Quod si tempus poposcerit, sicut tempus quadragesimae, ut caeterae uitam mutant, infirmis semper cedendum est, ut tam potus quam cibaria uberius ministrentur. ⁸ **Balnearum usus** uel cura medendi summo **adhibeatur studio**. **Sanis** uero, praecipuae **iuuenculis, tardius concedatur**. ⁹ **Abbatissa** talem **curam de infirmis habeat**, qualem se recipere a Domino sperat, ut nec **a cellararia** nec **a ministra aliquam negligentiam** infirmae sentiant.

¹⁰ Decrepita uero **aetate** fessis talis sit **cura**, quatenus nulla in eis **neglegentia**, ¹¹ sed iuxta arbitrium abbatissae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, **consideratione pia** eorum **inbecillitati** concedatur. ¹² Non enim hae possunt **regulae** [fol. 213^a] **tenori** subiacere, **sed** potius **pietatis in** eas inpendendus est affectus.

XV. ON THE CARE OF THE SICK – HOW IT SHOULD BE PERFORMED

1 The love of the Author shows how the care of those, who are stricken with sickness, has to be, when He says: *Whatever you want that men do to you, you should likewise do to them.* 2 Even though this should be done in all regards, this precept is to be carried out especially in the care of the sick this precept is to be carried out, because the Lord has said: *I was sick and you came to me.* 4 Therefore one must pursue the care of the sick in such a way as if one believes to serve the present Christ. 5 Indeed, whoever gives care to the sick on Christ's behalf, serves Christ in the sick.

6 The abbess, however, should take care that they have a private cell with all conveniences, so that [a nun] who bears hardship through her sick flesh, does not experience any outward distress. 7 But if the season demands it, so as the time of Lent, that the other [nuns] change their way of life, one always has to grant to the sick that both food and drink is served [to them] more abundantly. 8 The use of the bathes and the medical treatment is to be applied with the greatest eagerness. But to the healthy, especially to the young [nuns], it has to be granted not as quickly. 9 The abbess should take such care of the sick, as she hopes to receive for herself from the Lord, so that the sick do not experience any negligence, neither of the cellarer nor of a servant.

10 In fact, for those worn out by old age, the care should be such that there is no negligence towards them. 11 But according to the judgment of the abbess, in as much as she regards it necessary for anyone, their weakness should be taken into account in loving consideration. 12 For these cannot be subject to the wording of the rule, but an attitude of affection should rather be applied to them.

Apparatus biblicus

15.1 Matth. 7, 12 | 15.3 Matth. 25, 36 | 15.5 Cfr Matth. 25, 44-45

Apparatus criticus

15.title codd.: *M K*; edd.: *h ma*

15.1-12 codd.: *M F V T P A K*; edd.: *me h ma c*

15.1-6 ed.: *s*

15.8-9 ed.: *s*

15.title DEBET *M^{ac}* | 15.1 harum *F^{ac} T^{ac}* horum *c* | quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua *F^{ac}*, que *V^{ac} P* | in] *om. me h s c* | esse debet] *tr. V T P A* | piaetas] *proprietas me h* | auctoritas] *V T P A* | uobis faciant] *tr. V T P A* | 15.2 praecipuae *M^{ac} F A* | 15.4 praesenti] *P A^{pc} me h* | 15.5 impendit] *M² K h* | 15.6 Sic]

sit *h* | tamen] ergo *s* | cura *M^{ac} me h s c* | curae *M^{pc}* | sit] *om. K h s* | **15.7** Quod] et *h* | mutant *V T P me c (coni. Bonnerue)*] mutant *M F A*, immutant *h* | **15.8** praecipuae] vero *add. h* | **15.9** cellaria *h* | **15.10** nulla in eis *c*] in eis nula *V T*, in eis sit nulla *P A* | negligentia *M² K h* **15.11** prout *M² K h c*] pro *M V^{ac}* | cuicumque *h* | earum *h* | **15.12** hae *V*] hi *c*, haec *F^{ac} T A^{ac}*, *om. P, del. A^{pc}*

Apparatus fontium

15.1-11 *RBen* 36 De infirmis fratribus

¹ **Infirmorum cura** ante omnia et super omnia **adhibenda** est, ut sicut **reuera Christo** ita eis seruiatur, ² quia ipse dixit: ***Infirmus fui et uisitastis me*** (Matth. 25, 36), ³ et: *Quod fecistis uni de his minimis mihi fecistis* (Matth. 25, 40). ⁴ Sed et ipsi infirmi considerent in honorem Dei sibi seruire, et non superfluitate sua contristent fratres suos seruientes sibi; ⁵ qui tamen patienter portandi sunt, quia de talibus copiosior merces acquiritur. ⁶ **Ergo cura maxima sit abbati ne aliquam negligentiam** patiantur. ⁷ Quibus fratribus **infirmis** sit **cella** super se deputata et seruiitor timens Deum et diligens ac sollicitus. ⁸ **Balnearum usus** infirmis quotiens expedit offeratur – **sanis** autem et maxime **iuuenibus tardius concedatur**. ⁹ Sed et carni esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerunt, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant. ¹⁰ **Curam** autem maximam **habeat abbas** ne **a cellarariis** aut **a seruiitoribus neglegantur infirmi**. Et ipsum respicit quicquid a discipulis delinquitur.

15.9-12 *RBen* 37: De senibus uel infantibus

¹ Licet ipsa natura humana trahatur ad misericordiam in his **aetatibus**, senum uidelicet et infantum, tamen et **regulae** auctoritas eis prospiciat. ² **Consideretur** semper in eis **inbecillitas** et ullatenus eis districtio **regulae teneatur** in alimentis, ³ **sed sit in eis pia** consideratio et praeueniant horas canonicas.

Fortleben

15 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 45.25, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XV

15.1-6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.2/3, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum pater ait “Horum...

15.6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.6/7, followed by a quotation from *RT* 21

(Infirmantibus... expendat)

15.8 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.8, connected with a quotation from *RI* 20 (Lauacra... salutis)

15.9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.10, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magistri ait “Abbas...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on the care of the sick in other monastic rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 40-48; 105; 129; *RPac Iud* 5; 12 | *RBas* 36; 177 | *AugPraec* III.3-5; V.5-8 | *RIVP* 3.15-20 | *3RP* 12 | *CaesRV* 22.3-4; 30.7; 31; 32.1-3; 42; 71 | *CaesRM* 17; 24.2 | *RAM* 53 | *RAV* 37 | *RT* 21 | *RM* 28.13-18; 69-70 | *RBen* 36-37; 39; 40.2-3 | *RI* 21 | *RFruc* 9; 23 | *RCom* 6-7 | *RD* 12 | *Institutio canonicorum* 142 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 23 | *V. patrum Iurensium* 171 | *V. Bertilae* 2; *VCol* I.7; II.10; II.17.

References to the care of the sick in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.8; 3.12; 14.5; 14.12

15.1 The opening sentence is structured as in *RcuiV* 5, 6, 9 and *De accedendo* 1-2. | The only earlier witness for the use of *similiter* in Matth. 7, 12 is Caesarius, *Sermo* 39, which may have

also been a source of inspiration for *RcuiV* 5. | *piaetas auctoris* is unique. | *auctor* for God: *RColM* 7; *V. Sadalbergae* 12.

15.3 Matth. 25, 36 with *uenistis ad* in place of *uisitastis* only in Adam Scotus, *De tripartito tabernaculo* II.14, *PL* 126, col. 728D.

15.6-7 Cfr *RBen* 39.1-2; *V. patrum Iurensium* 171.

15.8 Cfr *AugPraec* V.5; *CaesRV* 31; *RLea* 20; *RD* 12.12. | *Cura medendi: RcuiV* 1.13.

15.9 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.8; *CaesRV* 32.2-3; 42; *RAM* 53; *RAV* 37; *RBen* 15.9; *RCom* 7. See also commentary on *RcuiV* 1.18.

15.12 *Tenor regulae* (also *RcuiV* 3.25): *VCol* II.13; *VIoh* 19. The expression *tenor regularis* appears in *VCol* I.1; II.10; *VIoh* 2; 3.

XVI. DE CASIBVS QVI PER NEGLENTIAM AVT EVENTV SVPERVENIVNT

¹ Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis **delinquitur**, abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. ² Id est in refectorio, **in quoquina**, in dormitorio **uel in** qualibet utilitate **aut fregerit aut perdiderit** aut neglegenter dimiserit, ³ omnia secundum suum modulum sint pensanda et iuxta aetatem uel teneram uel senilem uel uiridem sunt corrigenda. ⁴ Quia, si in minimis neglegentiae uitium non corrigitur, mens uitata in minoribus culpis in maiora dilabatur **delicta**.

⁵ Si soror, quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa, statim **abbatissae** uel praepositae puram dederit confessionem, et conpertum fuerit non suae uoluntatis fuisse quod casu accidit, ⁶ hoc tantummodo sufficiat, ut hoc, quod **deliquit** et perpetravit, si possit fieri, non deneget, et emendet cum ueniae **satisfactione**. ⁷ Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius **proditione cognitum fuerit**, ⁸ prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit paenitentiae **subiacebit**, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit. ⁹ **Si uero** ex maioribus culpis quod ad **animae** maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet **abbatissae**, ¹⁰ ne, dum tepore animi culpam **detegere** uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat.

XVI ON ACCIDENTS WHICH OCCUR THROUGH NEGLIGENCE OR BY CHANCE

¹ The fault of negligence, which is committed often through many accidents, is to be examined by the judgment of the abbess. ² That is to say: whatever [a nun] breaks or loses or negligently

leaves behind in the kitchen, in the dormitory or for whatever purpose, ³ should all be examined on the basis of its impact and is to be corrected according to the nun's age, whether she is tender, old, or youthful. ⁴ Because, if the vice of negligence is not corrected in the smallest things, the mind tainted by smaller faults will tumble into greater offences.

⁵ If a sister, who tumbles into these accidents, immediately gives plain confession to the abbess or prioress, and it is found out that what has happened by accident was not because of her will, ⁶ this alone should be sufficient, that she does not deny what she has committed and carried out and, if it is possible, makes up for it with the excuse of pardon. ⁷ But if it becomes known not through her confession but through the disclosure of another [nun], she will be subject to penance, according to what the greatness of the guilt demands, ⁸ because she has not made her offence known through plain confession. ⁹ But if out of greater guilt she commits what leads to greater damnation of the soul, she should make it known to her abbess through a plain confession of her own will, ¹⁰ lest, she, while she is ashamed to uncover her offence out of the tepidity of her soul, hides the face of devil within herself through her state of guilt.

Apparatus biblicus

16.6-7 Cfr Ps. 31/32, 5

Apparatus criticus

16.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

16.1-10 *codd.*: *M F' V T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

16.3 (secundum...corrigenda) *ed.*: *s*

16.5-8 (Si...subiacebit) *ed.*: *s*

16.9-10 *ed.*: *s*

16.1 negligentiae] decem sermone *add in marg.* *M*, negligentia *M² K h* | pensanda *me h* | **16.2** negligenter *M² K h* | **16.3** suum modulum] modulum proprium *s* | sint *s c*] sunt *V P me h* | pensandae *s* | aetatem] delinquentium id est *add. s* | uirilem *s c* | corrigendi *s* | **16.4** negligentiae uitium] negligentiae uitium *M² K h*, negligentia uitiorum *c* | **16.5** fuerit¹ *om. M* | **16.6** perpetravit *om. s* | possit *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] possis *ω M F^{'ac} T A^{ac}*, possibile *h* | fieri *c*] fuerit *F^{'ac} A^{ac}* | et² *add. F^{pc} me h* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] *om. ω M F^{'ac} V T P A* | **16.9** pertinet *h* | commiserit *coni. Ponesse*] *om. M c*, aliquem commiserit frater *add. s*, aliquam commiserit *h* | **16.10** tepore *c me*] tempore *F' V T P A h s*

Fortleben

16 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 36.3, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVI

16.3 (secundum...corrigenda) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.4, *inc.* Supra enim nominatae negligentiae "secundum..."

16.5-8 (Si...subiacebit) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.4

16.9-10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.6, *inc.* Hortamur autem quod “si...

Apparatus fontium

RBen 46: De his qui in aliis quibuslibet rebus **delinquant**.

¹ Si quis dum in labore quouis, **in coquina**, in cellario, in ministerio, in pistrino, in horto, in arte aliqua dum laborat, **uel in** quocumque loco, aliquid **deliquerit**, ² **aut fregerit** quippiam **aut perdiderit**, uel aliud quid excesserit ubi, ³ et non ueniens continuo ante **abbatem** uel congregationem ipse ultro **satisfecerit** et **prodiderit delictum** suum, ⁴ dum per alium **cognitum fuerit**, maiori **subiaceat** emendationi. ⁵ **Si animae uero** peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum **abbati** aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, ⁶ qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non **detegere** et publicare.

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on the care of monastic property and tools in this rule and in other rules: see chapter 13. Two episodes in Jonas’ work address this type of negligence: *VCol* I.16 on a monk forgetting to close the tap of a beer vessel and *VIoh* 7 on the monks leaving their sickles in the fields. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II.6.

16.1-6 *Memoriale qualiter* I IV, p. 245: *Si aliquid in cellario, in refectorio, in coquina, uel in quolibet frater neglexerit, perdiderit, fuderit, fregerit, aut aliquid damnum intulerit, statim recurrat ad ueniam postulandam, et si talis res est quam neglexerit in manu teneat in terra prostratus ueniam postulando, ostendens quid contigerit*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter* II VII, p. 279.

16.1 *Abbatissae iudicio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

16.2 Cfr *RM* 16.41-42.

16.3 Cfr *RCom* 8. | *aetas tenera* (also *RcuiV* 20.13; 24.3): *VCol* II.8; II.13; *V. Bertilae* 1: *in tenera aetate*. *Aetas tenera* appears in no other monastic rule except for *RI* 12. The combination *aetas tenera, aetas senilis* and *aetas uiridis* is unique.

16.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12; 12.29; 24.3; *RColC* 1.

16.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 25.1. | *Pura confessio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 6.5. | On confessing *neglegentia* cfr *RD* prologue.25. | *V. Bertilae* 5: *puritate confessionis*.

16.6 *Veniae satisfactio* very rare before the ninth century.

16.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 18.4; *RM* 12.4.

19.9-10: 10 Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.9 | *Memoriale qualiter* I IV, p. 249: *...melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, qua si semper manifestamus iniquam eius suggestionem, minus nos nocere poterit*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter* II VII, p. 280.

19.9 Cfr *RT* 8.3-5.

16.10 Cfr *RcuiV* 14.7-8. | Cfr Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 237.3. | The expression *facies diaboli* is rare; in this context it is unique.

XVII. DE EO QVOD NVLLA MONACHA IN MONASTERIO DEBEAT PROPRIVM
ALIQVID VINDICARE

¹ **Proprii aliquid** in **monasterio** nihil **haben**[fol. 213^b]dum, sed potius propter nomen Domini omnia contemnenda. ² Quid enim **proprium aliquid** suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, *cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo?* ³ Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo, ⁴ quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo? ⁵ **Amputandum ergo est hoc uitium radicitus** ab omni monacha, ut **nullam rem**, uel in uestimentis seu in calciamentis uel in quibuslibet rebus, sibi uindicet uel **suum** esse **dicat**, ⁶ nisi quantum ex **abbatissae iussione** penes se precipitur retinere, ac si custos alterius, non **propriae** rei domina.

⁷ Et ea, quae sibi ab **abbatissa** fuerint commendata, id est ad **necessitatem** presentem, aut in uestimento aut in qualibet re, nihil exinde aut **dare aut** commodare cuiquam **praesumat**, nisi tantum, si ab abbatissa illi fuerit ordinatum. ⁸ Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus **uoluntates** propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?

⁹ **Omnia** ergo, quae in monasterio habentur, **sint omnibus communia**, iuxta quod in actibus Apostolorum legimus: *Et erant, inquit, eis omnia communia.* ¹⁰ Sic tamen **communia** sunt habenda, ut **nulla** aut **dare aut accipere**, nisi **abbatissa** ordinante **praesumat**, ¹¹ ne cupiditatis aut temeritatis malum incurrens in laqueum, Iudae proditoris consortio numeretur, qui solus in numero Apostolorum loculos habuisse refertur, ubi commutantium ac uendentium commertia ponebantur. ¹² **Quod si huic uitio** aliqua sororum **delectari fuerit depraehensa**, et post primam, secundam [fol. 213^{va}] uel tertiam **correptionem emendare** noluerit, disciplinae regulari **subiacebit**.

XVII. ON [THE TOPIC] THAT NO NUN IN THE MONASTERY SHOULD CLAIM ANYTHING AS HER OWN

¹ In the monastery nothing may be held as property, but all things are rather to be despised on behalf of the Lord's name. ² For how should a faithful soul claim something of the things of the world as her own – [a soul] to whom *the world is crucified, and who is crucified to the world?* ³ Why should someone, who is once and for all dead to the world, resume to live in the world

through some greed for temporal things or any miserable longing – ⁴ someone who, having despised the world, had already begun to live for God?

⁵ Therefore, this vice has to be cut off by every nun at the root, so that she does not claim anything for herself or say that it is hers, be it clothing or shoes or any other things, ⁶ except in as much she is instructed to keep for it herself by the order of the abbess – as if she is a guardian of someone else’s things but not as the mistress of her own things.

⁷ And whatever clothes or other things are entrusted to her by the abbess, that is for present need, she should thereafter not dare to give or to lend to anyone, unless it is ordered of her by the abbess.

⁹ All objects that are kept in the monastery should be for all in common, according to what we read in the Acts of the Apostles: *And everything, he says, they held in common.* ¹⁰ In such a way, however, are the things to be held in common, that no one dares to give or to receive, unless by the order of the abbess, ¹¹ lest they run into the evil trap of greed or recklessness and be counted among the company of the traitor Judas, who is told to have been as the only among the number of Apostles with a purse, where the commerce of traders and sellers was kept. ¹² But if any of the sisters is caught indulging in this vice, and she does not want to improve after the first, second, or third reproach, she will be subject to the punishment of the rule.

Apparatus biblicus

17.2 Cfr Gal. 6, 14 | **17.3** Cfr Col. 2, 20 | **17.4** Cfr Rom. 6, 10 | **17.7** Cfr I Cor. 1, 26 | **17.9** Act. 4, 32 | **17.11** Cfr Ioh. 12, 6; Ioh 13, 29

Apparatus criticus

17.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

17.1-12 *codd.*: *M F V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

17.2-4 *ed.*: *s*

17.7-8 (aut...potestatem) *ed.*: *s*

17.title in] *om. h* | VINDICA *M^{ac} ma* | **17.1** de excommunicatione *in marg. M* | **17.2**

Quid...uidicet] Quid enim proprium habere potest sanctus monachus, qui nec corpus suum nec uoluntatem suam in suam reseruauit potestatem, sed totum se abnegauit sibi ut sequatur

Christum? Quid de mundo habere potest proprium *s* | ipsa] ipse *T P A*, ille *s* | **17.3** mundo

mortua] mortuus est mundo *s* | quur] cur *M² K h* | quur...de] nec desiderando nec possidendo res

mundi debet iterum uiuere mundo. Semel enim relicto implicare se non debet mundo *s* | incipiat *V*

W T A^{ac}] incipiet *P A^{pc} h*, incipit *F me c* | **17.7** fuerint *me h s c*] fuerant *M* | si] *om. h* | **17.9** inquit

F W] *om. V T P A* | **17.12** correctionem *h*

Apparatus fontium

RBen 33: Si quid debent **monachi proprium habere**

¹ Praecipue **hoc uitium radicitus amputandum est de monasterio**, ² ne quis **praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine iussione abbatis**, ³ neque **aliquid habere proprium, nullam omnino rem**, neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque grafium, sed nihil omnino, ⁴ quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec uoluntates licet habere in **propria uoluntate**; ⁵ omnia uero **necessaria** a patre sperare monasterii, nec quicquam liceat habere quod **abbas** non dederit aut permiserit. ⁶ **Omniaque omnium sint communia**, ut scriptum est, ne quisquam **suum** aliquid **dicat** uel **praesumat**. ⁷ **Quod si** quisquam **huic** nequissimo **uitio depraehensus fuerit delectari**, admoneatur semel et iterum; ⁸ si non **emendauerit, correptioni subiaceat**.

Fortleben

17 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 42.23, inc. Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVII

17.2-4 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 33.4, following *RBen* 33.4

17.7-8 (aut...potestatem) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 33.1-2, inc. Non enim oportet monachum de his quae pro necessitate praesentis temporis ab abbate suscepit, “aut...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on private property in other monastic rules: *RPac Pr* 81-83 | *LOrs* 21-22 | *RBas* 29; 104-106 | *AugOM* 4 | *AugPraec* I.3 | *RCas* 32; 34 | *2RP* 1.5-6 | *CaesRV* 5-6; 17.1; 21 | *CaesRM* 1-2 | *RAM* 25 | *RAV* 21 | *RT* 2 | *RFer* 10; 35.7-9 | *RPS* 27 | *RM* 16.58-61; 82; 90.63 | *RLea* 28 | *RI* 3.1; 19 | *RFruc* 4; 6; 11 | *RcuiP* 15.2-3; 17 | *RD* 8 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, pp. 247-248/252 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, pp. 277-281 | *Institutio canonicorum* 115-120.

17.1-12 Cfr *VCol* I.5: *Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur.*

17.2-4 Cfr *LOrs* 20

17.2 Gal. 6, 2 is used in a similar context in *CaesRV* 52.6-7; *RM* 91.62; *RColM* 4; *RcuiP* 11.4; *VCol* II.13. | On rhetorical questions, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.3. The same argument is used in *RcuiV* 23.2-6. | *VCol* II.13: *ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*

17.3 Cfr *RcuiP* 15.7. | *Semel mundo mortua* appears in a slightly different context in Ambrose, *De institutione uirginis* 16.103. | Similar rhetorical questions can be found in Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.27.

17.4 On *contemptus mundi*, cfr Isidore, *Liber sententiarum* III.16. | *Coeparat*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.14-15.

17.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 28.2-3; 32.4-5; *RBen* 55.17. | *calciamentum*: cfr *CaesRV* 32.5. | *Amputandum...radicitus*: Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.5; VII.21.

17.6 Cfr *CaesRV* 29.2.

17.7-12 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, pp. 247-248: *Nihil dare aut accipere sine permissione abbatis. Se nihil habere proprium, nisi quod abbas dederit aut habere permiserit. Abundet unicuique in cibo et potu uel uestimento, quantum regula ministrare praecipit; qui autem plus habere uoluerit, occasionem contra se occulti hostis nostri excitari pertimescat*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

17.7 Cfr *RPac Pr* 106; *2RP* 10; *RBen* 55.

17.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.4; *RM* 90.48-59. The rhetorical question is probably modelled after *RBas* 106: *Quomodo licebit de utensilibus contradicere, huic praecipue cui cura commissa est?*

17.9 Cfr *AugPraec* I.3; *CaesRV* 20.6-7; *RcuiP* 17.1.

17.11 Cfr *RM* 13.9-14. | This passage is most likely inspired by Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.23-24.

17.12 Cfr *Rcui* 18.2. | *Disciplina regularis subiacebit: RcuiV* 6.8, 18.5, 19.11; 20.1; *disciplina regularis subiaceat* appears six times in the *RBen*. Note the use of *subiaceat* in *RBen* and *subiacebit* in *RcuiV*.

XVIII. DE CVLPARVM EXCOMMVNICATIONE

¹ **Si qua** uero soror instigante diabolo **contumax uel superba**, seu **inoboediens uel murmurans** apparuerit, **uel** etiam **in** quocumque casu lapsa, **seniorum precepta uel sanctae regulae** normam uiolare temptauerit, ² **haec secundum praeceptum Domini secreto a senioribus semel** uel bis corripitur. ³ **Si emendare noluerit**, tunc simul ab **omni** congregatione **obiurgetur**, ⁴ et **si sic** emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpa magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut **excommunicationi subiaceat**, si eius antea **intellectus** uiguit, ⁵ aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpa et **inprobitas** perseueret, tunc **corporali** disciplinae **subiacebit**.

XVIII. ON THE EXCOMMUNICATION FOR OFFENCES

¹ If any sister through the instigation of the devil appears to be insolent or haughty, disobedient or grumbling, or – having fallen into any misstep – attempts to violate the precepts of the elders and the norm of the holy rule, ² she is to be reproached secretly by the elders once or twice, according to the precept of the Lord. ³ If she does not want to improve, then she should be rebuked by the entire congregation, ⁴ and if she does not want to improve after that, then she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it. That is, she either should be subject to excommunication, if her understanding is strong [enough] beforehand, ⁵ or, if the tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind persists, then she will be subject to corporal punishment.

Apparatus biblicus

18.1-3 Cfr Matth. 18, 15-17 | **18.5** Cfr Prou. 28, 14

Apparatus criticus

18.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

18.1-5 *codd.*: *M F' V T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma s c*

18.2 uel *s*] ab *F' T*, ac *c* | **18.5** obstinatae *s c*] obstinata *M K h*, obstinate *T* | inprobitatis *h*

Apparatus fontium

RBen 23: **De excommunicatione culparum**

¹ **Si** quis frater **contumax** aut **inobediens** aut **superbus** aut **murmurans uel in** aliquo contrarius existens **sanctae regulae** et **praeceptis seniorum** suorum contemptor repertus fuerit, ² **hic secundum Domini** nostri **praeceptum** admoneatur **semel** et secundo **secrete a senioribus** suis. ³ **Si non emendauerit, obiurgetur** publice coram **omnibus**. ⁴ **Si** uero neque **sic** correxerit, **si intellegit** qualis poena sit, **excommunicationem subiaceat**; ⁵ sin autem **improbus** est, uindictae **corporali** subdatur.

Fortleben

18 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 30.15, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVIII

18 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 23.5, *inc.* Ait quidam patrum “Si...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on discipline, punishment and excommunication in other rules: *RPac Pr*

133/135 | *RPac Inst* 13 | *RPac Iud* 8-9 | *RBas* 16-28; 122 | *AugOM* 10 | *AugPraec* IV.8; VI.3 | *RIVP* 5.1-10 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.16 | *RCas* 13-14; 39 | *2RP* 5.27-30; 7.40-45 | *RMac* 27 | *ROr* 14-15; 20; 32-35 | *CaesRV* 24, 34, 65 | *CaesRM* 23 | *RAM* 38; 40-42 | *RAV* 28; 30-32 | *RT* 22.5-12 | *RFer* 38 | *RPS* 36 | *RM* 12-14; 19.13-17 | *RI* 14-18 | *RFruc* 12-15 | *FruPac* | *RCom* 6; 8-9; 14; 19 | *RColC* | *RcuiP* 4; 7-8; 25 | *RD* 22; 69-74 | *RColV* | *Ordo Casinensis* I.9 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, pp. 242-243/248-249 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, pp. 277-281 | *Institutio canonicorum* 134 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 18 | *V. Rictrudis* 26-27

Regulations on discipline and punishment in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.9; 1.11-13; 1.16-17; 2.13-16; 3.14-16; 6.24-30; 7.4; 7.6; 8.4-12; 9.20; 10; 12.12; 12.15; 12.29; 14.12; 16.1-2; 17.12; 18-21, 23.9, 24.2-5.

18.1 Cfr *CaesRV* 17.2; *RColM* 1. | The expression *instigante diaboli* appears in similar context in *CaesRV* 23.1, 26.2; *RAM* 12; *RAV* 10; *RT* 19.11; *RD* 50.1; 52.2. It is likely that Jonas was inspired by the *CaesRV*. | *in quocumque casu lapsa*: cfr *RIVP* 3.14. | *sancta regula*: *VCol* II.9 but also *CaesRV* 43; 62 | *V. Bertilae* 2: *sub norma sanctae regulae*.

18.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 17.12.

18.3 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.12 | *CaesRV* 26.6 | *VCol* II.19: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*. | *VCol* I.5: *Si quempiam his labere in utiis repperissent, simul omnes aequo iure neglegentem correctionibus cedere studebant*.

18.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 16.8. | Cfr *RIVP* 5.1. | For *uiguit*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.2. | *Intellectus uigere* (very rare): Benedict of Aniane, *Excerptus diuersarum modus poenitentiarum*.

18.5 *VCol II.22: durae ac ignauae mentis; II.10: si misera mens duritiam uecordiae molliret.*

XVIII. QVALIS DEBEAT ESSE EXCOMMVNICATIO

¹ **Excommunicationis mensura qualis esse debeat**, iustum scientibus librare **iudicium culpae modus** ostendit. ² **Leuioribus** enim **culpīs** leuior est adhibenda correptio, **grauioribus** uero feruentior est exhibenda damnatio. ³ Proinde **abbatissae** studio est pensandum, ⁴ ut si aliqua soror in **leuioribus inueniatur** obnoxia **culpīs**, usque ad indictam sibi horam **mensa priuetur**. ⁵ **De grauioribus** uero seu dierum uel ebdomadaram uel mensium definitio in longius protracta correptione finiatur, ⁶ ea tamen regula, **ut** si amplius quam septem dierum spatium excommunicationis percurret, ⁷ quamdiu paenitentiae sub statuto tempore ordo retentus fuerit, sicut **a mensa** loco suo **priuetur**, ita et in ecclesia segregetur, ut in loco, in quo ante fuit, nec **psal[fol. 213^{vb}]mum** cantet, nec ullum ordinem teneat, ⁸ **usque** dum **satisfactio** humili cum cordis contritione ab abbatissa uel a senioribus ueniam mereatur. ⁹ **Excommunicata** uero soror, quae **culpīs grauioribus** existentibus, aut cellula recluditur, aut a **consortio** congregationis separatur, ¹⁰ a **nullo** paenitus aut **conloquia** aut uisitationis munus fruatur, nisi tantummodo, cui praeceptum ab abbatissa fuerit. ¹¹ Si qua transgressa hanc regulam fuerit, regulari paenitentiae subiacebit.

XVIII. OF WHAT SORT EXCOMMUNICATION SHOULD BE

¹ What measure of excommunication should be applied shows the kind of the offence to those who know how to weigh a just judgment. ² For milder offences a milder reproach is to be applied, but for more severe ones a more ardent damnation is to be displayed. ³ Therefore it needs to be determined by the zeal of the abbess, ⁴ that if a sister is found guilty of a lesser offence, she should be excluded from table until an hour determined for her. ⁵ But about more severe offences a definition [for an excommunication] of days or weeks or months has to be determined as a reproach protracted into a longer period, ⁶ according to this rule, however, that if she passes through a period of excommunication of more than seven days, ⁷ as long as the order of penance has been retained under the assigned time, that she, just as she

should be deprived from her place at the table, so also she should be separated in the church, so that she does not sing a Psalm in the place where she has been before and does not hold any rank, 8 until she deserves mercy from the abbess or from the seniors through humble satisfaction with contrition of the heart. 9 But an excommunicated sister, who because of manifestly more severe offences is either shut off in a small cell or separated from the company of the congregation, 10 may absolutely not enjoy the gift of a conversation or a visit, unless by someone who has received an order from the abbess. 11 If someone transgresses this rule, she will be subject to a penance according to the rule.

Apparatus biblicus

Apparatus criticus

19.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

19.1-11 *codd.*: *M F' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

19.1-5 *ed.*: *s*

19.9-11 *codd.*: *F'bis Vbis Tbis Pbis Abis*, *ed.*: *mebis cbis* (The text appears twice in the *Concordia regularum*.)

19.2 correctio *h* | adhibenda *K h* | **19.3** abbatissae] abbati *F' V W P A s*, abbatis *T c* | est pensandum] *tr. s c* | **19.5** mensium *me h s c*] mensuum *M* | correctione *h* | **19.7** priuatur *c* | ante *W T*] antea *c* | **19.10** aut] *om. h* | colloquia *F' T F'bis Tbis*] colloquia *M² K h*, colloquio *c*, colloquio *Cbis* | munus *F' W A^{ac} F'bis Tbis*] munere *c c^{bis}* | **19.11** paenitentia *M^{ac}*

Apparatus fontium

19.1-8 *RBen* 24: **Qualis debet esse modus excommunicationis?**

1 Secundum **modum culpae**, et **excommunicationis** uel disciplinae **mensura debet** extendi; 2 qui **culparum modus** in **abbatis** pendat **iudicio**. 3 Si quis tamen frater in **leuioribus culpis inuenitur**, a **mensae** participatione **priuatur**. 4 Priuati autem a **mensae** consortio ista erit ratio **ut** in oratorio **psalmum** aut antiphonam non imponat, neque lectionem recitet, **usque ad satisfactionem**. 5 Refectionem autem cibi post fratrum refectionem solus accipiat, 6 ut, si uerbi gratia fratres reficiunt sexta hora, ille frater nona, si fratres nona, ille uespera, 7 usque dum **satisfactione** congrua ueniam consequatur.

19.5-8 *RBen* 25: **De grauioribus culpis.**

1 Is autem frater qui **grauioris culpae** noxa tenetur suspendatur a **mensa**, simul ab oratorio. 2 **Nullus** ei fratrum in nullo iungatur **consortio** nec in **colloquio**. 3 Solus sit ad opus sibi iniunctum, persistens in **paenitentiae** luctu, sciens illam terribilem Apostoli sententiam dicentis 4 *traditum eiusmodi hominem in interitum carnis, ut spiritus saluus sit in die Domini* (I Cor. 5, 5). 5 Cibi autem refectionem solus percipiat, mensura uel hora qua praeuiderit abbas ei competere; 6 nec a quoquam benedicatur transeunte nec cibum quod ei datur.

19.9-11 *RBen* 26: De his qui sine iussione iungunt se **excommunicatis**.

¹ Si quis frater praesumpserit sine iussione **abbatis** fratri excommunicato quolibet modo se iungere aut **loqui** cum eo uel mandatum ei dirigere, ² similem sortiatur excommunicationis uindictam.

Fortleben

19 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 31.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVIII.

19.9-11 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 34.8, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam ex cap. XVIII.

19.1-5 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 34.2, *inc.* Item ex regula cuiusdam “Excommunicationis...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on discipline, punishment, and excommunication in other rules and in this rule: see chapter 18.

Regulations on a monastic prison in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 20.9-12; 21.4.

19.1 Eucherius of Lyon, *Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae* 8: *Item, iustum iudicium uel mentis libratio in Dei et proximi aequa libratione.*

19.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12 on *discretio* of punishment.

19.3 *Studio abbatissae*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

19.4 Cfr *CaesRV* 12.

19.8 *Contritio cordis: RcuiV* 6.26; *De accedendo* 7.

19.9-10 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; *RT* 5.4; *RM* 13.54-59; *RcuiP* 7.5; *RI* 18.2; *RFruc* 13-14; *RCom* 14 | On incarceration, cfr *RD* 3.10 (Donatus’ addition); *RD* 5.9 (Donatus’ addition); *RcuiP* 4; 6; 7; 8; 10. Donatus is closer to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than to the *Regula Benedicti* by imposing imprisonment instead of expulsion as the last resort.

19.10 Cfr *RCas* 13.2; *RAM* 36; *RD* 71; *RColC* 8. | The expression *a nullo* is either male or gender neutral. Since this appears in the context of excommunication, the *munus uisitacionis* might be an act of pastoral care exercised by a priest. *RcuiV* 22.22-23 refers to visits of a priest as well and aims at limiting any uncontrolled communication between the nuns and a visiting priest. However, another gender error can be found in *RcuiV* 11.2.

XX. DE HIS QVAE PRO SEDVLA CORREPTIONIS CVRA SAEPIVS CORREPTAE EMENDARE NOLVNT

¹ Soror **si saepius correpta emendare noluerit, excommunicatione pro modo culpa** corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc **uerberum uindictae** subiacebit. ² **Quod si** sic emendare noluerit, sed magis **in tumorem superbiae elata, opera** uel actus de quibus corrigitur, **defenderit**, ³ **tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine** corrigatur, quia scriptum est: *Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est.* ⁴ Moderante ergo scientia saniae **medendi cura adhibeatur.** ⁵ Si

loetale uulnus per **fomenta** castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis **unguenta** sospitati non redditur, saltem **incisionibus** amputetur. ⁶ Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit, tunc **excommunicationis** sententiam uel disciplinae corporalis poenam incurrat. ⁷ Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab **omni** congregatione **pro ea** communis **Dominus orationum** officio deprecetur, ⁸ ut quae [fol. 214^a] laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur. ⁹ **Quod si nec** sic corripi uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus preter custodibus segregata, ¹⁰ tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat, ¹¹ quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur. ¹² Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes. ¹³ Tenera uero aetas, quae excommunicata uim nescit, non **excommunicatione**, sed flagello corrigenda est.

XX. ON THOSE WHO DO NOT WISH TO BETTER THEMSEVLES AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN REPROACHED MORE OFTEN IN KEEPING WITH THE CONTINUOUS CARE OF REPROACHMENT

¹ If a sister who has frequently been reproached does not want to better herself, she should be corrected through excommunication according to the extent of her guilt. If in this way the correction of the one who reproves does not accomplish anything, she will be subject to the punishment of floggings. ² But if she does not want to better herself in this way, but even, exalted by the swelling of pride, defends the works and deeds for which she is corrected, ³ then she is to be corrected as directed by the knowledge of the abbess, because it is written: *Unhappy is he who casts punishment aside.* ⁴ Therefore, the cure for healing should be applied to the infection by the moderation of knowledge. ⁵ If the lethal wound is not restored to health through the poultices of castigation and the ointment of love and mildness, it should at least be amputated by incisions. ⁶ And if the infection, after having been cut in this way, does not lose its swelling, then let her incur the sentence of excommunication and the penalty of corporeal punishment. ⁷ And if she is not broken either by the fear of excommunication or the punishment of the whip, the tinder of love should be increased even more so that the entire congregation prays to the Lord who is common to all in a service of prayer for her, ⁸ so that she who is kept entangled in the trap of the

devil, may be healed by the mercy and love of the Lord. ⁹ But if she does not want to be chastised in such a way, she is to be separated within the confines of the monastery from all except the guards, according to the letter of penance, ¹⁰ and she should so long be chastised by various forms of reproach until her humility is revealed to all in true credulity, ¹¹ since healing is often given even to those who are reluctant. ¹² For that reason she is to be placed apart from the congregation, so that she does not defile the innocent through her vice. ¹³ But one of tender age, who does not know the implications of being excommunicated, is to be corrected not through excommunication but by the scourge.

Apparatus biblicus

20.3 Sap. 3, 11 | **20.8** Cfr II Tim. 2, 25-26 | **20.11** Cfr Matth. 22, 2-14

Apparatus criticus

20.title *codd.*: *MK*; *ed.* *h ma*

20.1-13 *codd.*: *MF' V W T P A K*; *edd.*: *me h ma s c*

20.title *per h* | *sedulam h* | *curam h* | *correctae h* | *noluerunt h* | **20.1** *correctio W s*] *correptio c* | *uerbum F^{vac} W* | **20.2** *emendare c*] *emendari s* | *elata s c*] *elatus F^{pc} P A* | **20.3** *scientiae*] *sententiae F' V P A ma* | **20.4** *saniae*] *sanie V*, *saniei P A me h* | **20.5** *leue tale V P A*, *vero tale s* | *piaetatis M^{pc}* | *unguenta me h s c*] *ungenta M*, *ungunta F^{ac}*, *unguenta F^{pc}* | *saltem me h* | **20.5/6** *saltem...amiserit om. s* | **20.6** *sic*] *sc M^{ac}* | *tunc*] *tam h* | *penam K* | **20.7** *officio me h s c*] *officia ω MF^{vac} W A^{ac}* | **20.8** *ut add. V P A me h s*] *om. ω MF' W T c* | *irretita M² K h* | *piaetate M^{pc}* | **20.9** *corrigi P A h* | *baenitentiae M^{ac}* | **20.10** *correctionibus h* | *credulitate K^{pc} me h s c*] *crudelitate M* | **20.11** *quia*] *quoniam h* | **20.12** *separanda M^{pc}*, *seperandus c*, *separandum W*

Apparatus fontium

20.1-12 *RBen 28: De his qui saepius correpti emendare noluerint*

¹ **Si** quis frater frequenter **correptus pro** qualibet **culpa**, si etiam **excommunicatus non emendauerit**, acior ei accedat **correptio**, id est ut **uerberum uindicta** in eum procedant. ² **Quod si** nec ita correxerit, aut forte – quod absit – **in superbia elatus** etiam **defendere uoluerit opera** sua, **tunc abbas** faciat quod sapiens **medicus**: ³ si exhibuit **fomenta**, si **unguenta** adhortationum, si **medicamina** scripturarum diuinarum, si ad ultimum ustionem **excommunicationis** uel plagarum uirgae, ⁴ et iam si uiderit nihil suam praeualere industriam, **adhibeat** etiam – quod maius est – suam et **omnium fratrum pro eo orationem**, ⁵ ut **Dominus** qui omnia potest operetur salutem circa infirmum fratrem. ⁶ **Quod si nec** isto modo **sanatus** fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro **abscisionis**, ut ait Apostolus: *Auferite malum ex uobis* (I Cor. 5, 13), ⁷ et iterum: *Infidelis, si discedit, discedat* (I Cor. 7, 15), ⁸ ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet.

20.13 *RBen 30*: ¹ Omnis aetas uel intellectus proprias debet habere mensuras. ² Ideoque, quotiens pueri uel adulescentiores aetate, aut qui minus intellegere possunt quanta poena sit **excommunicationis**, ³ hii tales dum delinquent, aut ieiuniis nimis affligantur aut acris uerberibus coerceantur, ut sanentur.

Fortleben

20 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 37.13, *inc.* Item eiusdem.

20 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 28.6, *inc.* Hinc quidem in cuiusdam patris scriptum est regula “Frater...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on discipline punishment and excommunication in other rules and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: see chapter 18.

20.1-8 Cfr *VCol* II.1: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praeberere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur. Diuque castigatos cum secum tenere non ualeret, merore animi turbatus, multis precibus cum pietatis obsequio prosequeretur, ut se non relinquerent et ardui itineris calle non deuiarent meminiscerentque patres per mortificationem et contemptum praesentis uitae regna caelorum possidere. Cum nihil iam proficere cerneret nec alibi trahentes animos suae societatis abenis inretiri posse uidisset, pertinaces ire sinit; qui postquam segregati ab eo, alii eorum marinis sunt sinibus reocepti, alii locum heremi ob libertatem habendam petire.* See also *VCol* I.19: *...comminaturque excommunicationem, si emendare dilatando non uelit.*

20.2-6 The metaphor of healing for imposing discipline, linked with the role of the *scientia abbatis*, appears in *RcuiV* 1.11-14 but in no other monastic rule. It may be inspired by Caesarius, *Sermo* 39.1.

20.2 Cfr *CaesRV* 13.1; *RColM* 1; *RT* 5.2; *RcuiP* 7.3; *RcuiV* 23.1-5. | *tumorem superbiae elatae: RT* 1.16; Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 5.4; *VCol* II.16: *elationis uel superbiae.*

20.3 *abbatis scientiae regimine*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

20.4-6 Cfr *V. patrum Iurensium* 85-86; Cyprian, *De lapsis* 14, *CSEL* 3.1, p. 247, l. 19-23.

20.4 Cfr *RBen* 27.1/6 | *VCol* II.23: *Cum iam egregiis moribus, bonitate et disciplina, scientiam moderantem, plebem regeret.*

20.5 *loetale uulnus*: Cassian, *Institutiones* X.7; see also Pomerius, *De uita complementatiua* II | *VCol* II.18: *per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati.* The expression *sospitatem reddere* appears also in *VCol* II.7; II.23 and *VIoh* 17. See also *V. patrum Iurensium* 85-86; *CaesRV* 24.5-6 (using *uulnus*); 26.4-6 (punishment as act of love).

20.6 Cfr *RcuiP* 9.2-3.

20.7-8 Cfr *RcuiV* 5.4-5; 5.16-29. | Cfr *V. Rictrudis* 27.

20.7 *Frangere: RcuiV* 7.8 | Prayer for the sinner, cfr also *CaesRV* 25.1. | *VCol* I.9: *orationibus Dominum deprecatur.*

20.8 Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De remissione peccatorum* I.9: *Debet ergo et a bonis et a malis tam misericordia diligi quam iustitia formidari: ne uel boni diligentes misericordiam Dei, iustitiam non timeant, et laqueos diaboli seducentis incurrant...* Both texts refer to II Tim. 2, 25-26.

20.9 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; 65.1-3. *CaesRV* 34.1 uses for *custodes* the expression *sorores spirituales*. | Cfr *RcuiV* 21.4 on imprisoning fugitive nuns. | For *septa monasterii*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.23 and p. §.

20.10 *RColM* 1: *Idcirco opus eius abiiciatur, donec illius bona uoluntas cognoscatur.*

20.11 Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* XII.18.

20.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; 65.1-3.

20.13 Cfr *RM* 14.79-87; *RBen* 45.3; *RI* 18.2. | *tenera aetate: VCol* II.8; II.13; *V. Bertilae* 2.

XXI. DE RECEPTIONE SORORIS

¹ Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis **monasterii** discesserit, et foras fugiens postea **recordata** pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, **prius omnium** morum **emendationem** polliceatur. ² Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscat, tunc demum intra septa monasterii **recipiatur**. ³ Et **si** bis aut tertio **hoc** fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur, ⁴ **sic** tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum **probabilis** eius uita inueniatur. ⁵ **Si** uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, **sciat omnem reuersionis aditum** esse in postmodum **denegandum**.

XXI. ON THE RE-ADMISSION OF A SISTER

¹ If at any time – what should be far removed from Christian piety – a sister leaves the confines of the monastery and, after fleeing to the outside, returns, after having remembered her former piety and being daunted by the fear of eternal judgment, she should first promise to improve her entire character. ² After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within the confines of the monastery. ³ And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love, ⁴ but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable. ⁵ But if after the third re-admission she is defiled by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.

Apparatus biblicus

Apparatus criticus**21.title** *codd.: M K; edd.: h ma***21.1-5** *codd.: M F V W T P A K; edd.: me h ma c***21.1-4** *ed. s*

21.1 septis *F^{pc} me h s*] septa *ω M F^{ac} W V T P A^{ac} c*, septo *P A^{pc}* | omnium morum] omnem monasterio *h* | **21.3** bis] his *c* | **21.5** omnem...denegandum] denegandum omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum *c*, denegandum sibi omnem aditum reuersionis *V*, omnem reuersionis aditum sibi negandum *P A* | denegandum *add. M^{pc}, om. F W T*

Apparatus fontium

21 *RBen* 29: Si debeant fratres exeuntes de monasterio iterum **recipi**.

¹ Frater qui proprio uitio egreditur de **monasterio**, si **reuerti** uoluerit, spondeat **prius omnem emendationem** pro quo egressus est, ² et **sic in** ultimo gradu **recipiatur**, ut ex **hoc** eius humilitas **conprobetur**. ³ Quod **si** denuo exierit, usque **tertio** ita **recipiatur**, iam postea **sciens omnem** sibi **reuersionis aditum denegari**.

Fortleben

21 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 38.5, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXI.

21.1-4 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 29.3, *inc.* Item ex regula cuiusdam “Si...

Commentary and parallels

Regulations on fugitive monks/nuns and illicitly leaving the monastery in other rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 84; 136-137 | *RPac Inst* 12 | *RCas* 20 | *RMac* 25; 28 | *3RP* 9-10; 12; 14 | *ROr* 26.6 | *RAM* 2 | *RAV* 1 | *RT* 13.7-8 | *RFer* 20 | *RM* 14.87; 64 | *RLea* 31 | *RI* 24.1 | *RFruc* 22 | *RCom* 4, 20 | *RCons* 7 | *RColC* 8 | *VCol* II.1; II.13; II.19; *VIoh* 3-4; *V. patrum Iurensium* 79-91.

21.1-5 This theme is addressed in *VCol* II.1 on re-admitting monks who came in uprising against Columbanus’ successors, left the monastery in disgrace and were allowed to return. See also *VCol* II.19 on two groups of nuns escaping the monastery of Faremoutiers.

21.1 *Septa monasterii*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.23. | *aeterni iudicii*: *VCol* I.15; II.12 | *perculsa timore*: *VCol* II.23 | *emendationem polliceatur*: cfr *VCol* I.19; II.1; II.13 (otherwise very rare).

21.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 19.9-11; 20.9-12; *RI* 18.2. | *CaesRV* 65.1-3 contains a similar regulation: persistently disobedient nuns have to be locked up in the *saluatorium*, which is the only place belonging both to the monastery and the outside world. In this sense it is the place that is farthest removed from the community. See also *CaesRV* 34.1. | *In extremo loco*: *VCol* II.19. Here two fugitive nuns who did *not* confess and died without reconciliation were buried *in extremum* by the order of the abbess.

21.5 *aditum denegare*: *De accedendo* 12; *VCol* I.9; I.19; I.30 (otherwise rare). | *in postmodum/inpostmodum* appears six times in *VCol* and once in *VIoh* (otherwise very rare).

XXII. QVALITER INVICEM SE HVMILIEN T VEL ORDINES SERVENT VEL IN MINVTIS
ACTIBVS QVALITER SINT SERVANDA PRAECEPTA

¹ Quanto se affectu uel CARITATIS ministerio in monasterio ANIMAE positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt. [fol. 214^b] ² Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officiis demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est. ³ Habet denique latissimum UIRTUTUM copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.

⁴ Sunt etenim nonnulla, quae in actu uidentur exigua, et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur, ⁵ ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis **salutatio**, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut certe piaie purissimum patefacient AFFECTUM.

⁶ Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi, ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant, quae a UERA HUMILITATE ac CARITATE non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum. ⁷ Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas. ⁸ Arripiamus ergo instruere FUNDAMENTUM, ut **ad CULMEN perueniamus uirtutum**. ⁹ Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur.

¹⁰ Et quando sibi mutuatim in **uia** uel in quocumque loco occurrerint, cum omni humilitate ab inuicem flectentes benedictionem rogent. ¹¹ Et si ex eis una senior fuerit, **prius iunior benedictionem** postulet, tunc demum senior prosequatur.

¹² In cursu uero positae, prout ab abbatissa fuerint ordinatae, uel ad **psalmum** canendum uel lectiones recitandas, uel etiam ad **communicandum** euntes suum **ordinem** custodiant, nec **constitutum** sibi locum transilientes in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.

¹³ **Abbatissae** uero studendum est, [fol. 214^{va}] ut per **ordinem** sicut conuersae **in monasterio** fuerint, **ita** in suo **ordine** constituentur, praeter si uberis **conuersatio** religionis **meruerit**, ut inantea promoueatur, uel si grauis culpa exigerit, ut retro **regradetur**. ¹⁴ Siue aliqua ex sororibus cognoscatur seniore affectare **locum**, cum uerecunda castigatione refellatur, quia non debiti honoris locum praesumpsit, nec reigionis commeritum sed ambitionis honorem indebitum conata est arripere.

¹⁵ In consessu sororum si alia superuenerit, quae iuniores sunt ordine, **adsurgant** et seniori locum praebeant.

¹⁶ Iuniores uero senioribus nullatenus superbiendo contradicant, sed cum omni humilitate uel interrogatae uel correptae respondeant. ¹⁷ Si labentem in quodlibet delictum iunior seniore

aspexerit, non exprobrando, sed magis dolendo ad confitendum abbatissae uel praepositae dirigat. Similiter senior iuniori faciat.

18 Ad confessionem ueniens prius prostrata supra humum suam culpam esse dicat. Sic postquam surgere iubetur, suam confessionem manifestet. 19 Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere, quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.

20 Quando ad abbatissam uenitur, cum omni humilitate ueniam petendo accedatur. Similiter, quando egreditur, cum ueniae petitione benedictio quaeratur.

21 Nulla monacharum per semetipsam de propria necessitate abbatissae suggerat, sed omnes per praepositam, quicquid necessitatum fuerit, abbatissae studeant intimare.

22 Si sacerdos uel quilibet relictus uenerit, ut ei per abbatissae [fol. 214^{vb}] commeatum sit occurrendum, a longe adstantes cum omni **humilitate** flectentes genu sub silenti uoce **benedictionem** rogent. 23 Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa, ut cum his aliqua sororum **loquatur**, cum **omni humilitate et** modestia ac sobriaetate loquendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.

XXII. HOW THEY SHOULD HUMBLE THEMSELVES IN FRONT OF EACH OTHER, OBSERVE THE HIERARCHY, AND HOW PRECEPTS ARE TO BE OBSERVED IN LITTLE ACTS

1 The Institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how much affection and service of love the souls placed in the monastery should love themselves. 2 But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favors it must be shown. 3 In the end the crowd [of nuns] has a very wide circle of virtues, because being surrounded [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy who is turned against them.

4 Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be petty as act and yet they are demonstrated by either a lukewarm or a heated motion of the mind to be well observed or neglected things, 5 for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a mind that is stern or amicable or, certainly, loving.

6 The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within the state of the mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident, 7 because just as love never remains true without true humility, so humility

never remains true without true love. ⁸ Let us therefore take it upon us to build the foundation, so that we arrive at the summit of virtues. ⁹ First, humility should be shown both in act and in disposition (*affectus*), so that subsequently an abundance of love is built [upon it].

¹⁰ And when [the sisters] meet one another on their path or at any place, they should bow with all humility and ask each other for a blessing. ¹¹ And if one of them is an elder, the junior should first request a blessing whereupon the elder should follow.

¹² Where they are placed in the service, as they are arranged by the abbess, they should keep their rank – be it for the singing the Psalms or reciting the readings but also while going to take communion – and they should not sink into the vice of ambition or presumption by stepping out of the position where they are placed.

¹³ But the abbess has to be concerned that they are placed in the same order as they converted to the monastery, unless the conduct of abundant piety deserves that [a nun] is moved forward before [her turn], or if a severe offence requires that she is degraded to a lower rank. ¹⁴ Should one of the sisters be recognized as aspiring the place of an elder, she is to be refuted with the shameful castigation, because she has dared [to claim] a place of undeserved dignity, and she has attempted to take upon herself an undeserved honor because of her ambition and not an honor deserving of her piety.

¹⁵ If another nun arrives at the assembly of the sisters, those who are juniors according to their rank should rise and give place to the elder.

¹⁶ Juniors may by no means contradict the elder out of pride, but they should respond with all humility when they are interrogated or reproached. ¹⁷ If a junior sees an elder falling into any sort of offence, she should guide her to the abbess or prioress in order to confess. [She should do that] not in an upbraiding but rather in a grieving way. Likewise should an elder act towards a junior.

¹⁸ When [this nun] comes to confession, she should first prostrate on the ground and that the offence is hers. When she then is ordered to rise, she should make her confession known. ¹⁹ When someone asks for permission for some sort of work that is to be done, she should first request permission [to ask], and then she may ask for approval for the work that needs to be done.

²⁰ When she comes to the abbess, she should approach her with all humility and request permission. Accordingly, when she leaves, she should request permission [to leave] and ask for a blessing.

21 None of the nuns may of her own accord bring something of her own affairs to the abbess, but all should be concerned to bring whatever is necessary to the [knowledge of the] abbess by way of the prioress.

22 If a priest or any other religious person visits and they receive permission from the abbess to meet them, they should ask for a blessing standing at a distance with silent voice, bending with all humility. 23 And if it is ordered by the abbess, that any of the sisters speaks with [the visitors], so should she speak with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them.

Apparatus biblicus

22.14-15 Cfr Luc. 14, 8-11

Apparatus criticus

22.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

22.1-23 *codd.*: *M F' V K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

22.10 *ed. s*

22.13 *ed. s*

22.15-17 *ed. s*

22.1 ministerio *M^{ac}* | 22.3 quo *V^{pc} me h* | 22.5 effabilis] affabilis *M² K me h* | rigide *M^{ac}* | concorde *F'*, concordēs *V*, concordiae *h* | certe (*coni. Bonnerue*)] certe si *M F' V K me h* | 22.6 uara *M^{ac}* | ac] et *h* | 22.9 sic *F' me h* | copia *V me h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] copiam *M F'* | 22.10 Et] *om. s* | sibi] fratres *add. s* | 22.11 ex eis una] ex eis unus *s*, unus ex eis *F' V* | 22.12 ab] *add. M* | ne *h* | demergantur *h c*] dimergantur *M* | 22.13 uberius *me h* | relegionis *M^{ac}* | exegerit *me h* | 22.14 siue] si vero *h* | repellatur *h* | commertium *V*] commertium *ω F' c*, commertio *M K h* | 22.15 In consessu *c*] In consensu *s*, sine consensu *V*, vero *add. s* | 22.16 seniori *h* | 22.17 quodlibet] quolibet *s* | sed magis dolendo *s*] *om. F' V c* | 22.18 prostrate *K*, prostratae *h* | iubeatur *c* | 22.19 aliquid *M^{ac}* | fiendum *F^{ac} V*] faciendum *me h c* | 22.20 ad] ab *c*

Apparatus fontium

22.5-9 Cassian, *Institutiones* XII.32.1: Nullo enim modo poterit in ANIMA nostra UIRTUTUM structura consurgere, nisi prius iacta fuerint UERAE HUMILITATIS in nostro corde FUNDAMINA, quae firmissime conlocata perfectionis et CARITATIS CULMEN ualeant sustinere, ita scilicet, ut quemadmodum diximus primum fratribus nostris HUMILITATEM UERAM intimo cordis exhibeamus AFFECTU, in nullo scilicet adquiescentes eos contristare, uel laedere.

22.8 *RBen* 73.9: ...et tunc demum **ad** maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae **uirtutumque culmina**, Deo protegente, **peruenies**. Amen.

22.10-12 *RBen* 63.15: Vbicumque autem sibi obuiant fratres, **iunior priorem benedictionem** petat.

22.12 *RBen* 63.4: Ergo secundum **ordines** quos constituerit uel quos habuerint ipsi fratres sic accedant ad pacem, ad **communione**m, ad **psalmum** imponendum, in choro standum;...

22.13 *RBen* 63.1: **Ordines suos in monasterio ita** conseruent ut **conuersationis** tempus ut uitae **meritum** discernit utque **abbas constituerit**.

RBen 63.7-9 Ergo, excepto hos quos, ut diximus, altiori consilio **abbas** praetulerit uel **degradauerit** certis ex causis, reliqui omnes ut conuertuntur **ita** sint, ⁸ ut uerbi gratia qui secunda hora diei uenerit in monasterio iuniorem se nouerit illius esse qui prima hora uenit diei, cuiuslibet aetatis aut dignitatis sit, ⁹ pueris per omnia ab omnibus disciplina conseruata.

22.14-15 *RBen* 63.16-17: Transeunte maiore minor **surgat** et det ei **locum** sedendi, nec praesumat iunior consedere nisi ei praecipiat senior suus, ¹⁷ ut fiat quod scriptum est: *Honore inuicem praeuenientes* (Rom. 12, 10).

22.22 *RBen* 53.23: Hospitibus autem cui non praecipitur ullatenus societur neque **colloquatur**; sed si obuiauerit aut uiderit, **salutatis humiliter**, ut diximus, et petita **benedictione** pertranseat, dicens sibi non licere **colloqui** cum hospite.

22.23 *RBen* 6.7: Et ideo, si qua requirenda sunt a priore, **cum omni humilitate et** subiectione requirantur.

Fortleben

22 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 70.7, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXII

22.10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.17, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum pater ait “Quando...

22.13 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.8, *inc.* Hinc alibi scriptum est “Abbate...

22.15-17 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.17, *inc.* “In consensu uero fratrum...

Commentary and parallels

For sources on hierarchy order and mutual love in other monastic rules and references to love within this Rule: see chapter 5.

22.title *Regula Donati* 20.13: *Humilies semper in inuicem sitis*. Donatus consciously changed the text of his source and added *inuicem*. Cfr also Caesarius, *Sermo* 233.6: *Humiles ergo simus...*

22.1 Since this chapter is the only one that uses John Cassian’s *Institutiones*, we should take the reference to the *instituta sanctorum patrum* literally. Another reference to Cassian’s work can be found in *VIoh* 18: *Et requirens instituta sanctorum patrum, inter multas collationes precipue sancti Ysaac abbatis doctrinam meditans*. Here Jonas paraphrases in a similar manner Cassian, *Collationes* IX.3. | *V. Bertilae* 6: *caritatis affectu* (for other parallels see 1.3-4 and appendix 1).

22.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 6.19. | *pro parte*: *VCol* I, prologue; I.9.

22.3 I could not find the source for the metaphor of the *ambitus uirtutum*. Smaragdus uses it in his *Collectiones, Hebdoma XVIII post Pentecosten, PL* 102, col. 470A, quoting Bede, *Commentarium in Lucam* IV.14.7-8, who uses *habitus uirtutum* instead. A real *ambitus*, the walls of Lyon, protected the nuns of Sadalberga’s monastery against the *antiquus hostis*: *V. Sadalbergae* 14-15. Compare the *ambitus uirtutum* to *RcuiV* 1.18 on the *presidium ad uincendum inimicum*. | If *copia* indeed refers to the multitude of nuns, it is a unique use of this expression. | *Virtus/uirtutes* appears four times in this chapter and only once (*RcuiV* 3.7) in the rest of the rule. It is both the protection against evil (here) and the goal the nuns strive for (*RcuiV* 22.8).

22.5 Cfr *AugPraec* IV.3-4; *RT* 17.4-13.3; *RBen* 7.63 | For *humiliatio capitis*: *RM* 9.20. | *VCol* II.4: *patefaciebat affectum* | *VCol* I.5: *Nullus proximo contrarietatem rependere, nullus asperum sermone proferre audebat, ita ut in humana conuersatione angelicam agi uitam cerneret*.

22.6 On *humilitas* as the highest of all virtues, cfr *RBen* 7; Augustine, *Sermo* 297; Cassian, *Collationes* XIX.1; XX.10. | The expression *famulis uel famulabus Christi* points to the fact that for this passage the author used a sermon that was originally written for a mixed or male public. Another example of using the male gender can be found in *RcuiV* 6.4-8. On *status mentis*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 6.2.

22.7 *VCol* II.19: *confessio uera*.

22.8 *Culmen perueniamus*: Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem liber* VIII, c. 26.16-18 | *Culmen uirtutum*: Cassian, *Collationes* XXII, c. 7.1; *RI* 3.2; *V. Sadalbergae* 12. For other parallels with the *V. Sadalbergae*, see commentary to *RcuiV* 3.1-3.

22.10 *Cum omni humilitate*, cfr *RcuiV* 10.16; 10.20; 10.22; *LOrs* 22; *RBen* 6.7; 20.2; 57.1; *VCol* I.18: *omni cum humilitate*. | *VCol* II.9: *tamen cotidianum motum, siue in ingressu uel egressu seu progressu, unumquemque nostrum signo crucis armari uel benedictione sodalium roborari fas duco*. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 243: *Cum uero se obuiant fratres ubicumque, iunior dicat priori inclinato capite Benedicte*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278.

22.12 Cfr *RPac Leg* 3; *RIVP* 2.10-14; *2RP* 4.17-20; *RAM* 22; *RAV* 18; *RM* 22; *V. Austrobertae* 18. | *Ambitio*: cfr, for example, *RColM* 8.

22.13 Cfr *RPac Pr* 1; *RBas* 10; *RIVP* 4.8-9; *RM* 92.33-82 (different context); *RBen* 2.19; *RI* 4.3; *RFruc* 23.

22.14 Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 12.

22.15 On gatherings, cfr *RBen* 3.3; *RI* 7; *RD* 2.3; *RCom* 13. | On *seniores* and *iuniores*: *RPS* 22-23 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 243: *Si iunior sedet, transeunte seniore surgat; si senior uoluerit sedere, iunior tamen nisi iussus non sedeat, iuxta regulam nostram*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278.

22.17 Cfr *RBas* 121; *CaesRV* 24.1-2 (different context); *RPS* 36; *RM* 11.85-90; *RD* 51; *RT* 8.1-2; *RColC* 15; *RcuiP* 24.6-7.

22.18-20 *RD* 19: *Qualiter silentium studere debeant sorores. 1 Omni tempore omnique loco **silentium** studere debent ancillae Christi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis. 2 Et ideo exeuntes a completoriis, nulla sit licentia denuo loqui cuiquam aliquid usque mane post secundam celebratam in conuentu. 3 Quo in loco **ueniam petentes** ac singulae **confessionem** dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, 4 demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te (Ps. 32/33, 22). 5 Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniore: “Da **commeatum** uestimentum mutare et quod **opus fuerit fieri**.”* *RD* 19.3-5 appears also *RColV* 34-36 but not in *RColC*. | *supra humum*: *RcuiV* 6.26.

22.18 *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, p. 237: *Post haec, qui culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater ad domnum abbatem aut praepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus, cum ille senior dixerit Quae est causa frater? Ille qui ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondat Mea culpa, domne; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit iudicetur exinde culpabilis. Postea dicat domnus abbas uel ceteri quibus obediencia iniuncta est, quicquid necessarium est et utile in communi necessitate.*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

22.19 *VCol* I.15: *nullum alium esse, qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset*. | On *commeatus*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.11. | Cfr *CaesRV* 8; 16; 29; *RT* 12.7; *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 244: *Cum domnus abbas aut certe alius ex senioribus alicui ex fratribus aliquod opus facere praecipit, suscipiat iunior cum summa humilitate iubentis imperium. Sit auris*

prompta ad aiudiendum ac si diuinitus dicatur, sint pedes directi, manus uero expeditae ad faciendum, et humiliato capite dicat Benedicte; similar: Memoriale qualiter II VII, p. 278.

22.20 Cfr *RcuiP* 7.1.

22.22 Cfr *RIVP* 2.40-42; *2RP* 16; *CaesRV* 23.6-7; 38.2; *RT* 7.7-9; *RM* 76; *RBen* 53.21; *RcuiP* 18.2; *RD* 57.8; Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 5, *SC* 345, pp. 434-438; *Institutio sanctimonialium* 27; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 8; *V. Aldegundis* 25; *V. Sadalbergae* 22. | *sub silenti uoce: RcuiV* 14.15; *VCol* I.9 | *a longe adstantes* (different context) *VCol* I.17.

22.23 *CaesRV* 23.6 (different context) | *modestia ac sobriaetate: VCol* I.5 | Similar statements, all using *ut in omnibus*, can be found in *RcuiV* 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11 3.25; 10.2; 22.23; 24.11.

XXIII. DE NON DEFENDENDA PROXIMA VEL CONSANGVINEA IN MONASTERIO

¹ **Defendere** proximam uel **consanguineam in monasterio**, nullo **modo** permitti censemus. ²

Quid enim aliam defendat, quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, ³

quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti **iungeret**, prius perdidit? ⁴ Quae ergo proprias perdidit

uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quor aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria

crucifixit? ⁵ Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quor in mundi

facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?

⁶ Sit ergo ei aequus amor tam in **consanguinea** quam in cetera sorore, quae ei sanguinis

adfinitate non **iungitur**. ⁷ Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub

disciplinae moderamine positam **tueri** studeat, ⁸ ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat. ⁹ Sit ergo

in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed

uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.

XXIII. ON NOT DEFENDING A RELATIVE OR A FAMILY MEMBER IN THE MONASTERY

¹ We determine that it is by no means [a nun] is permitted to defend or relative or a family

member in the monastery, ² for why should a nun defend another who does not live any more for

herself but for Christ, and continues to be crucified in imitation of Him, ³ – and who has already

given up her own soul in order to bind herself more fully to salvation? ⁴ Thus, why should she,

who has given up her own will in order to fill Christ's will into herself, defend the offenses of others – she who has crucified her own offenses? ⁵ And if she has truly crucified [her offences] and does not live any more for the world but for Christ, why should she defend due to any sort of family tie those who fall into the misdeeds of the world?

⁶ Therefore, she should have equal love both for a relative and for another sister who is not bound to her by the ties of blood. ⁷ Let therefore in all nuns the love remain enclosed in the heart, and she should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the regime of punishment, ⁸ lest she infuses the vice of defending into others. ⁹ Let it therefore be in the judgment of the corrector that she imposes punishment on those whom she corrects under the zeal of love, not by fulfilling her own will, but by correcting their faults.

Apparatus biblicus

23.2 Cfr Rom. 14, 7-8; II Cor. 5, 15; Gal. 2, 19; 6, 14 | **23.3** Cfr Marc. 8, 35; Luc. 17, 33 | **23.4** Cfr Gal. 5, 24 | **23.5** Cfr Gal. 2, 19

Apparatus criticus

23.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

23.1-9 *codd.*: *M F V K*; *edd.*: *me h ma c*

23.1-2 (Defendere...manet crucifixa) *ed.*: *s*

23.4 (Quae...delicta defendat) *ed.*: *s*

23.6 *ed.*: *s*

23.7-8 (nec...alias dimittat) *ed.*: *s*

23.1 permitti censemus] permittimus *s* | **23.4** cur *M² K h* | **23.5** mundi] mundo *h* | familiaritate *M^{ac}* | **23.6** affinitate *M² K h* | **23.8** aliis *c* | **23.9** propriam implendo voluntatem *me* h*

Apparatus fontium

23 *RBen* 69: Vt **in monasterio non** praesumat alter alterum **defendere**

¹ Praecauendum est ne quavis occasione praesumat alter alium **defendere** monachum **in monasterio** aut quasi **tueri**, ² etiam si qualivis **consanguinitatis** propinquitate **iungantur**. ³ Nec quolibet **modo** id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde grauissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. ⁴ Quod si quis haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur.

Fortleben

23 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 74.10, *inc.* Ex Regula sancti Columbani cap. XXXIII. [*sic!*]

23.1-2 (Defendere...manet crucifixa) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4, *inc.* Hinc et beatus Columbanus ait "Defendere...

23.4 (Quae...delicta defendat) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4

23.6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4

23.7-8 (nec...alias dimittat) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4

Commentary and parallels

Prohibitions to defend a fellow monk or nun in other rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Iud 16 | LOrs 24 | RBas 26; 12-121 | 2RP 5.30 | ROr 33; 47 | RColM 1 | RD 74 | V. patrum Iurensium 26 | VCol II.12; II.15.*

Reference to family members in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 4.4

23.1 On *censemus*, see p. § | On family ties in the monastery: *VCol II.9; II.12.*

23.2 The motive of imitation of the crucified Christ appears rarely in older texts but it is used in *RcuiV 17.2-3; RcuiP 11.4*. See also *VCol II.13: ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*

23.3 *Animam propriam* (in place of the biblical *animam suam*): Ps.-Jerome, *Expositio Euangeliorum, in euangelio sancti Matthei, PL 30, col. 554C.*

23.4 *Delicta crucifixit* may be inspired by *carnem crucifixit* as it is used in Jerome, *Epistula 22 ad Eustochium 39.1*. | On *propria uoluntas*, cfr *RBen prologue.3; 1.11; 4.60; 5.7; 7.12; 7.19; 7.31; 33.4; 49.6*. Other monastic rules using the category of *propria uoluntas*: *RBas; RM; RFruc | uoluntates crucifigere: VCol I.9: Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates*. The expression may be inspired by Cassian, *Collationes 19.8.*

23.6 Cfr *RBen 2.22; V. Amati 11.*

23.7 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina VII.12.82: intra se loquitur pectore clausus amor.*

23.9 Punishment as an act of love: *RcuiV 18-20; 24.2*. | Similar statements, all using *ut in omnibus*, can be found in *RcuiV 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11.*

XXIII. DE NVTRIENDIS INFANTIBVS

¹ **Infantes** in monasterio quanta cura et **disciplina** sint nutriendae, multis didi-

[*here ends the text in mss. M and K. The continuation of chapter 24 is taken from Benedict of Aniane's Concordia regularum where it is presented in the male form*]

-cimus documentis. ² Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et **disciplinae** ministerio, ³ ne desidiaue uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera **aetate** maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripri.

⁴ Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, ⁵ sed semper ab eis **disciplinae** retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis. ⁶ Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili **aetate** discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant. ⁷ In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam positam. ⁸ Seniores

tamen uel duo seu amplius, de quorum religione non dubitatur, cum eis sedeant, ⁹ ut semper timorem antepositum sub metu seniorum nutriantur. ¹⁰ Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, **abbatis** arbitrio pensandum est, ¹¹ ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.

XXIII. ON CHILDREN – HOW THEY SHOULD BE BROUGHT UP

¹ We have learned from many examples with how much care and discipline children should be brought up in the monastery. ² For they must be brought up with a complete disposition of love and service of discipline, ³ lest they, defiled at a tender age by the vice of idleness and lasciviousness, be scarcely – or not at all – able to be reproached at a later stage. ⁴ Let there therefore be in them such a great care that it is never allowed to stray hither and thither without a senior, ⁵ but that they, always restrained by them [the elders] through the doctrine of discipline and imbued with the doctrine of fear and love of God, be instructed in the practice of piety. ⁶ They should have the habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may accomplish/perform when they are brought to perfect age ⁷ In the refectory they should have a table for themselves, which is placed next to the table of the elders. ⁸ But two or more elders, whose piety is beyond doubt, should sit with them, ⁹ so that they, always confronted with fear (*timor*), are brought up in fear (*metus*) of the elders. ¹⁰ It must be weighed out by the judgment of the abbess at which hours they should eat and go to sleep, ¹¹ so that in anyone/anything discretion is found through the observance of the virtues.

Apparatus biblicus

Apparatus criticus

24.title *codd.*: *M K*; *edd.*: *h ma*

24.1-11 *codd.*: *F V W T P A K*; *edd.* *me h ma c*

24.1 (Infantes...multis didi) *codd.*: *M K*

24.1 *enutriendae h | didi]* Iste regule non est finis et sequentis non est principium *add.* (*later hand*) *M*, Huius regule finis deficit propter perditionem de exemplari folia. In quibus etiam alterique augendam regule principium iniciabatur cuique extrema parte in papiro scripta continetur *add.* *K | 24.2* ministerio] ut *add.* *V T P A | 24.3* maculatae *h | corrigi h | 24.5* eis] ejus *me* h | disciplina me* h | retentae h | imbutae h | 24.6* deductam *F V W T A^{ac}*, deducti *c*, deductis

h | proficiat *W me* h* | **24.8** *duae h* | seu] vel *h* | quarum *h* | **24.9** timore antiposto *P A^{pc} me h* | **24.10** *abbatissae h* | **24.11** *custodia V me h c]* *constia F, conscia W T P A*

Apparatus fontium

RBen 70.4-7: **Infantum** uero usque quindecim annorum **aetates disciplinae** diligentia ab **omnibus** et **custodia** sit; ⁵ sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione. ⁶ Nam in fortiori **aetate** qui praesumit aliquatenus sine praecepto **abbatis** uel in ipsis infantibus sine **discretionem** exarserit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat, ⁷ quia scriptum est: *Quod tibi non uis fieri, alio ne feceris* (Matth. 7, 12).

Fortleben

24 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 46.8, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXIII
24 *Institutio Sanctimonialium* 22: Vt erga puellas **in monasteriis** erudiendas magna adhibeatur diligentia. Religio ecclesiastica docet, ut puellae, quae **in monasteriis** erudiuntur, **cum omni pietatis affectu et uigilantissimae curae studio nutriantur**, ne, si lubricae aetatis annos indisciplinate uiuendo transegerint, **aut uix aut nullatenus corrigi postea possint**. Quapropter praeferantur eis ex sanctimonialibus tales magistrae quae utique et probabilis sint uitae et erga eas talem exhibeant **curam**, ut nequaquam **huc atque illuc** uagandi possint habere progressum et aut desidia aut **lasciuiae uitio maculentur**, quin potius sacris **inbuantur disciplinis**, quatenus his mancipate uagandi otio careant...

The chapter continues with a paraphrase of Jerome, Epistula 107 (ad Laetem), c. 3.3-12.3.

Commentary and parallels

Other monastic rules and hagiographic texts on children and education: *RPac Inst* 18.37 | *RPac Iud* 7; 13 | *RBas* 7 | *ROr* 18 | *CaesRV* 7.3-7.4 | *RAM* 17; 22; 47 | *RAV* 18 | *RT* 13.4 | *RPS* 2-3 | *RM* 14.79-87; 27.41; 28.19-24; 50.12-15; 53.52-54; 59.10-11 | *RBen* 30; 31.9; 37; 39.10; 45.3; 59; 63.9; 70.4-7 | *RcuiP* 11.1 | *RI* 21.5 | *RD* 6.13 | *RCom* 6 | *Institutio canonicorum* 135 | *Institutio Sanctimonialium* 22 | Jerome, *Ep.* 108 | *V. Austrobertae* 16 | *V. Bertilae* 1 | *VCol* II.13; II.15 | *V. Rictrudis* 25.

References to children in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines: 2.19; 10.5; 14.10-12; 16.3; 20.13; 24

24.1-11 *VCol* II.13: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam; aequae enim marem ut feminam putabat, aequae feminam ut marem.*

24.2-4 Cfr *Ordo Casinensis* I.2, pp. 102-103.

24.2-3 Cfr Columbanus, *Epistula* 2.8.

24.2 *RIVP* 5.12; *RBen* 63.9/19.

24.3 Cfr *RBas* 7.5 | *ad cultum religionis*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.9. | The idea of curing and disciplining up front is probably influenced by *RCoIC* 1. See also *RcuiV* 1.12; 12.29; *RcuiV* 16.4.

24.4-6 Cfr *RcuiP* 24.3.

24.4 *Memoriale qualiter* I IV, p. 247; similar *Memoriale qualiter* II VII, p. 279.

24.6 *RcuiV* 12.4: *lectio usitetur* | On literacy in monasteries, cfr *RPac Pr* 139-140; *LOrs* 51; *RBas* 81; *CaesRV* 18.7; *RAM* 32; *RAV* 26; *RFer* 11; *RM* 50.12-17; *Statuta Murbacensia* 2 | *lectionis usum* or *usum lectionis* (exclusively): Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* VII.1. | *ad perfectam* refers to the concept of the *aetas perfecta*, which is according to Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 6.13 the age of adulthood. The *aetas perfecta* is mentioned in *V. Sadalbergae* 6. | Alcuin, *Epistola* 19, *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 55 may have been influenced by the *Regula cuiusdam: Discant pueri scripturas sacras; ut aetate perfecta ueniente alios docere possint. Qui non discit in pueritia, non docet in senectute.* | *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 268: *Puellae autem cum magistris separatim legant quos uoluerint libros; Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251: *...et sub silentio legant, et ne unus ad alium iungat, nisi necessitas discendi exposcerit, ipsud tamen sine inquietudine alterius fiat.*

24.7-8 Cfr *RBen* 63.18; *RBas* 7.8 | *de cuius relegione non dubitetur*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 14.9; *VCol* I.10. In *VCol* II.5 the same expression appears in a similar context: Jonas is accompanied by two monks *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur* when he traveled home to visit his family

24.10 Cfr *RM* 28.19 | *Abbatis arbitrio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 250; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.20, p. 282.

Appendix

Please note: the text presented here is based on the critical edition of Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, in *CSEL98, Monastica* 1, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, pp. 237-238. For the sake of consistency with the edition and commentary, the the loveri-case “v” has been replaced by “u”. The bolding of parallels with the *Regula Benedicti* has not been part of the original edition. The division in paragraphs is mine.

I would like to thank the editor for her permission to reprint the text.

DE ACCEDENDO AD DEVM PROMPTO CORDE ORANDVM

¹ Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam **oratione tendatur**, ² Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur.* ³ *Accedendum semper est, ut accessum sequatur inluminatio.* ⁴ Si non accedimus, non inluminamur; ⁵ si accedimus, et inluminamur et cum eodem dicere possimus: *Inquisiui Dominum et exaudiuit me.* ⁶ Inquirendo etenim et omni intentione petendo **exauditur**, qui se exterius a saeculi desideriis atterit et interius cum omni **cordis** contritione per ardorem **conpunctionis** pollet. ⁷ *Petite, inquit, et dabitur uobis.* ⁸ Si omnis qui petit accipit, cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium,

quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, ⁹ cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum **opere** implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae praesidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest? ¹⁰ Quamuis iuxta Apostolum *alius rigit, alius plantet, Deus autem incrementum dat.* ¹¹ Sic Salomon testatur, dicens: *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* ¹² Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur. ¹³ Sic per Apocalipsin dicitur: *Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* ¹⁴ **Ad opus** ergo seruitutis **diuinae** miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus, ¹⁵ ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet. ¹⁶ In qua quis cum uenerit, *inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* ¹⁷ *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* ¹⁸ *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.*

¹⁹ Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: **Seruite**, inquit, **Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.** ²⁰ Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si **opus bonum** ad **uocem** laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: **psallite sapienter.** ²¹ Sapienter etenim quisque **psallit**, qui ***uoci** laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et **qualiter oporteat** potentiae **diuinae** famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. ²² Sic ergo **mens nostra** ad **psallendum** intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio, ²³ sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata **humilitate** et **puritate** ac promptissima **deuotione** ornata ad aeterna praemia **tendat.** ²⁴ Sic **cordis conpunctione** flagret, **qualiter** in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. ²⁵ Nec se **in multiloquio** quisquam, **sed** potius **in puritate cordis** et **lacrimarum** ubertate **exaudiri** credat. ²⁶ Non enim longae **orationis** prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat. ²⁷ Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infundit medicinam ²⁸ salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

How to approach God by praying with a readily disposed heart

¹ We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search and how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer, ² admonished by the Prophet who says: *Approach the Lord and be enlightened and your faces will not be confused.* ³ One has always to approach so that enlightenment follows approach. ⁴ If we do not approach, we are not enlightened; ⁵ if we approach we are both enlightened and we can say with the same [Psalmist]: *I have searched for the Lord and he has listened to me.* ⁶ For he, who externally deprives himself of the desires for the world and internally abounds with all contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse, is hearkened through searching and asking with all intention. ⁷ *Ask*, he says, *and it will be given to you.* ⁸ *If everyone who asks receives*, why should we not, while the listlessness of the flesh is hindering [us] and the weight of our misdeeds is blocking us, demand daily to possess the following in eternity: namely the reward (*praemium*) of a blessed life and the everlasting favor (*suffragium*) of the eternal gift, which cannot be acquired without great effort? ⁹ [Why shouldn't we demand this] when [reward and favor] are at first implanted into the untried mind through desire and teaching and afterwards consecrated by fulfilling the work, but when they cannot be achieved without the protection and support of the unspeakable and incomprehensible mercy of the Almighty God? ¹⁰ *Although*, according to the Apostle, *the one waters, the other plants, it is still God who gives the growth.* ¹¹ Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart and the Lord's task to give counsel.* ¹² Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if the access to the stubborn mind is not denied. ¹³ In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I shall eat with him and He with me.* ¹⁴ Whenever we stand [in front of the gate] we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy, ¹⁵ in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosed space of the mind and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – [the mercy] which comes to the meal and leads us to his meal. ¹⁶ When someone comes to this [meal], *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* ¹⁷ *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* ¹⁸ *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.*

19 Therefore let the tongue always bring forth these things in order that it pleases the Creator along with serving work, according to this message of the Psalmist: *Serve*, he says, *the Lord in fear and praise him with trembling*. 20 The Creator is served in fear in such a way if good work is joined to the voice of praise, as it is said elsewhere by the Psalmist: *sing the Psalms wisely*. 21 For everyone sings the Psalms wisely who does not contradict the praising voice through harmful works and who, as much as it behooves, continues with all zeal to serve the divine power with solicitous concern for practice of piety. 22 Let therefore our mind enter [the gate] so dedicated to singing Psalms, so ready for prayer that it, not shackled by any obstacle of worldly desire, is not darkened by any fault of the world, 23 but that it strives for eternal rewards, always dedicated and elevated in the heavens by humility and purity and adorned with most eager devotion. 24 Let it (the mind) burn in such a way with compunction of the heart, that it arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator towards itself. 25 And let no one believe he is heard through verbosity, but rather through the purity of heart and the abundance of tears 26 for it is not the length of a long-winded prayer but the dedication of the ready mind that excites the love of the clement judge. 27 He is always to be prayed to in order that he may extend pardon to the guilty – he who has poured through the passion of the Cross medicine on the languishing world, 28 the eternal salvation of the world, Jesus Christ, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

Apparatus biblicus (based on ed. Zimmerl-Panagl)

2 Ps. 33/34, 6 | 5 Ps. 33/34, 5 | 7 Matth. 7, 7 | 8 Matth. 7, 8 | 10 Cfr I Cor. 3, 7 | 11 Prou. 16, 19 | 13 Apoc. 3, 19-20 | 16-18 Cfr Ps. 35/36, 9-11 | 19 Ps. 2, 11 | 20 Ps. 46/47, 8

Apparatus criticus

See ed. Zimmerl-Panagl

codd.: M (fol. 216^r-216^v); F' V W T P A K (fol. 210^v-211^r)

edd.: Otto Seebaß, 'Fragment einer Nonnenregel des 7. Jahrhunderts', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1896), pp. 465-470; Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, in *CSEL* 98, *Monastica* 1, pp. 237-238

Apparatus fontium

RBen 19: De disciplina psallendi

1 Vbique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos, 2 maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum **ad opus diuinum** assistimus. 3 Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: **Seruite Domino in timore**, (Ps. 2, 11) 4 et iterum: **Psallite sapienter** (Ps. 46/47, 8), 5 et: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi*. 6 Ergo

consideremus **qualiter oporteat** in conspectu diuinitatis et angelorum eius esse, ⁷ et sic stemus **ad psallendum** ut **mens nostra** concordet uoci nostrae.

RBen 20: De reuerentia orationis

¹ Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, ² quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni **humilitate** et **puritatis deuotione** supplicandum est. ³ Et non in **multiloquio**, sed in **puritate cordis** et **compunctione lacrimarum** nos **exaudiri** sciamus. ⁴ Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura **oratio**, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur. ⁵ In conuentu tamen omnino breuietur oratio, et facto signo a priore omnes pariter surgant.

Fortleben

Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 26.5, *inc.* Ex Regula Patrum de accedendo ad Deum

Commentary and parallels

1-20 Cfr *VCol* I.9: *Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates, tantum fidem pollentes, quae eius misericordiae postulauerint, impetrare non dubitant; quia ipse promisit, dicens: Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic (Matth. 17, 12): “Transi” et transiet, et nihil impossibile erit uobis: et alibi: Omnia quecumque orantes petitis credite quia accipietis, et uenient uobis (Marc 11, 24).*

VCol II.9: *Multiplicationem uero orationum in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis. Cum enim plus Dominus queritur plus inuenitur, et cum uberius oratione pulsatur, ad misericordiam petentium citius excitatur; nihil enim aliud plus desudare debemus quam orationi incumbere. Sic enim a Domino sub apostolorum numero hortamur: Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in temptationem. (Matth. 26, 41) Sic enim nos et apostolus sine intermissione orare rogat; sic omnis scripturarum sacrarum ordo iubet clamare; qui enim clamare neglegit, neglectus et absocius a Christi membris abicitur. Nihil enim tam utile tamque salutare quam creatorem multiplicatione precum et adsiduitate orationum pulsare.*

1 intentio (also *RcuiV* 12.2) appears twelve times in *VCol* and belongs to the large group of motivational terms deployed both in the *RcuiV* and the *VCol*. | *ad cultum religionis: RcuiV* 1.4; 24.4; *VCol* I.5; I.10; II.11; II.12; II.23; *VIoh* 1; *V. Vedastis* 3. The expression does not appear in any other monastic rule.

3 Accedendum semper est, cfr *RcuiV* 2.9: *interrogandum semper est*; 6.2: *Danda ergo confessio semper est*; 14.4: *tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum*; 15.7: *infirmis semper cedendum est*; *De accedendo* 27: *Orandus ergo semper est*.

4 The sequence of sentences beginning with *Si*, *sic* or *sic ergo* (4; 5; 8; 11; 13; 20; 22; 24) reminds of *RcuiV* 1.

5 Similar construction as in *RcuiV* 3.4: *ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant. Auerte oculos meos*.

6 *VCol* I.30: *omni cum intentione*; II.10: *omnem intentionem ad contemplanda misticorum praeconiorum documenta omni intentione desudat*; II.11: *omni intentione et deuotione*; II.11: *omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent*; *VIoh* 2: *et uitam ageret gloriosam et cultu religionis sub omni intentione mentem erudiret*. | *VCol* I.15: *exaudit uota petentis* (otherwise rare). | *exterius...interius*, cfr *RcuiV* 12.10-11; *VCol* I.21: *Gaudens ille reddito lumine, domi*

remeauit, ut uidelicet qui interiorem lumen in hospites habere non omiserant, exteriorem non carerent. | *Contritio cordis: Rcuiv* 6.26; 19.8.

8-9 Similar rhetorical questions can be found in *Rcuiv* 3.3; 9.6; 17.2; 17.3; 17.8; 23.2-3; 23.4; *VCol* II.25.

8 *Rcuiv* 6.6: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret.* | *VIoh* 1: *eterne uite premia | labor grandis: Rcuiv* 11.3; *VCol* I.9.

10 *Rcuiv* 1.11: *iuxta Apostolum*; 5.5: *iuxta Apocalipsin*; 6.1: *iuxta scripturarum seriem*; 22.9: *iuxta quod in Actum Apostolorum legimus*; also six times in *VCol*. The expression *iuxta* followed by a biblical book appears rarely in monastic rules.

11 *Rcuiv* 5.15; 5.17: *testatus est, dicens*. This expression appears in no other monastic rule.

12 *Rcuiv* 18.5: *aut si obstinatae et durae mentis | aditum denegare: Rcuiv* 21.5; *VCol* I.9; I.19; I.30. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

14 *VCol* II.25: *nisi quia miseratio diuina*.

15 *VCol* II.1: *subito ictu igne febrium accensus*.

19 *VCol* I.3: *psalmigraphi praeconii*; I.17: *preconantis uox psalmigraphi*. This expression appears exclusively here and in *VCol*.

21 *diuina potentia: VCol* I.27; II.2 | *omni studio: VCol* II.1; II.9; *VIoh* 6.

22 *Rcuiv* 8.2: *sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta*; 14.1: *anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiiis peruigil maneat; VCol* II.10: *mente intenta preces fundens; VIoh, praefatio: mentis intentione*.

23 *ornata* appear six times in *Rcuiv*. | *aeterna praemia: Rcuiv* 5.11; *VCol* I.10.

24 *compunctio cordis: VCol* II.9.

25 *ubertas lacrimarum: VCol* II.6; II.13. The expression is otherwise very rare.

26 *Rcuiv* 6.15: *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur!* On *clemens iudex*, see also *VCol* I.4; II.11. This expression is very rare.

27 *Rcuiv* 7.3: *ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit. Medicinam infundere* is very rare.

PART I: COMMUNITY

Chapter 1: *Quidam pater – quaedam mater?* The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and its author

Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum* contains two monastic rules of an unknown authors. One is called *Regula cuiusdam patris*, the other one *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The difference in the indication of the unknown author in both rules – *cuiusdam patris* and *cuiusdam* – suggests that Benedict of Aniane considered it possible that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had been written by a female author, perhaps an abbess or founder of a monastery. Benedict of Aniane quoted almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in his *Concordia Regularum*, his second *opus magnum*, and here, as well, he mostly retained the gender-neutral title *Regula cuiusdam* even though he consistently changed all grammatical forms in the text itself from female to male.¹⁸³

A few years after Benedict of Aniane compiled his *Codex* and *Concordia Regularum*, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (d. ca 827) wrote his commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*, which draws extensively upon the *Concordia Regularum*. Smaragdus quoted the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* 32 times. Most of these quotations were now explicitly ascribed to a male author.¹⁸⁴ Smaragdus was probably no longer aware that the rule he quoted was originally written for a female community, though he clearly considered the text an important part of monastic tradition.¹⁸⁵

When Lucas Holstenius produced the *editio princeps* of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in 1661, it was probably unimaginable by then that a Rule for nuns could have been written by someone other than “a certain father” with authority, thus an abbot or a bishop. Holstenius amended the title in analogy to the other Rule of an unknown author; the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

¹⁸³ Only on two occasions did Benedict of Aniane deviate from referring to the text as *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, once by referring to it as a *Regula cuiusdam patris* and another time by identifying a fragment of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *ex regula Columbani*: Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, c. 55.26, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, CCCM 168-168A, Turnhout: Brepols 1999, p. 488: *Ex Regula Cuiusdam Patris cap. XII.*; c. 74.10, p. 651: *Ex Regula sancti Columbani cap. XXXIII.*

¹⁸⁴ Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 65.21, ed. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, CCM 8, p. 321, l. 18-19 quotes the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as “*ex sententiis patrum.*” Elsewhere he ascribes the fragments he inserted into his work to “*quidem monachorum magister*” (c. 36.1, p. 248; c. 38.9, p. 254; c. 43.3, p. 264; c. 66.4, p. 323), “*alius pater*” (c. 67.6, p. 327), “*quidam pater*” (c. 23.5, p. 217; c. 28.6, p. 231; c. 47.1, p. 270; c. 63.7, p. 312), or “*monachorum pater*” (c. 36.2/3, p. 248; c. 63.17, p. 312). Only twice Smaragdus refers to quotations from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *regula cuiusdam* (c. 24.1, p. 219; c. 29.3, p. 234).

¹⁸⁵ See introduction to the edition, p. §.

uirgines became the *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines* – a title that is used until the present.¹⁸⁶ Marianus Brockie, who reprinted Holstenius' edition in 1759, even speculated that both texts named *Regula cuiusdam* might have been produced by the same person,¹⁸⁷ which is unlikely because both rules develop different viewpoints on the nature and purpose of monastic life.¹⁸⁸ Felice Lifshitz was, to my knowledge, the first modern historian who shared Benedict of Aniane's caution and suggested that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had a female author.¹⁸⁹

This chapter has a twofold purpose: Eventually I aim to resolve the riddle of the non-gendered *cuiusdam*, replacing it with a proper name: Jonas of Bobbio (d. after 659), the author of the *Vita* of the Irish missionary and monastic founder Columbanus (d. ca 615). Before introducing Jonas as an author I will discuss other potential options of authorship: the widespread assumption that Waldebert of Luxeuil has written the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, that the Rule has been produced by one of the aristocratic founders of monasteries with ties to Columbanus, or that Burgundofara, the abbess of Faremoutiers, was the author.

To discuss potential authors while knowing for sure that they did *not* write this particular Rule seems redundant. I have three reasons for pursuing this path nevertheless. First and foremost it gives us access to the different stakeholders of the monastic world emerging after Columbanus' death – a world that had a deep impact on the emergence of medieval monasticism. Second, the fact that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was a work of Jonas of Bobbio does not preclude others were involved in its production process, and thirdly, this discussion will allow

¹⁸⁶ Holstenius justified his alteration of the title with Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, c. 55.26, CCCM 168A, p. 488 and with Smaragdus' source identifications. See Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas Sancti Patres monachis et uirginibus sanctimonialibus seruandas praescribere, collectus olim a S. Benedicto, Anianensi abbate*, Rome 1661, part. 3, p. 122.

¹⁸⁷ Holstenius, Lucas and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, vol. 1, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759, p. 393. Brockie suggested that both Rules were written by Columba or Comongellus, abbots of Iona. This assumption is based on references to Columba and Comongellus in Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, I, c. 4, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG 37*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, p. 159 (henceforth *VCol*) and Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica III*, c. 4, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1896, p. 134.

¹⁸⁸ See Diem, Albrecht, 'Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68-85, at pp. 71-79; Diem, Albrecht and Matthieu van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, St. Ottilien: EOS-Editions 2016, pp. 9-126.

¹⁸⁹ Lifshitz, Felice, 'Is Mother Superior? Towards a History of Feminine *Amtscharisma*', in: John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering*, New York/London: Garland 1996, pp. 117-138, at p. 126. See also Kardong, Terrence, 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395-412.

me to show that all of my “candidates” for authorship could have established their own sets of written or unwritten norms for monastic communities.

What is an author?

Looking for an “author” of an anonymous early medieval text, and especially of a monastic rule, is problematic for various reasons. First, almost all early medieval monastic rules emerged in interaction with previously written rules. Most of them are revisions (or to use a more recent technical term – *réécritures*) rather than original texts.¹⁹⁰ No author of a new rule claims originality; many of them emphasize that their work forms part of a long tradition and that they simply adjusted, codified or re-arranged what was already there.¹⁹¹ The techniques of revision that were applied to monastic rules range from rephrasing old rules with new words¹⁹² to producing *florilegia* which quote and shuffle extracts from older rules and render their material verbatim or with small alterations.¹⁹³ Most rules are situated somewhere in-between these modes of production and incorporate different textual techniques. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and her “sister rule”, the *Regula Donati* (which was written at roughly the same time for another female monastery mentioned in Jonas’ *Vita Columbani* and will persistently loom in the background of this study) represent opposing ends of this spectrum. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains various allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* (and a few allusions to other rules) but does not quote any of its sources verbatim. Donatus’ Rule consists almost exclusively of direct quotations from the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict and Columbanus. Yet both rules develop,

¹⁹⁰ Diem, Albrecht and Philip Rousseau, ‘Monastic Rules, 4th-9th c.’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, pp. 162-194. On *réécriture*: Goulet, Monique, *Écriture et réécriture hagigraphiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin medieval (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2005.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 2, ed. Joël Courreau and Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, p. 180 (henceforth *CaesRV*); *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1, ed. Jean Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 181, Paris: Cerf 1981, p. 412; *Regula Donati*, prologue.2-5, ed. Michaela Zelzer and Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, CSEL 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, p. 139.

¹⁹² For an analysis of such a revision, see Diem, Albrecht, ‘...ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles’, in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191-224.

¹⁹³ Examples for such *florilegia* are the so-called *Regula Eugippii*, ed. Fernando Villegas and Adalbert de Vogüé, CSEL 87, Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempinsky 1976 and the *Regula orientalis*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 2, SC 298, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 462-494.

in their respective ways, highly original monastic programs that are different from those manifesting themselves in the texts they used.¹⁹⁴

Another reason for using the term “author” with caution is that some monastic rules were products of collaboration rather than the work of one individual “regulator”. This is obvious in the rules that kept trace of this collaboration in their titles: three early medieval monastic Rules, the *Regula quattuor patrum*, the *Regula patrum secunda*, and the *Regula patrum tertia*, describe themselves explicitly as collaborative works.¹⁹⁵ In some other cases, one can guess that a text ascribed to one author was in fact a collaborative work. It is, for example, hard to imagine that Caesarius of Arles wrote, expanded, and revised his Rule for Nuns (which will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this study) over a period of almost thirty years without consulting his sister and niece, the first two abbesses of his monastery. After all, Caesaria the Older and Caesaria the Younger possessed the inside knowledge of a place that Caesarius had made inaccessible to every outsider, including himself. The two abbesses must have experienced all the flaws and challenges that motivated Caesarius to rewrite and expand his Rule.¹⁹⁶ At one point, Caesarius even admits that his sister and his niece participated in producing the Rule, calling both abbesses and himself “the founders of the monastery and the creators of the rule” (*institutores monasterii et regulae conditores*).¹⁹⁷

Even though I conclude that the person who wrote down the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was not a nun or an abbess, we should assume that members of the monastic community addressed by the Rule contributed to its production and had an influence on its content. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* strongly emphasizes the authority and the wisdom of the abbess

¹⁹⁴ On the *Regula Donati*, see Diem, Albrecht, ‘New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality’, in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38.

¹⁹⁵ See *Regula quattuor patrum*, prologue, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 1, SC 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, p. 180; *Regula patrum secunda*, praefatio, p. 274; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 1, SC 298, p. 532.

¹⁹⁶ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 58, ed. Marie-José Delage, SC 536, Paris: Cerf 2010, pp. 228-230. On the different stages of revision of Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns, see Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 173-200; Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 117-124; Rudge, Lindsey, ‘Dedicated Women and Dedicated Spaces: Caesarius of Arles and the Foundation of St John’, in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 99-116.

¹⁹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 72.1, SC 345, p. 270: *Vos tamen, piissimae sorores, coram Domino Deo nostro obtestor et deprecor, ut humilitati meae uel sanctarum matrum uestrarum, id est institutoribus monasterii et regulae conditoribus, hanc in perpetuum gratiam referatis...* See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, SC 536, pp. 194-196 recounting that Caesaria was trained in a monastery in Marseille to become the *magistra* of Caesarius’ new foundation.

and her role as a teacher. This makes it likely that she was involved in the production of this Rule.¹⁹⁸

A third reason for using the term “author” with caution is that writing a monastic rule often meant simply writing down and codifying what was already practiced in a community. In most instances the monastic community itself should also for this reason be counted among the “authors” of its rule. Donatus of Besançon, for example, praises his nuns for already living according to the Rule they asked him to write down.¹⁹⁹ Rule and life are, as Giorgio Agamben has observed, intrinsically linked to each other: the life writes the rule.²⁰⁰ What takes precedent – the practice or its codification – is, as we will see, especially relevant in the context of dating the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and for the question to what extent we should read the text as prescriptive or descriptive.²⁰¹ We know of only one monastic rule that was explicitly written in the process of founding a new monastic community: the *Regula* that Aurelianus of Arles (d. 555) wrote for the monastery he founded together with King Childebert I (d. 558) in Arles. And even this Rule is based on experiences in established monasteries and it makes extensive use of older rules.²⁰² Most other preserved rules were probably written for communities that already existed and, thus, either described or reformed practices that had already been established.

Before addressing the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* I would like to make some general observations on the “authors” of our preserved monastic rules (or rather on the names attached to these texts). Most preserved late antique and early medieval rules are ascribed to a specific author, which distinguishes them from “*consuetudines*”, monastic customaries written in later centuries that were usually transmitted without bearing the name of a specific author.²⁰³ More than half of the authors of monastic rules were bishops who either had a

¹⁹⁸ See p. §.

¹⁹⁹ See, for example, *Regula Donati*, prologue.1, CSEL 98, p. 139: *Quamquam uos iuxta normam regulae, uasa Christi pretiosissima, egregie nouerim cotidie uitam ducere...*

²⁰⁰ Agamben, Giorgio, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2013.

²⁰¹ See p. §.

²⁰² See Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, ed. Albert Schmidt, ‘Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles’, in: *Studia Monastica* 18 (1975), pp. 239-240; Diem, ‘...ut si professus fuerit’, pp. 195-198.

²⁰³ On customaries, see Cochelin, Isabelle, ‘Downplayed or silenced: authorial voices behind customaries and customs (eighth to eleventh centuries)’, in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 153-173; eadem, ‘Customaries as inspirational sources’, in: Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines (eds.), *Consuetudines et*

monastic background or acted as the founder or supervisors of monasteries: Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Augustine of Hippo (d. 435), Caesarius of Arles (d. 543), Aurelian of Arles (d. 551), Ferriolus of Uzès (d. 581), Leander of Seville (d. 600/601), Isidore of Seville (d. 636), Donatus of Besançon (d. 658), and Fructuosus of Braga (d. 665). Other rules were composed, collected, or translated by individual monks/abbots: Pachomius (d. 346), Horsiesios (d. 368), Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399),²⁰⁴ Rufinus (d. ca 410), Jerome (d. 420),²⁰⁵ Cassian (d. ca 435),²⁰⁶ Eugippius (d. after 533),²⁰⁷ Benedict (6th century), and Columbanus (d. 615). Two monastic rules have (probably) fictitious authors with names to enhance their authority: the *Regula quattuor patrum*, allegedly composed by the desert monks Paphnutius, Macharius, Seraphion, and “the other Macharius”,²⁰⁸ and the Rule written by two monks called Paul and Stephen.²⁰⁹ And there is the massive Rule written down as the teachings of an unnamed *Magister*.²¹⁰ Two Rules claim to have been written by a group of monks/abbots, the *Regula patrum secunda* and the *Regula patrum tertia*; two other texts are named by their place of origin, the *Regula orientalis* and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.²¹¹ Only four of the *regulae* in Benedict of Aniane’s collection are not ascribed to an author or assigned to a place: our two *Regulae cuiusdam*, the *Consensoria*

Regulae. Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 27-72.

²⁰⁴ Evagrius Ponticus, *Proverbia ad monachos*, ed. Jean Leclercq, ‘L’ancienne version latine des sentences d’Evagre pour les moines’, in: *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), pp. 195-213. The text appears in numerous medieval collections of monastic rules and should therefore be counted among them. See <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Evagrius-Proverbia-ad-monachos.html>.

²⁰⁵ Rufinus and Jerome did not write monastic rules but translated, respectively, the *Regula Basilii* and the *Regula Pachomii* into Latin.

²⁰⁶ Cassian did not write a Rule for his monastic foundations. An extract of his *Institutiones*, however, was later transmitted as *Regula Cassiani*. See Ledoyen, Henry, ‘La “Regula Cassiani” du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l’Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), pp. 154-194.

²⁰⁷ If Eugippius was indeed the author of a rule-florilegium preserved in a manuscript from Corbie (now Paris, BnF, lat. 12634), as Ferdinand Villegas and Adalbert de Vogüé suggest. See *Regula Eugippii*, CCSL 87, pp. VII-XX.

²⁰⁸ *Regula quattuor patrum*, SC 197, pp. 180-204. See also Adalbert de Vogüé’s introduction, SC 197, pp. 68-70 where he describes the “four fathers” as legendary figures.

²⁰⁹ *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, Montserrat 1959.

²¹⁰ *Regula Magistri*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 105-106, Paris: Cerf 1964-1965. Benedict of Aniane gives the text the title *Regula per interrogationem discipuli et responsionem magistri*.

²¹¹ *Regula orientalis*, SC 298, pp. 462-494. *Regula Tarnatensis*, ed. Fernando Villegas, ‘La “regula monasterii Tarnatensis”’. Texte, sources et datation’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7-65. The place “Tarnatensis” has not been identified.

monachorum,²¹² and the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which I ascribe to Jonas of Bobbio and identify as a lost chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Chapters 7-8 of this study.²¹³

As the list above illustrates, the authors of monastic rules could be divided into two distinct groups. One group would be outsiders, for example bishops, who have an interest in regulating, disciplining or reforming a monastic institution. The other group would be insiders, most likely the founders or leaders of a monastic community, who want to codify and perpetuate their teaching beyond their own lifespan or presence in the community. The Lives of Benedict and Columbanus describe such instances of codification by insiders. Benedict writes down his Rule in expectation of his imminent death; Columbanus gives his monks a Rule that allowed him to live an eremitic life for extended periods or move back and forth between different foundations.²¹⁴

Remarkably enough, however, it seems that the internal or external perspective of the author had little impact on the content of each rule. There is no typical “rule of a bishop”, “rule of a founder” or “rule of an abbot or abbess.” The repertoire of topics addressed remains similar and the emphasis on specific aspects or the strictness of a rule cannot be related to the perspective from which it was written. It is indicative that a rule which was almost certainly produced by an “insider”, the *Regula Benedicti*, later became a major instrument of reform and unification imposed from the outside by the Carolingian rulers and their advisors.²¹⁵

The content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not provide a clear indication whether it was written by a member of the community it addresses or by an “outsider”. Our discussion of potential authors will show, moreover, that that in the monastic world emerging

²¹² De Bruyne, Donatien, ‘La Regula Consensoria. Une règle des moines priscillianistes’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 83-88.

²¹³ *De accedendo ad Deum*, ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, CSEL 98, pp. 239-240.

²¹⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 36, ed. Paul Antin and Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 260, Paris: Cerf 1979, p. 242; *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10-15.

²¹⁵ The classical studies on Carolingian monastic reforms and the *Regula Benedicti* are Semmler, Josef, ‘Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo’, in: Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1-49; De Jong, Mayke, ‘Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer’, in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622-653. See also Diem, Albrecht, ‘The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti’, in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 233-251; White, Deborah, ‘Navigating Boundaries in the Merovingian Monastery: Gender, Authority, and regulae mixtae’, in: *Journal for Medieval Monastic Studies* 7 (2018), pp. 1-20; Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019.

after Columbanus we cannot quite make a distinction between “insiders” and “outsiders” anyway. One its defining aspects that makes monasteries founded after Columbanus distinct from earlier forms of monastic life, is that everyone involved in monastic foundations in whatever capacity, can be regarded an “insider”.

Regula Waldeberti?

In 1908, the Benedictine monk Louis Gougaud suggested that Waldebert (d. 670), a monk of Luxeuil who later became the monastery’s third abbot, should be regarded as the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²¹⁶ What Gougaud brought forward as a reasonable hypothesis later became a presumed and widely accepted fact requiring no further verification. Handbooks either refer to a *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines* (the title used in Holstenius’ *editio princeps*) or they follow Gougaud and call the text simply *Regula Waldeberti*. The most commonly used abbreviation is *RW*.²¹⁷ Among the potential authors of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that I discuss here, Waldebert is, as I will show, the least likely candidate. Both the content of the Rule and date of its production undermine Gougaud’s argument.

The hypothesis that Waldebert wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is based on two premises. First, Jonas of Bobbio reports in his *Vita Columbani* that Eusthasius (d. 629), Columbanus’ successor as abbot of Luxeuil, oversaw the foundation of a convent for the Frankish noblewoman Burgundofara that would later carry her name, *monasterium Farae* (Faremoutiers). Jonas emphasizes that Faremoutiers was founded *ex regula Columbani*.²¹⁸ Two monks of Luxeuil, Chagnoald (who was Burgundofara’s brother and something like a personal

²¹⁶ Gougaud, Louis, ‘Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 167-184 and pp. 321-333, at pp. 328-331.

²¹⁷ See, for example, Bonnerue, Pierre, in: *CCCM* 168, Turnhout: Brepols 1999, p. 146; De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel’s Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996, pp. 36-37; Maillé, Geneviève Aliette de Rohan-Chabot Marquise de, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, Paris: A. & J. Picard 1971, pp. 18-19; De Seilhac, Lazare, M., Bernard Saïd, Madeline Braquet, and Véronique Dupont (transl.), *Règles Monastiques au Féminin*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1996, pp. 45-95; De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l’antiquité*, vol. 10, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2006, pp. 307-320; Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994, p. 11; Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2nd ed. 1988, p. 286.

²¹⁸ *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257.

assistant of Columbanus)²¹⁹ and Waldebert, received the task of teaching the nuns of the monastery the *regula*.²²⁰ Secondly, there are significant parallels between Jonas of Bobbio's report of events in Faremoutiers and the content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that indicate that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was Faremoutiers' Rule.

Gougaud's argument for Waldebert's authorship is based predominantly on the parallels between the ritual of confession, as it is laid out in chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and the description of an incident in the monastery when two nuns incurred eternal damnation because they refused to confess their motivation for escaping from the monastery.²²¹ Jonas refers in this context to the *consuetudo et regula* of the monastery and phrases the practice of Faremoutiers in terms found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Vita Columbani

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**. In hanc ergo labem **mentes** supradictarum puellarum diaboli iacula dimerserant, ut nulla **confessio** uera ab ore prodiret, seu quae in saeculo commiserant, seu quae **cotidiana fragilitas adtrahebat** uel in **cogitatione** uel in sermone uel in opere, ne uera **confessio** per paenitentiae **medicamenta** rursus redderet sospitati.²²²

[For it was the custom of the monastery and of the Rule that each of them should purge her mind through confession three

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines, chapter 6

18 Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima **cotidiano** ergo studio **per confessionem** reuelentur, ut **cotidiana medicina** uulnera sanentur. 19 Sed quibus horis congruentibus **cotidiana** delicta sunt **abluenda**, a nobis inserendum est. 20 Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia **mens** uel caro per **fragilitatem** deliquerit, post secundam **per confessionem** curandum est expiari. 21 Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, **cogitatu** tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut **purgetur**, censendum est. 22 Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae **adtraxerit**, ante completam confitendum est.²²³

[18 If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with

²¹⁹ *VCol* I, c. 27, p. 216; II, c. 8, p. 245.

²²⁰ *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243: *Monasteriumque Christi uirginum supra paternum solum inter fluuios Mugram et Albam aedificat fratresque, qui aedificandi curam habeant, deputat; germanum puellae Chagnoaldum et Waldebertum, qui ei postea successit, ut regulam doceant, decernit.* The *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 8, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, p. 54 describes Waldebert in a similar function.

²²¹ I will provide a detailed analysis of this highly dramatic episode in the next chapter, p. §.

²²² *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 272-273.

²²³ *RcuiV*, c. 6.18-22.

times a day, so that whatever stain the mind had attracted by its frailty, righteous exposure would wash it away. The devil's arrows had plunged the minds of the aforementioned girls into this ruin, so that no true confession either of what they had done in the world, or of what daily fragility had attracted in thought, word, and deed, was forthcoming from their mouths, nor could true confession return them to health again through the medicine of penance.]²²⁴

zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy. ¹⁹ But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences. ²⁰ Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. ²¹ But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought at daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. ²² But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

Not only do both texts share a distinct terminology, but they also express the same basic ideas and practices: the frailty of the mind, the daily stains of sins, the very broad notion of sins that include deeds, thoughts, and words, and the use of confession as a remedy and an instrument of purgation. They both describe confession as a ritual that has to be performed three times every day.

Even though the links between Faremoutiers and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are compelling, there are strong objections to identifying the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *Regula Waldeberti*. First and foremost, yes, Waldebert (who is otherwise not known as an author) *could* have composed this Rule, but this is insufficient to conclude that he did it. Jonas tells us that Waldebert taught the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*, but this does not automatically imply that he produced a written Rule – especially since Jonas did not necessarily refer to a written text when he used the term *regula*.²²⁵ Moreover, the *Vita Columbani* mentions two supervisors and teachers of the nuns in Faremoutiers, Chagnoald and Waldebert. Gougaud's argument would apply just as well, or even more, to Chagnoald who was probably older and more experienced than Waldebert.²²⁶

²²⁴ Transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017, p. 220.

²²⁵ Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Max Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63-89.

²²⁶ Waldebert died in 670, which means that he must have been fairly young when Faremoutiers was founded. As Columbanus' personal assistant, Chagnoald was probably already an adult during Columbanus' lifetime.

Two arguments speak against Waldebert's authorship. Waldebert was not just assigned to teach the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. Several hagiographic texts describe how he and his predecessor were actively involved in the internal affairs of male and female monasteries founded in the orbit of Luxeuil and how keen both abbots were to keep tight control them.²²⁷ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, however, is completely silent about any external interference with the monastery. The highest authority for all external and internal affairs is held by the abbess alone – and the author stresses this point throughout the Rule. Everything in the monastery must be made known to the abbess and decided by her *sapientia* and *discretio*.²²⁸ The Rule mentions at one occasion that priests may visit the monastery, but does not assign them any authority and strongly limits their interaction with members of the community.²²⁹ Why should someone like Waldebert who acts as a teacher and supervisor of a monastic community and whom most of our sources describe as a “control freak”, write a Rule that completely eliminates himself and emphatically assigns all authority to the abbess?

A second argument against Waldebert's authorship concerns the date of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas reports that Waldebert supervised Faremoutiers after it was founded (around 620) and we can assume that he gave up his function as teacher of the *regula* and supervisor of the community at the latest by the time he became abbot of Luxeuil in 629. If he had written the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* during this period, this would, on account of the textual correspondences, imply that Jonas of Bobbio used this Rule as source for the section of the *Vita Columbani* that describes events in Faremoutiers.

²²⁷ For example *VCol* II, c. 7-8, pp. 240-245; II, c. 10, pp. 252-253; II, c. 21, p. 277; *Vita Agili*, c. 15, *AASSOSB*, vol. 2, Paris 1669, pp. 321-322; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 6-9, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 36; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 5-14, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 54-58; c. 20, p. 61; foundation charter of Solignac (632), c. 2-4, *MGH SRM* 4, ed. Bruno Krusch, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 747-748. See also Diem, ‘Was bedeutet *regula Columbani*?’, pp. 71-75; Moyse, Gérard, ‘Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e-X^e siècles)’, in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 131 (1973), pp. 21-104 and pp. 369-485, at pp. 91-92, n. 4.

²²⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1; c. 10.1; c. 12.6; c. 16.1; c. 19.3; c. 24.10. On the role and authority of the abbess according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see pp. §. Several monastic rules describe the position of a *prouisor*, an external person who is responsible for economic issues and may also have served as a supervisor: *CaesRV*, c. 23.6, *SC* 345, p. 200; c. 36, pp. 218-220; c. 42.7, p. 224; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 44, p. 252; c. 48, p. 253; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 15, *PL* 68, col. 401D; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, p. 30; *Regula Donati*, c. 50, *CSEL* 98, p. 171; c. 55, pp. 174-175; c. 58, p. 176. There is no *prouisor* mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The text implies that the abbess and the *portariae* take care of the external affairs of the monastery.

²²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 22.22-23.

There are two reasons to assume that this was not the case. First, the parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* are by no means restricted to the section on Faremoutiers. We find them in all parts of the *Vita Columbani*, especially in those where Jonas makes programmatic statements. It is much more likely that the *Vita Columbani*, the most emphatic claim on Columbanus' legacy, inspired the content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than that Jonas used the Rule as a source for describing Columbanus' life and monastic ideal. Moreover, there are no traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, while the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is steeped with allusions to this Rule.²³⁰ If Jonas had used the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a source for the *Vita Columbani*, the *Regula Benedicti* would inevitably have left an imprint, if only as a form of secondary reception – unless Jonas was able to weed out even the smallest trace of the *Regula Benedicti* out of the *Vita Columbani* with the keen eye of a philologist even more thorough than Adalbert de Vogüé (a virtual impossibility).²³¹ In Appendix I I document more than eighty parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani*. None of them come from passages worded on the basis of the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Vita Columbani* was, as we know from internal evidence, written between 639 and 642.²³² If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced after the *Vita Columbani*, Waldebert would have written this Rule at least a decade after he had become abbot of Luxeuil and two decades after he had taken on the assignment of teaching the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. This is, of course, not impossible, but there are, as we can safely assume at this point, stronger candidates for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than Waldebert of Luxeuil.

2. *Regula Eligii? Regula Philiberti? Regula Burgundofarae?*

²³⁰ On the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see p. §.

²³¹ Adalbert de Vogüé did not identify any traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. See De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Jonas de Bobbio, Vie de Saint Coloman et de ses disciples*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1988, pp. 67 and p. 258.

²³² At least the second book of the *Vita Columbani* must have been written after Eligius became bishop of Noyon, which happened in 641. On the date of the *Vita Columbani*, see Berschin, Walter, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988, p. 27; Wood, Ian N., 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography', in: *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 63-80, at p. 63; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 34-35.

One of the most important innovations that came along with Columbanus' foundations, is that it encompassed many more options than just becoming a monk or a nun. Jonas of Bobbio emphasizes in his *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus' teachings and his *regula* not only bound the members of his monastic communities but applied to anyone who interacted with them as a founder, a benefactor, a relative of a monk or nun, a neighbor, or as someone who received advice or admonition from Columbanus and his successors.²³³ Jonas makes this clear by explaining the downfall of Queen Brunichildis (d. 613) and her grandson Theuderic II (d. 613) as a result of their disrespect for Columbanus' *regula*. In contrast, King Clothar II (d. 629) rose to power because he obeyed Columbanus, followed his advice, and supported his monastic foundations.²³⁴ Even a king could become a follower of Columbanus – as a patron but also as someone who appropriated his ethical and ascetic standards.²³⁵ Every follower of Columbanus could profit from the saint's *uirtus*, from his ascetic achievements, and from the intercessory prayers of monks and nuns who lived under Columbanus' Rule.²³⁶

It is noteworthy that some of the most important “sequels” to Jonas' *Vita Columbani* that tell about affiliations of Luxeuil or monasteries founded according to the *Regula Columbani* were, in fact, not *Vitae* of monks, but of lay people who later in their lives became bishops, such as Audoinus of Rouen (d. 686), Burgundofaro of Meaux (d. ca 675, another brother of Burgundofara), Desiderius of Cahors (d. ca 655), Eligius of Noyon (d. 660), Leodegar of Autun (d. 679), or Praeiectus of Clermont (d. 676).²³⁷ A side effect of this outside participation was that monastic practices established by Columbanus and his successors, particularly regular confession

²³³ Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography'.

²³⁴ *VCol* I, c. 19, pp. 187-193. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521-559.

²³⁵ Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 63-64 and pp. 74-89.

²³⁶ Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, pp. 193-204.

²³⁷ *Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 553-567; *Vita Desiderii Ep. Carducensis*, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 563-602, esp. c. 23, p. 580; Audoinus, *Vita Eligii*, pp. 663-741; *Vita Faronis*, *AASS* Oct., vol. 12, Brussels: Vromant 1867, col. 609-621; *Passio Leodegari*, ed. Bruno Krusch. *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 282-322; *Passio Praeiecti*, pp. 225-248.

and tariffed penance, leapt into the lay world and mutated from ascetic practices to requirements for all Christians.²³⁸

Jonas mentions several Frankish aristocratic families that collectively aligned themselves with Columbanus, especially the Agilolfings, Faronids,²³⁹ Gundoins, and the Waldeleni.²⁴⁰ He singles out several members of these families: Eusthasius, Waldebert, Chagnoald, Burgundofaro and Burgundofara, Waldelenus, Flavia and their sons Donatus and Chramnelenus,²⁴¹ Audoinus, Dado, Rado, and Eligius of Noyon.²⁴² Some of them founded monasteries or became monks or nuns themselves; others were members of the royal court and used their positions to support monasteries; others became bishops after receiving their education in Luxeuil or one of its affiliations. They may have ended up on different sides of the monastic enclosure, but they all participated in the same enterprise. One of them, Donatus, wrote the other preserved Rule for Nuns that was influenced by the *Regula Columbani*. Why should he be the only aristocratic monastic founder who wrote a rule for his foundation?

Eligius (d. 660), the goldsmith and treasurer of Clothar II and Dagobert I, would be a good candidate for the authorship of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, though he can be singled out only because he happens to be mentioned in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and received his own *Vita* – a text even longer than Jonas' work.²⁴³ Other aristocratic founders and supporters of Columbanus may have been of a similar caliber, without having left as many traces as Eligius. Jonas tells us in the second book of the *Vita Columbani* how Eligius, still a pious lay person,

²³⁸ Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, p. 194 talks in this context of a “para-monastic code.” See also Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester, pp. 35-55 on the *Vita Columbani* as general guideline for Christian behavior.

²³⁹ On the Faronids: Tatum, *Hagiography*, pp. 28-72; Gaillard, Michèle, ‘Colomban: un *peregrinus* bien informé’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 213-225, at pp. 215-217.

²⁴⁰ See *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 174-176; I, c. 26, pp. 209-210; II, c. 7, pp. 241-242; II, c. 10, pp. 255-256. Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 50-135 provides a survey of these families (or groups, as he calls them) and their allegiance with Columbanus and his successors. See also Prinz, Friedrich, ‘Columbanus, the Frankish nobility and the territories east of the Rhine’, in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981, pp. 73-87, at pp. 78-80; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 61-63; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates dans le monde franc (VII^e-VIII^e siècles)’, in: Edina Bozóky (ed.), *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident. Actes du colloque de Poitiers*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012 (*Hagiologia*, vol. 8), pp. 59-80.

²⁴¹ On Donatus' family, see Gaillard, ‘Colomban’, pp. 217-218.

²⁴² On Auoin, Dado, and Rado, see also *Vita Audoini*, c. 1, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 554-555.

²⁴³ Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 634-741 (incomplete); *PL* 87, col. 479-592 (complete).

founded the monastery of Solignac, several other small monasteries for monks, and a monastery for nuns in Paris, which was in later sources dedicated to Saint Martial.²⁴⁴ Jonas writes:

How many monasteries they establish out of love for Columbanus and his rule, how many communities they set up, and how many flocks they gather for Christ! Among them at the time was a man of illustrious standing, Eligius. who is now bishop of the Vermandois, whom I should not elevate with my judgement lest I be accused of being a flatterer – established near to the city of Limoges, the distinguished monastery of Solignac, above the river Vienne, four miles distant from the city, as well as many other communities in the same region. He also founds a monastery for women in Paris, which he had received as a gift from the king, over which he placed the virgin of Christ, Aurea.²⁴⁵

The *Vita Eligii*, which in its original form was written by Eligius' friend Audoinus, bishop of Rouen (d. 684),²⁴⁶ gives a similar, but much more detailed description of Eligius' monastic activities. It is noteworthy that Audoinus structured the *Vita* of his close friend as a diptych, describing him first as a highly educated aristocrat who lived a perfectly pious life and then as a perfect bishop.²⁴⁷ Founding monasteries belongs, according to Audoinus, to the tasks of a pious layman:

When he had completed this monastery [a monastery near Limoges] in every respect and stabilized all of it skillfully, he had the idea of constructing a hospital in Paris. But after having received, inspired by God, even better counsel, he began to build a home for virgins of Christ in his house that he had received in the same city as a gift from the king. While he was most heavily sweating in this work for quite a long time, he finally constructed a home worthy of holy virgins. There he established the strict discipline of the rule (*ubi districtam regulae constituens disciplinam*) and gathered up three hundred maidens from various families, both from among his own female servants and from among the noble matrons of Francia. For them he also appointed a maiden worthy of God

²⁴⁴ See Vones-Liebenstin, Ursula, 'Solignac', in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd edition, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 711 (bibliography).

²⁴⁵ *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 255: *Quam multi iam in amore Columbani et eius regula monasteria construunt, plebes adunant, greges Christi congregant. Inter quos inluster tunc uir Elegius, qui modo Vermandensis ecclesiae pontifex praeest, – de quo, quia superest, non meo iudicio fulciendus est, ne adolationis noxa reprehendar, – iuxta Lemouicensem urbem monasterium nobile Sollemniacum nomine construxit super fluium Vincennam, distantem a supradicta urbe milibus quattuor, et alia multa hisdem locis coenubia, sed et in Parisius puellarum monasterium, quem de regio munere susceperat, aedificat, in quo Christi uirginem Auream praefecit.* Transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 202 (slightly revised).

²⁴⁶ On the *Vita Eligii*, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 59-63. Bayer, Clemens M., 'Vita Eligii', in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 25, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2007, pp. 461-524; Heinzlmann, Martin, 'Eligius monetarius: Norm oder Sonderfall?', in: Jörg Jarnut and Jürgen Strothmann (eds.), *Die merowingischen Monetarmünzen als Quelle zum Verständnis des 7. Jahrhunderts in Gallien*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink 2013, pp. 243-291, at pp. 249-256 defend the authenticity of the *Vita Eligii*.

²⁴⁷ See Rouse, Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, 'Eloi's books and their bookcase', in: *Manuscripta* 55:2 (2011), pp. 177-178.

with the name Aureana as abbess. She was the daughter of Maurinus and Quiria. Moreover, he assigned the rich harvests of the land to them and turned all his zeal to this. You could also see him there, bringing from everywhere like an industrious bee everything necessary for the monastery: vessels and vestments but also holy books and much more equipment. Because whatever would be suitably necessary for this gender, he provided like the most pious father who is full of skillful diligence for everything and unceasing care. (...) c. 18: Then, after having accomplished all the work for the monastery and finished all the buildings of the female servants of God, for which he received the praise of his effort as a gain, he finally built a basilica to the honor of the holy Apostle Paul as a burial place for the bodies of the maidens. Its lofty roofs he covered in lead with sophistication. In this basilica lies also buried the abbot Quintilianus.²⁴⁸

It is striking that, in contrast to most other descriptions of foundations for nuns, Jonas' and Audoinus' stories give no mention of external supervisors. They simply recount that Eligius appointed the nun Aurea or Aureana as *abbatissa digna Dei*.²⁴⁹ Audoinus adds that Eligius established the "strict discipline of the rule" (*districtam regulae constituens disciplinam*). The strong and independent abbess envisioned by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would therefore align well with the descriptions of Aurea in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Eligii*.

The *Vita Eligii* contains yet another passage that would support the possibility of Eligius' authorship of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: a uniquely detailed description of his scholarly endeavors as a lay man at Dagobert's court whose piety seems to have been paired with a genuine interest in theological texts.

²⁴⁸ *Vita Eligii* I, c. 17-18, MGH SRM 4, pp. 682-684: *Istum igitur coenobium in omni opere perfectum omnique ex parte cum sollertia stabilitum, cogitabat Parisius in urbe fabricare exinodochium; sed, excellentiore consilio, Deo inspirante, concepto, coepit in domum suam, quam in eadem urbe ex munere regis perceperat, uirginum Christi aedificare domicilium. In quo opere diu multumque instantissime desudans, dignum tandem sanctarum uirginum construxit archeterium, ubi districtam regulae constituens disciplinam, usque ad trecentarum numero puellarum ex diuersis gentibus, tam ex ancillis suis, quam ex nobilibus Franciae matronis congregauit. Quibus et abbatissam dignam Deo puellam nomine Aureane, filiam scilicet Maurini et Quiriae, constituit; terrae etiam redditus copiosos delegauit atque ex integro omne suum illic studium conuertit. Videres et ibi trahere undique ueluti utilissimam apem cuncta monasterio necessaria, uasa simul et uestimenta necnon et sacra uolumina aliaque quam plurima ornamenta. Nam quicquid huic sexui congruae necessaria forent, ut piissimus pater satis sollerti in omnibus diligentia ac sollicita cura prouidit. (...) c. 18: Igitur cuncto opere monasterii peracto atque omnia aedificia ancillarum Dei expleta, pro quibus mercedem laboris adeptus est lucra, aedificauit postremo basilicam in honore sancti apostoli Pauli ad ancillarum Dei corpora sepelienda, cuius tecta sublimia operuit plumbo cum eligantia; qua in basilica beatus quoque Quintilianus iacet abba humatus.* The passage not quoted contains the story of Eligius asking the king for a part of his fiscal land. After building the monastery, Eligius saw that he had taken just a little bit more than he had asked for and he confesses this in all humility to the king who praises him for his honesty.

²⁴⁹ There is a tenth-century *Vita* of Aurea, which is partly based on the *Vita Eligii*, ed. François Dolbeau, 'Vie et miracles de sainte Aure, abbesse, jadis vénéré à Paris', in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), pp. 17-91. The text does not contain traces of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

He had thus in his chamber many tokens of the saints hanging and numerous holy books spinning around an axis.²⁵⁰ After singing the Psalms and praying he turned them and just like a very wise bee he collected diverse things from a variety of flowers and stored the best things, whatever they were, in the beehive of his heart.²⁵¹

The Benedictine scholar Eligius Dekker used this passage to support his hypothesis that Eligius of Noyon was as author of the *Testimonia diuinae scripturae et patrum*, an anonymous *florilegium* of biblical and patristic quotations.²⁵² The way the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced fits just as easily with this description of Eligius' intellectual activities. Even though the Rule is phrased without any direct quotations from older sources, the author repeatedly refers to the tradition of the *sancti patres*²⁵³ and we can find traces of various biblical, patristic, and hagiographical texts that the author indeed “collected...from a variety of flowers”, as Audoinus phrases it. Moreover, Eligius, when still a layman, frequently visited the monastery of Luxeuil – a stronghold of the observation of the correct *regula*.²⁵⁴ He had everything in his pocket necessary to establish the *districtam regulae disciplinam*, as phrased by Audoinus in his *Vita Eligii*.

Eligius is a better candidate for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than Waldebert, but the same caveat we faced with Waldebert applies to him: the fact that someone like Eligius *could* have been the author of a monastic rule does not mean that he *was* the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. He stands in for an entire group of potential authors whose credentials may have been similar but were simply not as well-documented.

Another, equally suitable, candidate would be, for example, Audoinus' disciple Philibert whom we happen to know from another fairly detailed *Vita*. According to his hagiographer, Philibert visited Luxeuil and Bobbio and studied the rules of Basil, Macharius, Benedict, and

²⁵⁰ Rouse and Rouse, 'Eloi's books and their bookcase', pp. 188-192 argue that this passage refers to a rotating bookcase.

²⁵¹ *Vita Eligii* I, c. 8, MGH SRM 4, p. 679: *Habebat itaque in cubiculo suo multa sanctorum dependentia pignora necnon et sacros libros in giro per axem plurimos; quos post psalmodiam et orationem reuoluens, et quasi apis prudentissima diuersas ex diuersis flores legens, in aluearium sui pectoris optima quaeque recondebat.*

²⁵² *Testimonia diuinae scripturae et patrum*, ed. Albert Lehner, CCSL 108D, Turnhout: Brepols 1987, pp. 43-127; Dekkers, Eligius, 'Een onbekend werk van Sint Eligius?', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63 (1989), pp. 296-308.

²⁵³ *RcuiV*, c. 6.1; c. 9.1; c. 22.1.

²⁵⁴ *Vita Eligii* I, c. 21, MGH SRM 4, p. 685: *Praeter Lussedio ergo, qui solus, ut dictum est, districtionem regulae sollerter tenebat, Solemniacense monasterium in partibus occiduis huius religionis extitit caput, ex quo demum multi sumpserunt et initium et exemplum, adeo ut nunc quoque propitia diuinitate innumera per omnem Franciam et Galliam habeantur sub regulari disciplina alma utriusque sexus coenobia.* On Eligius' education, see also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et formation politique', pp. 4-7.

Columbanus before founding the monastery of Jumièges. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain any traces of the text we know as *Regula Macharii* but its author did use the Rules of Basil, Benedict, and Columbanus. The *Vita Philiberti* provides one of the very few references to a monastic founder reading and collecting monastic rules.²⁵⁵ Later in his life, Philibert founded a female monastery in accordance with his Rule (*eius regula*), Pavilly (*Pauliacum*), ten miles away from Jumièges. He placed this monastery under the guidance of the nun Austreberta. The *regula* of Pavilly was, according to his hagiographer, later adopted by other monasteries – though it is at this point in the text not clear whether the hagiographer talks about the *regula* of Philibert or the *regula* of Austreberta.²⁵⁶

He built another monastery with the name *Pauliacum* ten miles away from Jumièges, where he gathered a crowd of holy women which the most wise mother Austreberta, who was of noble family, ruled under the norm of piety (*sub relegionis norma*) out of obedience to the holy man. But according to his (or her?) examples many monasteries were founded in Neustria. Priests of the Lord flocked to him who wanted to imitate his (or her?) example and provided their monasteries with his (or her?) *regula*.²⁵⁷

Other potential aristocratic authors of a female monastic rule would be Audoinus himself, who became bishop of Rouen, or Burgundofaro, the brother of Burgundofara, who became bishop of Meaux. Each of them may have had a similar training as Eligius and Philibert and may have had similar stakes in the *regula* of their respective foundations.²⁵⁸

The shared emphasis on a *regula* in seventh-century foundation narratives is more remarkable than we might think. References to monastic life as *uita regularis* before the turn of

²⁵⁵ *Vita Filiberti*, c. 5, MGH SRM 5, p. 587: *Lustrans Luxouium et Bobium uel reliqua cenobia sub norma sancti Columbani degentia atque omnia monasteria, quas intra suo gremio Francia et Italia hac tota claudit Burgundia, astuta intentione prouidens, ut prudentissima apis, quicquid melioribus florere uidit studiis, hoc suis traxit exemplis. Basilii sancti charismata, Macharii regula, Benedicti decreta, Columbani instituta sanctissima lectione frequentabat assidua, sicque honestus uirtute aromatum sequacibus sanctum monstrabat exemplum.* According to Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 102-103, the extant *Vita Filiberti* was written in the middle of the eighth century. It may have been a revision of a version that was much closer to the events.

²⁵⁶ The *Vita Austrebertae*, AASS Feb., vol. 2, , Paris 1864, col. 419-423 is of a later date. The text (c. 9, col. 421B) states that the nuns of Pavilly served the *disciplinis regularibus* with tireless zeal (*quae infatigabili intentione disciplinis regularibus militantes*).

²⁵⁷ *Vita Filiberti*, c. 22, MGH SRM 5, pp. 595-596: *...alium construxit caenubium nomine Pauliaco, decem milibus a Gemedico sequestratum, ubi sanctarum congregauit multitudine feminarum, quas sub relegionis norma pro uiri Dei oboedientiam gubernabat mater prudentissima, orta nobile parentela, uocabulo Austroberta. Sed et multa monasteria per eius exempla sunt constructa in Neustria. Confluebant ad eum sacerdotes Domini, cupientes exemplum illius imitare, et de eius regulam sua ornabant cenubia.*

²⁵⁸ On Audoinus' monastic foundations, see Fouracre, Paul, 'The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria', in: Derek Backer (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Oxford: Blackwell 1979, pp. 77-91, at pp. 83-86.

the seventh century are scarce, and turning the *regula* (written or unwritten) into a benchmark of monastic life and identity may in fact have been one of the most important developments that took place after Columbanus' death.²⁵⁹ As we will see in the next Chapter, both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' *Vita Columbani* provide extensive explanation as to why it is absolutely necessary to follow a *regula*.

An even more obvious candidate for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be Burgundofara, the abbess of Faremoutiers, who was still alive when Jonas wrote the *Vita Columbani*.²⁶⁰ Terence Kardong recently made this suggestion of Burgundofara's authorship in an article on chapter 9 (on silence) of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²⁶¹ The fact that we can eventually determine that the text was written down by Jonas does not at all preclude that Burgundofara was involved in the composition of the text. In fact, it is very likely, since Jonas stayed at Faremoutiers and almost certainly knew Burgundofara well; most importantly, in his *Vita Columbani*, he gave her – in her role as abbess – a wide range of power and discretionary authority.²⁶² It is certain that he drew indirectly his model of a monastery from hers but Burgundofara could well have been a direct source when he wrote the Rule.

There is no reason to assume that Burgundofara was less learned than her brothers or other members of the aristocratic families who founded male and female monasteries in the aftermath of Columbanus.²⁶³ As a potential author – or at least contributor – she stands in for a number of other abbesses of female monastic foundations, such as Anstrudis, Aurea, Austreberta, Balthild, Bertila, Caesaria, Geretrudis, or Rictrudis.²⁶⁴ Most of their *Vitae* praise their

²⁵⁹ Diem/Rousseau, 'Monastic rules', forthcoming.

²⁶⁰ In *VCol II*, c. 12, pp. 260-261 Jonas tells that Burgundofara had been seriously ill but recovered through the intercession of one of the members of her community. If she had died before the completion of the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas undoubtedly would have made her death the center piece within his series of *felix exitus* of Faremoutier's nuns. In his prologue Jonas explicitly states that some of the protagonists of his *Vita* were still alive. Krusch prints at the end of his edition of *VCol II*, c. 11-22 on pp. 279-280 a spurious report on Burgundofara's death that was associated with the *Vita Columbani* in the 1553-edition of the works of Bede.

²⁶¹ Kardong, Terrence, 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395-412.

²⁶² Jonas reports that he was involved in the commemorative Mass for the nun Gibitrudis: *VCol II*, c. 12, p. 262.

²⁶³ Stevenson, Jane, 'Brothers and Sisters: Women and Monastic Life in Eighth-Century England and Francia', in: *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 82:3 (1994), pp. 1-34 provides an overview of the scholarly productivity of nuns and abbesses in Anglo-Saxon England and the Frankish world of the eighth century and, in particular, of evidence of collaboration between brothers and sisters. Her observations probably also apply to the Frankish monastic world of the seventh century.

²⁶⁴ See the introductions to the translations of the *Lives* in McNamara Jo Ann, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley (transl.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992.

learnedness and describe them as teachers.²⁶⁵ In general, the hagiographic language of education, knowledge, and teaching is not marked by gender differences, and no *Vita* of a female saint describes its protagonist as learned against the odds of her own gender.²⁶⁶

3. Whose voice do we hear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*?

One way of determining to what extent Burgundofara (or another abbess) was involved in producing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be to ask who speaks and who is addressed in the text – an exercise that also provides some remarkable collateral insights. There are monastic rules that are phrased as impersonal lists of norms (such as the *Regula Pachomii* and Columbanus' Rules). Others are phrased as the questions of a disciple and responses of a master (such as the *Regula Basilii* and the *Regula Magistri*). The *Regula quattuor patrum* is phrased as sequence of speeches from members of the community that are framed as leading to a consensus expressed by the community. Caesarius of Arles and Donatus speak both to the abbess and the

²⁶⁵ For example, *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 1, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, p. 64; *Vita Austrebertae*, c. 12, *AASS Feb.*, vol 2, p. 421F; *Vita Balthildis*, c. 11, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 496-497; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS Nov.*, vol. 3, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1910, col. 93A-C; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, *SC* 536, pp. 194-196; *Vita Filiberti*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 595 (calling Austroberta *mater prudentissima*); *Vita Geretrudis*, c. 2-3, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 457; c. 7, pp. 461-463; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 9, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, pp. 383-384; c. 19, pp. 390-391; *Vita Rictrudis*, c. 13, *AASS May*, vol. 3, col. 84. On female literary production in early medieval monasteries, see Bodarwé, Katrinette, 'Schadet Grammatik der Frauenfrömmigkeit?', in: Carola Jaeggi *et al.* (eds.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 63-73; McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Women and literacy in the early middle ages', in: *eadem*, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries*, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum 1994, no XIII, pp. 1-43; Nelson, Janet L., 'Women and the word in the Earlier Middle Ages', in: *eadem*, *The Frankish World 750-900*, London/Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press 1996, pp. 119-221; Callan, Maeve B., 'St Darerca and her sister scholars: women and education in medieval Ireland', in: *Gender and History* 15:1 (2003), pp. 32-49; McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia*, Cambridge, MS/London 1996, pp. 135-137.

²⁶⁶ Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Companion on Women and Gender in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432-446, at pp. 433-435. Lifshitz, Felice, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York: Fordham University Press 2014 focuses on a later period (eighth century) and on the Anglo-Saxon impact on Frankish monasticism, but her work reminds us that the intellectual activities and cultural contribution of nuns and abbesses have been vastly underestimated. See also Réal, Isabelle, 'Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming. On the role of education in Merovingian hagiography, see Heinzemann, Martin, 'Studia sanctorum. Éducation, milieu d'instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l'hagiographie en Gaul jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne', in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen Âge. Culture education et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, Nanterre: Editions Erasme 1990, pp. 105-138.

community; the *Regula Benedicti* presents itself in the prologue as a summary of the *praecepta magistri* (the instructions of the master) and addresses the individual monk, but occasionally switches to an inclusive “we”. Other rules, especially those building up on a variety of older normative texts, freely switch back and forth between addressing a collective “we”, an individual or collective “you”, the abbot, or no specified audience. The question of how to phrase norms and how to speak most effectively to those whose lives need to be organized, whose morals need to be improved, and whose faults need to be held in check, forms an essential part of the larger question of the emergence of a *uita regularis*.²⁶⁷

First, we must look for places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* where we hear the author’s voice. There are seventeen instances in which a verb appears in the first-person plural, thus “we, the community” or “we, who speak to the community.” In most of them the author formulates a precept in a way that could be written by either an outsider or by insider: *decernimus, diximus, censemus, negamus, legimus, precipimur, didicimus* (we decide, state, argue, prohibit, read, prescribe, learned).²⁶⁸ I will return to some of these instances in the context of the juxtaposition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns in the next Chapter because what the speaker of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* “says”, “decides”, “and “argues” often deviates from prescriptions made in Caesarius’ Rule. Other “we”-constructions are general exhortations, such as: *Omni ergo operi bono quod facimus Domini timorem iungamus*. (Therefore, let us attach the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do).²⁶⁹ Again, these injunctions could be made by an insider or an outsider as moral exhortations.

The author uses “we” or “us” on three occasions that might be relevant to the question of authorship because they could give indications of whether or not the speaker belongs to the community. In the chapter on mutual love the author of the Rule states:

We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate through mutual love him who has loved us.²⁷⁰

And further:

We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ See Diem/Rousseau, ‘Monastic Rules’, forthcoming.

²⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.14; c. 3.24; c. 5.4-5; c. 9.17; c. 10.4; c. 10.17; c. 14.5; c. 14.10; c. 17.9; c. 23.1; c. 24.1.

²⁶⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 4.15. See also 5.18; c. 5.23-26; c. 8.4-5; c. 22.8.

²⁷⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 5.4: *Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit.*

²⁷¹ *RcuiV*, c. 5.23: *Nihil aliud dare precipimur, nisi quod nobis dare petimus...*

It is still possible to read these two “we”-passages as part of a general moral exhortation. A third passage from chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can hardly be read in this way:

Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption.
¹² Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. ¹³ Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgive us our sins. ¹⁴ In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another, and pray for each other.*²⁷²

All three passages belong to a section of the rule that is phrased like a sermon, directly addressing the community. The inclusion of the speaker could simply have been a rhetorical device to minimize the distance between author and audience. Yet if we take the call for mutual confession at face value, we should assume that the speaker participated in the confessional practices of the community, which implies that the words were indeed spoken by the abbess since she is the one who hears confession.²⁷³ On the other hand, the author could also have been a monk who belonged to a monastery that practiced the same rituals of confession. “We” could also refer to a community that included both monks *and* nuns. We know that many communities of religious women that emerged during the seventh century were founded as, or at some point turned into, double monasteries.²⁷⁴ Two of the few references to confession as practiced by a community of monks come from the *Vitae* of Amandus and Adelphus, abbots of the double monastery of Remiremont.²⁷⁵

²⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 6.11-14: *Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam.* ¹² *Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpa inueniatur medicina.* ¹³ *Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata.* ¹⁴ *Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16).

²⁷³ On confession, see p. §.

²⁷⁴ On double monasteries, see Gaillard, Michèle and Anne-Marie Helvétius, ‘Production de textes et réforme d’un monastère double. L’exemple de Remiremont du VII^e au IX^e siècle’, in: Jaeggi *et al.* (eds.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst*, pp. 383-393; Wemple, Suzanne Fonay, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1981, pp. 158-165; Elm, Kaspar and Michel Parisse (eds.), *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1992; Peyroux, Catherine, *Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West*, Ph.D. thesis Princeton University 1991; and, most recently, Beach, Alison and Andra Juganaru, ‘The Double Monastery as an Historiographical Problem (Fourth to Twelfth Century)’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

²⁷⁵ See *Vita Amati*, c. 11, ed. Bruno Krusch *MGH SRM* 4, p. 219: ‘*Confessionem meam*’, inquit, ‘*coram omnibus facere dispono, et penitentiam legitimam accipiens, ita opto de hac luce quandoque exire*’; *Vita Adelphi*, c. 2, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 226: *Denique, accito sacerdote, si quid se meminit deliquisse, prostratus humo*

There are two more passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* implying that the text addressed a male audience as well. In the chapter on confession the author quotes David from Ps. 31, 5 (the same verse is used in the *Regula Benedicti*) and continues, while in the male form, retaining David as the subject:

Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, David lamented through confession and glorified his redemption through receiving it. ⁷ He revealed his crime in grieve and by giving confession he restored his hope.²⁷⁶

In chapter 22 the author speaks about both *famuli* and *famulae Christi*, which is remarkable since the text does otherwise exclusively address nuns:

The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within their mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident.²⁷⁷

Yet looking at the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a whole, the text gives the strong impression of addressing a community which was at that point not a double monastery. It is the abbess who is responsible for guests and pilgrims; it is the *portaria* who receives and stores gifts; nuns have the task of tending guests outside the enclosure and the *cellararia* has control over supplies.²⁷⁸

Neither the reference to the *famulae uel famuli*, nor the use of the male form in chapter six helps us any further in searching the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, aside from *not* excluding Burgundofara as potential author. The question of whether the text was written from an external or internal perspective and whether “internal” may have included nuns *and* monks considering themselves as a collective “we” remains unresolved. Nevertheless, we learned a lot.

4. Jonas of Bobbio, his *Vita Columbani*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

exomologisin fecit, poscens animae suae medendae penitentiam impertire, atque supplex ait: ‘Dulcissimus meus, ab omnibus fratribus et sororibus commeato accepto, uolo et desiderio Luxouium usque ad sanctos fratres properare, quoniam illis similiter confessionem meam facere dispono; quibus orantibus, ueniam et remissionem de peccatis meis adipisci non ambigo’. Nec mora destinationem illius secutus est effectus.

²⁷⁶ Rcuiv, c. 6.6-7: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo. ⁷ Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrauit spem.*

²⁷⁷ Rcuiv, c. 22.6: *Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi, ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant, quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum.*

²⁷⁸ Rcuiv, c. 1; c. 3; c. 4.

Jonas of Bobbio was present in Faremoutiers at the commemorative Mass of the nun Gibrudis.²⁷⁹ He mentions this casually, which indicates that his presence was not an exceptional event. The “we” we hear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could, thus, easily include Jonas himself.

In this section I will show that the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the author of the *Vita Columbani* were the same persons – with the qualification that some of the “candidates” I listed so far may have contributed to the creation of the text. My argument will be based on a close comparison of Jonas’ hagiographic work and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the basis of style, vocabulary and content. If we ascribe the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas, an obscure female monastic Rule will turn into one of the key sources for grasping the monastic world after Columbanus. The Rule may be the most authentic textual manifestation of what Jonas of Bobbio understood as *Regula Columbani*. It provides insights into the monastic theology evolving after Columbanus, its notion of space and boundaries, its language and categories, and its concept of discipline – to mention only a few aspects that will be addressed in subsequent chapters of this book.

Before going into details of style, semantics, and lexicology, I will take the same approach I have used with all other possible authors, providing arguments that Jonas belongs to the pool of viable candidates. Jonas was a highly educated monk with excellent connections to the abbots of Luxeuil and Bobbio.²⁸⁰ We know that he wrote at least two (maybe three) hagiographic works on commission: the *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, and, possibly, the *Vita Vedastis*.²⁸¹ He must have become an abbot of a monastic community at some point between

²⁷⁹ VCol II, c. 12, p. 262: *Sed et tricesimo die, cum eius commemorationem ex more ecclesiastico facere conaremus et missarum sollempnia celebraremus, tanta flagrantia ecclesiam repleuit, ut omnium unguentorum ac pigmentorum odores crederes adesse.*

²⁸⁰ On Jonas of Bobbio, see O’Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 31-37; O’Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 87-120; Rohr, Christian, ‘Hagiographie als historische Quelle: Ereignisgeschichte und Wunderberichte in der Vita Columbani des Ionas von Bobbio’, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 103 (1995), pp. 229-264. See esp. p. 231 with a succinct overview of literature on Jonas’ education.

²⁸¹ *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, pp. 309-320 (henceforth *Vloh*); *Vita Vedastis*, *ibid.*, pp. 326-344. On the contested authorship of the *Vita Vedastis*, see Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d’Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribuée à Jonas’, in: *Revue du Nord* 93:391-392 (2011), pp. 671-689; O’Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 68-78.

completing his *Vita Columbani* (after 642) and 659, the year in which he wrote the *Vita Iohannis*, where he referred to himself as *Jonas abbas*.²⁸² We might identify him with a certain Ionatus who ruled over the double monastery Marchiennes-Hamage.²⁸³ Jonas, a monastic writer-on-demand, could well have been commissioned to write down a community's monastic rule or have written a rule for his own monastery.²⁸⁴

The prologue of the *Vita Iohannis* provides a remarkable biographical detail that might link Jonas to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and – simultaneously – allows us to explore some of the early impact of this Rule. Jonas wrote the *Vita Iohannis* at the request of the monks of the monastery of Réomé. He had spent a couple of days in this monastery, resting from the hardships of a journey to Chalon-sur-Saône where he was summoned by Queen Balthild (d. around 680).²⁸⁵ This visit to Balthild's court, which took place in 659, coincides with the foundation of the monastery of Chelles, the place to which Balthild would be forced to retire about five years later.²⁸⁶ No foundation charter or episcopal privilege of Chelles has been preserved, but we can assume that this foundation was just as closely linked to Columbanus' foundations as Balthild's other monastic project, Corbie, for which she had recruited monks from Luxeuil and which followed, according to its episcopal privilege, the *Regula Benedicti uel*

²⁸² *Vloh*, prologue, *MGH SRG* 37, p. 326, l. 8 calls him *Jonas abbas*.

²⁸³ Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani*', p. 63 assumes that Jonas and Ionatus were identical. See also O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 36-37. Pagani, Ilena, 'Jonas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio', in: *Studi medievali*, ser. 3 29:1 (1988), pp. 47-85 argues against this identification. On Hamage, see also Louis, Étienne, 'Espaces monastiques sacrés et profanes à Hamage (Nord), VII^e-IX^e siècles', in: Lauwers, Michel (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 435-471; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 113-116. *Idem*, 'Jonas of Bobbio, Marchiennes-Hamages, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 287-293 identifies parallels between the archaeological evidence of Hamage and the spatial concept of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

²⁸⁴ There are other monastic rules that were written on commission. See, for example, *Regula Donati*, prologue, *CSEL* 97, pp. 139-141; *Regula Ferrioli*, prologue, ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117-148, at pp. 125-126.

²⁸⁵ *Vloh*, prologue, p. 329.

²⁸⁶ See Folz, Robert, 'Tradition hagiographique et culte de sainte Bathilde, reine des Francs', in: *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 119 (1975), pp. 369-385; Fouracre, Paul and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1996, pp. 97-118; Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Iles 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 VII^e siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in: Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1989, pp. 371-394, at pp. 382-385; Wood, Ian N., *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, London/New York: Longman 1994, pp. 197-202.

Columbani.²⁸⁷ Balthild also lavishly supported Faremoutiers and recruited Bertila, the first abbess of Chelles, from Jouarre which had been founded *ex beati regula Columbani*.²⁸⁸ It is likely that Jonas – undoubtedly recognized as *the* expert on Columbanus and his legacy – was summoned to Balthild to advise her on her Chelles project.

He may have brought the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to assist this process. Chelles is, aside from Faremoutiers, the monastery on which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* left the strongest imprint (at least according to the sources available to us). Bertila, the monastery's first abbess, died around the year 705, 45 years after the monastery had been founded.²⁸⁹ Her *Vita*, which may have been written soon after her death, is not really a narrative but rather, as Jo Ann McNamara phrased it, a depiction of Bertila as “a mirror of monastic living, a practitioner of the rule in all her ways.”²⁹⁰ The main source for this construction of Bertila as a perfect nun and abbess is no other than the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, although other rules (the *Regula quattuor patrum*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and the *Regula Benedicti*) also left a few traces in the *Vita Bertilae*.²⁹¹ This indicates that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was present in Chelles and considered a text of high authority.

²⁸⁷ *Vita Balthildis*, c. 7, MGH SRM 2, pp. 490-491; Privilege of Bishop Berthe Fridus of Amiens for Corbie (664), ed. Léon Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes mérovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie. Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'École des chartes*, Paris: A. Picard 1902, pp. 222-226, at p. 225: *Illud etiam addi placuit, ut ipsi monachi sub regula sancti Benedicti uel sancti Columbani conuersare et uiuere debeant*. See also Diem, ‘Was bedeutet regula Columbani?’, pp. 77-84; Ewig, Eugen, ‘Das Privileg des Bischofs Berthe Frid von Amiens für Corbie von 664 und die Klosterpolitik der Königin Balthild’, in: *Francia* 1 (1973), pp. 62-114; Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 39-43; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Hagiographie et réformes monastiques dans le monde franc du VII^e siècle’, in: *Médiévales* 62 (2012), pp. 33-48, at pp. 43-45; Ganz, David, ‘Les relations entre Luxeuil et Corbie’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 261-269. On Balthild's support of Faremoutiers, see *Vita Balthildis*, c. 8, MGH SRM 2, p. 492.

²⁸⁸ On the foundation of Jouarre: VCol I, c. 26, p. 210, l. 5; Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, pp. 59-74; Dierkens, ‘Prolégomènes’, pp. 376-377.

²⁸⁹ Van der Essen, Leon, ‘Bertila’, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 8, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1935, col. 1004-1005; Suhl, Nicole, ‘Die “Vita Bertilae Abbatissae Calensis” – eine Quelle für mögliche Unterschiede in der Religiosität von “Volk” und “Elite” im frühen Mittelalter?’, in: Hans-Werner Goetz and Friederike Sauerwein (eds.), *Volkskultur und Elitekultur im frühen Mittelalter*, Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum 1997, pp. 39-58.

²⁹⁰ McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 280. The author of the *Regula Bertilae* would in this regard follow the model of Jonas of Bobbio himself, whose hagiographic works could equally be read as narrated monastic rules. See Diem, Albrecht, ‘Vita vel Regula: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages’, in: Samantha Herrick (ed.), *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500-1500*, Leiden: Brill 2019, pp. 123-142.

²⁹¹ The edition of *Vita Bertilae*, AASS Nov., vol. 3, col. 90-94 provides references to other rules used in the text.

Parts of the *Vita Bertilae* read like a summary of entire chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Appendix 3 provides a list of no less than 34 parallels spread over the entire text. Two sections, from chapter 2 and chapter 6, may serve as example. Chapter 2 describes Bertila's virtues as ordinary nun. All phrases in bold appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

In quo sancto coenobio sub **norma sanctae regulae**²⁹² ita admirabilem atque laudabilem habuit conuersationem, ut uelox esset in sancta seniorum oboedientia, et **ad cursum** diuinum uel ad orationem **cum feruore** mentis deuotissime **festinaret**.²⁹³ **Cum omni enim grauitate et mansuetudine**²⁹⁴ seu temperantia admirabiliter conuersabatur in sancta congregatione, **timorem uero Dei** semper prae **oculis** habens,²⁹⁵ ambulabat in corde perfecto et **puritate confessionis**,²⁹⁶ humilis atque oboediens, suis semper complacens senioribus, et in quocumque ministerio iubebatur a matre senioribus deseruire, idipsum fidelissime et cum bono animo, consolante gratia diuina, absque murmure **studebat adimplere**²⁹⁷ omnia quae sibi fuerant iniuncta.²⁹⁸

[And in that holy community she behaved herself so admirably and praiseworthy under **the norm of the holy rule**, that she was quick in holy obedience of the elders and that she hastened most devoutly with fervent mind **to the divine office**. In the holy congregation she behaved admirably with all **gravity, gentleness** and temperance. But she kept the **fear of God** always before her **eyes**, walking with a perfect heart and in the **purity of confession**. Humble and obedient, she was always pleasant to her seniors and in whatever task she was ordered by the mother to serve her seniors, **she was eager to fulfill** all that had been enjoined to her, most faithfully and with a cheerful mind, with support of divine grace and without complaint.]²⁹⁹

Chapter 6 provides a list of Bertila's virtues as abbess:

Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila **exemplum et forma pietatis** omnibus per **continentiam** et plenissimam dilectionem et non solum per sanctum **eloquium**, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu **religionis** studio subditorum instruebat **mores**,³⁰⁰ ut se **inuicem diligent**³⁰¹ **caritatis affectu**³⁰² puriterque et **caste** seu et **sobrie**³⁰³ in omnibus conuersarent atque ad

²⁹² *RcuiV*, c. 18.1: uel **sanctae regulae normam**.

²⁹³ *RcuiV*, c. 2.18: *Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt*; c. 14.15: **Ad cursum uero cum festinatione surgentes**.

²⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 8.3: **cum omni grauitate et mansuetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et pietatis eius gratias referendas festina currat**.

²⁹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 24.4: *retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti*; c. 13.5: *ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter*. (Ier. 48, 10)

²⁹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 16.7: *paenitentiae subiacebit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit*.

²⁹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.18: *Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocae implere studeant...*

²⁹⁸ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, AASS Nov., vol. 3, col. 90F-91C.

²⁹⁹ Transl. McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 281 (thoroughly revised).

³⁰⁰ All terms in bold up to this point appear in *RcuiV*, c. 1.

³⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 5.t: *De se inuicem diligendo*.

³⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 22.1: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio*.

³⁰³ *RcuiV*, c. 2.4: *actu casta, moribus sobria*.

cursum uel orationem semper essent **paratae**³⁰⁴ **hospitumque** et **pauerpum curam** gerent³⁰⁵ **dilectionis studio et proximi amore.**³⁰⁶ Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, **ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent;**³⁰⁷ ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi **praemium** adquisiuit, et illorum animabus **lucrum** fecit.³⁰⁸ (...) Constantiam autem fidei suae ipsa tenebat mente semper ad Dominum Iesum Christum. Cumque his et talibus probatissimis ageret moribus, christianitas fratrum siue sororum eius **pietatis** exemplo aedificabatur, etiam et eius munificentia larga cuncti **pauperes et peregrini**³⁰⁹ consolabantur; tantumque fructum per eam magnum Dominus contraxit ad salutem animarum,³¹⁰ ut etiam ab transmarinis partibus Saxoniae reges illi fideles ab ea per missos fideles postularent, ut illis de suis discipulis ad eruditionem uel sanctam instructionem, quam audierant esse in ea mirabilem, dirigeret, seu etiam qui uirorum et sanctimonialium coenobia in illa regione construerent.³¹¹

[Now, through her continence **and most abundant love**, blessed Bertila was an **example and model of piety to all**. She instructed the character of her subjects not only through holy speech but even more through the **zeal of her sanctity and piety**, so that **they might love each other with the affection of charity** and behave purely, **chastly and soberly** in all things and be ever ready for the service and prayers, **and to take care of guests and the poor with the zeal of affection and the love of one's neighbor**. Through holy communion, she incited the household of the monastery and its near neighbors that they, **after having given confession, do penance for their sins**. Because of these very many improved (souls), she gained **a reward** also for herself and made a profit for their souls. (...) But she herself always held fast with the mind of her faith the firmness for the Lord Jesus Christ. And because she carried this out with these and other most honest customs, the Christianity of the brothers and sisters was edified by the example of **her love, and all paupers and pilgrims** were comforted by her abundant generosity. Through her, the Lord assembled so much great delight for the salvation of souls that even from overseas the faithful kings of the Saxons asked her through trusted messengers to send some of her disciples to them for the education and holy instruction which they heard was wonderful in her, or even such people who might build convents for men and nuns in that land (of the Saxons).]³¹²

³⁰⁴ *De accedendo 14: Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus.*

³⁰⁵ *RcuiV, c. 3.10: Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam inter omnia habentes; c. 4.13: Similiter pauperum curam gerat.*

³⁰⁶ *RcuiV, c. 5.9: Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu, sed pietatis ministerio.*

³⁰⁷ Compare *RcuiV, c. 6.*

³⁰⁸ *RcuiV, c. 3.6: Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*

³⁰⁹ *RcuiV, c. 3.10: Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam.*

³¹⁰ *RcuiV, c. 1.18-19: Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, ¹⁹ ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiiis prebuit supplementum.*

³¹¹ *Vita Bertilae, c. 6, AASS Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A-C.*

³¹² Transl. McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, pp. 285-286 (thoroughly revised).

The presence of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Chelles and Jonas' possible connection to Chelles supports but does not prove that Jonas of Bobbio wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Other scenarios are possible: Chelles could, for example, have imported the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* from Jouarre, Bertila's mother house, or Bertila herself could have been its author.

In order to make a definitive point about Jonas' authorship we now need to enter the thorny bushes of philological inquiry. A detailed count of words, comparison of phrases, and list of stylistic idiosyncrasies not only prove that four texts (Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which will be discussed in Chapters 7-8 of this book) were written by the same author, but also unlock important elements of the monastic practice of the time.³¹³ Linking these texts will show that both the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* can be read as narrative versions of the *regula* codified in the form of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo*,³¹⁴ or, conversely, that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo ad Deum* can be seen as an attempt to transform the monastic ideals expressed in Jonas' hagiographical works into a normative text.

In developing the argument for Jonas' authorship, I will first focus on lexicographic, semantic and stylistic parallels between Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Thereafter I will describe how the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* relate to each other on the level of content. For this endeavor I will initially discuss the connections between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the parts of the *Vita Columbani* addressing the life of Columbanus himself and his successors Athala and Eusthasius – parallels that are of particular interest because they cross the boundaries of gender. In Chapter 2 of this

³¹³ Analyses of Jonas of Bobbio's language have mostly addressed grammatical and morphological questions which are of limited use for this particular problem since neither Jonas' hagiographic texts nor the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are preserved in their original Merovingian textual form. See Roques, Gilles, 'La langue de Jonas de Bobbio, autor latin du VII^e siècle', in: *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 9 (1971), pp. 7-52; Löfstedt, Bengt, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio', in: *Arctos* 8 (1974), pp. 79-95; Norberg, Dag, 'Le développement du Latin en Italie de S. Grégoire le Grand a Paul Diacre', in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 5.2, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 1958, pp. 485-503; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, pp. 54-60.

³¹⁴ On Jonas' hagiographic works as "narrated rules" see Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?'; *idem*, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk in Gaul. Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Iohannis* and the construction of a monastic identity', in: *Revue Mabillon* 80 (2008), pp. 5-50, at pp. 38-44. See also Blennemann, Gordon, 'Hagiographie: une norme narrée. Regards sur les Vitae de Jutta de Sponheim et de Hildegarde de Bingen, et sur le Liber visionum d'Élisabeth de Schönau', in: Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabeth Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (eds.), *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieux clos (IV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2015, pp. 115-127.

study I will compare the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the section of the *Vita Columbani* that recounts the lives and deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers. I will briefly return to Jonas' hagiographic works in Chapters 7-8 of this study when analyzing the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum* as the “lost chapter” of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Semantic and stylistic parallels between the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines and Jonas' hagiographic works

Louis Gougaud has pointed to the similarities between chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on confession and Jonas' description of the confessional practices of Faremoutiers. He indicated that there might be more parallels, though he may not have been aware that his observations were only the tip of the iceberg.³¹⁵ There is an overwhelming number of connections in vocabulary, phrasing, expressions, and metaphors between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and both of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic saints' Lives. Appendix 1 documents eighty of them – and I may still have overlooked some. These parallels are not limited to the sections of the *Vita Columbani* that deal with Faremoutiers or with female monastic life. In fact, almost every chapter of both books of the *Vita Columbani* and of Jonas' *Vita Iohannis* contains parallels in phrasing, similarities in content, or at least overlap in vocabulary with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Conversely, we can find connections to Jonas' hagiographical works in each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The less a chapter of the Rule is influenced by the *Regula Benedicti*, the more parallels it shows with the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis*.

A proximity search in the *Patrologia Latina Database* and the *Library of Latin Texts* shows that eighteen of the eighty parallels listed in appendix 1 appear exclusively in Jonas' hagiographical work and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Here are some examples: *ex praesentibus pompis* (of the present pomp),³¹⁶ *uerecundiae metu* (with the fear of shame),³¹⁷ *de cuius relegione non dubitetur* (whose piety is beyond doubt),³¹⁸ *ab omni congregatione*

³¹⁵ Gougaud, 'Inventaire', pp. 328-331.

³¹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; cfr *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23-170, l. 1: *praesentium pompam facultatum*.

³¹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 8.5; cfr *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 9-10: *uerecundiae metu*; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 24-25: *perculsa metu, uerecundia correpta*.

³¹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 14.9; c. 24.9: *de quorum religione non dubitatur*; cfr *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10: *de quorum religione nihil dubitabatur*; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25-26: *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur*.

obiurgetur (she should be rebuked by the entire congregation),³¹⁹ *moderante scientiae* (by the moderation of knowledge).³²⁰

Another twenty-eight parallels can be found in only a handful of other patristic and early medieval works, which indicates that they are not commonly used expressions and were probably not derived from a shared source. Some of the expressions that appear exclusively, or almost exclusively in Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* relate to core aspects of the monastic ideals expressed in both sets of texts, such as the expressions *correptio pia* (loving reproach),³²¹ *fructum laboris recipere* (to receive the fruit of one's effort),³²² *damnum neglegentiae* (harm of negligence),³²³ *ad salutem redintegrare* (to restore to salvation).³²⁴ We also find instances when a specific expression appears in both works in unrelated contexts, such as *clemens iudex* (mild judge),³²⁵ *peracta oratione* (after having ended prayer),³²⁶ *feruens aestus* (boiling heat).³²⁷ This precludes the possibility that the author of one text simply used the text of another author in the same way as, for instance, the author of the *Vita Bertilae* used the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.³²⁸ The authors of the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* and of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* speak the same language to such an extent that they can only be the same person.

Besides the list of exact parallels offered in appendix 1, we can find countless instances in which key expressions appear in varying combinations in Jonas' Lives and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. These correlations support just as strongly the argument that one person wrote both sets of texts with the same semantic repertoire. Several of these textual connections will be discussed in the context of the Faremoutiers miracles and in Chapter 4 of this study on Jonas' notions of space, boundaries, and purity.

The vocabulary of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* also displays a strikingly extensive overlap. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses 1329 different terms

³¹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 18.3; cfr *VCol II*, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*.

³²⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 20.4; cfr *VCol II*, c. 23, p. 281, l. 25: *scientiam moderantem*.

³²¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; cfr *VCol II*, c. 10, p. 251, l. 30.

³²² *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; cfr *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328.

³²³ *RcuiV*, c. 4.16; cfr *Vloh*, c. 7, p. 333, l. 12-13; *VCol II*, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21-22.

³²⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 7.2; cfr *VCol II*, c. 6, p. 239, l. 19: *omnia saluti redintegraret*.

³²⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.15; *De accedendo* 26; *VCol I*, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10-11; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17.

³²⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; cfr *Vloh*, c. 2, p. 330, l. 6-7; c. 7, p. 333, l. 17; c. 13, p. 337, l. 9.

³²⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 12.6; cfr *VCol I*, c. 4, p. 160, l. 17.

³²⁸ See p. §.

(particles, prepositions, and pronouns included). 1022 of them appear in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, which amounts to a 77% overlap. If we subtract all expressions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* directly derived either from biblical quotations (25 terms) or from the *Regula Benedicti* (42 terms) the overlap of the vocabulary reaches 81%. A control experiment comparing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with the *Regula Benedicti* provides significantly lower degrees of overlap, despite the fact that both texts belong to the same genre and the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* largely paraphrased the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares 812 terms with the *Regula Benedicti*; 517 terms do not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*. This means that their vocabulary overlaps with 61%. Roughly 70% of the 517 terms absent in the *Regula Benedicti* appear in the *Vita Columbani*.³²⁹ Jonas used, thus, words and phrases we find in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* to rewrite the the *Regula Benedicti*.

Additionally, a significant number of expressions that appear in Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* do not appear in any other monastic rule.³³⁰ Numerous expressions that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares with Jonas' hagiographic works relate to key theological concepts, such as sin, salvation, damnation, absolution, emotion and motivation, purity, and purification.³³¹ Jonas' language is in itself an important source for a study into his theological program.

Aside from parallels on a semantic level, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares several specific stylistic mannerisms with the *Vita Columbani*, many of which are stumbling blocks for anyone who tries to provide a literal translation. These stylistic peculiarities sometimes resemble

³²⁹ This number is based on a sample of the first 175 of the 517 words absent in the *Regula Benedicti*. 122 of them appear in the *Vita Columbani*, which is roughly 70%.

³³⁰ A complete list includes *fessus* (twice in *Rcui*/9 times in *VCol*); *fuscare* (2/1); *garrulus* (2/4); *ignauia* (3/3); *imbutus* (1/9); *incrementum* (1/4); *ingenium* (1/6); *intimare* (1/1); *intueri* (2/10+); *iungere* (3/9); *iurgium* (1/1); *lenitas* (1/5); *malitiosus* (1/1); *obiurgare* (1/7); *opax* (1/2); *penes/penitus* (19/10+); *perfunctoria* (1/1); *persuasio* (1/4); *peruigil* (1/3); *pompa* (1/3); *praestus* (1/2); *preconium* (1/7); *primordium* (1/2); *priuare* (2/7); *procliuis* (1/2); *proditio* (1/4); *proditor* (1/1); *sagax* (1/10); *satire* (1/6); *sedare* (1/1); *segnitia* (1/1); *series* (3/3); *sollers* (2/3); *spopor* (1/9); *sospitas* (1/10+); *suffragium* (1/5); *sycerus* (1/1); *temeritas* (3/3); *tenebrae* (2/2); *tenor* (3/3); *tepiditas* (1/1); *tepor* (1/3); *torpere* (2/2); *transgressio* (1/8); *transilire* (1/3); *trutinare* (1/3); *uiridis* (1/1); *uirus* (1/2).

³³¹ For example: *abluere* (once in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*/9 times in the *Vita Columbani*); *aestus* (1/4); *affectus* (10/8); *antidotum* (1/3); *commeatus* (9/2); *confessio/confiteri* (27/10+); *consilium* (3/10+); *crimen* (5/6); *cursus* (15/10+); *custodia/custodire* (10/10+); *damnum* (3/10+); *delictum* (10/1); *disciplina* (15/10+); *emendare* (8/9); *fructus* (7/5); *intentus/intentio* (6/10+); *interrogare* (5/5); *iudicare/iudex* (7/10+); *iudicium* (5/5); *iungere* (3/9); *labere* (3/5); *lauare* (7/1); *macula/maculare* (7/10+); *medicina* (3/2); *meritum* (2/10+); *ministerium* (3/3); *minister/ministra/ministrare* (16/10+); *misericos/misericordia* (8/10+); *mortificatio* (1/6); *necessitas* (14/9); *nitor* (1/10+); *noxa* (1/10+); *praemium* (2/4); *praesidium* (2/2); *redintegrare* (2/3); *religio* (12/10+); *sanies* (3/1); *septa* (4/10); *zelus* (1/2).

an author reaching for grandiose or pompous language to give their ideas more weight. We find in the *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* numerous instances of overemphasizing – by using the phrase *manet/maneat* (it remains/it stays), *positus/posita* (he/she/it is placed/in the state of) and *existit* (it exists) – that we would simply translate as “it is”, “let it be” or “should be.” *Manet* and *maneat* appear with this meaning eight times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*³³² and eleven times in the *Vita Columbani*.³³³ *Positus/posita* appears eleven times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,³³⁴ and twenty-six times in Jonas’ *Vita Columbani* and *Vita Iohannis*.³³⁵ *Existere* appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

³³² *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?* c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum, sed secundum Deum maneat amor.* c. 5.12-13: **Maneat** ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, sicut scriptum est: *Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24) c. 6.11: *Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam.* c. 14.1-2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiiis peruigil maneat...* c. 22.7: *Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas.* c. 23.2: *Quid enim aliam defendat, quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa...* c. 23.7: **Maneat** ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat.

³³³ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 6-7: *Fides tantum manebat christiana, nam penitentiae medicamenta et mortificationis amor uix uel paucis in ea repperiebantur locis;* I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 18: *quia regio timore omnium corda percussa manebant;* I, c. 24, p. 206, l. 16-17: *dum in omnibus conditoris manebat auxilium;* I, c. 27, p. 215, l. 1-2: **manebat** intemerata atque inconcussa fides; I, c. 27, p. 217, l. 6-7: *quod maneat totus orbis desertus;* II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 4-5: *cum cernerent in discipulum magistri instituta manere;* II, c. 13, p. 262, pp. 20-21: **manebat** inconcussa fides; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 16-17: *super animam transgressionem deceptam maneret;* II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 8-9: *quo diu subiectus sanctae regulae religionique gratus omnibus mansit;* II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 13: *nec quicquam discordiae manebat;* II, c. 23, p. 285, l. 19-20: *ut secum quoadusque sospis redderetur, maneret.* Instances in which *manere* really means “to stay” are discounted.

³³⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 4.12: *In infirmitate positis sororibus diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu ministret;* c. 6.12: *In oratione posita semper penitens dicat...* c. 8.5: *ut in loco ultimo posita, id est in eo loco, qui talibus negligentibus fuerit deputatus adstare...* c. 8.8: *Intus etenim posita nec totum perdit...* c. 10.20-21: *Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis studeant custodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere.* ²¹ *Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae, necessaria conloquantur.* c. 11.2: *Similiter et uesperum erit caenandum, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit, ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret.* c. 22.1: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere...* c. 22.12: *In cursu uero positae;* c. 23.7: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat;* c. 24.7: *In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam positam.*

³³⁵ *VCol* I, prologue, p. 147, l. 16-17: *Quae sunt ergo posita duobus libellis intercisi;* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 7: **Positus** ergo in praefatu sinu eminentis saxi; I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 1-2: *febre correptus adque in extremis positus;* I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 13: *in ecclesia positum flentem repperit;* I, c. 19 p. 192, l. 23: *in angustia positus aditum pandit;* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 9: *illi in medio eorum positum;* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 25-26: *Columbanum in ecclesia positum;* I, c. 22, p. 204, l. 19-20: *ut simul positi pro largitricem Dominum precarentur;* I, c. 24, pp. 206, l. 25-p. 207, l. 1: *qui Neustrasis Francis regnabat extrema Gallia ad Oceanum positus;* I, c. 27, p. 213, l. 16: *ceruisa plenum in medio positum;* I, c. 28, p. 217, l. 18-19: *in ecclesia positus, sacre subderetur religione* I, c. 30, p. 222, pp. 5-6: *plano terrae solo positum uehere non*

*uirgines*³³⁶ in the sense of “it exists” and four times in the *Vita Columbani*.³³⁷ These phrases may not have been uncommon in post-classical Latin but that neither the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus nor the hagiographic works that were written as continuation of the *Vita Columbani* use *manere*, *existit*, or *positus esse*. The only exceptions are Audoinus’ *Vita Eligii* where we find these expressions occasionally,³³⁸ and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, where the term *existere* appears twice.³³⁹

There are hardly any semantic and stylistic parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Vedastis*, a work that has been ascribed to Jonas of Bobbio by Bruno Krusch and added to his edition of Jonas’ hagiographic works.³⁴⁰ The lack of parallels might be explained by the fact that the *Vita Vedastis* does not address monastic life at all, but it nevertheless casts doubts on Jonas’ authorship of this *Vita*.³⁴¹

Content-related parallels between the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines and Jonas’ hagiographic works

ualebant; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 24-25: *Qui temeritatis hac arrogantiae inibi **positi***; II, c. 2, p. 232, l. 27-29: *inter quos ego **positus** et beati uiri ministerio deputatus tenebar*; II, c. 4, p. 235, l. 23-24: *in extremis febrium anxietatibus **positus***; II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 20-242, l. 1: *Hanc in extremis anhelis **positam**, Eustasius patrem increpat*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 31: *matrem monasterii in extremo **positam** esse*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 11: *ante tribunal aeterni iudicis **posita***; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 32: *Nec mora, in extremis horis **posita***; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 23: *quam in saeculo adhuc **posita***; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 18: *Cumque iam in extremis **posita***; II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 1-2: *in extremis anxietatibus **positus***. Vloh, c. 3, p. 330, l. 4-5: *in quo serpens inter deserta positus habitabat*; p. 330, l. 24-25: *infra monasteriorum septa **positus***; c. 6, p. 332, l. 19: *eo in loco quo uir Dei **positus** erat*; c. 16, p. 339, l. 26: *sub fragilitate **positus***.

³³⁶ *Rcuiv*, c. 3.7: *Sic caetae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate **existent***; c. 19.9: *quae culpae grauioribus **existentibus***.

³³⁷ *VCol* I, prologue, p. 145, l. 9-10: *quo uos praesules **existitis***; I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 4-5: *in breui inuitus clericus **existat***; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 8-9: *ne quis largitori muneris praeco **existeret***; II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 11-12: *qui modo Resbacensis coenubii praesul **existit***.

³³⁸ Similar constructions with *manere* appear twice in the *Vita Eligii*; *positus esse* four times and *existere* eight times. *Existere* is used once in *Vita Agli*; *posita esse* once in *Vita Sadalbergae*. I checked the Lives of Agilus, Adelphus, Bertila, Balthild, Eigil, Romarich, Sadalberga, Vedast, and Wandregisel.

³³⁹ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 17.4; c. 20.1, ed. Fernando Villegas, ‘La “Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos”. Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la “Regula monachorum” de Colomban’, in: *Revue d’Histoire de la Spiritualité* 49 (1973), pp. 3-36, at pp. 25-26.

³⁴⁰ *Vita Vedastis*, *MGH SRG* 37, pp. 295-320.

³⁴¹ Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d’Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribuée à Jonas’, in: *Revue du Nord* 93:391-392 (2011), pp. 671-689 argues against Jonas’ authorship. O’Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 68-78 assume that Jonas wrote the *Vita Vedastis* and therefore include the work in their translation. Only three expressions of the *Vita Vedastis* appear similarly in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *Vita Vedastis*, c. 1, *MGH SRG* 37, p. 309: *mercedis lucra*; c. 3, p. 311: *sub religionis cultu*; c. 4, p. 312: *mentem macuaret*. I would identify three more expressions as representing Jonas’ ideas and language: c. 1, p. 309: *rerum sator aeternus*; c. 5, p. 313: *ad omnia paratos*; c. 7, p. 316: *salubria medicamenta*. I do not think, however, that this evidence is strong enough to support the ascription of the *Vita Vedastis* to Jonas.

Thus far I have argued for Jonas' authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the basis of similarities in terminology, expressions and stylistic mannerisms but not parallels on the level of content. Jonas' *Vitae* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* not only use similar words (or use similar phrases in different contexts) but also express the same ideas with or without using similar words. Comparing Jonas' hagiographical texts – especially the *Vita Columbani* – with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, demonstrates that both texts are not only products of the same mind, but that they served the same agenda: to define and claim the essence of a distinct monastic ideal, which Jonas in the *Vita Columbani* relates to Columbanus himself. In other words, reading the *uita* and the *regula* concurrently helps us to better understand what constituted (at least in Jonas' mind) Columbanus' ideal of monastic life. Indeed, reading both texts together allows to see things visible only in the mirror of each respective text.

The best passage to discover Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal is to be found in his depiction of Columbanus' arrival in Gaul. There, Jonas provides an extensive description of the saint's virtues and that of his original community: a *Regula Columbani* in a nutshell, which bears little resemblance to Columbanus' Rules but expresses some of the central tenets of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.³⁴² For reasons of convenience, I have divided Jonas' "Regula in a nutshell" into eight sections and will discuss parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in my commentary of each section.

Jonas begins by describing Columbanus as someone who lives the virtues that he teaches:

Erat enim gratum hominibus, ut quod facundiae cultus adornabat, elucubrante praedicationis doctrina, simul et exempla uirtutum confirmabant.

[For it was pleasing to the people that the examples of his virtues immediately confirmed that which the practice of his eloquence embellished, by the enlightenment of erudition of his preaching.]³⁴³

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* describes the abbess as a teacher (using the term *lucubrare*), emphasizes that *uox* and *opus* may not contradict each other and that *doctrina* needs

³⁴² Columbanus, *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 122-169 leave very few traces in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, except for two allusions in *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250-251 in the context of the monk Agrestius' attacks on the *Regula Columbani*. On Columbanus' Rules, see Diem, 'Columbanian Monastic Rules', pp. 68-71. On using the *Vita Columbani* as "*Regula Columbani*", see also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et réformes', pp. 40-42.

³⁴³ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161. Krusch offers *confirmarent* as alternative, which would allow the translation of *ut* as "that".

to be supported by exemplary behavior. Both texts highlight that the teaching and behavior of the head of the monastery should have a public impact (*gratum hominibus; omnium ore laudabilis*).³⁴⁴

Subsequently, Jonas describes how Columbanus and his monks compete with each other in humility:

Tanta humilitatis ubertas, ut uersa uice, sicut de honoribus homines saeculi conantur quaerere dignitates, iste cum sodalibus suis de humilitatis cultu alter alterum nitebantur praeuenire, memores praecepti illius: *Qui se humiliat exaltabitur* (Luke 14, 11); et illud Esaiiae: *Ad quem respiciam, nisi ad humilem et quietum et trementem sermones meos?* (Is. 66, 2).

[So great was the abundance of humility that, in contrast to the worldly people who try to seek standing from high offices, Columbanus and his companions strove to outdo one another in the practice of humility, mindful of this command that, “He who humbles himself, shall be exalted”, and that of Isaiah, “To whom shall I look, but to him who is humble and silenced and who trembles at my words?”]³⁴⁵

The idea of competitive *humilitas* in mutual interaction is a central theme in chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.³⁴⁶

The next topic Jonas’ addresses is the imperative of mutual love, concord, and kindness:

Tanta pietas, tanta caritas omnibus, ut unum uelle, unum nolle, modestia atque sobrietas, mansuetudo et lenitas aequae in omnibus redolebat.

[So great was their piety, so great was the love for all, that, being of one accord in what they wanted and in what they did not want, modesty and moderation, gentleness, and mildness in all things spread over all.]³⁴⁷

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* dedicates an entire chapter (c. 5) to the imperative of mutual love (*pietas, caritas, amor*) and implements this imperative throughout the Rule.³⁴⁸ All

³⁴⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1-7: *Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, 2 ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. 3 Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant. 4 Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, 5 ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. 6 Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi. Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta, et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriis imitabilis exemplo. 7 Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda.*

³⁴⁵ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 106-107 (slightly revised).

³⁴⁶ See Chapter 6, p. §.

³⁴⁷ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 107.

³⁴⁸ See especially *RcuiV*, c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum, sed secundum Deum maneat amor. c. 8.3: cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas*

other qualities mentioned by Jonas in this section, *modestia*, *sobrietas*, *mansuetudo*, and *lenitas*, appear both as attributes of those who hold office in the community and as guidelines for specific situations.³⁴⁹

In the following sentence of this same short passage of the *Vita*, Jonas provides a list of vices that Columbanus' monks successfully overcame:

Execrabatur ab his desidiaae atque discordiae uitium, arrogantiae ac elationis supercilium duris castigationum ictibus feriebatur, irae ac liuoris noxa sagaci intentione pellebatur.

[For them, the sin of indolence and discord was detestable, while they struck at the haughtiness of arrogance and vainglory with the harsh blows of chastisements, and the poisons of anger and of envy were routed by their keen diligence.]³⁵⁰

Just like the virtues listed in the previous sentence, *desidia*, *arrogantia*, *elatio*, *ira*, and *liuor* appear throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.³⁵¹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* speaks of *sagax cura*³⁵² instead of *sagax intentio* but uses the term *intentio* on several occasions in other contexts.³⁵³ This is one example of the re-shuffling of key words that appears in both texts.

Jonas then returns to the theme of love and mildness:

Tanta patientiae uirtus, caritatis affectus, lenitatis cultus aderat, ut mitem in medio eorem Dominum patule non ambigeres habitare.

[So great was their virtue of patience, their tenderness of love, their practice of gentleness that you could not doubt that the gentle Lord was dwelling openly among them.]³⁵⁴

Patientia appears in the context of the prioress,³⁵⁵ *affectus* appears as *affectus cordis*, *promptissimus affectus*, *affectus mentis piae*, *affectus pietatis*, and *affectus uel caritatis*

festina currat. c. 20.5: *Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur.*

³⁴⁹ *Modestia*: *RcuiV*, c. 23.12; *lenitas*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.12; c. 4.11; c. 4.19; c. 9.15; c. 20.5; *sobrietas*: c. 2.4; c. 4.6; c. 9.15; c. 10.1; c. 11.5; c. 22.23; *mansuetudo*: c. 5.9; c. 8.3.

³⁵⁰ *VCol I*, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.

³⁵¹ *Desidium*: *RcuiV*, c. 9.18; c. 24.3; *discordia*: c. 5.16; *arrogantia*: c. 2.5; c. 22.12; *elatio*: c. 4.6; *ira*, c. 2.4; *liuor*: c. 5.12.

³⁵² *RcuiV*, c. 6.1.

³⁵³ *Intentus*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 3.9; c. 8.2; c. 9.11; c. 14.2; *De accedendo* 22-23; *intentio*: *RcuiV*, c. 12.2; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 26.

³⁵⁴ *VCol I*, c. 5, pp. 161-162; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.

³⁵⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 2.4.

ministerium.³⁵⁶ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not speak of a *cultus lenitatis* but of a *cultus pietatis ac dilectionis*.³⁵⁷

Jonas describes how the community as a whole deals with sinners:

Si quempiam his labere in uitiiis repperissent, simul omnes aequo iure negligentem correptionibus cedere studebant.

[If they found that anyone among them was falling into sin, they all at once and in equal measure sought to strike the negligent one with reproofs.]³⁵⁸

The notion of falling (*labi, dilabi*) appears five times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which is linked to *delicta, casus, and facinus*.³⁵⁹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses *reperire* several times in the context of discovering a transgression.³⁶⁰ *Simul omnes* appears four times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, only once in the context of reproach and punishment.³⁶¹ The collective responsibility of the community for the sinner is expressed numerous times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,³⁶² as is the notion that everyone must be treated equally.³⁶³ We find instances of *negligentia* defined as sin throughout the text.³⁶⁴

The imperative of sharing all possessions and the prohibition to claim anything as one's own are common in monastic rules:

Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur.

[They had everything in common and if anyone had tried to take anything for himself, he was removed from the company of others and punished by the imposition of penance].³⁶⁵

Chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses this topic and imposes the *disciplina regularis* on those who might claim things as their own. Exclusion from the community as punishment is mentioned in chapters 19-20.

³⁵⁶ *Rcuiv*, c. 3.1; c. 4.7; c. 4.12; c. 5.8; c. 12.12; c. 22.1.

³⁵⁷ *Rcuiv*, c. 5.11.

³⁵⁸ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.

³⁵⁹ *Rcuiv*, c. 16.4; c. 16.5; c. 18.2; c. 22.17; c. 23.5.

³⁶⁰ *Rcuiv*, c. 2.14; c. 2.19; c. 12.20; c. 12.29; c. 24.11. *Reperire* can also be found in the *Regula Benedicti*.

³⁶¹ *Rcuiv*, c. 3.1; c. 3.12; c. 11.6; esp. 18.3: *Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur*.

³⁶² *Rcuiv*, c. 18.3; c. 20.7; c. 22.17; c. 23.4.

³⁶³ *Rcuiv*, c. 4.2; c. 10.3; c. 23.6.

³⁶⁴ See p. §.

³⁶⁵ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. Wood/O'Hara, p. 107.

Jonas ends what I would call his narrated *Regula Columbani* with describing how Columbanus' monks were supposed to speak to each other without using harsh words:

Nullus proximo contrarietatem rependere, nullus asperum sermonem proferre audebat, ita ut in humana conuersatione angelicam agi uitam cerneret.

[No one dared to return evil for evil to his neighbor or to say a harsh word, so that you would have perceived that angelic life was being led by these men in their everyday lives.]³⁶⁶

The restraint of speech and the necessity to communicate with a gentle voice is a topic addressed at several points in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.³⁶⁷

Many other parallels can be found between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas describes, for example, how the community accepts a donation from a pious woman:

Quod ostiarius celeri cursu patri indicanda properat; ait ille: “Sine”, inquit, “se scire fratrumque coetum adunare, ut simul positi pro largitricem Dominum precarentur simulque grates referant conditori, qui suos solare non desinet in omnibus famulos necessitatibus, et post munus oblatum recipiant.” O mira conditoris pietas! Egere sinit, ut sua dona egentibus largiendo demonstret; temptari permittit, ut in temptatione subueniens suorum uberius in se corda excitet famulorum.

[When the doorkeeper rushes to tell this to the father, Columbanus says, “Let them know that they should assemble the group of brothers so that all together they might pray to the Lord for their benefactress and at the same time give thanks to the Creator, who never fails to comfort His servants in their every need. Afterwards let them receive the gift.” Oh wonderful compassion of the Creator! He permits us to be in need, that He may show His bounty by giving to the needy. He permits us to be tempted, that by aiding us in our temptations He may turn the hearts (*corda excitet*)³⁶⁸ of His servants more fully to Himself.]³⁶⁹

Chapter 3 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the doorkeepers prescribes the same procedure of answering gifts with intercessory prayer, albeit in different words:

Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portant, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.

³⁶⁶ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. Wood/O’Hara, p. 107.

³⁶⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.7; c. 4.11; c. 4.19-22; c. 9.18; c. 22.5; c. 22.16.

³⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 2.12: *corda excitare*.

³⁶⁹ *VCol* I, c. 22, pp. 204-205; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 149-150 (revised).

[And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented it.]³⁷⁰

The second book of the *Vita Columbani* begins with a description of the uprising during the reign of Columbanus' successor Athala.³⁷¹ This lengthy passage contains several parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (listed in the footnotes).

Ergo cum egregiae post beatum Columbanum supradictum coenubium regeret et in omni disciplina regularis tenoris erudiret,³⁷² contra eum antiqui anguis uersutia loetiferum discordiae uirus noxiis³⁷³ ictibus laxare coepit, excitans aliquorum contra eum corda subditorum,³⁷⁴ qui se aiebant nimiae feruoris auctoritatem ferre non posse et arduae disciplinae pondera portare non ualere. At ille, sagaci ut erat animo,³⁷⁵ pia fomenta praebere³⁷⁶ et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur,³⁷⁷ potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur.

[So, when he (Athala) was ruling the aforesaid monastery with distinction in succession to blessed Columbanus, and was instructing it in every discipline of the content of the rule, the cunning of the Ancient Serpent began to spread against them the deadly virus of discord with harmful blows, exciting against him the hearts of some of his subordinates, who said that they could not bear the precepts of excessive fervor, and that they were unable to sustain the weight of the harsh discipline. But Athala, being of wise mind, was anxious to provide holy poultices and to give a draught of a health-giving antidote, by which the putrefied scab might be removed, and thus he sought to soften their arrogant hearts].³⁷⁸

Subsequently, Jonas tells how rebellious monks face divine punishment, which motivates others to seek re-admittance to the monastery. He uses several expressions that appear otherwise only in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In particular the passage on allowing the monks to return to the monastery shows striking resemblance to chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

³⁷⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.12. On the exchange of gifts and prayers, see Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 196-197.

³⁷¹ On the uprising against Athala, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris*', in: Alexander O'Hara (eds.), *Columbanus and the gentes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-306; Dunn, Marilyn, 'Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio', in: *Peritia* 20 (2008), pp. 1-27.

³⁷² Jonas uses *tenor regulae* in *RcuiV*, c. 15.12 and *tenor paenitentiae* in c. 20.9.

Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 15.12: *tenor paenitentiae*; c. 20.9: *diciplina regularis*.

³⁷³ *RcuiV*, c. 4.3: *transgressionis noxa*; c. 5.12: *hostis liuoris uirus*; c. 5.16: *discordiae fomenta*.

³⁷⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.12 (here in a positive sense): *corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat*.

³⁷⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.1: *Sagaci cura*.

³⁷⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 20.5: *Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur*.

³⁷⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.13: *ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat*; c. 20.6: *Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit...*

³⁷⁸ *VCol II*, c. 1, p. 231; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 180 (revised).

uirgines, which emphasizes in a similar way as the *Vita Columbani* that fear might propel a fugitive to return to the monastery.³⁷⁹ I quote the passage in full in order to show the parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the footnotes:

Qui temeritatis hac arrogantiae inibi positi mox intentu damna sensere. Nam cum his in locis morarentur et uirum Dei suis detractionibus laniarent, unum eorum qui Roccolenus dicebatur, qui et iurgiorum, ut credebatur, incrementa ministrabat,³⁸⁰ subito ictu igne febrium accensus, inter poene incendia clamare coepit, se, si ualisset, ad beatum Athalam uenire uelle et amissi criminis damna paenitentiae medicamento lenire.³⁸¹ Nec mora, uix haec dicere licuit, obmutuit ac extremum alitum dimisit. Ast hii qui aderant uidentes uiri Dei iniurias diuina ultione uindicari, plurimi eorum ad uirum Dei remeant suasque noxas confitentur; se in omnibus, si recipiantur, emendaturos pollicentur.³⁸² Quos uir sanctus miro gaudio, acsi e luporum ora receptas oues, recepit suisque locis suas culpas agnoscentes restituit. At uero alii qui uerecundia praeueniente uel temeritate hac arrogantiae³⁸³ uitio maculati³⁸⁴ redire noluerunt et datum locum paenitentiae contempserunt, diuersis mortibus sunt direpti, ut manifestae daretur intellegi, socios eos fuisse eius in excitanda contumaciae incrementa, quem ultio diuina percusserit, propterea cum ceteris ueniam non meruisse.

[Having set themselves up in these places they soon experienced punishment for their intended temerity and arrogance. For while they were staying in these places and were slandering the man of God, one of them, called Roccolenus, who was believed to have stoked up the quarrel, was suddenly burnt up with a blazing attack of fever. He began to cry out from the fires of his punishment that he wished, if he could, to go to blessed Athala, and to assuage with the medicine of penance the evils of the crime which had been committed. Hardly had he said this when suddenly he fell silent and breathed his last. But many of those who were present, seeing the injuries to the man of God avenged by divine vengeance, return to the man of God and confess their sins; they promise that if they are taken back they would emend themselves in every way. The holy man received them with great joy as if they had been sheep recovered from the jaws of wolves, and he restored those who acknowledged their faults to their places. But those who, stained with the vice of arrogance, and prevented by shame or rashness, refused to return, and who despised the chance of repentance, were subjected to a variety of different deaths, in order that it became clear that they had been the companions of him, whom divine

³⁷⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 21 is a revision of *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29, SC 182, p. 554. The theme of fear as motivation to return to the monastery does not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*.

³⁸⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 5.21: *...si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur!*

³⁸¹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.16: *Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit, et modum paenitentiae augebit.*

³⁸² *RcuiV*, c. 21.1-2: *Si illo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur. 2 Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscat, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.*

³⁸³ *RcuiV*, c. 10.18: *disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia; c. 22.12: in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.*

³⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata.*

vengeance has struck, in inciting the growth in obstinacy, since they did not merit pardon with the rest.³⁸⁵

Towards the end of the description of Athala’s life, Jonas inserts a list of Athala’s virtues, beginning, like the praise of Columbanus’ virtues (in the “*Regula* in a nutshell”), with *erat enim* – the usual opening for a list of a saint’s qualities.

Erat enim his uir gratus omnibus, singularis feruoris, singularis alacritatis, singularis caritatis, in peregrinis, in pauperibus; nouerat et superbis resistere et humilibus subditus esse, sapientibus condigna rependere et simplicibus mystica aperire; in soluendis ac opponendis questionibus sagax, aduersus hereticorum procellas uigens ac solidus, fortis in aduersis, sobrius in prosperis, temperatus in omnibus, discretus in cunctis. Redundabat amor et timor in subditis, redolebat doctrina in discipulis, nullus iuxta eum uel merore tediebatur neque nimia letitia extollebatur.

[For Athala was pleasing to all and a man of singular passion, enthusiasm, and love for strangers and the poor. He knew how to stand up against the proud, and to be the servant of the humble, to respond the wise coequally, and reveal mysteries to the simple. He was wise in solving and countering questions, active and firm in dealing with the storms of heretics, strong in adversity, sober in prosperity, controlled in all things, discreet in everything. Love and fear abounded in those subordinate to him, while right teaching flowed over in his disciples. No one in his presence was either depressed with sorrow or elevated with excessive joy].³⁸⁶

Athala perfectly embodies the requirements of a good abbess as it is laid out in the first chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both texts share the general sense that the monastery should be ruled by *sapientia* and *discretio*³⁸⁷ and *sobrietas* and *sagacitas* just as much as by *uigor* and *feruor*.³⁸⁸ Athala’s Life ends, thus, with another summary of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

So far, I have described only parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the parts of the *Vita Columbani* that deal with the saint himself or his successors and their communities – thus parallels that transcend gender boundaries. These parallels tie some of the central themes of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to the most programmatic parts of the *Vita Columbani*. They include topics like the role of abbot and abbess, the exchange of gifts with intercessory prayer, virtues and vices, punishment and excommunication, and re-integration into

³⁸⁵ *VCol* II, c. 1, pp. 231-232; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 180-181 (revised).

³⁸⁶ *VCol* II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 14-24; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 185 (slightly adjusted).

³⁸⁷ On the *discretio* of the abbess, see also *RcuiV*, c. 4.18; c. 12.23; c. 19.1-2; c. 24.11.

³⁸⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 24.5 emphasizes the right combination between *amor* and *timor* in the context of the education of children.

the community. As such, they point us to some of the key aspects of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal – aspects that are applicable to monasteries for both genders. The next chapter will focus on the connections between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the section of the *Vita Columbani* that addresses the convent of Faremoutiers. The Faremoutiers miracles in particular appear to constitute a monastic Rule presented in the form of exemplary narratives. This narrated Rule is to a large extent complimentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Chapter 2: The dying nuns of Faremoutiers: the *regula* in action

The middle section of Jonas' second book of the *Vita Columbani* recounts events in the monastery of Faremoutiers, which was founded about five years after Columbanus' death. The monastery was a product of collaboration between Columbanus' successor Eusthasius, Chagneric, the head of the Burgundian aristocratic family of the Faronids, and his children Burgundofara and Chagnoald.³⁸⁹ As the first female foundation under the *Regula Columbani*, Faremoutiers marks a turning point in history of the monastic communities that claimed Columbanus' heritage. Its founders may have viewed Faremoutiers as an experiment that would show to what extent Columbanus' monastic ideals could be applied to religious women and which aspects needed to be adjusted.³⁹⁰ This would explain why it was so important for Jonas to include his stories of Faremoutiers in his *Vita Columbani*. One (of many) ways to approach this section of the *Vita* would be to read it as a sort of "lab report" of the experiment of a female adaptation of Columbanus' monastic ideals.

Columbanus himself had founded no female communities, and his own works contain few references to religious women.³⁹¹ His primary target group was, if we take Jonas' word, the sons of aristocratic families who flocked to the newly founded monasteries of Fontaines, Annegray, and Luxeuil:

...ad cuius famam plebes undique concurrere et *cultui religionis* dicare curabant, ita ut plurima monachorum multitudo adunata, uix unius caenubii collegio sistere ualeret. Ibi nobilium liberi undique concurrere nitebantur, ut, exspretia *faleramenta saeculi et praesentium pompam* facultatum temnentes *aeterna praemia* caperent.

[Crowds of people from all over were attracted there by his fame and they desired to dedicate themselves to the religious life, so that the great multitude of monks that

³⁸⁹ On the foundation of Faremoutiers, see *VCol II*, c. 7, pp. 241-243. On the Faronids, see Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 2007, pp. 28-72. On the early history of Faremoutiers, see O'Carroll, James, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', in: *Sainte Fare et Faremoutiers*, vol. 1, Faremoutiers: Abbaye de Faremoutiers 1956, pp. 2-35, at pp. 2-18; Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes', pp. 375-382; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011, pp. 151-169, at pp. 160-162.

³⁹⁰ See also O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', pp. 10-15.

³⁹¹ Columbanus shared this exclusively male perspective on monastic life with John Cassian and the authors of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*. The exclusion of women from the monastic option did usually not last for longer than one or two generations. See Diem, 'The Gender of the Religious', pp. 438-439.

gathered could scarcely be contained in one monastery. The children of nobles everywhere strove to come there so that by despising the trappings of the world and by scorning the pomp of present wealth, they might seize eternal rewards.]³⁹²

After Columbanus' death it became, as it seems, necessary to open the opportunity to “despise the trappings of the world and to scorn the pomp of present wealth” to female members of the families that supported Columbanus. The same key words Jonas uses to describe Columbanus' appeal to young aristocratic men appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*: The *cultus religionis* (roughly: “practice of piety”) becomes, as these documents show, a general descriptive of monastic life – an option for men and women alike.³⁹³ Nuns should also have an opportunity to avoid the trappings of the world (*faleramenta* – probably a neologism created by Jonas that appears both in his *Vitae* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*)³⁹⁴ and to despise the *pompae praesentes*.³⁹⁵ Everyone should be able to strive for *aeterna praemia* (eternal rewards).³⁹⁶

Besides Faremoutiers, Jonas mentions a number of other female communities likely founded soon after: the monasteries of Jouarre and Remiremont, Saint-Paul in Besançon, a monastery in Bourges founded by a certain Berthora, Eligius' foundation in Paris, and two convents founded in Charenton and Nevers by a certain Theudulphus.³⁹⁷ Many more would follow. Columbanus' successors created monastic models that became almost equally attractive to both genders.³⁹⁸

³⁹² *VCol* I, c. 10, pp. 169-170; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 116.

³⁹³ *Cultus religionis* appears in *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 24.5; *De accedendo* 1 and in *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18; *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 3.

³⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; *VCol* I, prologue, p. 146; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 18; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 23; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 4. Niermeyer, Jan Frederick, C. van de Kieft, G. S. M. N. Lake-Schoonebeek, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus mit Abbreviationes et Index Fontium*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002, vol. 1, p. 533 and Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, *Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis*, vol. 3, Niort: L. Favre 1843, col. 403c give no sources before Jonas that use *faleramentum*. Most later references appear in texts that were inspired by Jonas' work.

³⁹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1-3: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, quibus mundus..., si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderant, sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* (Ps. 72/73, 28)₃ *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderant quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?*

³⁹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 5.11; *De accedendo* 23. See also *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25.

³⁹⁷ *VCol* I, c. 14, p. 176; I, c. 26, p. 210; II, c. 10, p. 252; II, c. 10, pp. 255-256. On the first female foundations related to Columbanus or Luxeuil, see Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, pp. 15-23 and pp. 29-52.

³⁹⁸ For a list of seventh-century female monastic foundations in Francia, see Weidemann, Margarethe, 'Urkunde und Vita der heiligen Bilhildis aus Mainz', in: *Francia* 21:1 (1994), pp. 17-84, at pp. 77-83.

It is possible that these new female communities became, even more than Bobbio, Luxeuil, and Luxeuil's male affiliations, the experimental grounds for the transformation of Columbanus' ideals and (re-)definition of his heritage. These experiments led to the production of at least three different monastic rules for women: a female version of the text of the *Regula Columbani*; the Rule of Donatus, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Each of these rules can be read as a distinct response to the question of how to define Columbanus' legacy and how to apply his monastic ideals to communities of nuns. In order to have a framework for comparison, I will briefly address the first two rules before discussing Jonas' ideas about female monastic life.

The second to last folio of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum* contains the only preserved fragment of the female version of the *Regula Columbani*. Its author changed the grammatical gender of the final chapters of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* from male to female but left the text itself almost completely unchanged, aside from some modifications of the order of its provisions and a few lines that do not appear in the male version of the *Regula coenobialis*.³⁹⁹ The Rule even includes Columbanus' regulations on nocturnal pollutions.⁴⁰⁰ This indicates that the person who produced this female *Regula Columbani* saw little need for change or adjustment of the content of the original text. The monastic program Columbanus had allegedly written himself was, in his or her view, perfectly suitable for monks *and* nuns.

Since we have only a fragment of the female *Regula Columbani*, we cannot determine whether the text was a revision of both parts of the original *Regula Columbani* (i.e. the *Regula monachorum* and the *Regula coenobialis*) or only of the *Regula coenobialis*. Unfortunately, the codicological evidence of the Munich Codex of the *Codex Regularum*, does not give a conclusive answer.⁴⁰¹ Between fol. 214v (where the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off in chapter 24) and fol. 215r (where the fragment of Ps.-Columbanus' Rule begins), there is a loss of one quaternium, i.e. eight pages (or fifteen columns, if we deduct one column that would have

³⁹⁹ Ed. with an introduction by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl in CSEL 98, pp. 191-240. See also *eadem*, 'Elegi pauca e plurimis... Editorische Fragestellungen zur Regula Donati, dem Fragment einer Nonnenregel (CPPM II 3637) und Columban', in: *eadem*, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 225-252.

⁴⁰⁰ Columbanus, *Regula monialium* 34-36, CSEL 98, p. 237. *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1-4, p. 164 refers to nocturnal pollutions as well.

⁴⁰¹ The second manuscript that contains the fragment, Cologne, Historisches Archiv W.f. 231, is a direct copy of the Munich Codex and is therefore not relevant in this context.

been covered by the missing part of chapter 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). A gap of fifteen columns is too large for the *Regula coenobialis*, which would need about twelve more columns, but too small for the entire *Regula Columbani* (i.e. *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*), which would require twenty more columns. We will probably never know whether the female *Regula Columbani* was a complete or just an abbreviated version of the original *Regula Columbani*.

Just changing the grammatical gender is *one* answer to the challenge of adjusting Columbanus' Rule to a female community. Neither Donatus of Besançon nor Jonas agreed with the author of the female *Regula Columbani*. Donatus regarded the *regulae* written by Columbanus and Benedict as unsuitable for a female community because they were written for monks. He also viewed the only extant female rule, the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles, as unsuitable because it was written for a different spatial setting (an aspect discussed in Chapter 4 of this study).⁴⁰² Therefore, Donatus replaced these three Rules with a new one largely consisting of carefully arranged and discretely altered extracts from all three texts.⁴⁰³

Jonas developed with his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a third strategy for creating a female *Regula Columbani*. He regarded none of the existing textual material as suitable to be quoted in full and started from scratch, thoroughly rephrasing fragments of the *Regula Benedicti* and a handful of other texts. All three Rules are, thus, developed with different textual techniques: simply changing the grammatical gender of an existing rule; creating a florilegium of quotations of older rules with few adjustments, and, thirdly, writing a new Rule that loosely paraphrases existing texts. All three textual techniques have, sometimes combined with each other, been applied in earlier monastic rules.⁴⁰⁴

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the paraphrasing rule, is deeply entwined with the vignettes of the lives and deaths of the Faremoutiers' nuns in the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* – to an extent that we can speak of *one* rule that manifests itself both in a narrative

⁴⁰² *Regula Donati*, prologue.4-5, CSEL 98, p. 139: ...dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent, s et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret. See also Chapter 2, p. §.

⁴⁰³ For an analysis of the *Regula Donati*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38.

⁴⁰⁴ Another example of a *Regula*-florilegium is the *Regula Eugippii*; another grammatically adjusted Rule is Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines* and maybe the (not preserved) female *Regula Pachomii*; other paraphrases of an existing rule are Aurelianus' *Regula ad monachos* and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.

and in a normative form. This chapter takes therefore a different approach than the previous one. Instead of totting up the evidence for Jonas' authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* I will use the parallels between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to explore the content and program of this *one* rule in which Jonas expresses his own interpretation of the *Regula Columbani*. Since a detailed analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself will follow in the long Chapter 6 of this book, I will focus, for the moment, on analyzing the “hagiographic version” of Jonas' Rule, i.e. the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.

First, however, it is necessary to make some general observations of this particular – and most peculiar – part of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. It has often been mined for details, as many early medieval hagiographic texts, but never been studied as integral text and as a masterwork of its own.⁴⁰⁵ It is not at all a *Vita* of Faremoutiers' founder Burgundofara; she plays not more than an underpart in the text.⁴⁰⁶ Its chapters do not provide a chronological narrative but consist of twelve independent episodes that all address the virtues, failings, and deaths of individual nuns – not especially holy ones, but ordinary members of the community: hagiography without saints. Most of the dying nuns eventually experience a *felix exitus* (to use Jonas' own terminology) that leads them into eternal salvation; some of them narrowly escape damnation; and three go straight to hell.⁴⁰⁷

The Faremoutiers chapters and Book Four of Gregory's Dialogi

⁴⁰⁵ There have been few studies on the Faremoutiers section and its place within the *Vita Columbani*: Tatum, *Hagiography*, pp. 28-72 looks at it in passing in her study on the Faronid family; O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', pp. 15-17 briefly uses the Faremoutiers episodes as source for everyday life in Faremoutiers. Le Jan, Régine, 'Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia', in: Mayke de Jong, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuvs (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 243-269 discusses the representation of an attack on Faremoutiers by the Frankish aristocrat Aega in *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269. Wood/O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio: Lives*, pp. 48-54 discuss the place of the Faremoutiers episodes within the *Vita Columbani* without, however, addressing their content, though they provide a wealth of information in the commentary to their translation on pp. 204-226. See also O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 245-248. Only Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 197-200 uses some of the Faremoutiers miracles as source for understanding Jonas' theological program.

⁴⁰⁶ Paris, BnF, lat. 5573, fol. 56v-69v contains a supposedly Carolingian *Vita Burgundofarae* (BHL 1490), which has never been edited, though it is possible that it formed the basis of Carcat, Augustine, *La vie de Sainte Fare. Fondatrice et première abbesse de Fare-monstier en Brie*, Paris 1629. See Guerout, Jean, 'Fare (sainte)', in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol 16, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1967, cols 505-509.

⁴⁰⁷ On the concept of *felix exitus* as announced death that followed a meticulous preparation, see also Kreiner, Jamie, 'Autopsies and Philosophies of a Merovingian Life: Death, Responsibility, Salvation', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22:1 (2014), pp. 113-152, at pp. 116-128. She emphasizes that Jonas' work marks a turning point in focusing on death as decisive moment for someone's eternal fate.

Jonas' stories of Faremoutiers' dying nuns are not only different from the other parts of Jonas' work;⁴⁰⁸ their literary form and the themes they address give them a unique position within the body of early medieval hagiography.⁴⁰⁹ They are, however, related to another exceptional hagiographical work: the Book Four of the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great.⁴¹⁰ Renate Vogeler and Adalbert de Vogüé have shown that Jonas was familiar with Gregory's *Dialogi*. He used Book Four extensively in the Faremoutiers section but also elsewhere in his *Vita Columbani*.⁴¹¹ In order to understand the monastic program Jonas develops in his Faremouteris section it is therefore necessary to look at book four of Gregory's *Dialogi* first.

Book Four of the *Dialogi* consists of a conversation in which Gregory explains to his disciple Peter the fate of body and soul after death. The text provides a vivid depiction of paradise and hell that deeply impacted the Christian imagination of the afterworld.⁴¹² It begins with a discussion on the nature of faith, followed by questions and answers about the immortality of the soul, bodily resurrection, corporeal punishment in hell and the distinction between the immediate judgment of the deceased soul, and the final judgment of the soul reunited with the body. Gregory debates whether purgation is possible before death (yes) and after death (yes,

⁴⁰⁸ One other section of Jonas' work, *VCol* II, c. 25, pp. 289-294, recounts the death of several monks of Bobbio in a similar manner.

⁴⁰⁹ The question whether Bruno Krusch's reconstruction of the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* represents the original setup of the work and whether the Faremoutiers chapters really belonged to the original *Vita Columbani* are a matter of discussion because no manuscript fully represents the arrangement of texts as we find it in Krusch's edition. Krusch places the Faremoutiers chapters between the *Vita of Eusthasius* of Luxeuil and a history of Bobbio under abbot Berthulf. Rohr, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle', questions this order of texts; Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', in: John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2001, pp. 189-220 argues more convincingly in favor of Krusch's reconstruction. In *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243, l. 17-18 and II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 12-18 Jonas announces a report on the *uirtutes* of the nuns in Faremoutiers *si uita comes fuerit*, thus if his lifespan allows him to do so. These references indicate that the Faremoutiers episodes indeed belonged to the *Vita Columbani*, although it is possible that they were originally something like a triumphant conclusion of the work rather than an interlude that separates his reports on Luxeuil and Bobbio.

⁴¹⁰ For an introduction to Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogi*, see Lake, Stephen, 'Hagiography and the Cult of Saints', in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 225-246; Moreira, Isabel, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press 2010, pp. 85-94.

⁴¹¹ Vogeler, Renate, 'Exkurs: Jonas und die Dialogi Gregors des Grossen', in: Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 43-45. De Vogüé, Adalbert, 'La mort dans les monastères: Jonas de Bobbio et les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand', in: *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont (1920-1986)*, Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum" 1988, pp. 593-619.

⁴¹² Le Goff, Jacques, *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. by Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1984, pp. 88-95.

hesitantly, although there is no designated place of purgatory; penitent souls have to serve in a smelly bathhouse),⁴¹³ whether the saved and damned souls recognize the others sharing their fate (yes), whether punishment in hell is truly eternal (yes), whether hell is situated beneath the earth (probably), whether dreams might be trusted (not too much),⁴¹⁴ whether burial in churches is beneficial (only for souls who are not doomed), whether it is useful to pray for doomed souls (no), whether it is effective to pray for the living (yes) or for the dead and the forgiveness of their sins (only if their sins are pardonable). Gregory concludes by emphasizing that salvation can be attained through a combination of the sacrifice made by despising the world and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.⁴¹⁵

Matthew dal Santo shows masterfully how Gregory's *Dialogi* contribute to fervent theological debates on topics such as the veneration of saints, the fate and the agency of the soul after death, the question of whether there is a post-mortem purgation and whether the soul is submitted to divine judgment immediately after death or only at the day of last judgment, and, consequently, whether the living can do anything for the dead. Dal Santo demonstrates that these discussions were held in both Rome and Constantinople and that the questions and reservations articulated by Gregory's interlocutor Peter were by no means simply rhetorical, but genuine expressions of a skepticism that had its place in theological debates of both the Latin and Greek worlds.⁴¹⁶

Gregory's and Peter's theological reflections are interrupted by forty-seven *exempla* on the deaths of monks, nuns, priests, and laypeople. These *exempla*, on one hand, prove and explain Gregory's theological arguments and, on the other hand, serve as moral exhortations and warning examples. Gregory choose, thus a highly effective literary form to convey his ideas both to the learned who might focus on the theology and the unlearned who might be edified or frightened by the *exempla*. Like the *Wizzard of Oz* the *Dialogi* could mean vastly different things to different audiences.

⁴¹³ Instead of cleansing themselves in a purgatory, two punished but not doomed souls have to serve in a bathhouse. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 41-43, SC 265, pp. 146-148; c. 57, pp. 184-194.

⁴¹⁴ On this topic, see Keskiäho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 93-103.

⁴¹⁵ Among monastic rules, the *Regula cuiusdam patris* is the only one that assigns the Eucharist a similar function: *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 32, ed. Villegas, p. 35. See Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 276-278.

⁴¹⁶ Dal Santo, Matthew, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012, pp. 85-148.

The tone of Gregory's *Dialogi* becomes more and more gloomy the further we delve into the text. Gregory starts with visions of blessed souls ascending,⁴¹⁷ deaths that take place along with signs that the deceased have earned eternal salvation,⁴¹⁸ deathbed visions, prophecies, and instances of foreknowledge of death, one's own or others,⁴¹⁹ visions that indicate eternal damnation,⁴²⁰ returns from visits to hell,⁴²¹ pre-visions of hell,⁴²² examples of post mortal cleansing punishment for venial sins,⁴²³ visions that indicate salvation,⁴²⁴ and stories that prove that it is useless or even harmful for sinners to be buried in a church.⁴²⁵ His work ends on a conciliatory note with some examples of effective prayer for the dead⁴²⁶ and for the living.⁴²⁷ With some hesitation, and supported by miracles rather than arguments, Gregory admits that pious people have some agency with regard to the eternal fate of their fellow Christians.

Jonas as well, starts on an almost cheerful note with his description of the smooth death of the nun Sisetrudis. From there Jonas moves with increasingly intense episodes towards the dramatic climax, the story of two fugitive nuns who incur eternal damnation. He ends his sequence of death stories with a number of episodes that show that there is hope for those living – or at least repenting – according to the precepts we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The Faremoutiers episodes borrow various motives from Gregory's stories, such as the punishment of blindness,⁴²⁸ disease as form of penance or compensation,⁴²⁹ the community that is negligently absent at the moment of death,⁴³⁰ deceased people coming back to life,⁴³¹ predicted

⁴¹⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 7-13, SC 265, pp. 42-54.

⁴¹⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 14-24, pp. 54-80.

⁴¹⁹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 27-28, pp. 86-98.

⁴²⁰ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 31-33, pp. 104-112.

⁴²¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.3-13, pp. 126-132.

⁴²² Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 40, pp. 138-146.

⁴²³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 42, pp. 150-152.

⁴²⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 49, pp. 168-172.

⁴²⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 53-56, pp. 178-184.

⁴²⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 57.3-17, pp. 184-194.

⁴²⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 58-59, pp. 194-200.

⁴²⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1-2, p. 46; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 12-23.

⁴²⁹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1-2, p. 46; c. 14.3, p. 56; c. 16.3, p. 64; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 13-19; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 22-25; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5-7.

⁴³⁰ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 13, pp. 52-54; *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 17-276, l. 6.

⁴³¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 27.11, pp. 92-94; c. 32.2-5, pp. 106-108; c. 37.2-14, pp. 126-134; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17-21; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 9-25.

and announced deaths,⁴³² rejection of proper funerals and sinners burning in their graves,⁴³³ the fierce battle for a dying soul between the devil and the praying community,⁴³⁴ black men snatching a soul,⁴³⁵ punishment for secretly breaking fast,⁴³⁶ the terror of dying as a form of penance,⁴³⁷ preparation for death with tears and compunction,⁴³⁸ and the salvific effect of begging for forgiveness.⁴³⁹

When comparing Gregory's *Dialogi* with Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters, the first impression is that Jonas simply imitated the literary model of an *exempla*-collection that expounds on the theme of death and used Gregory's work extensively as a quarry for motives and narrative elements. Both texts are illustrated by similar dramatic effects, extreme opposites and drastic sensory experiences.⁴⁴⁰ We smell sweet fragrance⁴⁴¹ and foul odors (in the *Dialogi*),⁴⁴² hear angelic singing,⁴⁴³ and frightening noise,⁴⁴⁴ we face darkness⁴⁴⁵ and are blinded by bright light.⁴⁴⁶ The dying protagonists in both works share with those surrounding them terrifying and awesome visions, encounters with Jesus, the Apostles, Prophets, martyrs, angels,

⁴³² Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.3, p. 46; c. 18.1, p. 70; c. 27.4-8, pp. 88-92; c. 27.11, pp. 92-94; c. 36.1-3, pp. 116-118; c. 49.3-4, pp. 168-170; c. 49.7, p. 172; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 1-3; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 29-33; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 19-20; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1-5.

⁴³³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 33.3, p. 110; c. 56.1-2, pp. 182-184; *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l.16-276, l. 9.

⁴³⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.2-3, pp. 72-74; c. 40.4-5, pp. 140-142; *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 273, l. 32-274, l. 1.

⁴³⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.3, pp. 72-74; *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 273, l. 32-274, l. 1.

⁴³⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 40.10-11, pp. 144-146; *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277-279. It is important to notice that the culprit's confession does not have a salvific effect in the *Dialogi* but does so in the *VCol*. See p. 5.

⁴³⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 48, p. 168; *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 12-17; II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 16-23.

⁴³⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 49.1-4, pp. 168-170; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 5-8; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 20-22.

⁴³⁹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 62, pp. 204-206; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, pp. 15-19.

⁴⁴⁰ On the use of opposites in the Faremoutiers-stories, see Dérouet, Jean-Louis, 'Les possibilités d'interprétation semiologiques des textes hagiographiques', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 151-162; on sense perception on early medieval texts, see Penkett, Robert, 'Perceiving the other: sensory phenomena and experience in the early medieval Other World', in: *Reading Medieval Studies* 25 (1999), pp. 91-106.

⁴⁴¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.5, p. 62; c. 16.5-6, p. 66; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 28.4-5, p. 98; c. 37.9, p. 240; c. 49.5, p. 170; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 1-5; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 27-268, l. 5; II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 16-18.

⁴⁴² Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.8-9, p. 130; c. 38.4-5, pp. 136-138; c. 39, p. 138. There are no foul odors mentioned in *VCol*.

⁴⁴³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.4, p. 48; c. 15.1, p. 58; c. 15.4, p. 62; c. 16.7, p. 66; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 22, p. 78; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8-14; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4-5; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 20-24. II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 25-268, l. 5; II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 24-26.

⁴⁴⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.4, pp. 60-62; c. 16.5, p. 66. *VCol* II, c. 15, p. 272, l. 8-13; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 2-6 and l. 24-25.

⁴⁴⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 1.2, p. 18; c. 1.3, p. 20; c. 1.5, p. 22; c. 11.2, p. 46; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 32-p. 264, l. 2; II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 8, p. 42; c. 13.3, p. 54; c. 16.5-6, pp. 64-66; c. 17.1, p. 68; c. 43.2, p. 154; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 14; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 7-10.

beautiful young men, and despicable demons.⁴⁴⁷ They express amazement that their companions cannot see or hear what they themselves experience so vividly.⁴⁴⁸

Yet the relationship between the *Dialogi* and the Faremoutiers episodes is much more complicated than that of a simple adaptation. Gregory's and Jonas' borderlands between this life and the afterlife look, as I will demonstrate, similar only at first sight. The Faremoutiers episodes are much more than a variation of an existing textual model. Jonas interrupts the flow of his narrative about Luxeuil and Bobbio to address the nuns of Faremoutiers and give a textual form to the experience of seeing the first members of their community die. He and his audience may have regarded the deaths of the first pioneers in this new type of community as the ultimate test case on whether a female adaptation of Columbanus' monastic ideals works. It does so for most, but not all of Faremoutiers' nuns.

Jonas decision to speak to his audience in this unusual fashion by describing the experiences of dying nuns makes most sense if we assume that nuns of Faremoutiers were familiar with Gregory's work as well. The *Dialogi* spread rapidly in the Frankish world and some of the oldest manuscripts were produced in foundations that historians associated with Columbanus and his successors.⁴⁴⁹ The work was less than twenty-five years old when Faremoutiers was founded and its nuns probably did not read the *Dialogi* as stories from a glorious past, but rather as a description of recent events occurring in the borderland between life and afterlife. As such, Gregory's work may have impacted how the nuns of Faremoutiers perceived the first deaths in their own community and how they envisioned their own post-mortual existence. The work might have made a similar impression on the nuns of Faremoutiers as on the poor monk Wetti two hundred years later who chose to listen to Book Four of the *Dialogi* while on his sickbed. Wetti himself subsequently embarked on a terrifying journey through an

⁴⁴⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12, 4, p. 50; c. 13.3, p. 54; c. 14.5, p. 58; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 18.3, pp. 70-72; c. 20.4, p. 76; c. 35, p. 116; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 8-10 and l. 29; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 10-14.

⁴⁴⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12.4, p. 50; c. 15.4, p. 62; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 4-5; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 3-4; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 16-21; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 20-21; II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 5-6; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 31-p. 272, l. 1.

⁴⁴⁹ Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 106-112 documents the early dissemination and reception of Gregory's *Dialogi*. He provides a comprehensive list of early manuscripts of the *Dialogi* on pp. 232-235, which lists 18 manuscripts produced before the ninth century, including a fragment possibly from Luxeuil, s. VII^{ex} (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm s.n.); a manuscript from Bobbio, s. VIII¹ (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 159 Sup.); a manuscript possibly from Chelles, s VIII² (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale 20 (S221)). He suggests that the *Dialogi* first came to Bobbio and from there spread through monasteries related to Columbanus' foundations (pp. 107-108).

afterlife of eternal and temporary punishment. It was certainly not the most comforting sickbed reading for a monk who was already tormented by a guilty conscience.⁴⁵⁰

Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters should, however, not at all be understood as a simple extension of Gregory's *Dialogi*, or as an attempt to stage Gregory's work within the confines of the monastic community. It is rather a critical response to Gregory's eschatology – a response that was purposely written in a language familiar the nuns of Faremoutiers. Jonas' narrative is much more audacious and complex than Gregory's in its way of addressing the interplay between the pursuit of eternal salvation and monastic discipline. Matthew Dal Santo's analysis of Gregory's *Dialogi* explicates how Rome, in comparison to Constantinople, was by no means a theological backwater but rather reflected fundamental doctrinal questions on an equal level of sophistication. Jonas' work indicates, as I will show, that this applies also to the monastic centers in seventh-century Francia.⁴⁵¹

Jonas, however, chose a different literary form. Instead of having his theological viewpoints spelled out in a conversation, he merged them with the narrative itself and established various kinds of dialogues: between the living and the dying nuns, between himself and the nuns of Faremoutiers, between himself and Gregory, and between the different episodes which react and respond to each other.

The Faremoutiers episodes show that the nuns can and must take care to remain on the narrow path towards salvation. Jonas also explains *how* narrow a path this is and how easy it is to slip off – even under the best possible circumstances.⁴⁵² He is, on the one hand, somewhat more optimistic than Gregory with regard to the active role of individual and community in their pursuit of salvation.⁴⁵³ It is telling that only Jonas speaks of death as *felix exitus* (happy end). On the other hand, the terror of damnation is much more present for the nuns of Faremoutiers than for Gregory's monks, nuns, priests, and laymen, who are essentially on the safe side if they

⁴⁵⁰ Heito, *Visio Wettini*, c. 4, ed. Hermann Knittel, *Visio Wettini. Einführung, lateinische-deutsche Ausgabe und Erläuterungen*, Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag 2004, pp. 40-42; Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, v. 283-291, p. 82. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Teaching Sodomy in a Carolingian Monastery: A Study of Walahfrid Strabo's and Heito's *Visio Wettini*', in: *German History* 34 (2016), pp. 385-401. Richard Matthew Pollard is currently producing a new critical edition, translation and analysis of the two versions of the *Visio Wettini*. See also Pollard, Richard Matthew, 'Nonantola and Reichenau: A New Manuscript of Heito's *Visio Wettini* and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition', *Revue bénédictine*, 120 (2010), pp. 245-294.

⁴⁵¹ Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult*, pp. 146-148.

⁴⁵² Cfr for example *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 266, l. 22-27.

⁴⁵³ Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell 2003, pp. 251-252.

decide to do the right thing. For Jonas' nuns, a *felix exitus* is a happy and sometimes narrow escape out of a structurally perilous situation.

One of the most important differences between Gregory's and Jonas' viewpoints on the afterlife concerns the question of agency after death. In his *Dialogi* Gregory cautiously admits to something like an afterlife-purgation of less egregious sins. He acknowledges that prayer has an effect on the souls of the dead who suffer temporal punishments.⁴⁵⁴ Jonas does not agree on this matter. For him, prayer is effective and intercession is a possibility so long as the nuns are still living (or, in exceptional instances, returned to life). Post-mortem rites for the dead, however, are a mere matter of duty and respect without impacting the fate of the deceased.⁴⁵⁵ Since prayers for the salvation of the soul became such a self-evident part of monastic practice,⁴⁵⁶ I would have expected them to appear in Jonas' Faremoutiers section as well – where the place of death within the community is its overarching theme – but they are simply not there. The same applies to the rest of the *Vita Columbani*.

Even though Jonas describes in detail the last moments of no less than fifteen nuns (spread over eleven chapters), he mentions what was done after their death only at four occasions, and there is no hint of any post-mortem intercession.⁴⁵⁷ Thirty days after the death of the nun Gibitrudis, the community duly celebrated Mass “according to the customs of the church” (*more ecclesiastico*) and at that occasion the church was miraculously filled with scents of oils and spices. The miracle at Mass proclaims Gibitrudis' salvation, but the Mass itself had no effect on it.⁴⁵⁸ The funerary rights (*exequiarum officia*) of another nun, Willesuinda, were accompanied by the singing of the angelic choir but it had also appeared earlier at her death as she was already on her way to heaven.⁴⁵⁹ The two fugitive nuns who died unreconciled were

⁴⁵⁴ Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, pp. 86-93 analyzes how Gregory engages with viewpoints on purgation and prayer for the dead as we find then in the works of Augustine, Pomerius, and Caesarius. Gregory somewhat hesitantly admits that there is something like post-mortem purgation and that prayer and Masses for the sinful but not doomed souls have an effect. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 41-43, SC 265, pp. 146-160 (on cleansing after death) and c. 57, pp. 184-194 (on the effect of prayer and Masses).

⁴⁵⁵ On burial as duty, see Rebillard, Éric, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2009, pp. 89-122.

⁴⁵⁶ Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 262-265.

⁴⁵⁷ This disinterest in the dead applies to the entire *Vita Columbani*. Even Columbanus' death deserves not more than a short sentence: *VCol* I, c. 30, p. 224.

⁴⁵⁸ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 1-8.

⁴⁵⁹ *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 270. One of the few normative sources on funerary rights in the monastery is *CaesRV*, c. 70, SC 345, pp. 266-268.

denied a grave in the community's cemetery and buried outside the monastery. The fact that the nuns did not receive a worthy burial does not *cause* their damnation but duly anticipates their punishment.⁴⁶⁰ A last reference to activities after death appears in the chapter on the nun Landeberga. Here Jonas tells how the attending nuns fell asleep instead of praying at her deathbed. An angelic choir took over the task and supported her soul's ascent to heaven. Only after Landeberga's death did a nun, who had witnessed the event, manage to awaken her sisters, and prompt them to sing for the corpse (*corpus* – not the soul!) of their deceased sister.⁴⁶¹ Again, it is a matter of duty, and the salvation of her soul is not depicted as depending on it.

It is possible that Jonas expresses at this point dissent not only with Gregory the Great, but with a general current towards believing in the salutary effect of prayer for the dead.⁴⁶² Donatus, for example, in his *regula*, explicitly asks the nuns of his monastery to pray for him while he is alive but also for the forgiveness of his sins after death.⁴⁶³ For Jonas, as we saw, everything must happen *before* death: a lifelong preparation, ceaseless confession, penance, and purgation of sins, adherence to the *regula*, and the active support of the intercession of the community. The central point Jonas develops in his Faremoutiers chapters is that monastic discipline is effective, and that (along with God's mercy) it is the only effective remedy.

Despite the fact that the Faremoutiers chapters are meticulously designed narratives full of supernatural occurrences and multiple layers of meaning, they may have borne a closer resemblance to “reality” than much of the rest of the *Vita Columbani*.⁴⁶⁴ It is hard to imagine that

⁴⁶⁰ *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 16-18.

⁴⁶¹ *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 276, l. 4-8: *Cumque iam in altum nubs eleuata fuisset, et eius aures canentium uoces non audirent, tum demum aegra sodales excitare ualuit ac, ut corpus debitos cantus persoluerent, monuit...* Transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 222-223: “When the cloud had been raised up on high and her ears no longer heard the singing voices, then at last the sick woman succeeded in waking her companions, and told them to offer the songs owed to the corps.” Some manuscripts offer *corpore* or *ad corpus* instead of *corpus*, which would allow for the translation “owed to the corps.”

⁴⁶² For early medieval sources on *intercessio*, see Blennemann, Gordon, ‘Ascetic prayer for the dead in the Early Medieval West’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 178-191.

⁴⁶³ *Regula Donati*, prologue.33-34, CSEL 98, p. 141: *...et, postquam Domino iubente migrauero, sacras pro me hostias offerri Domino faciatis, ³⁴ quatenus cum uobis in choro sanctarum ac sapientium uirginum uirginitatis palma beatitudoque tribuetur, saltem mihi cunctis onerato peccatis delictorum uenia tribuatur.*

⁴⁶⁴ On the historical accuracy of the *Vita Columbani*: Diem, ‘Disputing Columbanus's Heritage’; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, pp. 345-347; Wood, Ian N., ‘Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*’, in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's fall: narrators and sources of early medieval history: essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99-118; Stancliffe, ‘Jonas's *Life of Columbanus*’; Dunn, ‘Columbanus, Charisma’, pp. 1-27.

the nuns of Faremoutiers did not recognize themselves in the deep emotions, the *metus simul ac gaudia*, that Jonas put into words.⁴⁶⁵ Almost all of the dying nuns have names, and Jonas' immediate audience must have known how they died and may even have been present at the dramatic scenes Jonas describes. Jonas and his nuns were part of the same “emotional community” and probably expressed their joy, anxiety, panic, and triumph in a shared language.⁴⁶⁶

Jonas' stories may echo Gregory's dramas of heaven and hell but his vocabulary is that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* rather than Gregory's. Both the *Vita* and the *Regula* are “high-energy” texts, express the same sense of urgency and anxiety and provide no middle ground between salvation and damnation. Whatever the nuns of Faremoutiers do, desire, feel, or think places them at a crossroad between salvation and damnation. Those you are saved expect *aeterna gaudia* (eternal joy), the *regna caelorum* (kingdoms of heavens), the *spes gaudiorum et exultatio uitae aeternae* (hope of joy and the praise of eternal life), the *lucrum uitae aeternae* (reward of eternal life), the *caelestia regna* (heavenly kingdoms), the *lumen caelestis claritatis* (light of the heavenly splendor), the *lucra capienda* (rewards to be seized), *donum permissi muneris* (the gift of the granted favor), the *caelestia praemia* (heavenly prize), and the *paradisus*. Those who are doomed incur the *damnum uitae aeternae* (loss of eternal life) and face the *aspectus terribilis daemonum* (terrible sight of demons), the *sententia damnatorum* (sentence of the doomed), and the *terror damnatorum* (terror of the doomed) on the other hand.⁴⁶⁷

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* sets the same tone. Here, the nuns may expect the *praemium* (reward), *lucrum mercedis* (the reward of the revenue), the *aeterna praemia* (eternal prize), the *lucrum animae* (reward for the soul); the *beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium* (reward of a blessed life and the everlasting favor of the eternal

⁴⁶⁵ VCol II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 10-11.

⁴⁶⁶ On emotional communities, see Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 20-29. Rosenwein (pp. 130-162) describes the group of aristocratic supporters of Columbanus at the Neustrian court as emotional community but not focus on monastic communities as emotional communities.

⁴⁶⁷ VCol II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 15; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 12; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 16: *aeterna gaudia*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 3: *regna caelorum*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 23-24: *spes gaudiorum et exultatio uitae aeternae*; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 13; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 18; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 14: *lucra uitae aeternae*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 7: *caelestia regna*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 14: *lumen caelestis claritatis*; II, c. 16, p. 266, l. 26: *lucra capienda*; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5-6: *donum permissi muneris*; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 16: *caelestia praemia*; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 6: *paradisus*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 27-28; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21-22: *damnum uitae aeternae*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 9-10: *damnum incurrere*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 27: *terror*; II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 13: *aspectus terribiles daemonum*; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 28: *sententia damnatorum*; II, c. 19, p. 275, l. 5: *terror damnatorum*.

gift), and they will see the *lumen lumine* (light through the light). But even the slightest transgression can destroy everything. The Rule describes their fate with expressions such as *damnum incurrere* (incur loss), the *fructus damnationis* (fruit of damnation), the *damnatio animae* (damnation of the soul), *iudicium damnationis incurrere* (incurring the judgment of damnation), *damna inbecillitatis capere* (seizing loss through weakness), the *damnatio animae* (damnation of the soul), and the *facies diaboli* (grimace of the devil).⁴⁶⁸ None of these expressions appear in the *Dialogi* and rarely in the rest of Gregory's work.

A more detailed analysis of each of the *exempla* and *exhortationes* in Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters will show the crucial points at which Jonas deviates from the theological program laid out in Book Four of the *Dialogi*. Aside from Jonas' dismissal of post-mortem agency, Gregory's *Dialogi* and Jonas' works both mark something of a watershed in the view of human agency and the role of monastic discipline in the pursuit of salvation.⁴⁶⁹

The design and structure of the Faremoutiers chapters

Jonas' Faremoutiers section may be a close representation of events in Faremoutiers and the (inner) life of a group of monastic pioneers, but it is also a highly sophisticated theological treatise. Unlike Gregory's *Dialogi*, the stories of Faremoutiers are arranged in the form of a *tema con variazioni*. Jonas plays with modes of recurrence, juxtaposition, allusion and cross-references, both within this particular section of the *Vita Columbani* and in his work as a whole. Only at first glance his Faremoutiers chapters seem to be repetitive, just describing one death after another; a closer analysis shows that, in fact, Jonas hardly ever says the same thing twice. His chapters are in dialogue with each other, pick up topics of previous chapters and take them in new directions: they form a chain – and we will find similar chain structures in the *Regula*

⁴⁶⁸ Regard: *RcuiV*, c. 1.18-19: *praemium*; c. 3.6: *lucrum mercedis*; c. 5.11 and *De accedendo* 23: *aeterna praemia*; c. 9.19: *lucrum animae*; c. 13.5: *merces recipere*; *De accedendo* 7: *beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium*; *De accedendo* 17: *lumen lumine*. Punishment: c. 4.15: *damnum incurrere*; c. 9.14: *fructum damnationis*; c. 9.19: *damnum animae*; c. 13.5: *iudicium damnationis incurrere*; c. 14.4: *damna inbecillitatis capere*; c. 16.9: *damnatio animae*; c. 16.10: *facies diaboli*.

⁴⁶⁹ On Gregory's eschatology and his notion of sin, see Baun, Jane, 'Gregory's Eschatology', in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 157-176; Straw, Carol, 'Gregory's Moral Theology: Divine Providence and Human Responsibility', *ibid.*, pp. 177-204, esp. pp. 187-190.

cuiusdam ad uirgines.⁴⁷⁰ It is tempting to see a connection between Jonas' chain structures and his concept of enclosure as discussed in Chapter 4 of this study.

One purpose of Jonas' structure of *tema con variazioni* is to be comprehensive and cover as many different scenarios as possible. Jonas works himself, as it were, through a number of different lists of matters to be addressed. For example, the nuns whose death Jonas recounts represent the specific social composition of Burgundofara's community of monastic pioneers.⁴⁷¹ Sisetrudis, the *cellararia*, may have come from another monastery; Gibitrudis is an aristocrat and, as relative of the abbess, may have belonged to the inner circle of the monastic founders. She had already lived a private religious life and entered the monastery despite the objections of her parents; Ercantrudis entered the monastery as a child and grew up within monastic confines, unstained by any knowledge of the world outside; Deurechilda entered the monastery as an adolescent, with her mother; Willesuinda is a foreigner; Bithildis is young and inexperienced, and the unnamed nun in the last chapter is *nobilis genere*.⁴⁷² By emphasizing the different statuses of these nuns, Jonas makes it clear that his message is addressed to everyone in the monastery – no exceptions, whether aristocratic or not, experienced or novice, part of a network of kinship, or originating from a foreign country. Only one group is conspicuously absent: none of the nuns died of old age, which indicates that Faremoutiers was a fairly young community and that many of the founding members were still alive when Jonas was writing. Most of the nuns whose death Jonas recounts died prematurely, which contributes to the dramatic potential of their passing.

Jonas' comprehensive intent expresses itself not only in the representation of as many different social backgrounds as possible. The true main protagonist in the Faremoutiers chapters, God himself, appears with no less than twelve different names and signifiers, which all have

⁴⁷⁰ I owe this observation to Julian Hendrix who read and commented on a draft of this chapter. On other chain structures and on the understanding of the community as *ambitus uirtutum* (protective circle of virtues), see p. § and p. §.

⁴⁷¹ We can make a similar observation in another hagiographic collection, Gregory of Tours' *Liber uitae patrum*. The protagonists of this collection of hagiographic stories represent a cross-section of society ranging from a fugitive slave to senatorial nobility. Jonas knew Gregory's work and he may have been inspired by it when designing the Faremoutiers section. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Gregory's Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul', in: Philippe Depreux, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 165-191, at pp. 178-182.

⁴⁷² *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 19-21 on Sisetrudis; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 1-26 on Gibitrudis; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 1-12 on Ercantrudis; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 3-5 on Deurechilda; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 15-16 on Willesuinda; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 12-14 on Bithildis; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 2 on an unnamed nun.

their own theological implications: *clemens iudex* (mild judge), *conditor* (creator), *arbiter clemens* (mild), *iudex aeternus* (eternal judge), *rerum sator* (maker of things), *creator omnium* (creator of everything), *rerum reppertor* (inventor of things), *aeternum (sic) rerum sator* (maker of eternal things), *creator et saluator meus* (my creator and saviour), *largitor benignus* (benevolent benefactor), *iustus iudex* (just judge), *bonitatis ac munerum institutor* (creator of goodness and of gifts).⁴⁷³ Only one of these divine epithets recurs regularly: *iustus arbiter*, the impartial judge who condemns those worthy of condemnation and saves only those worthy of salvation.⁴⁷⁴ With his use of multiple divine names, Jonas may have been emulating Gregory the Great who also used various signifier for God,⁴⁷⁵ although Gregory assigns to God the role of *iudex* only in one single chapter of Book Four of the *Dialogues*.⁴⁷⁶ It seems indeed that Gregory's God has little to judge. His cases are much clearer cut than those presented in Jonas' work.

Each dying nun in Jonas' work provides a distinct glimpse over the border separating the present life from the afterlife. Altogether, these glimpses constitute a sort of cartography of the borderland and its population. The nuns see places of eternal bliss, they meet hordes of Ethiopian demons and visit the site of rigorous judgement and assessment, in which they must not only give account of their deeds, but also of their innermost motivations. "Don't you see?!" many of them exclaim,⁴⁷⁷ and the fellow nuns eagerly want to see and to know what's happening on the

⁴⁷³ VCol II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: *clemens iudex*; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 30: *conditor*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 17: *arbiter clemens*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 13: *iudex aeternus*; II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 5-6: *rerum sator*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 20: *creator omnium*; II, c. 15, p. 264, l. 27: *rerum reppertor*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 13: *aeternum rerum sator*; II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 5: *creator et saluator meus*; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5: *largitor benignus*; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 27: *iustus iudex*; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 11-12: *bonitatis ac munerum institutor*.

⁴⁷⁴ VCol II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 14; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 16-17; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 11; II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 16.

⁴⁷⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 1.1, SC 265, p. 20: *creator inuisibilium et uisibilium*; c. 5.4, p. 34:

incircumscriptum atque inuisibilem Deum; c. 17.1, p. 68: *auctor ac retributor uitae*; c. 19.3, p. 74: *maiestas*.

⁴⁷⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 46.3, p. 162; c. 46.8; c. 46.9, pp. 162-166 use *disdistrictus iudex*, *iustus iudex*, and *iustissimus iudex*.

⁴⁷⁷ VCol II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 4-5: "Non", inquit, "cernis uiros stoa indutos adstare...?"; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 3-4: "Non uidetis", inquit, "quantus splendor adueniat...?"; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 16-21: *Quod cum hae qui aderant mirarentur, quid rei gestae ueritas haberet, uel quae intendentis ad caelum oculi aspicerent, nec omnino palpebris mouentibus, quid oculi contemplantur, cognoscerent, ait se sursum uocari ab praesentis uitae nexibus absolui*; II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 5-6: "Non cernitis sorores uestras, quae de uestro collegio ad caelos migrauerunt?"; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 31-p. 274, l. 1: "Non aspicitis turba Aethiopum aduentantium, quae nos rapere et abducere uolunt?"

other side: Who made it to paradise?⁴⁷⁸ Who is doomed?⁴⁷⁹ How do we prepare? Gregory asked similar questions, but his answers were different.

Finally, the *tema con variazioni* of Faremoutiers provides an opportunity to address a number of recurring topics, most of which also play a central role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*— and with these topics in particular, we see how Jonas parts way with Gregory. First, there is the role the community plays in the course of events. Their *solamen* (comfort), *sospitas* (safety), *consolatio* (consolation), *supplementum* (reinforcement), and, above all, *intercessio* for the dying (but not for the dead!) is crucial in experiencing a *felix exitus* and attaining salvation. In Gregory's *Dialogi*, the community may be present, but its presence does not determine or change a monk's or nun's eternal fate. Gregory does not talk about *sospitas*, *solamen*, *supplementum*, *suffragium*, or *intercessio* offered by a monastic community, and he mentions *consolatio* only one: He himself denied a dying monk his *consolatio* so that his miserable death might purge him of his sin of greed.⁴⁸⁰

The second recurring theme is that of the absolute necessity of revealing one's innermost thoughts and motivations. They are eventually more determinant of one's fate than deeds and misdeeds.⁴⁸¹ We find no reference to *confessio* in Gregory's work. Some of his protagonists reveal their sins, but that this does not determine their fate. He seems to have little interest in the inner disposition of his protagonists, aside from mildly condemning lustful thoughts.⁴⁸² Jonas, on the opposite, is *especially* concerned about his nuns' inner disposition.

A third theme is the necessity to be aware of one's imperfection and full dependence upon the *clementia* and *misericordia* of the *iustus iudex*.⁴⁸³ None of the nuns would make it without the *sospitas* provided by the community and the divine *clementia* and *misericordia*. In Gregory's *Dialogi*, God is not *clemens* and his *misericordia* stretches so far as to chastise a monk through disease⁴⁸⁴ and allow another to return to life and mend his ways.⁴⁸⁵ It seems, however, that

⁴⁷⁸ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 258, l. 12-13; *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 6-11. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 34.5, SC 265, p. 116.

⁴⁷⁹ *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 21-25.

⁴⁸⁰ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 57.11, p. 190.

⁴⁸¹ See p. §.

⁴⁸² Gregory reports a vision of paradise in which those who were zealous in good deeds but harboring lustful thoughts dwell close to the odiferous river separating paradise from hell. See *Dialogi* IV, c. 38.4-5, SC 265, pp. 136-138.

⁴⁸³ Cfr for example *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 5-8; II, c. 14, p. 266, l. 16-19.

⁴⁸⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1-2, p. 46.

⁴⁸⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.2, p. 126.

Gregory believed that an individual who lives a well-restrained life, avoids greed and lust, and engages in almsgiving, is not really in need of God’s mercy to achieve eternal salvation.⁴⁸⁶ The nuns in Faremoutiers are in a much more difficult position. For Jonas, it is a combination of all three factors, the constant care of the inner state of the individual nun, the cooperation of the community’s prayers and the divine *miser cordia* that makes a *felix exitus* possible. Once we read *De accedendo ad Deum* we will understand how this synergy of communal prayer and divine clemency actually works.⁴⁸⁷

Numerous aspects of Jonas’ Rule, ranging from the teaching and oversight of the abbess, to the imperative of love and confession, to the regularization of interaction and the application of penance and punishment, become essential tools for achieving the one and only purpose of monastic life: the attainment of salvation and escape from damnation – individually and collectively. Every single chapter of the Faremoutiers section not only speaks in the language of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but operates with the same categories and elaborates on at least one (and often several) very specific prescriptions of the Rule.

There is one last observation on Jonas’ compositional technique that complicates an analysis of the Faremoutiers section. Jonas shows a unique eagerness to explain and justify his monastic program and to show that it can be applied in any given context. This means that we as readers need to piece it together from all each episode like parts of a jigsaw puzzle. The result of such an exercise is a series of highly sophisticated thematic reflections which can be read as a “meta-rule”: the ultimate expression of Jonas’ understanding of the *Regula Columbani*. We find, for example, spread throughout (and hidden in) several episodes, a detailed exposition on the practice and purpose of confession. We discover a reflection on the practice and purpose of intercession that explains in detail which forms of intercession work. Jonas analyzes the various layers of sin encoded in inner disposition and outward action. He shows that monastic space and boundaries create something much more complicated than a simple “enclosure”. We can read the various episodes of the Faremoutiers section as a handbook on emotions and their control.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 8, p. 42; c. 14.3, p. 56; c. 15.3, p. 60; c. 37.13, p. 132; c. 37.16, p. 134, c. 38.1, p. 136.

⁴⁸⁷ See p. §.

⁴⁸⁸ Investigating Jonas’ concept of emotions would be a book project in itself. An excellent starting point is Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 134-162. See also Diem, Albrecht, ‘Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules’, in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich:

We can compile all references to the practice of prayer mentioned throughout the *uita* to reconstruct a range of regular and situative, ordinary and extra-ordinary liturgical activities.⁴⁸⁹ Jonas does, as we will see in Chapter 6 of this study, something similar in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, in which every chapter addresses a specific topic but ties it to various recurring themes – largely the same as in the “meta-rule” hidden in the Faremoutiers miracles.

There are two possible approaches to the Faremoutiers chapters. Either we take the narratives apart and re-assemble Jonas’ “Rule of Faremoutiers” by arranging all the fragments thematically, or we keep the narratives intact, isolate each element, connect it to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and occasionally “harvest” and synthesize the evidence. I have chosen the second option, though this may lead to a number of cross-references, some repetitions and instances in which the same text is quoted more than once in different contexts. The stories themselves are simply too good to be torn apart. Jonas’ careful arrangement and the interplay between them would get lost if we don’t treat them as the stories they are.

Sisetrudis⁴⁹⁰

Sisetrudis, the protagonist of the first chapter in the Faremoutiers section, has received foreknowledge that she will die within forty days. She alters her ways and makes herself ready in all regards – *in omnibus parata* – by zealously pursuing *religio* through fasting, prayer, tears, and vigils. Thirty-seven days later her soul leaves her body and is taken up to heaven by two young men and tested by “various examinations” (*multis discussionibus*). She meets the blessed souls

Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17-39. Emotional terms used in the Faremoutiers section include (in the order of their appearance): *lacrimae, laetus, exultatio, gaudium, gaudere, ouare, metus, ardor, aegre ferre, angere, timor, anxius, lamenta, laetificare, flere, anxietas, uerecundia, hilarius, amor*. I am sure I overlooked some.

⁴⁸⁹ A synthesis of all references to ritual and liturgical activities would make sense only if we apply it to the entire *Vita Columbani*, which I hope to do on another occasion. Just to give a hint of the richness of liturgical references: we find mixed choruses of nuns and angels (*VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258); prayers for the dying (II, c. 11, p. 259); rituals of farewell (II, c. 12, p. 261; II, c. 15, p. 266; II, c. 18, p. 271); intercessory prayer for one’s family (II, c. 12, p. 260); prayer to extend someone’s life (II, c. 12, p. 261); commemorative Masses (II, c. 12, p. 262); feasts of saints (II, c. 13, p. 263); prayer for the forgiveness of sins (II, c. 13, p. 263); prayer of Ps. 135/136, 1-2 (II, c. 13, p. 264); Ps. 50/51, 9-10 (II, c. 14, p. 264); praying the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed (II, c. 15, p. 265); celebrating Mass and taking the Eucharist (II, c. 16, p. 267); the *officium psallendi* for the dying (II, c. 16, p. 267); spontaneous, improvised prayer (II, c. 16, p. 267); prayers after death (II, c. 17, p. 270); moments of absolute silence (II, c. 18, p. 271); arming oneself with the sign of the cross and the office of the Psalms (II, c. 19, p. 274); Easter and Christmas (II, c. 19, p. 274); Exod. 15, 1 (II, c. 20, p. 275); prayers after death (II, c. 20, p. 276); readings of the Bible (II, c. 21, p. 276); Matins and Lauds (II, c. 21, p. 276). It is striking that Jonas hardly ever mentions the same liturgical activity twice.

⁴⁹⁰ *VCol* II, c. 11, pp. 257-259; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 204-206.

and faces the “tribunal of the mild judge” (*tribunal clementis iudicis*).⁴⁹¹ Yet her hopes for “eternal joys” (*aeterna gaudia*) are not immediately fulfilled. Her soul returns to her body as her forty days are not yet complete, and she must be even more prepared (*ut se uberius paratam post triduum habeat*).

The term *paratus/a* holds a prominent place both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *De accedendo ad Deum*. According to chapter 14 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a truly devoted nun needs to be *parata* at any moment, day and night; *De accedendo ad Deum* emphasizes that everyone must be prepared in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy, and that their mind must be prepared (*parata*) for prayer and un-shackled by any obstacle of worldly desire.⁴⁹²

Aside from intensifying her preparation, Sisetrude needs to do two things more after her return: giving account of her experience and asking for the prayer and consolation of the community:

Reuersa itaque in corpore, matrem uocat omnemque famularum Dei cateruam precatur, ut suis orationibus ei solamen ferant.

[Restored to her body, Sisetrudis calls the abbess and implores the whole company of female servants of God to offer to her consolation with their prayers.]⁴⁹³

The chapter on confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 6) links in similar words the expectation to stand before the *clemens iudex* hopeful of receiving forgiveness for sins through the prayer of the community.⁴⁹⁴

Jonas concludes the chapter on Sisetrudis with the following words:

Hanc primam huius coenubii exhortationem Dominus famulabus suis uoluit demonstrare, ut ceterae, quae superstites essent, omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent.

⁴⁹¹ We find the *iudex clemens* in *RcuiV*, c. 6.15 and *De accedendo* 25 but also in *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10-11. The expression very rarely appears elsewhere.

⁴⁹² Compare *RcuiV*, c. 14.1: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant; De accedendo* 14: *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus; 22: Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio.*

⁴⁹³ *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 205 (adjusted).

⁴⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 6.15: *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluat.*

[This was the first encouragement (*exhortatio*) of this monastery which the Lord wished to show to His female servants, so that the others, who were still alive, might aspire to the practice of piety (*cultus religionis*) with all their might.]⁴⁹⁵

De accedendo describes in similar words how to approach God through work and prayer: “We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search and how one should direct oneself to the practice of piety (*ad cultum religionis*) through both works and prayer.”⁴⁹⁶

Sisetrudis’ death forms what we could call the “best case scenario.” With a slight delay that gives her fellow nuns an opportunity to profit from her experience and to play a role in her salvation, everything happens exactly as it should. Hardly any of the subsequent episodes meet the standard Sisetrudis set. Some complication, rupture, or challenge will occur in nearly every one of them.⁴⁹⁷

Jonas uses in almost every episode of the Faremoutiers section specific “cliff hangers” that establish connections to the previous and following chapters. One of them here is the expression *disciplina regularis*. The *disciplina regularis* (which Jonas identifies with the *Regula Columbani*) forms the basis for Sisetrudis’ and the other nuns’ pursuit of salvation.⁴⁹⁸ The same notion of *disciplina regularis* is the ideal preparation appears in the very last chapter of the Faremouier section.⁴⁹⁹ By connecting the beginning and the end Jonas gives the Faremoutiers episodes a circular character. We will later encounter other circular structures in Jonas’ work.⁵⁰⁰ Jonas connects the Sisetrudis episode with the next chapter (on Gibititrudis) with the expression *cultus religionis*, and by calling both chapters an *exhortatio* (admonition).⁵⁰¹ Both chapters are, moreover, tied together by the shared experience of dying and coming back to life, and then dying again with the support of the community. Gibititrudis’ return to life has much more serious reasons. She did not just appear early to her appointment.

⁴⁹⁵ VCol II, c. 11, p. 259; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 205-206 (slightly adjusted).

⁴⁹⁶ *De accedendo* 1: *Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur.*

⁴⁹⁷ Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 198-199. Only Augnofledis’ death is described as free of complications: VCol II, c. 14, p. 264. See p. §.

⁴⁹⁸ VCol II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 20.

⁴⁹⁹ VCol II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 12.

⁵⁰⁰ See p. §.

⁵⁰¹ VCol II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-7; II c. 12, l. 28. Other expressions that connect both chapters are references to the *iter* (path) to heaven and the characterization of God as *clemens* (merciful): *iudex clemens*; *arbiter clemens*; *clementia conditoris*.

Gibitrudis⁵⁰²

Gibitrudis is of “noble by birth and piety” (*genere et religione nobilis*).⁵⁰³ She is a close relative of Burgundofara (*consanguinitate proxima*).⁵⁰⁴ Before entering Faremoutiers, she owned her own small oratory – and it is not clear whether she lived in a domestic community of sacred virgins or simply had a place of private worship in her parents’ home.⁵⁰⁵ She causes a punishing miracle upon the nurse who dared to prevent her from entering her oratory.⁵⁰⁶ Then she performs two acts of *intercessio* through prayer – and in both cases it is an *intercessio* for the living. First she restores the health of her father, who subsequently allows her to enter the monastery of Faremoutiers, then she saves the life of her sick abbess Burgundofara.⁵⁰⁷

Gibitrudis’ prayer for her abbess has a rather selfish reason: She wants to be sure of her own salvation and that of her companions before Burgundofara “would be freed from the ties of this present life” (*praesentis uitae nexibus...dissolui*). This resonates with the provisions on the abbess that Jonas makes in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The abbess must, according to his Rule, care for the protection and salvation of those under her and may expect the reward for her efforts at the end of her life.⁵⁰⁸ Gibitrudis does not want to concede this reward to her abbess at a moment disadvantageous for her own pursuit of salvation.

In the second part of the story, Gibitrudis dies and appears before the eternal judge (*iudex aeternus* – he is not the *clemens iudex* of the previous chapter any more). Like her fellow nun

⁵⁰² VCol II, c. 12, pp. 259-262; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 206-208, quoted here with some slight modifications.

⁵⁰³ Compare RcuIV, c. 1.1: *tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis*.

⁵⁰⁴ Compare RcuIV, c. 23.1: *Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio*. See also VCol II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 18: *qui consanguinitatis proximus erat*.

⁵⁰⁵ On domestic monasticism, see Magnani, Eliana, ‘Female house ascetics, from the fourth to the twelfth centuries’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Cooper, Kate, ‘Approaching the Holy Household’, in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 131-142; Hartmann, Martina, ‘Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert’, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1-19, at pp. 12-13.

⁵⁰⁶ VCol II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 10 describes this act of obstruction as “the cunning of the crafty enemy began to cast darts at her” (*coepit contra eam callidi hostis uersutia tela iacere*). RcuIV, c. 8.7-8 warns nuns who arrive late for prayer not to stay outside the oratory because of the snares of the devil.

⁵⁰⁷ Paxton, Frederick S., *Christianizing Death. The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1990, p. 57 discusses the prayers for the sick listed in the *Missale Gothicum*, no. 240-241, ed. CCSL 159A.

⁵⁰⁸ RcuIV, c. 1.18-19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, 19 ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiiis prebuit supplementum*. This is the only reference to death in the RcuIV.

Sisetrudis she must return to present life, this time not merely for a formality but for a serious fault. Her eternal salvation is in jeopardy because she held a grudge against three nuns and did not give them an opportunity to beg for forgiveness. She confesses her guilt of having held back evil thoughts. Six months later she dies. Jonas himself witnesses that at a commemorative Mass that happened three month after her death the church was filled with the scent of oil and spices confirming her salvation.

Jonas develops in this chapter two themes that are central to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the imperative of mutual love and forgiveness (c. 5) and the absolute necessity of revealing one's innermost thoughts in confession (c. 6-7). Almost all of the expressions Jonas uses in his description of Gibitrudis' verdict (including both biblical quotations) can be found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

“Reuertere, quia adplene **saeculum non reliquisti**. Scriptum est enim: **Date et dabitur uobis** (Luke 6, 38), et alibi in oratione: **Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris**. Non enim **dimisisti sodalibus** totum, quia tibi **inlatas molestias retinuisti**. Meminiscere, **te aduersum** tres conpares laesos portasse animos nec omnino indulgentiae medicamine **uulnus** ex totum **inlatum sanasse**. **Corrige** ergo **mores**, compone animos, quos **tepor** uel **neglegentia maculasti**.” Mirum dictu! Rediens ac **uitae pristinae reddita**, tristibus lamentis **inlatam** depromsit sententiam **reatumque suum confitetur sodalesque** uocat, **aduersum** quas **motus animos** deportarat, **ueniamque** deposcit, ne de tacita dolositate **damna incurrat uitae aeternae**.⁵⁰⁹

[“Go back, for you have not completely left the world behind. For it is written: *Give, and it shall be given unto you* (Luke 6, 38), and elsewhere in the prayer: *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us*. (Matth. 6, 12) Indeed, you have not forgiven your companions for everything, because you have remembered the injuries that were inflicted on you. Remember that you have held against three of your companions a spirit of resentment and that you did not at all heal the whole of the wound that was inflicted with the remedy of forgiveness. Therefore, correct your behavior, soothe feelings which you have hurt through laziness and negligence.” Wonderful to say, returning, and having been restored to her former life, she recounted with sad cries the sentence that had been passed, confesses her crime, calls the companions against whom she had borne hostile feelings, and asks their pardon lest, due to this silent deceit, she might incur the loss of eternal life.]⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ *Saeculum* (*RcuiV*, c. 4.4; c. 5.9); *date et dabitur uobis* (c. 5.19); *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* (c. 5.24); *sodales* (c. 3.6; c. 3.13 as *consodales*); *retinere* (c. 5.21); *te aduersum* (c. 6.6); *medicamine* (c. 6.12; c. 6.18; c. 7.3 as *medicina*); *uulnus* (c. 6.18; c. 7.2-3; c. 14.8; c. 20.5); *inferre* (c. 1.3; c. 23.9); *sanare* (c. 1.1; c. 6.18); *corrigere* (c. 1.9; c. 10.18; c. 16.3-4; c. 20.1-3; c. 20.13; c. 23.9); *mos* (1.6; c. 1.14; c. 2.1; c. 2.3-4; c. 2.6; c. 3.7; c. 4.6; c. 21.1); *tepor* (c. 16.10); *negligentia* (c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 4.16; c. 12.29; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.1; c. 16.4); *maculare* (c. 20.12; c. 24.3); *reatus* (c. 16.10). See especially *RcuiV*, c. 4.15: *ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat*; c. 13.5: *et non iudicium damnationis incurrant*.

⁵¹⁰ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 207-208 (adjusted).

Jonas concludes this chapter with a reminder of the incompatibility of simultaneously loving God and the world.⁵¹¹

Merito etenim rerum sator hic sibi dicatas animas suis muneribus facit effulgere, qui ob suum amorem nullatenus uoluerunt saeculum diligere uel amare.

[And rightly this Creator of Things makes the souls that have been consecrated to Him – those who wished, on account of His love, in no way to value and love the world – to shine with his gifts.]⁵¹²

This final assertion is puzzling because this specific chapter (unlike some of the following) does not address what we would understand as “loving the world” (*saeculum diligere et amare*), i.e. striving for worldly luxuries and pleasure. Jonas may have had something different in mind when speaking here about *saeculum*. Gibitrudis is reproached and sent back because by holding a grudge against her fellow nuns, she has not entirely relinquished the world (*saeculum non reliquisti*). Perhaps *saeculum amare* means to cling to worldly emotions incompatible with the monastic ideal, such as anger or resentment and to have not reached a state of mutual forgiveness.

Jonas deploys the main themes in this chapter, intercession (in the first part) and mutual love and confession (in the second part), with a set of expressions that all express (good) emotions, zeal, and urgency: *ardor*, *intentio*, *flagrare*, *desiderare*, *angere*, *aspirare*, *poscere*, *postulare*, *metus*, and *timor*. All of these expressions can throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo*.⁵¹³ Zeal and motivation is a central theme both in the *Vita* and in the *Regula*.

Several key terms of Gibitrudis’ story re-appear in the next episode, on Ercantrudis. Both live a *uita religiosa per multos annos* (a pious life for many years), receive forgiveness for a

⁵¹¹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expresses the same idea, although in different words: *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?*

⁵¹² *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 208.

⁵¹³ *Ardoris igne efferuescere* (cfr *RcuiV*, c. 14.14; *De accedendo* 6; 16); *flagrare* (*De accedendo* 24); *desiderare* (*RcuiV*, c.3.1; c. 3.3); *intentio* (*RcuiV*, c. 12.12; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 26); *angere*; *metus* (*RcuiV*, c. 8.5; c. 8.8; c. 20.7; c. 24.9); *timor* (*RcuiV*, c. 4.14-15; c. 12.15; c. 13.4; c. 21.1; c. 24.5; c. 24.9; *De accedendo* 19); *aspirare*; *poscere* (*RcuiV*, c. 4.11; c. 9.7; c. 9.8; c. 10.3; c. 14.12; c. 15.7; c. 16.8; c. 18.4; *De accedendo* 8); *postulare* (*RcuiV*, c. 22.11).

transgression, and receive a *felix exitus*.⁵¹⁴ Yet Gibitrudis lived a *uita religiosa* of an adult convert while Ercantrudis never had a life outside the monastery.

Ercantrudis⁵¹⁵

Ercantrudis entered the monastery as a child. She has been secluded from the world and educated to such a perfection that she does not know the difference between men and women. Jonas praises her virtues, describing how she patiently suffered from a chronic disease.⁵¹⁶ At some point she breaks the rule, is placed in a state of penance and excommunication but later earns (like Gibitrudis) reconciliation and forgiveness for her misdeed. The last part of her chapter recounts her *felix exitus*, which is interrupted by a terrifying vision in which she exposes the dead soul of a fellow nun who held back her secret desire to return to the world. Ercantrudis cries a great deal – as one should according to *De accedendo ad Deum*. Both texts use the otherwise rarely used expression *ubertas lacrimarum* (abundance of tears).⁵¹⁷

Jonas' describes Ercantrudis' sickness as *poena corporis*, which resonates with a depiction of disease as punishment in the chapter on sick nuns of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 15).⁵¹⁸ Ercantrudis shines because of her gentleness (*mansuetudo*), piety (*pietas*), mildness (*lenitas*) and love (*caritas*). All these virtues appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; *manusetudo*, *pietas*, and *caritas* are listed as the main attributes of love.⁵¹⁹ As someone who is shielded to an extent that she does not know about the difference between the sexes,

⁵¹⁴ VCol II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 27: *uitam religiosam per multa annorum spatia*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 13: *per multos annos uitam religiosam ageret*. On *felix exitus*: II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 31; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 11.

⁵¹⁵ VCol II, c. 13, pp. 262-264; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 208-211 with some adjustments.

⁵¹⁶ Cfr Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 16.3, SC 265, p. 64.

⁵¹⁷ *De accedendo* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat*. See also VCol II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 17.

⁵¹⁸ RcuIV, c. 15.6: *...quae in infirma carne poenam portat*.

⁵¹⁹ RcuIV, c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum, sed secundum Deum maneat amor*. For *mansuetudo*, see also RcuIV, c. 8.3; for *pietas* RcuIV, c. 1.17; c. 1.17; c. 4.21; c. 5.8; c. 5.11; c. 6.15; c. 8.3; c. 15.1; c. 15.12; c. 20.5; c. 20.7; c. 20.8; c. 21.3; c. 24.2; for *lenitas* RcuIV, c. 20.5; and for *caritas* RcuIV, c. 1.7; c. 22.1; c. 22.6; c. 22.7; c. 22.7; c. 22.9.

Ercantrudis is the perfect product of the monastic *custodia* laid out in the chapter on children of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 24).⁵²⁰

Ercantrudis' violation of the wording of the rule (*tenor regulae*),⁵²¹ her confession of guilt (*admissae noxae culpam*),⁵²² her penance, excommunication, and reconciliation, closely follow the protocol set out in the provisions on confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Therein Jonas describes how the abbess imposes an appropriate penance that forces a guilty nun to abstain from communion and to pray separate from the community.⁵²³ Ercantrudis receives forgiveness in a dream she duly recounts to the abbess in humble confession (*per confessionem humilem matri patefecit*). Here Jonas uses almost the same words as in the chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the gatekeepers (c. 3).⁵²⁴ Jonas does not tell us what transgression Ercantrudis is guilty of. It is unimportant and has no impact on her future *felix exitus*, because her transgression is treated appropriately.

Before her death Ercantrudis, in a feverish vision, unmask a fellow nun secretly longing to live a secular life outside the monastery and who is therefore unworthy of the company of those nuns who live no longer for themselves, but have been crucified by the world for Christ's sake. Jonas ingenuously juxtaposes Ercantrudis' (forgivable) transgression with this much more serious and hidden desire:

“Cito currentes unam e uobis mortuam segregate atque a ceterarum consortio deicite;⁵²⁵ non enim dignum est, ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt, mortuam et a uita segregatam se inter retineant.” Cumque omnes inter se conquirent, et quidnam dicere uelit sciscitarent, una eorum confusa ac terrore perculsa solo prosternitur suamque noxam confitetur ac in omnibus emendaturam pollicetur. Erat enim saeculo uacans, et foris saecularem uitam desiderans, nec mortificationi omnino praebebat studium, sed tota uiuebat saeculo.

⁵²⁰ VCol II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 24-26: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam. Rcuiv, c. 24.2-3: Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et disciplinae ministerio, ne desidiae uel lasciuiiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripri.*

⁵²¹ *Tenor regulae* appears rarely outside of Jonas' works but twice in the Jonas' *Vita Iohannis* and twice in the *Rcuiv*. See *Rcuiv*, c. 3.25; c. 15.12; *Vloh*, c. 2, p. 303, l. 11 and c. 19, p. 342, l. 21.

⁵²² *Rcuiv*, c. 4.3: *per transgressionis noxam.*

⁵²³ *Rcuiv*, c. 6.24: *Hae uero sorores, quae pro grauibz culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.*

⁵²⁴ *Rcuiv*, c. 3.15: *Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur.*

⁵²⁵ Compare to *Rcuiv*, c. 17.9: *Excommunicata uero soror, quae culpis grauioribus existentibus, aut cellula recluditur, aut a consortio congregationis separatur.*

[“Quickly, run, and segregate the dead⁵²⁶ woman from your midst and throw her out of the fellowship of the others. For it is not right that those who having been crucified to the world for Christ, do not live for themselves, should keep among themselves a woman who is dead and segregated from life.” And while they all began to ask among themselves and wondered what she wishes to say, one of them, dismayed and struck with terror, prostrates herself on the ground, confesses her guilt, and promises to improve herself in all things. For she was devoted to the world and longing for the secular life outside, and she did not show any enthusiasm for mortification, but was living entirely for the world.]⁵²⁷

Here Jonas blends language and the themes of two chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In the chapter on family relations (c. 23) Jonas prohibits nuns from defending one another and urges them not to tolerate the sins of their relatives.⁵²⁸ In the chapter on readmission (c. 21) Jonas addresses nuns who, in reality, not in thought, escape from the monastery. They must promise improvement (*omnium morum emendationem polliceatur*) after returning, shaken by fear (*perculsa timore*).⁵²⁹ In line with the previous episode, Ercantrudis’ vision shows that she and her fellow nuns are judged not by their deeds but by their attitudes, thoughts, and desires, which therefore must be confessed and assessed at all times.

At the moment of her death, Ercantrudis reports to her fellow nuns that she hears an angelic choir singing Psalm 135/136:1-2: *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius. Confitemini Deo deorum, quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.* (O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. O give thanks unto the God of gods: for his mercy endureth for ever). This indicates that she is on the path towards salvation.

Emisit spiritum, ac post felicem exitum caelo reddita, aeterna promeruit gaudia possidere et ex praesentibus poenis lucra capere uitae aeternae.

[She breathed out her spirit; after a happy death, she was returned to heaven, and she deserved to take possession of eternal joy and from the trials of this life to take the gains of eternal life.]⁵³⁰

⁵²⁶ On the notion of being death while still being alive, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 47.2, SC 265, p. 258.

⁵²⁷ VCol II, c. 13, p. 263; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 210.

⁵²⁸ RcuIV, c. 23.2-3: *Quid enim aliam defendat, quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, 3 quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?* Both texts use here Gal. 2, 19.

⁵²⁹ RcuIV, c. 21.1: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.*

⁵³⁰ VCol II, c. 13, p. 264; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 211.

Jonas describes Ercantrudis' *felix exitus* as a reward for the sufferings of her present life – a thought we find expressed in similar words in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*.⁵³¹

All in all, the short episode about Ercantrudis' life and death ingeniously folds together ideas from no less than nine chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 1, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24) and from *De accedendo ad Deum*. Jonas narrative is truly a “regula in action.” Again, Jonas uses a key term of his program to tie Ercantrudis' chapter to the next one, on Augnofledis. Both of them “take the gains of an eternal life” (*lucra capere uitae aeternae*). In the case of Ercantrudis, though the trials (*poenae*) of the present life; in the case of Augnofledis because of the loss (*damnum*) of the present life.⁵³²

Augnofledis⁵³³

Augnofledis dies around the same time as Ercantrudis. While the dying Ercantrudis reports that she hears a choir singing, it is now the community who experiences angelic singing – and it is a different Psalm, Ps. 50/51, 9-10: *Asperges me ysopo, et mundabor; lauabis me, et super niuem dealabor. Auditui meo dabis gaudium et laetitiam, et exultabunt ossa humiliata* (Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Make me to hear joy and gladness; that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice). Ercantrudis' Psalm points to salvation by God's mercy (*misericordia eius*); Augnofledis is, as her Psalm indicates, saved through the purification of her sins. By juxtaposing both Psalms, Jonas makes, thus, an important theological statement about different paths towards salvation.

Despite its shortness, the Augnofledis-chapter shares, like the previous chapters, a key phrase with the subsequent one. Augnofledis is, through her death, “freed from the bonds of her flesh.” Jonas describes Deurechilda's death in almost the same words.⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 1.18-19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, ¹⁹ ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum. De accedendo 8: ...quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium.*

⁵³² *VCol II*, c. 13, p. 264, l. 12-13: *ex praesentibus poenis lucra capere uitae aeternae*; II, c. 14, l. 17-18: *pro damno praesentis uitae lucra caperet uitae aeternae.*

⁵³³ *VCol II*, c. 14, p. 264; trans. O'Hara/Wood, p. 211.

⁵³⁴ *VCol II*, c. 14, p. 264, l. 19: *a carnis nexibus separaretu* (following a variant given in the apparatus); II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 15-16: *animamque deinceps carnis nexibus solutam caelo reddidit.*

Deurechilda⁵³⁵

Deurechilda enters the monastery as an adolescent accompanied by her mother. Here Jonas presents another, probably not uncommon, form of monastic entry. The young nun shows much more fervor for monastic life than her mother who is led astray by the devil and subsequently incites Deurechilda's reproach (*correptio*). Deurechilda experiences a *felix exitus* but her mother, who dies forty days later, narrowly escapes damnation, already facing her demons eye-to-eye. She is saved only because her daughter had urged her to obtain the "remedies of penance" (*medicamenta paenitentiae*) and performed *intercessio* for her. We see here a third form of *intercessio*: In the chapter on Gibitrudis, *intercessio* consisted of acts that restored health or saved someone's earthly life; here it saves a nun from incurring eternal damnation.

Jonas is just as discreet about the mother's transgressions as he was about Ercantrudis' violation of the rule. What matters is not what they did but how they dealt with it. Ercantrudis confessed her transgression in an exemplary way and easily earned salvation; Deurechilda had to be forced to take the *medicamenta paenitentiae* and narrowly escaped. Besides that, Jonas makes a very important point about conceptualizing her sinful state: "...whereas the mother, forced back by weakness, yielded to her fragile nature." (...*quod genetrix inbecillitate abacta fragilitati obtemperabat*). Both categories, *imbecilitas* and *fragilitas*, appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁵³⁶

Jonas develops, both in the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, a fascinating typology of the nature of sin and manifestations of sinfulness. In this chapter of the *Vita*, he describes sinfulness as manifestation of weakness; in subsequent chapters, he adds a number of other aspects of human sinfulness. I will "harvest" these manifestations later.⁵³⁷

The fact that Deurechilda scolds her mother rather than siding with her, also resonates with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which prohibits nuns from defening their relatives. The

⁵³⁵ *VCol* II, c. 15, pp. 264-266; trans. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 211-213.

⁵³⁶ Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 6.20: *mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit*; c. 14.1: *damna capiant inbecillitatis*.

⁵³⁷ See p. §.

Rule requires what Deurechilda carries out in an exemplary way: reproach as an act of love.⁵³⁸

Three things save the mother from eternal damnation that would otherwise have been inevitable – and all three appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the loving reproach, the *medicamenta paenitentiae*, and the *intercessio* performed on someone else’s behalf.⁵³⁹

Both Deurechilde and Domma, the protagonist of the next episode die from a fever (*febre correpta*).⁵⁴⁰ Domma, however, does not escape eternal damnation.

Domma⁵⁴¹

Domma’s death shows how even the best possible conditions cannot fully protect a nun from incurring damnation. Two particularly pure young nuns see a fiery globe arise from her mouth while she was praying.⁵⁴² After hearing about this extraordinary event, Domma is trapped in the sin of pride and dies unreconciled while one of the two pure nuns experience a “good death” (*bonus exitus*). Jonas introduces this story as an example “to help in the progress and advancement of the perfect, or even for the correction of sinners” (*ad perfectum uel augmentum perfectorum uel etiam ad emendationem delinquentium*). This reminds us of the abbess’s task to deploy the double strategy: curing the sluggish and motivating those of healthy character to continue to improve.⁵⁴³

One of the purposes of this chapter is to elaborate on the typology of human sinfulness that Jonas began in the previous chapter:

⁵³⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 23.7-9: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, ꝛ ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat. ꝙ Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.*

⁵³⁹ Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; c. 3.14-17; c. 5.24-25; c. 6.14-17; c. 6.24-26; c. 9.20; c. 12.24; c. 12.28; c. 16.7-10.

⁵⁴⁰ *VCol* II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 21-23: *Inlucescente ergo in crastinum die dominico, febre correpta, adolescentula suppreum expectabat exitum...*, l. 32-33: *Nec mora, in extremis horis posita, monasterii matrem postulat*; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 18-21: *Nec mora, febre correpta hac in extremum deducta, nec sic studuit emendare. Hae uero qui uiderant, una earum nomine Ansitrudis dolore capitis, alia febre correpta, atque ad extremum deductae, suppreum expectant exitum.*

⁵⁴¹ *VCol* II, c. 16, pp. 266-268; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 213-217, quoted here with slight adjustments.

⁵⁴² A common hagiographical motive. See, for example, Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* II, c. 2.1-2, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Nicole Dupré, SC 510, Paris: Cerf 2006, p. 222. Other examples are provided by Picard, Jean-Michel, ‘The marvellous in Irish and continental saints’ Lives of the Merovingian period’, in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981, pp. 91-103, at p. 95. The notion that only the pure can, see miracles appears in Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 7.1, SC 265, p. 40.

⁵⁴³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.13-14: *Incautis etenim sic blanda persuasione subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat. 14 Sanis uero moribus ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant.*

...ne uanitatis noxa – sicut actum est – eius corda fuscaret, cuius os affluens gratia lumen reddebat amoenum. Sed mens fragilitate corrupta coepit post Spiritus sancti lucra elationis uel superbiae stimulos amare, contumaciae crimen incurrere, arrogantiae supercilium praeferre, ita ut matrem contemneret, sodales dispiceret et omnium monita sperneret. Nec mora, febre correpta hac in extremum deducta, nec sic studuit emendare.

[So that the sin of pride should not cast a shadow – as in fact happened – over the heart of her through whose mouth an outpouring of grace shed the beautiful light. But Domma’s mind, corrupted by its frailty, after these rewards of the Holy Spirit, began to love incitements of arrogance and pride, and to fall into the sin of obstinacy, and to prefer the haughtiness of pride, so that she scorned the mother, looked down on her companions, and shunned the warnings of all. Without delay she was seized with fever, and brought to the point of death, but she made no attempt to improve.]⁵⁴⁴

Jonas describes here no less than eight different aspects of Domma’s sinfulness and every single of them also appears somewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the sin of vanity (*noxa uanitatis*),⁵⁴⁵ the darkened heart (*eius corda fuscaretur*),⁵⁴⁶ the mind corrupted by weakness (*mens fragilitate corrupta*),⁵⁴⁷ arrogance and pride (*elatio uel superbia*),⁵⁴⁸ the crime of haughtiness (*crimen contumaciae*),⁵⁴⁹ *arrogantia*,⁵⁵⁰ shunning warnings (*monita spernere*),⁵⁵¹ and not showing zeal for improvement (*nec studere emendare*).⁵⁵² This list is definitively too long to be saved.

If we examine the chapters on discipline in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and compare them to their models in the *Regula Benedicti*, we see how the Jonas’ focus shifts from sinful acts and transgressions of the Rule (as we find them in the *Regula Benedicti*) to habits, attitudes, sinful thoughts, and wrongful motives.⁵⁵³ The internal state of mind must be disciplined and punished because the inner disposition – in Domma’s case her arrogance, pride, and

⁵⁴⁴ VCol II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 11-19; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 214 (adjusted).

⁵⁴⁵ Rcuiv, c. 4.1: *unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat.*

⁵⁴⁶ Rcuiv, c. 2.14: *ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris reperiatur fuscata. c. 6.2: et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum.*

⁵⁴⁷ Rcuiv, c. 6.20: *mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit.*

⁵⁴⁸ Rcuiv, c. 20.2: *sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata.*

⁵⁴⁹ Rcuiv, c. 3.16: *Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit.*

⁵⁵⁰ Rcuiv, c. 2.5: *...non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata.*

⁵⁵¹ Rcuiv, c. 2.10: *Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio.*

⁵⁵² Rcuiv, c. 20.t-3: *De his quae per sedulam correptionis curam saepius correptae emendare nolunt. 1 Soror si saepius correpta emendare noluerit, excommunicatione pro modo culpae corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc uerberum uindictae subiacebit. 2 Quod si sic emendare noluerit, sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata, opera uel actus de quibus corrigitur, defenderit, 3 tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est. (Sap. 3, 11).*

⁵⁵³ See p. §.

unwillingness to amend – has a stronger impact on damnation or salvation than what the nuns actually do.

Jonas links this chapter with the following in his description of the sweet melodies that the nuns hear moment when the two innocent nuns and Willesuinda die.⁵⁵⁴

Willesuinda⁵⁵⁵

While working with some fellow nuns in the garden of the monastic enclosure, Willesuinda (Jonas also calls her Wilsinda and Wilsindana) receives a vision predicting that one of them will die soon and must prepare herself accordingly (as Sisetrudis did). Willesuinda does not reveal that it is she who will die – presumably to spur her fellow nuns to make themselves ready (*paratae*) as well. On her sickbed Willesuinda miraculously recites all the books of the Bible from memory and announces the downfall of an enemy of the monastery, the Neustrian Mayor of the Palace Aega who has violated the boundaries of the monastery.⁵⁵⁶ Shortly before her death she experiences a vision similar to that of Ercantrudis. She reveals that a certain nun has not purged herself through honest confession of the filth of her heart, which she had accumulated before entering the monastery. Struck with fear, the repugnant nun reveals her hidden vices. At the moment of her death Willesuinda sees the sisters who already have reached heaven and mentions one of them, Ansilidis, by name.⁵⁵⁷ The chapter on Willesuinda addresses three different themes: how to be prepared against “the negligence of lukewarmness”, the necessity of confession, and the role of space and boundaries. Space is the main theme of the chapter.

First, Jonas describes, somewhat more precisely than in the Sisetrudis episode, what the nuns should do to safeguard their salvation: to “prepare themselves, lest the negligence of

⁵⁵⁴ *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 24-26: *coepit una earum inaudita auribus humanis carmina ac dulcia modulamina pio ore canere*; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 15-16: *Coepit deinde orationes ac deprecationes, quaeque sacerdotum officia depromunt, dulcia modulamina canere*. Both chapters also share the expressions *exitum uitae* and *uita aeterna*.

⁵⁵⁵ *VCol* II, c. 17, pp. 268-270; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 215-217, quoted with small adjustments.

⁵⁵⁶ On Aega, see O’Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 52-53; Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 68-69 and pp. 202-204; Le Jan, Régine, ‘Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia’, in: Mayke de Jong, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theeuwes (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 243-269, at pp. 250-255; Ebling, Horst, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 1972, pp. 38-40.

⁵⁵⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 34, SC 265, pp. 112-116 argues that the blessed souls can recognize each other in paradise.

lukewarm diligence cause the loss of eternal life” (*...et ideo paratas esse debere, ne negligentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae*). Here Jonas adds two new elements to his catalogue of the manifestations of sinfulness: the threat of negligence and the danger of becoming less than zealous. Both *neglegentia* and *tepiditas* are matters of great concern in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, since they are just as dangerous to the individual and the community as any conscious violation of the rule.⁵⁵⁸

The theme of confession has already appeared three times in previous chapters of the *Vita* and will return two more times later. So far, Jonas described four notions of confession: the confession of an emotion (Gibitrudis), the confession of a violation of a rule (Ercantrudis), the revelation of a dream (Ercantrudis), and confessing a secret desire (the nun denounced by Ercantrudis). Now Jonas talks about confession as an act of purification and of revealing hidden vices (*uita celata*). Willesuinda drastically calls the nun she accuses “discarded rubbish” (*iacta quisquilia*) because she has not confessed to the filth in her mind, accumulated while she was still in the world, and because she has not cleansed her heart through the act of confession:

“Non aspicitis quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcita maculauit?” Perculsa metu,⁵⁵⁹ uerecundia correpta⁵⁶⁰ et a lumine Spiritus sancti deprehensa, cui talia dicebantur, solo prosternitur celataque uitia matri per confessionem prodit.

[“Don’t you see with how much filth she has filled her mind, and how she has not attempted in any way to purge by means of confession the filthy space of her heart, which she polluted with all kinds of dirt while still in the world, before she was enclosed here?” Struck with fear, overcome with shame, and seized by the light of the Holy Spirit, the one

⁵⁵⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 2.6: *quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare*. c. 2.18: *ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt*. c. 2.24: *ut in nullo negligentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata*. c. 3.22: *ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant*. c. 4.15: *ut in nullo negligentiae damna incurrat*. c. 6.21: *Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit...* c. 13.6: *...anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter*. c. 14.3: *ne per negligentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis*. c. 16.1: *Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis delinquitur*. c. 16.10: *ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat*. c. 22.4: *et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur*. See also *VCol II*, c. 19, p. 275, l. 8. Coumbanus himself expresses this idea in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 144, l. 31-32: *...de omnibus non solum capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis*. See also c. 15, p. 162 on dealing with the Eucharist negligently.

⁵⁵⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 21.1: *et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore...*

⁵⁶⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 7.2: *Illa etenim, quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est...*

to whom such things were said prostrates herself on the ground, and reveals her hidden vices to the mother in confession.]⁵⁶¹

Jonas presents here a new and significant image of sin: sin as a form of pollution (while, previously, he described it as a weakness, darkening of the heart, and negligence). It is the *sordes* (filth) of the mind and the *spurcitia* (dirt) that has stained (*maculauit*) the heart. In this context, confession becomes all the more important as the definitive and absolutely vital act of washing away the pollution of sin. The notion of sin as a stain (*macula*) is ubiquitous in the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,⁵⁶² but it is absent from Gregory's *Dialogi* and from the *Regula Benedicti*. Columbanus himself talks in his works about *macula* and *coinquinatio* (pollution) but only in the context of chastity.⁵⁶³ Expanding the notion of purity and impurity beyond the sexual seems to be Jonas' very own contribution.

Now for the main theme of Jonas' chapter on Willesuinda: space – a topic I will discuss more in detail in Chapter 4 of this study. It may not be coincidental that Willesuinda herself is “a nun from outer space”, i.e. from Anglo-Saxon England (*ex genere Saxonorum*). Jonas addresses the theme of space on four different, yet corresponding levels. Willesuinda receives the revelation of her imminent death *in horto intra monasterii septa* (in the garden, within the confines of the monastery). The monastic *septa* are, as we know from other instances in the *Vita Columbani*, the designated places for miraculous occurrences.⁵⁶⁴

Willesuinda's bucolic monastic garden is threatened by two violations of the monastic space. Aega, the evil courtier, violates the boundaries of the monastery and endangers the nuns' physical safety. He faces divine punishment just as King Theuderic II did in the first book of the *Vita Columbani*.⁵⁶⁵ The protection of the monastic space and the exclusion of outsiders is a

⁵⁶¹ *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 20-27; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 217.

⁵⁶² *VCol* II, c. 2, p. 234, l. 17; II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 9/19; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 23; II, c. 19, p. 271, l. 26; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 10 and p. 279, l. 16. *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata*; c. 5.11: *numquam peccati maculam incurret*; c. 5.14: *Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat*; c. 6.22: *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est*. c. 20.12: *Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes*; c. 21.5: *Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit...* c. 24.3: *ne desidiae uel lasciuiiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripri*. The terms *macula* and *maculare* appear 15 times in the *Vita Columbani*.

⁵⁶³ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 6, ed. Walker, p. 128: *Deus enim spiritus in spiritu habitat ac mente, quem immaculatum uiderit, in quo nulla sit adultera cogitatio, nulla spiritus coinquinati macula, nulla peccati labes sit*.

⁵⁶⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.23; c. 20.9; c. 21.1-2. See also *VCol* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 2 on Columbanus who turns invisible when soldiers enter the monastic *septa*. See also p. §.

⁵⁶⁵ On the topic of space and boundaries in the *Vita Columbani* and Theuderic' violation of the *septa* of Luxeuil, see Diem, 'Monks, kings', pp. 533-538 and pp. 542-543.

central theme of the chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the gatekeepers (c. 3). The nun whom Willesuinda accuses in her vision, violated the monastic space in a different, though equally serious way. She carried into the monastery the dirt of the world, which had been stored in her mind and in the space of her heart instead of being properly cleansed through true confession. The dying Willesuinda sees this hidden dirt and her response shows that she is primarily concerned with keeping the monastic space unstained. The dirty nun must be removed from the monastery and tossed outside (*foras*) like a bag full of garbage: “*Eice foras, eice, iacta quisquiliis!*” (“Throw her out! Out the door! Throw out that rubbish!”).

Monastic space is, as we learn from this Willesuinda’s vision, threatened from two directions – and in both cases, confession is the cleansing remedy. It can be polluted by the outside world.⁵⁶⁶ The incriminated nun carried dirt into the monastery by not confessing and cleansing herself at the moment of entry. But it is also threatened by the filth the nun keeps in her *area pectoris* (the space of the heart), and this area constantly collects dust and stains. As we will see in the analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, one of the major dilemmas of the rule is how to control the gateways that connect the monastery to the potentially defiling inner space (of the individual) and outer space (of the world): the *ostium* (gate) of the monastery and the *os* (mouth), but also ears and eyes of the individual nun.⁵⁶⁷

Since the *area pectoris* continuously attracts dirt,⁵⁶⁸ it is necessary to purify oneself at all times but especially at the moment of entry into the monastery. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not address the topic of monastic conversion,⁵⁶⁹ but it prescribes that nuns who escape the monastery and return, must submit themselves to spatial separation and undergo a sincere penance (which implies confession) before being re-admitted to the *septa* of the monastery.⁵⁷⁰ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* not only defines confession as an act of purification but also gives two more clues that confession has much to do with space, contamination and

⁵⁶⁶ Jonas describes the world later as the *putrimenta uiscerum* (vomit) a dog returns to. See *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 1, based on Prou. 26, 11.

⁵⁶⁷ See p. §.

⁵⁶⁸ On the notion of accumulating sin, cfr *RcuiV*, c. 6.18-22.

⁵⁶⁹ Possibly because this theme is abundantly discussed in Caesarius’ *Regula ad uirgines*. See p. §.

⁵⁷⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 21.1-4: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur. 2 Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscat, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur. 3 Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur, 4 sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.*

decontamination.⁵⁷¹ The abbess must make absolutely certain that none of the nuns leaves the *schola* of the monastery (*nullam foras egredi permittat*) before having given confession,⁵⁷² and if a nun confesses a sin too grievous to be cleansed immediately, she must be spatially separated from the rest of the community, pray in a different church, then wait in front of the doors of main church (*fores ecclesiae*) until the “clean” nuns come out and pray that the stains of her deeds may be erased by contrition of their heart.⁵⁷³ Everything we want to know about Jonas’ concept of monastic space is skilfully woven into the story of Willesuinda.

Willesuinda’s chapter and the next one on Leudebertana revolve around the process of preparation following an announced death. Moreover, both describe divine benevolence in similar phrases: “so that, through the manifestation of divine piety, the rewards of eternal life might be loved more richly” (in the case of Willesuinda); “His abounding goodness again heaped up additions to His gifts” (in the case of Leudebertana).⁵⁷⁴

Leudebertana⁵⁷⁵

The short chapter on the death of Leudebertana describes, at first glance, a fairly unproblematic *felix exitus*. Leudebertana receives a vision in her sleep announcing that she should be even more prepared for her death (*ut ad uitae exitum paratiorem efficeret*). A voice tells her that she should by no means deviate from her mother’s (i.e. the abbess’) admonitions (*ut se a supradictae matris monita nullatenus deuiaret*), and this reminder adds a hint of a dissonance to this otherwise smooth transition to the afterlife.

Differently from Willesuinda, who is greeted by her deceased and saved fellow sisters, Leudebertana meets the Apostle Peter. With her last words, she asks her fellow nuns why they do

⁵⁷¹ See p. §.

⁵⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: *Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio*. On *scola*, see p. §.

⁵⁷³ *RcuiV*, c. 6.24-26: *Hae uero sorores, quae pro grauibus culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.* ²⁵ *Et expleto cursu egredientes ante fores ecclesiae, in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur.* ²⁶ *Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis.*

⁵⁷⁴ *VCol II*, c. 17, p. 268, l. 13-14: *ut per apparitionem pietatis diuinae uberius amarentur lucra uitae aeternae*; c. 18, p. 270, l. 24: *uberis bonitas munerum suorum congerit supplimenta*. Both chapters also share the use of *exitus uitae*.

⁵⁷⁵ *VCol II*, c. 18, pp. 270-271; trans. Wood/O’Hara, p. 218.

not recognize the patron of their monastery. Jonas may have inserted this detail in order to remind the nuns of the importance of their patron saint.⁵⁷⁶

Jonas' description of Leudebertana's somnolent experience ("when she had relaxed her limbs in sleep" – *cum sopore membra laxasset*) alludes to the chapter on sleep of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 14) which begins by stating, in similar words, that a nun should always be prepared for God, even when her limbs are weakened by sleep (*ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant*).⁵⁷⁷

Leudebertana's chapter has, however, another hidden theme, which may have been the main reason for telling her story. For the first time in the Faremoutiers section Jonas refers to obedience – though in a rather unexpected way. It is noteworthy – and in fact crucial to the understanding of the overall purpose of the Faremoutiers chapters and of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – that Jonas does not use the expression *oboedientia* and that he refers to *monita* (admonitions or instructions) rather than using the words *praeceptum*, *mandatum*, *iussio* (order), or *imperium* (command). These are the terms appearing in the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus which put a strong emphasis on *oboedientia* understood as unconditionally following of a superior's order until death (*usque ad mortem*).

For Benedict, *oboedientia* is the epitome of humility.⁵⁷⁸ If a monk is obedient to the abbot, the abbot takes over the responsibility for his salvation.⁵⁷⁹ It is striking that *oboedientia* does not figure among the criteria for damnation and salvation in Jonas' work. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* mentions *oboedientia* only twice in passing, once defined as submission under the *regula* and once defining mutual love as expression of mutual *oboedientia*.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁶ Saint Peter also appears in a vision of the sick abbot Berthulf of Bobbio who recovered afterwards. See *Vita Columbani* II, c. 23, pp. 283-284. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12, SC 265, pp. 48-52 tells a very similar story of the Roman abbot Stephen seeing the Apostles Peter and Paul on his deathbed. Several monasteries founded in the first generation after Columbanus' death were dedicated to Saint Peter.

⁵⁷⁷ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 14.1-2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, 2 ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiiis peruigil maneat...*

⁵⁷⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1-3, SC 181, p. 412; prologue.40, p. 422; c. 5, pp. 464-468; c. 7.34-43, pp. 480-484; c. 58.7, SC 182, pp. 626-628; c. 68, p. 664; c. 71, p. 668; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122-124. See also *Regula Donati*, c. 37, CSEL 98, p. 166; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 3, ed. Villegas, pp. 11-13; Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283-287; Diem/Van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, pp. 31-38.

⁵⁷⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.6-15, SC 182, pp. 442-444; c. 2.33-40, pp. 450-452.

⁵⁸⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.24: *Intus uero tantummodo, quae sacram Deo uouerunt reigionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus. RcuiV*, c. 5.t: *De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*. It is noteworthy that the term *oboedientia* appears only in the title of this chapter (as a remembrance of the title of *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71, SC 182, p. 668), but not in the text itself. See p. §.

The absence of *oboedientia* in the episode on Leudebertana and its inferior role elsewhere Jonas' work does not mean that the nuns of Faremoutiers were required to be any less obedient – on the contrary: Jonas' concern is not whether they carry out orders but whether their actions are determined by the correct inner disposition. Taking a superior's admonitions (*monita*) to heart is an expression of the correct attitude – which is not necessarily the case if someone simply carries out an order. Obedience must be internalized to such an extent that there is no more need to refer to it and no more need to give orders.⁵⁸¹ To illustrate this, we must briefly return to the episode of the dommed nun Domma. It is not disobedience that leads Domma into damnation but a corrupted mind that expresses itself in an attitude of pride, arrogance, obstinacy, disdain, and, indeed, disregard of *monita* (using the same term). Active disobedience is a mere symptom of the real problem, as we already saw in the episode on the nun Domna.⁵⁸²

All this resonates with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which is, on the one hand, concerned with the role of the superiors who teach, admonish and excite, and on the other, worried by the nuns' state of mind rather than their outward behavior. The abbess rules by her *eruditio*, *doctrina* and exemplary behavior. She gives *consilia* (advices), *admonitiones*, and *commeatus* (assignments) rather than plain orders to be carried out mechanically with unconditional obedience.⁵⁸³ Leudebertana's reminder not to stray from her mother's *monita* encompasses all these ideas.

There is only one expression that the chapter on Leudebertana shares with the next chapter. Both Leudebertana and the fugitive nuns “breath their last breath”⁵⁸⁴

The fugitive nuns⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸¹ See p. §.

⁵⁸² See p. §.

⁵⁸³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1-5: *Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, 2 ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. 3 Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant. 4 Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, 5 ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. c. 2.9-10 Interrogandum semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum consilio animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent. 10 Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio. c. 2.12: et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat; c. 3.11: Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant. c. 22.19: Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere, quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.*

⁵⁸⁴ *VCol II*, c. 18, p. 271, l. 15; *II*, c. 19, p. 274, l. 15.

⁵⁸⁵ *VCol II*, c. 19, pp. 271-275; transl. Wood/O'Hara, pp. 219-222, quoted here with small adjustments.

This chapter is one of the dramatic highlights of the *Vita Columbani* and the richest and most complicated part of the Faremoutiers section. It describes a veritable battle for the salvation of the souls of two nuns, fought between the monastic community armed with prayers and a crowd of Ethiopian demons.⁵⁸⁶ Unlike most battles with demons, this one is lost by the community.⁵⁸⁷ The chapter was used by Louis Gougaud as fodder for ascribing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Waldebert of Luxeuil who, as Jonas recounts, taught the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. Jonas refers in this chapter to the *consuetudo et regula monasterii* and subsequently describes in almost the same words as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that the nuns need to confess thrice daily. It is here, that the narrated and the prescriptive *regula* most explicitly meet and Jonas provides drastic evidence of the dangers of neglecting the *regula* and not performing regular and sincere confession.⁵⁸⁸

Jonas tells two tales of escaping nuns that the reader is supposed to compare. First, a group of nuns is caught in the act. They admit their guilt, confess to the abbess and incur no further harm, just as Ercantrudis who violated the *tenor regulae* and duly confessed. Two other nuns attempt to escape, refuse to reveal their motivations and their guilt through confession and therefore incur eternal damnation, despite the community's attempt to save them. Jonas leaves out no detail of their dramatic demise, how they are buried outside the monastery, how they suffer punishment in their graves, and how this punishment increases at the times of Easter or Christmas.⁵⁸⁹

Jonas uses two dramatic stories of escape, violation of monastic space, demonic temptation, and the allure and pollution of the world for the purpose of re-iterating topics he addressed in previous chapters – but this time he uses a different perspective. The main actors of this chapter are the devil and his demons who tempt and deceive the inexperienced nuns,

⁵⁸⁶ On Ethiopian demons, see Brakke, David, 'Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self', in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001), pp. 501-535.

⁵⁸⁷ Compare, for example, *Vita Antonii*, c. 8-9; in the translation of Evagrius of Antioch, *CCSL* 170, pp. 11-14; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.2-3, *SC* 265, pp. 72-74; c. 40.4-5, pp. 140-142. On demonic battles, see Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2006; Diem, Albrecht, 'Encounters between monks and demons', in: A. Harbus, Tette Hofstra and Karin Olsen (eds.), *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Latin and Germanic Literature*, Leuven: Peeters 2004, pp. 51-67.

⁵⁸⁸ See p. §.

⁵⁸⁹ This section is inspired by Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 33.3, *SC* 265, p. 110. The motive returns in *Vita Leobae*, c. 4, *MGH SS* 15, pp. 123-124. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 56, pp. 182-184.

especially those “who were less sophisticated on account of the newness of their conversion” (*quas noua conuersatione rudes reddebat*)⁵⁹⁰ and “whom the way of life rendered inexperienced and very foolish” (*quas nouiores et multo inbecilliores conuersatio reddebat*).⁵⁹¹

The devil (*diabolus, inimicus, antiquus hostis, serpens* – another one of Jonas’ lists) appears no less than eight times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,⁵⁹² more often than in the *Regula Benedicti*. For Benedict, some simple preventive measures suffice to keep him at bay.⁵⁹³ The same applies to Book Four of Gregory’s *Dialogi*, which describes life as not particularly dangerous for someone who avoids greed, lust, idle chatter, who lives a modest life and gives alms abundantly. Gregory’s devil waits to pick the souls up that are already doomed, but shows little motivation to drag them there. The devil of Faremoutiers is much more present and active in this life.⁵⁹⁴

The chapter on the fugitive nuns explains how the devil operates – and here we recognize Jonas as a reader of John Cassian’s work.⁵⁹⁵ The devil deprives the nuns he attacks of the ability to direct their minds. After their return the second group of fugitive nuns responds to the urge to confess their motivation, stating “that they would be driven outside [the monastery] by the darts of the devil and that their minds were totally unable to take direction” (*respondent se telis fore stimulas diaboli et mentes nequaquam habere posse directas*). Jonas returns to the uncontrollable mind later in the chapter when he describes the “hardness of the mind” (*duritia mentis*) or “hardened heart” (*cor obdurata*) of the fugitive nuns.⁵⁹⁶ We can thus add to our growing typology of manifestations of sinfulness the concepts of demonic temptation, the

⁵⁹⁰ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 10.5: ...aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est.

⁵⁹¹ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 14.4: ...tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per negligentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.

⁵⁹² *RcuiV*, c. 1.19; c. 5.12-13; c. 8.7; c. 14.8; c. 16.10; c. 18.1; c. 20.8; c. 22.3.

⁵⁹³ The devil appears in *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.4, SC 181, pp. 436-438; c. 43.8, SC 182, p. 588; c. 54.4, p. 618; c. 58.28, p. 632, but never as active deceiver.

⁵⁹⁴ On the devil in Jonas’ work, see O’Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 248-252. With regard to Jonas’ hagiographic works, O’Hara comes to the opposite conclusion and argues that the devil and demons appear in Jonas’ work less frequent than in older hagiographic texts.

⁵⁹⁵ Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 95-111.

⁵⁹⁶ Cfr *VCol I*, c. 19, p. 273, l. 6-7: *corda obdurando uirus infudisset*; p. 273, l. 27: *obdurata corda*; p. 275, l. 8: *duritia mentis*; II, c. 22, p. 277, 20-278, l. 1: *durae ac ignauae mentis*; *RcuiV*, c. 18.5: *et durae mentis tenacitas culpae*.

unfocussed mind and the hardened mind. Unsurprisingly so, for in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* the mind (*mens*) is the primary object of concern as well.⁵⁹⁷

Another central theme of this chapter, already addressed, especially in the chapter on Willesuinda, is that of the *septa monasterii*, the monastic confines. The expression *septa* appears no less than five times. Jonas describes the nuns' transgression not as a simple escape, but as an attempt to violate (*uiolare*) the *septa monasterii*. This violation – now from within and not, as in the case of the evil courtier Aega,⁵⁹⁸ from outside – seems to be a matter as serious as the escape itself.⁵⁹⁹

In his description of the first attempt to violate the boundaries of the monastery, Jonas manages to condense the entire chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on fugitive nuns (c. 21) down to one pivotal moment. This is Jonas at his best:

Quae tonitruī fragor et dormientes excitauit et egregientes monasterii septa correxit, et cum iam uallo pedes aliquae eorum traiecissent, et tanto fragore perterritae, intra septa uelint referre, uelut plumbum adgrauatos nequaquam ualebant reducere, quia diabolus qua ualebat arte studebat adgrauare, quas diuina correptio nequaquam sinebat perire. Confusae ergo culpas agnoscunt matrique reuerse per confessionem product.

[The noise of thunder wakened the sleepers, and brought correction to those who were leaving the monastic boundaries (*septa*). When already the feet of some of them had crossed the perimeter (*uallum*), terrified by such noise they wished to move back into the enclosure, but, as though they had been weighed down with lead, they were powerless to go back. For the Devil, with what skill he could, tried to harm those whom divine punishment would by no means allow to perish. Thus confounded, they acknowledge their guilt and, having turned back, they reveal them to the mother in confession.]⁶⁰⁰

Jonas captures the moment that the nuns set foot on the ground outside the monastery. The thunderstruck fugitives are frozen by a miracle of reproach (*correptio*). With one foot in the monastery and one foot outside they are able to neither run away nor return to the monastery before fully admitting their manifold guilt (*culpae*); the drama ends with them confessing to the

⁵⁹⁷ Columbanus himself expresses the idea that internal attitude is as important as external acting in a less sophisticated manner in his *Sermo 2*, c. 2-3, ed. Walker, pp. 68-72, paraphrasing Cassian's teachings on vices. There are no indications that Jonas used this *sermo*. The key expressions in Jonas' discourse on the internal state, *mens* and *cor* play no prominent role in Columbanus' work.

⁵⁹⁸ *VCol II*, c. 17, p. 269, l. 10-11: *His ergo aduersabatur supradicto coenubio terminosque uiolabat.*

⁵⁹⁹ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 3.11-14. See also *RcuiV*, c. 22.3 on the *ambitus uirtutum*.

⁶⁰⁰ *VCol II*, c. 19, p. 272, l. 10-18; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 219.

abbess.⁶⁰¹ This divine *correptio* saves them from death, which would inevitably have followed if they had not confessed, even if they had nonetheless returned to the monastery. An example of the latter is given in the second half of the chapter.

According to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, nuns who crossed the *septa* of the monastery and who, shaken by fear, wish to return, must first promise to improve in a credible way before they are received back into the *septa monasterii*.⁶⁰² If we compare this provision from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with its model in the *Regula Benedicti*, we see that Jonas added to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* exactly those aspects which play such an important role in this scene of the Faremoutiers section: the notion of transgressing *septa* as incurring *macula*, the fear of judgment as a motivation for reentering the monastery, and the strict examination of the returning nun as the only acceptable way to take back a fugitive. Jonas develops these ideas, once by writing them into the *Regula Benedicti* and once by dramatizing them in the *Vita Columbani*.⁶⁰³

Jonas juxtaposes the happy resolution of the first escape attempt with the fate of two other nuns longing for the world. With the help of the devil, they succeed in leaving the monastic confines, but return after being found at their old homes. Despite their voluntary return they still face eternal damnation, not because of their crime, but because they refuse to reveal their motivations and guilt in confession – and also because they had failed right from the beginning to be sincere in the confession imposed upon them by the rule.⁶⁰⁴ Jonas explains why the practice of purging one's mind (*mentem purgare*) of all thoughts, words, and deeds, is essential to hold off the temptation of demons and to safeguard salvation. The two nuns could have avoided their ordeal long before their escape had they given sincere confession (*uera confessio*) and revealed

⁶⁰¹ See also *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 6-8 on the monks who rose up against Athala and were allowed to return after they had confessed and promised to mend their ways: *...plurimi eorum ad uirum Dei remeant suasque noxas confitentur; se in omnibus, si recipiantur, emendaturos pollicentur.*

⁶⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 21.1-2: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur. 2 Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.*

⁶⁰³ See p. §.

⁶⁰⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 6.5; c. 16.5; c. 16.8-9 uses *pura confessione*, but speaks of *uera dilectio* (c. 5.7); *uera mortificatio* (c. 9.20), *uera credulitas* (c. 20.10) and *uera humilitas* (c. 22.7-8).

their evil intention, but since they failed to do so they allowed the devil to shoot his darts (*iacula*)⁶⁰⁵ and let their plan of escape ripen.

The community makes an attempt to save these nuns after their return according to a protocol of reproach and punishment strongly resembling the procedure of excommunication laid out in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 18-20). They are reproached by the entire community (*ab omni congregatione obiurgantur*) and receive corporal punishment (*flagella*) to heal their hardened hearts (*obdurata corda*).⁶⁰⁶ But because of their stubbornness even the prayers of the community, which are, according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *ultima ratio* in dealing with unrepentant sinners,⁶⁰⁷ cannot save them. The praying nuns, armed with the sign of the cross, do not prevail against the hordes of demons because the fugitive nuns cannot be convinced to save themselves through confession and the receiving of the Eucharist.

One purpose of the cautionary tales about escaping nuns is to synthesize the previous statements on confession. Jonas establishes in this chapter the ritual of confession that must be performed thrice daily and explains in detail why this ritual is indeed a matter of life and death. All previous chapters of the Faremoutiers section illustrate one specific aspect the confessional practice. Jonas addresses confessing a bad emotion in the chapter on Gibitrudis (*reatumque suum confitetur*). The chapter on Ercantrudis describes confessing a violation of the *tenor regulae* (*admissae noxae culpam*), dreams (*per confessionem humilem matri patefecit*) and illicit desires (*suamque noxam confitetur*). Willesuinda's chapter describes confession as cleansing the "space of one's heart" (*area pectoris*) from stains and vices and implies that a general confession must be part of the ritual of monastic entry (*nec omino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit; uitia matri per confessionem prodit*). The chapter on the fugitive nuns describes confession as an element of re-admittance to the monastic space (*culpas agnoscunt matrique reuerse per confessionem produnt*), warns against insincere confession (*primum ne confessionem ueram nequaquam ab ore promerent; ut nulla confessio uera ab ore prodiret*) and describes

⁶⁰⁵ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 14.8: *ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

⁶⁰⁶ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 18.3-5: *Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur, 4 et si sic emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut excommunicationi subiaceat, si eius antea intellectus uiguit, 5 aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et inprobitas perseueret, tunc corporali disciplinae subiacebit.*

⁶⁰⁷ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 20.7-8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur, 8 ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.*

sincere confession as one of the remedies of penance (*ne uera confessio per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati*). Confession, along with the Eucharist, can be a life-saving act in one's last moments (*ut inter supremas horas per confessione facinus pandant; ...ut per confessione pandantur uitia et sacri corporis communione roborentur*). The final chapter of the Faremoutiers section, on the nun Bercatrudis, adds one last aspect to this panoply of confession: salvation of one's life by confessing a very specific secret violation of the *regula* (*omni intentu facinorum suorum coniecturam per confessionem pandit*).

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* summarizes these diverse aspects of confession – uncontrolled dreams, deeds, things seen or heard, thoughts, and all stains of the mind:

Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari. ²¹ Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut purgetur, censendum est. ²² Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est.⁶⁰⁸

[Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned through confession after the Second Hour. ²¹ But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought at daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. ²² But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

Jonas ends the tale of the fugitive nuns with a statement that has little to do with confession itself but rather expresses another key idea of his monastic ideal. The punishment of the fugitive nuns is not only a potent but a painful reminder that the community has failed to save them and must fulfill its responsibility to each individual who, without its support, would inevitably perish:

Mansitque per triennium inlatae sententiae seueritas, ut terror damnatorum timorem praeberet sodalium remanentium essetque correptio uiuentium poena inlata mortuarum et ex negligentia uel tepore, immo duritia mentis⁶⁰⁹ pereuntium salus ex religione ac uigoris studio⁶¹⁰ propagaretur superstitum.

⁶⁰⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 6.20-22.

⁶⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 18.5: *aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpa et improbitas perseueret*.

⁶¹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 14.1: *anima uigore creatoris intenta*; c. 3.25: *...ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem*. c. 6.18: *Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur*. c. 13.4: *cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent*; c. 23.9: *ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio*.

[The severity of the sentence imposed [on the fugitive nuns] lasted for three years so that the terror of the damned should strike fear into their remaining companions and so that the punishment imposed on the dead would be a reproach to the living and so that the salvation of those who would die from negligence or lukewarmness or even of stubbornness of mind might be obtained because of the piety and the zeal of action of those who survive.]⁶¹¹

The chapter on the fugitive nuns and the next chapter on Landeberga juxtapose two death scenes determined by extreme anxiety. The devils urge the fugitive nuns to wait and to resist attempts to save them (*expectate, expectate, sustinete, sustinete!*). Leudeberga expects the end of her life in greatest anxiety but also hopes for the consolation of her nuns.⁶¹² In both instances, those who witness their death hear voices: the shouting demons in the case of the fugitive nuns, an angelic choir in the case of Landeberga. Death is no silent event.

Landeberga⁶¹³

A reader of the *Vita Columbani* might expect that the Faremoutiers section ends with the dramatic downfall of the unrepenting fugitives, but, just as in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, the descent into hell is not the end of the drama. The next episode, on Landeberga, elaborates further on the issue of the community's responsibility. Landeberga awaits her end "entrenched by the entire weight of her anxieties and wounded by the strength of her wrongdoings" (*omnique anxietatum mole uallata, ualidis icuata dolorum*) and hoping for the comfort (*solamina consolationis*) of her sisters.⁶¹⁴

The nuns who should sit vigil at her deathbed, all fall asleep, save one, Gernomeda, who witnesses the miraculous events at Landeberga's death. A dense, glowing, red cloud descends upon Landeberga's bed. Gernomeda hears the singing of an angelic choir. The cloud lifts, and Landeberga's soul leaves her body. When the nuns awaken all is finished and the only task left is to sing the liturgy for the dead.

⁶¹¹ VCol II, c. 19, p. 275, l. 4-9; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 222 (adjusted).

⁶¹² VCol II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 13-17: *Nam quaedam uirgo nomine Landeberga, cum iam extremas praesentis uitae expectaret amittere horas, omnique anxietatum mole uallata, ualidis icuata dolorum stimulis, tantummodo exitum uitae expectabat solamina.*

⁶¹³ VCol II, c. 20, pp. 275-276; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 222-223.

⁶¹⁴ Compare RcuIV, c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.* The RcuIV, c. uses *solacium* instead of *solamen*, but the idea is the same.

This is the only moment in the Faremoutiers chapters that Jonas explicitly mentions prayers for the dead – as the fulfillment of a responsibility rather than an act affecting Landeberga’s salvation.⁶¹⁵ Landeberaga would have need of the nuns’ support in life, with prayers for her while she was dying, but since they slept an angelic “emergency choir” stepped in and lifted the cloud that had descended on her bed. The nuns failed to perform the intercessory prayer as it is required at various places by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁶¹⁶

In another section of the *Vita Columbani*, which recounts miracles happening in Columbanus’ foundation Bobbio, Jonas tells a complementary tale: The dying monk Agibodus “awaits the hour of his death, placed in a state of extreme anxiety.”⁶¹⁷ While the brothers are present to pay their final respects to the soul leaving the world and to sing the office of the Psalms, Agibodus’ soul leaves his body and sees “the eternal light that is prepared for him and the sun shining in golden splendor” (*uidit aeternam lucem sibi paratam solemque rutilo fulgore micantem*). No glowing, red cloud obscures his sight. Like Sisetrudis, Agibodus returns one last time in order to tell his brothers of his experience. He then dies properly after receiving the last rites and bidding farewell to his brothers. Leudebertana would have died in this way and not in such anxiety, had the community not failed to play its role calming her anxiety and accompanying her *felix exitus*.

Bithildis, the Beast and Bercatrudis⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁵ On the liturgy for the dead, see Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 52-69; Effros, Bonnie, *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2002, pp. 169-204; Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead*, pp. 140-175.

⁶¹⁶ For example, *RcuIV*, c. 5.23-25: *Nihil aliud dare precipimur, nisi quod nobis dare petimus.* ²⁴ *Sic et orando dicimus: Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* ²⁵ *Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a debito.* c. 6.14-16: *Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16) ¹⁵ *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur!* ¹⁶ *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium;* c. 12.28: *Similiter pro se orari rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me.* c. 20.7-8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur,* ⁸ *ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.* *De accedendo 27: Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam.*

⁶¹⁷ *VCol II*, c. 25, p. 291, l. 1-7: *...in extremis anxietatibus positus, sui exitus expectabat horam, cumque iam fratrum caterua adstaret, que exeunte de mundo animae supremos rependeret honores, atque ex more ad psallendi officio se praepararent, elapsa e corpore anima, uidit aeternam lucem sibi paratam solemque rutilo fulgore micantem.*

⁶¹⁸ *VCol II*, c. 21-22, pp. 276-279; transl. O’Hara/Wood, pp. 222-226.

The last two chapters of the Faremoutiers section complete the circle and return to the one factor that appears to be decisive in attaining salvation: the *regula* itself.⁶¹⁹ The dying nun Bithildis is allowed to expect a heavenly reward because of her steadfastness in following the *regula*, just as Sisetrudis, the first nun in Jonas' cycle, has earned her salvation through submitting herself to the *disciplina regularis* and dedicating herself to the *cultus religionis*. We read about Bithildis:

Quae cum diu regularis disciplinae abenis confecta immobilis desiderio caelestia praemia desideraret, euenit ut iustus arbiter iustam animam iustitiae copia plenam caelos condere uellet.

[Since she had long been rendered immovable by the reins of the regular discipline, and longed with desire for her heavenly rewards, the result was that the Just Judge wanted to settle the just soul full of the abundance of justice in heaven.]⁶²⁰

The rule-obeying Bithildis experiences, like Sisetrudis, an unproblematic *felix exitus* embellished by a miracle of overflowing oil. Both abbot Waldebert of Luxeuil and Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux, the brother of the foundress of the monastery, are witnesses of this miracle.

Bithildis' death would have been a perfect completion of the cycle, but Jonas deprives us of such an comforting ending. He has two more cautionary tales left to tell, which he introduces with these words:

Dum magnarum rerum ob boni meriti religionisque studio conlatarum munera non omisimus tradere posteritati, simulque quae ad terrorem durae ac ignauae mentis⁶²¹ profuisse conperimus, ratum ducimus intimare.

[While we have not omitted to hand down to posterity the gifts of great things conveyed for the exertion of merit and religious devotion, we likewise consider it right to tell about something that we have found beneficial in inducing terror in a hard and ignoble mind.]⁶²²

⁶¹⁹ Already at the beginning of the Faremoutiers series, Jonas emphasizes that the monastery was built *ex regula beati Columbani* and that the nuns live according to the *regula*. See *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 14-16: *quemque ex regula beati Columbani omni intentione et deuotione construxerat*; l. 19-20: *Cum iam duce Christo multarum puellarum secum adunatam sub regulari reteneret disciplina cohortem...*

⁶²⁰ *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 14-18; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 223 (adjusted).

⁶²¹ Cfr *RcuiV*, c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat, ut ad cultum reigionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat*. 2.6: *...quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare*. 9.4: *...ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat*.

⁶²² *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277, l. 26-278, l. 2; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 224-225.

After giving several definitions of the nature of sin and weakness, these last two episodes focus on a very concrete violation of the *regula* and we can assume that Jonas refers to events still resounding in the minds of his audience. A noble girl, this time unnamed (perhaps because she was still alive at the time Jonas wrote this text), “comes to submit her neck to regular discipline” (*regularis disciplinae colla submittere uenit*) but is lead astray by the Snake to eat food secretly.⁶²³ Her behavior, which goes unnoticed for some time, stains her soul (*animam macularet*).⁶²⁴ She is, however, lucky and receives a *pre-mortem* punishment in the form of a severely upset stomach that prevents her from eating food other than that which is usually fed to boars (and can be found in post-modern cooking books): “husks of grain, the leaves of trees and wild herbs, and the liquid left over from the dregs of beer.” A boar appears to her and explains that this strictly vegan diet is meant as a punishment for her disobedience.

Bercatrudis, the last nun in Jonas’ cycle on Faremoutiers, also violates the *regula* by eating secretly and – again – stains her soul (*animam macularet*). She, however, does not escape with just an upset stomach. When she dies, her salvation is at risk and she is saved only because she receives a chance to return to life and to confess all her transgressions with sincerity (*omni intentu facinorum suorum coniecturam per confessionem pandit*).⁶²⁵

Jonas ends his Faremoutiers section, therefore, with an *exemplum* of a nun who nearly incurs damnation for a trivial and probably common transgression, and who is only saved by a last minute confession.⁶²⁶ The reader is, for one last time, reminded of his three major concerns: the urgency of escaping the imminent danger of damnation, the necessity of following the *regula* and, in particular, the necessity of cleansing the stained mind through sincere confessions.

Conclusion: The impact of Jonas’ monastic program

⁶²³ *RcuiV*, c. 12-13 and c. 24 determine in detail at which times the nuns ought to eat. A prohibition to eat illicit food outside the proper meal times is implicitly present. See also *CaesRV*, c. 30.2, SC 345, p. 208; c. 71, p. 268; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi IV*, c. 40.10-12, SC 265, pp. 144-146.

⁶²⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata*; c. 5.11: *numquam peccati maculam incurret*; c. 5.14: *Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat*; c. 6.22: *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est*; c. 21.5: *fugae culpa maculata fuerit*; c. 24.3: *sub tenera aetate maculati*.

⁶²⁵ Jonas crafts this story as a variant of Gregory the Great, *Dialogi IV*, c. 10-12, SC 265, pp. 144-146. There, however, revealing one’s sin on the deathbed has no effect. A gluttonous monk goes to hell nevertheless.

⁶²⁶ Cfr Gregory the Great, *Dialogi IV*, c. 40.10-12, SC 265, pp. 144-146.

There is more than a simple name to be discovered in Benedict of Aniane’s enigmatic *cuiusdam*. Ascribing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas of Bobbio provides a great number of new insights into Frankish monastic life after Columbanus and especially into Jonas of Bobbio’s role as a broker of Columbanus’ heritage. Everything Jonas writes about the nuns in Faremoutiers has to be read in the light of his claim that the monastery was founded under the *Regula Columbani*. The “narrated Rule” of Faremoutiers and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are, in Jonas’ eyes, the perfect representation of this *Regula Columbani*.⁶²⁷

If we read the *Vita Columbani* alongside the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* we garner access to a highly sophisticated monastic theology that sets itself apart from the sources Jonas has used: Gregory’s *Dialogi* and the *Regula Benedicti* but also Columbanus’ own works and – as I will show in the next chapter – Caesarius of Arles’ *Regula ad uirgines*. Jonas’ version of the “*Regula Columbani*” is unique.

The Faremoutiers section is more than just a series of vignettes about dying nuns. It can be read as “narrated Rule” but also as something like a “lab report” on the experiment of shaping a female monastery *ex regula Columbani*. This “lab report” focuses on what everyone would understand as the ultimate benchmark for Faremoutiers’ success: whether the first members of this pioneering community experienced a *felix exitus* at the moment of death.⁶²⁸ Jonas contrasts his notion of monastic discipline, which is built around unceasing awareness of the danger of damnation, confession, following the *regula* and reliance on mutual intercession, with Gregory the Great’s simple instructions on how to live and die well. Deviating from Gregory, Jonas develops his own language of urgency, his repertoire of emotions, an explanation of the mechanism of intercession, and, most importantly, the imperative of repetitive purifying confessions as the only possible response to the imperfection and inescapable sinfulness of each human being. With all this, we must keep in mind that Jonas does not just theorize but speaks

⁶²⁷ On narrated texts as monastic rules, see Blennemann, Gordon, ‘Hagiographie: une norme narrée. Regards sur les Vitae de Jutta de Sponheim et de Hildegarde de Bingen, et sur le Liber visionum d’Élisabeth de Schönau’, in: Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabeth Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (eds.), *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieux clos (IV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2015, pp. 115-127; ‘Vita vel Regula: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages’, in: Samantha Herrick (ed.), *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500-1500*, Leiden: Brill 2019, pp. 123-142.

⁶²⁸ It would be interesting to investigate the theological implications of Jonas’ use of *exitus* instead of the much more common *transitus*.

directly to a monastic community that is supposed to recognize itself in Jonas' narrative and is expected to view the *regula* as an essential tool for escaping the danger of eternal damnation.

We have to ask at this point, whether Jonas' "lab report" produced results that were indeed applicable only to a community of nuns or whether he saw his experiment and his rendition of the *Regula Columbani* as relevant for nuns and monks alike. Jonas could have used the entire *Vita Columbani* to develop his theology of monastic discipline, but he channeled it almost entirely into the Faremoutiers section – and through the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁶²⁹ Yet nothing he says there is marked as addressing women only. The theological framework from which Jonas' program emerges is universal. He may have chosen to describe a laboratory of nuns simply because this gave him the opportunity to start from scratch rather than having to discuss highly contested transformations of monastic ideas as they undoubtedly took place in Luxeuil and Bobbio after Columbanus' death.⁶³⁰ Writing a *Regula ad monachos* in the same style as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may have been too much of an affront to those who identified Columbanus' own Rule as the definitive *Regula Columbani*.

Much of this is speculation, but it is noteworthy that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had, like Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, an afterlife not only in the context of female communities. An important and widespread Carolingian monastic reform treatise, the *Memoriale qualiter*, which explains the monastic daily routine of rituals and liturgical activities outside of the Hours, shows various traces of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and shares many of its basic ideas, especially on confession, silence, choreographing bodily movements and mutual intercessory prayer.⁶³¹ The *Memoriale qualiter* is preserved in 39 manuscripts addressing communities of monks and in one manuscript containing a female version. At some point, Jonas' ideas must have been re-appropriated for male communities. Either there existed a male version of Jonas' Rule for monks nevertheless that is now lost, or the *Memoriale qualiter* was originally written for a

⁶²⁹ *VCol* II, c. 25, pp. 290-292 contains two reports on monks who died in Bobbio, but neither of them reaches the depth and sophistication of the those we find in the Faremoutiers section.

⁶³⁰ Diem, 'Debating Columbanus' heritage'.

⁶³¹ *Memoriale qualiter*, ed. Claudio Morgand, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Schmitt 1963, pp. 177-282. I provide a detailed analysis of the *Memoriale qualiter* and its ties to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in an article with the working title 'Choreographing monastic life: Some observations on the *Memoriale qualiter*', in: Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward (eds.), *Categorising the Church. Monastic Communities, Canonical Clergy and Episcopal Authority in the Carolingian World*, Turnhout, Brepols forthcoming.

community of nuns but entered Carolingian reform discourse in a revised version addressing monks.

Another line of inquiry is the extent to which Jonas' monastic ideal in general was shared within the monasteries affiliated to Columbanus foundations and how far Jonas succeeded in implementing his notion of the *Regula Columbani*. There are indications that at least some elements of Jonas' program were implemented in monasteries other than Faremoutiers. Balthild probably regarded Jonas of Bobbio as a leading authority on Columbanus' monastic ideal; the monks of Réomé implored Jonas to write for them a history of the origins of their monastery. Jonas transformed their founder into a "proto-Columbanus" who embodied Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic ideal.⁶³² The author of the *Vita Bertilae* created the first abbess of Chelles as someone who perfectly fulfilled the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Despite this, we should refrain from assuming that Jonas' monastic ideal represents a consensus among the monasteries related to Columbanus or his successors. There is ample evidence for dissent,⁶³³ and it is possible that the majority of these monasteries did not intent to follow anything close to Jonas' rendition of the *Regula Columbani*. Jonas' track record is, at the very least, ambiguous. He succeeded, on the one hand, in creating and monopolizing Columbanus' *memoria*. Throughout the middle ages – and even today – Columbanus is remembered as he was shaped by Jonas' rather than as the person who emanated from his own, sometimes impenetrable, writings.⁶³⁴ Jonas' *Vita Columbani* became a "bestseller" and inspired numerous other hagiographic texts.⁶³⁵ Yet it is striking how minimal a role Columbanus (as constructed by Jonas) actually played within the network of monasteries that modern historians call "Columbanian". His name is rarely mentioned in the sources on Luxeuil's numerous affiliations. Moreover, it is not the *Regula Columbani* that prevails, but the *Regula Benedicti*, the text that Jonas emphatically ignored in his *Vita Columbani* and thoroughly rewrote in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – as we will see in Chapter 5 and 6 of this book.

The fact that Columbanus and the *Regula Columbani* faded away over the course of the seventh century does not, however, mean that Jonas' ideas had no afterlife – to the contrary:

⁶³² *Vloh, praefatio*, pp. 326-327.

⁶³³ Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

⁶³⁴ On Columbanus' work, see Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge: Boydell 1997.

⁶³⁵ Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 26-111; O'Hara, Alexander, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 17:2 (2009), pp. 126-153.

much of what is represented in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had a strong impact on the development of medieval monasticism, albeit perhaps not in the way Jonas intended. Jonas' impenetrable *septa monasterii* did not prevail, but they contributed to the shaping of the notion of the monastery as *locus sanctus* and to the medieval cloister. Before him, the *Regula Benedicti* had little to say about the monastery as secluded space, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Jonas' notion of *intercessio* for the living and of the responsibility of the community for the salvation of the individual may have been replaced by Benedict's monastic ideal, which puts the abbot, rather than the community, in charge of the individual's salvation, but intercessory prayer – for the living and for the dead – nevertheless became the *raison d'être* for medieval monasticism, despite the fact that this practice is hardly present in the *Regula Benedicti*.⁶³⁶

There is yet another unresolved issue, a structural tension between a central observation made in the first part of this section and an insight to be taken from the second. I first noted that Jonas evokes the idea of a “monasticism for all” which may involve monks, nuns, abbots, and abbesses, but also aristocratic lay families, rulers, and bishops. Supporters of Columbanus acted on both sides of the monastic *septa*, not only as monks or nuns but also as founders, benefactors, and protectors of monasteries. Each of these groups had their share in the monastic experiments that evolved after Columbanus' death and each of them produced viable prospects for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Jonas was not the only one who expressed the idea that the surrounding world could participate in the monastic endeavor. Numerous episcopal privileges, royal immunities, and hagiographic works corroborate the fact that monastic life opened new – and lasting – options for the involvement of outsiders. Jamie Kreiner, Anne-Marie Helvétius, and Yaniv Fox have done groundbreaking work on the external impact of Columbanus' foundations and their affiliations on political structures, family networks, lay morality, the veneration of saints, etc.⁶³⁷ How then

⁶³⁶ Angenendt, Arnold, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153-221; Blennemann, Gordon, 'Ascetic prayer for the dead in the Early Medieval West', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016; Mattingly, Todd Matthew, *Living Reliquaries: Monasticism and the Cult of the Saints in the age of Louis the Pious*, Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 2019, pp. 69-80 (on the *Vita Wandregiseli prima* as monastic norm.

⁶³⁷ Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*; Fox, *Power and Religion*. On the impact of Columbanus' and Jonas' ideals on Carolingian monasticism, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli"

can we reconcile the idea that a warrior aristocracy could partake in a monastic movement that is, if we believe Jonas, driven by strong sense of urgency and deep anxiety about one's permanently endangered eternal salvation? What chance of survival do those denizens of the world have if even the faintest desire to return to the world puts one's salvation in jeopardy and if survival depends on unceasing introspection,⁶³⁸ constant assessments of one's deeds, thoughts, emotions, sensory impressions and on unconditional submission under the *regula* – as the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* imply? Even the carefully enclosed monastery remains, according to Jonas, and despite all safety precautions, still a dangerous place. How much more would this apply to the outside world? Jonas tells us how he nearly lost his life when, with the full permission of his superiors, he left the monastery to visit his mother.⁶³⁹

There are different, but not mutually exclusive, ways to resolve this tension. One option is to assume that Jonas' sense of urgency and exclusivity represents just *one* voice among the many who vigorously discuss who might claim to follow the footsteps of the master and formulate the correct *Regula Columbani*. Jonas may have been more radical than Columbanus himself. Columbanus' moral universe was, to a large extent, determined by Cassian's system of the eight principle vices – which can be handled relatively easily. Gregory the Great gave monks and nuns no more than a slight advantage in the race for salvation. Pious lay people in his world could easily catch up.⁶⁴⁰ Other followers of Columbanus and supporter of his monastic ideals may have viewed things much less strenuously than Jonas who created a panicked emotional community in his work.⁶⁴¹ Donatus of Besançon, a man of the world, trusted that he might enjoy the benefits of his nuns' intercessory prayer and partake in their efforts to receive forgiveness even after death.⁶⁴²

Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in: Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tresp, Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüebli (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben*, St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 65-97; De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism'.

⁶³⁸ On introspection (not necessarily in form of confession), see Columbanus, *Instructio* IX, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 100.

⁶³⁹ *VCol* II, c. 5, pp. 237-238.

⁶⁴⁰ Examples of lay men and women being saved due to their merits or repentance can be found in Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.2, SC 265, p. 60; c. 16.1-2, pp. 62-64; c. 17.1-3, pp. 68-70; c. 18, pp. 70-72; c. 27.2, p. 86; c. 27.10-13, pp. 92-94; c. 28.1-4, pp. 96-98; c. 38.1, p. 136. Many of Gregory's saved laymen earned this salvation through extensive almsgiving. See also Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, esp. pp. 27-28.

⁶⁴¹ On the concept of emotional communities, see Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press 2006, 20-29; Rosenwein, Barbara H. and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?*, Cambridge/Malden, MA, Polity Press 2018, pp. 39-45.

⁶⁴² *Regula Donati*, prologue.33, CSEL 98, p. 141.

The author of the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, that other anonymous *regula* which forms a strong witness of dissent arising after (or maybe even before) Columbanus' death, dismissed both the salvific effect of *paenitentia* and of prayer. His Rule shows no interest in introspection, praises austerity, work, and unconditional obedience to the *mandata Domini* (all of which is conspicuously absent in Jonas' text), and identifies the Eucharist as the main instrument by which the stains of sinfulness may be cleansed away.⁶⁴³ As such, it dismisses not only the idea that the monastery could serve the world, but also any claim that salvation is only possible in a monastic setting.

Another response – not incompatible with the previous – is that Jonas did indeed make a distinction between the polluted, poisonous, and deadly *saeculum* his nuns and monks had to permanently escape, and a *saeculum* that non-monastic followers of Columbanus' ideals to build their own monastically parallel world and to emulate monastic life while fulfilling their duties within the world and supporting the poor and the “holy poor” through almsgiving.⁶⁴⁴ It is striking that several saints' Lives that several works of hagiographers who used Jonas' work tell the story of lay people who were ardent supporters of monastic life and who later in life became bishops, despite never entering a monastery. Most of them are praised for their “monastic” virtues of fasting, vigils, liturgical discipline, confession, and penance.⁶⁴⁵ Take, for example, the *Vita Eligii* who is able to live a perfect Christian life without being a monk:

When he reached the age of virility, desiring to show himself a vessel sanctified to God and fearing that some sin might stain his breast, he confessed his adolescent deeds to the priest. Imposing severe penances with mortifications on himself, he began to resist the flesh with the fires of the spirit in labors following the Apostle, vigils, fasts, chastity, in much patience and unfeigned love. For he protected himself against the present ardors of the flesh with fires of future suffering and the memory of the ardors of Gehenna shut out lust. Day and night he begged God for heavenly gifts always considering this from the book of Job: “*I pray the Lord and place my speech to God who makes great and inscrutable miracles without number, who places the humble on high and raises the deserving.*” (Job 5, 8-11) He would forego a sufficiency of bread so that he might gain heavenly bread. His fasts made him pale and his body withered with thirst but always his mind thirsted more sharply with love of the eternal fatherland and as that became heavier,

⁶⁴³ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, ed. Villegas. See Diem, ‘Disputing Columbanus’s Heritage’; *idem/van der Meer*, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, pp. 20-47.

⁶⁴⁴ On monks as the “holy poor” see Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016, esp. pp. 2-16; on monastic parallel worlds, Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 193-200.

⁶⁴⁵ On the transformation of monastic ideals in seventh-century ideals of pastoral care, see especially Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Hagiographie et formation politique’.

he bore his sufferings more lightly. For always feeling the end of his present life, he trembled in fear of God’s judgment...⁶⁴⁶

The *Vita Audoini* praises Audoinus, Eligius’ best friend and hagiographer as follows:

Whereupon the servant of Christ, thinking little of the honor of this world, strove most devotedly towards the heavenly realms. He often fasted, spent the night in vigils, was constantly at prayer, was generous in alms, keenly providing for the poor in the name of Christ, and he was extremely ready for the commands of God. And commonly indeed under his belt surrounded with the glint of gems, and beneath his purple robe shining with gold, a rough hair shirt pressed against the frame of his body in keeping with the ardor of faith.⁶⁴⁷

The Lives of Audoinus and Eligius, or, to use another example, of the bishop and monastic founder Praeiectus⁶⁴⁸ might be markers of a spread of monastic practices and values out into the lay world and pastoral practice.

This process of the “monasticization” of pastoral care started, of course, long before this. One of the key terms of Jonas’ monastic program, the *medicamenta paenitentiae*, was in fact coined by Caesarius’ of Arles and widely used in his sermons to laypeople,⁶⁴⁹ There is nothing

⁶⁴⁶ *Vita Eligii* II, c. 7, MGH SRM 4, pp. 673-674; *Non post longum spatium cum iam Eligius uirilem ageret aetatem, cupiens se uas Deo exhibere sanctificatum ac metuens, ut ne aliqua suum delicta pectus fuscarent, omnia adulescentiae suae coram sacerdote confessus est acta; sicque sibi austeram inponens paenitentiam, coepit fortiter conluctatione carnis spiritus feruore resistere, in laboribus scilicet secundum Apostolum, in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in patientia multa atque in caritate non ficta. Proponebat namque sibi aduersus praesentis carnis ardore futuri supplicii ignes ac memoria ardoris gehennae ardorem excludebat luxuriae. Orabat iugiter pro donis caelestibus, praecabatur Deum diebus ac noctibus, illud ex libro Iob crebrius e reuoluens: Ego, inquit, deprecabor Dominum et ad Deum ponam eloquium meum, qui facit magna et inscrutabilia et mirabilia absque numero, qui ponit humiles in sublime et merentes erigit sospitate. (Iob 5, 8-11) Adimebat sibi saturitatem panis, ut caelestem possit promerere panem. Ora quidem eius ieiuniis pallebant, corpus aridum marcescebat, sed mens acrius semper aeternae patriae amore aestuabat; et unde grauiora recordabatur, inde patientius leuiora portabat. Semper enim praesentis uitae terminum intuens, futuram Dei sententiam ac metuenda iudicia formidabat...*

⁶⁴⁷ *Vita Audoini*, c. 3, MGH SRM 5, p. 555: *Exinde Christi famulus, honore a saeculi parui pendens, ad caelestia regna deuotissime anelans, in ieiuniis frequens, in uigiliis pernox, in orationibus assiduus, in elemosynis largus, pauperibus pro Christi nomine alacriter fenerans, in mandatis Dei erat prumptissimus. Plerumque etenim sub balteo gemmarum fulgore consepto atque sub purpura auro nitente contexta pro fidei ardore propria corporis stema dura premebat cilicia...*

⁶⁴⁸ *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 2 and c. 4, MGH SRM 5, pp. 227-228, praising Praeiectus for his liturgical discipline.

⁶⁴⁹ Caesarius uses the term *medicamenta paenitentiae* 32 times in his sermons. See especially *Sermo* 64-66, CCSL 103, pp. 274-284. Columbanus speaks once in his *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 144, l. 28 about the *medicamentum diuersitatis paenitentiae*: *Diuersitas culparum diuersitatis paenitentiae medicamento sanari debet*. This section appears only in a part of the textual tradition and may as well have been added later. It may itself be inspired by Caesarius’ monastic sermon 235, c. 4-5, SC 398, pp. 98-102. On Caesarius’ influence on Columbanus and Jonas in general and the roots of *medicamenta paenitentiae* in Caesarius’ work, see Wood, Ian, ‘La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélie Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29-37, at pp.

distinctly monastic in Columbanus' thirteen preserved sermons,⁶⁵⁰ and, as already stated, his *Poenitentiale* is among the first to address monks, priests, and laypeople alike.⁶⁵¹

The *Vita Bertilae* which, as we saw, extensively uses the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, provides one of the most striking examples of such a monasticization of the surrounding world. The text praises Bertila for fostering confession and penance in the vicinity of the monastery. Here we have an instance in which terms derived from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appear in a layperson's context, outside of the monastery:

Through holy communion, she drew the monastic household and its neighbors to do penance for their sins after they had done confession. Thus she gained the improvement of many and gained much profit for their souls and rewards for herself.⁶⁵²

Other hagiographic texts related to monasteries in the orbit of Luxeuil indicate that confession was practiced by people inside and outside the monastery. It seems, however, that this confession was not yet given a ritual shape or a coherent theological framing.⁶⁵³ The question of how exactly *confessio* and *paenitentia* crossed the boundaries of the monastic community still remains to be investigated. The next part of this study, however, takes a different turn. After having focussed on the role of the monastic community and their responsibility for each individual's pursuit of salvation, I will turn to another major agent of salvation, that of the monastic space. Before analyzing Jonas' notion of space, boundaries, and enclosure as salvific instruments (in Chapter 4) I will show that he wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as an expansion an revision of Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns (in Chapter 3).

32-33. Wood (p. 33) concludes: "A mon avis, la Spiritualité colombanienne et le monachisme colombanien dérivent en grande partie de Césaire: en effet elle représente l'abblication de la tradition césarienne au mode rural du nord-est de la Gaule."

⁶⁵⁰ Columbanus, *Instructiones* 1-13, ed. Walker, pp. 60-120. On the sermons, see Stancliffe, Clare E., 'The Thirteen Sermons attributed to Columbanus and the Question of their Authorship', in: Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Columbanus. Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge/Rochester, NY 1997, pp. 93-202 (defending their authenticity).

⁶⁵¹ Columbanus, *Paenitentiale*, ed. Walker, pp. 168-180.

⁶⁵² *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, AASS Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A: *Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, ut, datis confessionibus, paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent; ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi praemium adquisiuit et illorum animabus lucrum fecit.*

⁶⁵³ See *Passio Praeiectionis*, c. 19, MGH SRM 5, p. 237 on the *confessio* of a priest; *Vita Eligii* II, c. 25, PL 87, col. 557: A corrupt priest refuses confession. The long sermon of Eligius inserted in the second part of his *Vita* contains several calls for confession and penance: *Vita Eligii* II, c. 15, PL 87, col. 535B; col. 541D; col. 547B (incomplete in MGH SRM 4). See also *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 17, MGH SRM 5, p. 22: Wandregisel admonishes a sinner to rush to confession to protect himself against the devil.

Part II: SPACE

Chapter 3: The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, a supplement to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns?

The second part of this study consists, like the previous part, of two sections, *Pflicht und Kür*, as one would say in figure skating. In Chapter 3, I develop another argument about the position of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* within the intertextual web of monastic rules. I show that Jonas' Rule did not stand on its own; it was rather a supplement of an existing normative text, most likely the Rule for Nuns written by Bishop Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), which was completed about a century before the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁶⁵⁴ This argument will form a stepping stone for Chapter 4, which explores the role of space and boundaries in early medieval monastic life – not only boundaries between the monastery and the outside world, but also the boundaries between the individual and the community. Caesarius and Jonas played a crucial role in the development of what modern historians call enclosure and cloister. Comparing their Rules gives us unique access to the emergence of the concept of sacred space and its theological ramifications.

⁶⁵⁴ Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 345, pp. 170-272 (henceforth *CaesRV*); English translation by Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960. On Caesarius, see Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994. Literature on Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* includes Van Rossem, Maaïke, 'De poort in de muur. Vrouwenkloosters onder de Regel van Caesarius', in: *Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 4 (1983), pp. 41-91; Nolte, Cordula, 'Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad uirgines des Caesarius von Arles', in: Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn (eds.), *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 7, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1986, pp. 257-271; Hochstetler, Donald A., 'The Meaning of Monastic Cloister for Women According to Caesarius of Arles', in: Thomas F. X. Noble und John J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 1987, pp. 27-40; Thiellet, C., 'La règle de saint Césaire d'Arles et les fondations monastiques féminines', in: *Pratique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Actes du Colloque International des 26, 27 et 28 septembre 1997 de Liessies-Maubeuge*, Lille: CREDHIR 1998, pp. 23-33; Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford: Blackwell 2000, pp. 98-107; Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 162-193; Rudge, Lindsey, 'Dedicated Women and Dedicated Spaces: Caesarius of Arles and the Foundation of St John', in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 99-116; Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'Confinement and Exclusion in the Monasteries of Sixth-Century Gaul', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 2014 22:3 (2014), pp. 304-335; Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces et topographie des monastères de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge: réflexions à propos des règles monastiques', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 15-42.

If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was indeed a supplement of an already existing Rule, our reading of the text becomes more complicated, but a new wealth of opportunities also opens up. Any observation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* indeed needs to take into account how the text itself represents only a part of a larger Rule. If every provision of Jonas' Rule is based on a conscious engagement with an already existing monastic norm, the text becomes an even more prolific source on Jonas' specific agenda. We see what he considered missing and what, in his eyes, needed to be modified and adjusted, and we can identify where Jonas replaced or expanded Caesarius' monastic language with his own idiom. Thus, comparing both Rules enables us to see many things that would otherwise remain invisible.⁶⁵⁵ Such a comparative approach between a base text and its corrections bears considerably more opportunities than an isolated analysis of monastic rules as it is provided, for example, by Adalbert de Vogüé in his *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*.⁶⁵⁶

Producing a rule in order to supplement and expand an existing rule was by no means unusual in the early medieval monastic world. The *Regula patrum secunda*, for example, formed a supplement and modification of the *Regula quattuor patrum*.⁶⁵⁷ The two parts of Columbanus' Rule, the so-called *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, complement each other. It is possible that Columbanus (or someone else) just expanded the *Regula monachorum* by inserting the *Regula coenobialis*.⁶⁵⁸ Jonas' decision to interfere with an established monastic Rule by adding new provisions could be motivated by pragmatic reasons, such as a change of spatial settings or different constituencies, legal frameworks, and social contexts. It could also be motivated by more fundamental disagreements about the overall program, monastic ideals, and

⁶⁵⁵ On the practice of comparing normative texts, see Claussen, Marty A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 114-165. Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994 provides a comparative study of liturgical programs and practices in early medieval monastic rules for nuns (esp. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*).

⁶⁵⁶ For Caesarius' Rule for Nuns: De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 8, Paris: Cerf 2003, pp. 388-419.

⁶⁵⁷ Kasper, Clemens, *Theologie und Askese. Die Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Aschendorff 1991, pp. 331-332; De Vogüé, Adalbert, *SC* 297, pp. 209-210.

⁶⁵⁸ See Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 239-249; *idem*, 'Columbanian monastic rules: dissent and experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Europe in the Middle Ages: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68-85, here pp. 68-71; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 295-304.

fundamental theological questions. A comparison of Caesarius' and Jonas' Rules shows that both pragmatic and programmatic aspects played a role in Jonas' decision to write the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁶⁵⁹

First, we need to look at the evidence for the presence and use of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns within the early medieval Frankish world, in particular within monasteries in the orbit of Luxeuil.⁶⁶⁰ How likely is it that Jonas and the recipients of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had access to this text? Lindsey Rudge provides an overview of traces of the reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns which I shall briefly summarize:⁶⁶¹ The *Vita Caesarii*, which was written shortly after Caesarius' death, refers to his Rule twice. Caesarius rebuilt his monastery for virgins in 512 within the city walls of Arles "according to its original Rule (*norma*) and with a *claustrum* to the protection of virginity" after a first foundation outside the city had been destroyed during a siege in 507 or 508.⁶⁶² At the end of his life, Caesarius implored his nuns to uphold the Rule (*regula*) which he had given to them many years prior.⁶⁶³ We know from the *Vita* of the abbess Rusticula (d. 632) that the *praecepta Caesarii* were still in use in Caesarius' monastery during her tenure, so almost a century and half later if we leave few years for the hagiographer to write her *vita* after her death.⁶⁶⁴

There are at least three sixth-century monastic rules – for monks – that make use of parts of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns: Caesarius' own Rule for Monks,⁶⁶⁵ the Rule of his successor

⁶⁵⁹ With a similar approach I analyzed the Rules of Aurelianus and Donatus (which both revised Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines*), and the *Regula cuiusdam patris* (which revised the rules of Columbanus). See Diem, Albrecht, '...ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiat. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191-224; *idem*, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38; *idem*, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

⁶⁶⁰ Wood, 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', pp. 32-34 provides evidence for the strong impact of Caesarius' work on Columbanus and Jonas.

⁶⁶¹ Rudge, Lindsay, *Texts and contexts: Women's dedicated life from Caesarius to Benedict*, Ph.D. thesis University of St. Andrews 2006, pp. 73-127.

⁶⁶² *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, SC 536, p. 194: *Inter ista igitur monasterium praecipue, quod sorori praeparare coeperat, et instar prioris normae et singularitate claustrum...* Transl. Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994, p. 2.

⁶⁶³ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 47, p. 304: *...et ut teneant regulam, quam ipse ante aliquot annos instituerat, monet.*

⁶⁶⁴ *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 10, MGH SRM 4, p. 344.

⁶⁶⁵ Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 398, Paris: Cerf 1994, pp. 204-226. On the text, see Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 193-200. I argue that the *Regula ad monachos* had been written shortly after Caesarius' had produced the first 35 chapters of his *Regula ad uirgines*.

Aurelianus (which exists in separate versions for monks and for nuns) and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.⁶⁶⁶ They show that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was read, used, and processed outside the monastery it was originally written for. Several sources confirm that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was followed in the monastery that Queen Radegund (d. 587) had founded in Poitiers. Gregory of Tours used the text as a legal basis for instance for suppressing the uprising in Radegund's monastery that occurred after her death.⁶⁶⁷ The *Vita* of Abbess Sadalberga (d. 665) contains several phrases that indicate that its author knew of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which makes it likely that it had been present in Sadalberga's monastery in Laon, founded, like Faremoutiers, with support of Columbanus' successor Eustasius.⁶⁶⁸ The *Vita* of Bertila, Abbess of Chelles (d. 692), which contains numerous allusions to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, also shows some traces of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁶⁶⁹ The *Passio* of Bishop Praeiectus (d. 676) mentions that his foundation Chamalières, followed a Rule (*regula* – the author uses the singular) consisting of Caesarius', Benedict's, and Columbanus' Rules, which may have been the text we know as *Regula Donati*.⁶⁷⁰ It is unlikely that Jonas, who was very well-connected and travelled between various monasteries, would not have known of a text that left traces in several convents related to Luxeuil.

⁶⁶⁶ On Aurelianus' Rule: Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 274-275; Diem, '*...ut si professus fuerit*'; Heinzlmann, Martin, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert*, Zürich/Munich: Artemis Verlag 1976, pp. 138-152; Ueding, Leo, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit*, Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering 1935 (Historische Studien, vol. 261), pp. 75-79. It is possible that the author of the *Regula Ferioli* knew Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as well. See Holzherr, Georg, *Regula Ferioli. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte und zur Sinndeutung der Benediktinerregel*, Einsiedeln/Zürich/Cologne: Benziger Verlag 1961, pp. 39-41.

⁶⁶⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, p. 393; Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 63-64, *SC* 345, p. 486; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 39-42, *MGH SRM* 1, pp. 463-472; X, c. 16, pp. 505-507; X, c. 20, p. 513. See also Weaver, Rebecca Harden, 'The Legacy of Caesarius of Arles in Baudonivia's Biography of Radegund', in: *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997), pp. 475-480; Gillette, Gertrude, 'Radegund's Monastery of Poitiers: the Rule and its Observance', in: *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993), pp. 381-387; Thielle, Claire, 'La règle de saint Césaire', pp. 23-33; Dailey, 'Confinement and Exclusion', pp. 312-314; Hartmann, Martina, 'Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1-19, at pp. 12-14.

⁶⁶⁸ Compare, for example, *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 12, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 56, l. 13-14 *...assidue uelut e luporum faucibus ereptos ubique greges Christi adunari...* to *CaesRV*, c. 2.3, *SC* 345, p. 180: *...ut spiritalium luporum fauces Deo adiuuante possit euadere*. On the presence of Caesarius' Rule monasteries related to Luxeuil, see also O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', p. 11.

⁶⁶⁹ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 5, *AASS* November, vol. 3, p. 92D contains allusions to *CaesRV*, c. 47, p. 232.

⁶⁷⁰ *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 235. Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, p. 70 lists a number of other monasteries that may have followed the *Regula Donati*.

By far the most significant evidence for the presence and reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in a prominent monastery founded *ex regula Columbani* is the Rule that Bishop Donatus of Besançon (d. 660) wrote for a monastery founded by his mother.⁶⁷¹ Jonas mentions this foundation in his *Vita Columbani*.⁶⁷² The *Regula Donati* is not only the prime witness of the reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns; it is also one of the earliest textual witnesses of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Columbani*.⁶⁷³ Before discussing the relationship between Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, I will give a short overview of Donatus' use of Caesarius' Rule. This allows us to make a comparison between Donatus' and Jonas' techniques of engaging with this text.

Donatus explains in his dedicatory letter why the nuns of his mother's foundation wanted him to write a new Rule for them instead of using existing ones. Columbanus' and Benedict's Rules were, in their eyes, unsuitable because they were written for monks. This implies that Donatus and his nuns regarded their monastery as structurally different from communities of monks, a viewpoint that was not generally shared. Whether cloistered nuns were simply female monks or were living a distinct form of religious life from monks was a matter of a debate that formed an undercurrent of monastic history as of yet unexplored systematically.⁶⁷⁴ Caesarius' Rule was written for a female community but, in the eyes of Donatus' nuns, it was nevertheless not suitable for their community *ob inmutationem loci* (because of the change of the place).⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷¹ *Regula Donati*, ed. Michaela Zelzer and Viktoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 1-188. The older edition by Adalbert de Vogüé, 'La règle de Donat pour l'abbesse Gauthstrude', in: *Benedictina* 25 (1978) remains valuable because it presents the text in a synoptic edition along with the fragments of Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus that Donatus used.

⁶⁷² Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 14, p. 275.

⁶⁷³ Zelzer, Michaela, 'Die *Regula Donati* als frühestes Zeugnis des "monastischen Gebrauchstexts" der *Regula Benedicti*', in: Maciej Bielawski and Daniël Homergen (eds.), *Il monachesimo tra eredità e aperture*, Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo 2004, pp. 753-764; De Vogüé/Courreau, *SC* 345, pp. 142-144; Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words'.

⁶⁷⁴ On the question of gender differences in early medieval monasticism, see Réal, Isabelle, 'Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Companion on Women and Gender in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432-446; *idem*, '...ut si professus fuerit'; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Le sexe des anges au Moyen Âge', in: Michèle Riot-Sarcey (ed.), *De la différence des sexes. Le genre en histoire*, Paris: Larousse 2010, pp. 101-130 and pp. 246-251, esp. pp. 114-121; McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996, pp. 142-147.

⁶⁷⁵ *Regula Donati*, prologue.4-5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139: ...dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent, ⁵ et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi

Despite this *immutatio loci*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns became the backbone for the *Regula Donati*.⁶⁷⁶ Donatus did not just create a “*Regula mixta*” by compiling provisions from three different Rules. He revised *one* Rule, that of Caesarius, by removing some of its provisions and adding new ones from the two other Rules, the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Columbani*. Roughly two thirds of the first 47 chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns made it into the *Regula Donati*. Of the remaining 19 chapters, which largely repeat points Caesarius had made earlier, about a quarter of the content resurfaces in the *Regula Donati*.

If we look at the sections of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns that the *Regula Donati* omits, we can see a clear pattern. Most of the regulations on enclosure disappeared, especially those that prohibit the nuns from leaving the monastic building for the rest of their lives.⁶⁷⁷ Donatus also omitted provisions that limit interactions between the nuns and the outside world, such as the prohibitions on cleaning, repairing, or storing the clothing of outsiders, having any form of *familiaritas* with people outside the monastery, speaking with anyone without witnesses, exchanging goods or receiving gifts or letters, having *conuiuia* (festive meals) with outsiders, or welcoming religious women as guests.⁶⁷⁸

This indicates that modifications *ob inmutationem loci* concerned primarily the practice of enclosure. It seems that the recipients of Donatus' Rule simply did not want to be locked up in their monastery for the rest of their lives and wanted to continue being part of the social fabric they came from. The *immutatio loci* does, however, also imply a changed understanding of the meaning of *locus*. For Caesarius, complete enclosure was a precondition for his nuns' spiritual well-being and their pursuit of eternal salvation. Neither Donatus nor Jonas share this viewpoint, as we will see in Chapter 4.

The *Regula Donati* also omits all of Caesarius' prohibitions against mitigating, neglecting, or changing the Rule, which is logical because this is exactly what Donatus did by rewriting Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and removing most provisions on enclosure.⁶⁷⁹ Other

ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret.

⁶⁷⁶ See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 28-31; *idem*, 'Einleitung', in: Donatus of Besançon, *Nonnenregel*, transl. Katharina Hauschild, St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag 2014, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁷⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 2.2-3, SC 345, p. 180; c. 50, p. 236; c. 59.1-2, p. 242; c. 73.1-2, p. 272.

⁶⁷⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220-222; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.2-4, pp. 236-238; c. 51.5, p. 238; c. 53-54, p. 240; c. 59.1-2, p. 242.

⁶⁷⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 48-49, pp. 232-236; c. 58.2, p. 242; c. 62-63, pp. 246-248; c. 64.3-4, p. 250; c. 65, pp. 250-252.

omissions alleviate the strictness of Caesarius' Rule. Donatus omitted most of the provisions on manual labor,⁶⁸⁰ and watered down the prohibitions on having private property⁶⁸¹ or using embroideries, draperies, and other decorations.⁶⁸² He also removed the requirement to wear a uniform habit.⁶⁸³ For some aspects of monastic life, Donatus used the more extensive provisions of the *Regula Benedicti* instead of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. This pertains to the tasks of the abbess and the *cellararia* (both functions having much to do with the outside world),⁶⁸⁴ the care for the sick,⁶⁸⁵ and the treatment of those who are excommunicated.⁶⁸⁶ All in all, Caesarius would have turned in his grave had he read what Donatus made of his Rule.

Donatus provides his nuns, however, not just with a slimmed-down and moderated version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Instead of merely cutting out the requirement of strict enclosure, he replaces it with some of the central ideas of the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus: *humilitas* and *oboedientia* (from the *Regula Benedicti*) and *confessio* and *paenitentia* (inspired by Columbanus' Rule).⁶⁸⁷ As a true florilegist he creates a new and highly innovative Rule out of old and authoritative textual material.

Donatus' technique of revising Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is markedly different from the way Jonas of Bobbio composed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. At first glance, there is little evidence that Jonas of Bobbio used Caesarius' Rule at all when writing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. There are but a handful of instances in which Jonas applied Caesarius' monastic idiom. Both rules use the expression *schola* when referring to the dormitory of the nuns.⁶⁸⁸ Caesarius and Jonas write *subiacebit* (she will undergo) with regard to punishments; the *Regula Benedicti*

⁶⁸⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 15-16, p. 190; c. 28.1, p. 206; c. 29.1, p. 208; c. 57, p. 242.

⁶⁸¹ *CaesRV*, c. 5.5-6, p. 184; c. 17.1, p. 192; c. 20.4-5, p. 194; c. 28.2-4, pp. 206-208; c. 30.4-6, pp. 208-210; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 43.5, p. 226; c. 59.3, p. 242.

⁶⁸² *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230.

⁶⁸³ *CaesRV*, c. 44.1-3, p. 228.

⁶⁸⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 27, pp. 204-206; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 42.5, p. 224, c. 42.6-7, p. 224.

⁶⁸⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 31-32, pp. 210-212.

⁶⁸⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, p. 214.

⁶⁸⁷ *Regula Donati*, c. 19, *CSEL* 98, p. 157; c. 23-35, pp. 159-165; c. 37-39, pp. 166-167. Donatus also adds penitential clauses to various provisions of Caesarius and Benedict throughout the Rule. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 32-36.

⁶⁸⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, *SC* 345, p. 182; *RcuiV*, c. 14. Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CSEL* 148A, p. 181 also uses *schola* for dormitory. The *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.46, *SC* 181, p. 422 uses *schola* only in a metaphorical sense as *schola dominici seruitii* (the school for the service of the Lord). On the introduction of the dormitory, see Vogüé, Adalbert de, "'Comment les moines dormirent'". *Commentaire d'un chapitre de la Règle de Saint Benoît*, in: *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 25-62.

uses *subiaceat* (he should undergo).⁶⁸⁹ Caesarius and Jonas quote Act. 4, 32 in different contexts but in a very similar fashion.⁶⁹⁰ Caesarius' Rule contains the expression *debita relaxare* (forgiving guilt), which might have inspired Jonas to use of *laxamur a debito* (we are released from guilt) in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁶⁹¹ Other expressions both rules share are *cotidianis diebus* (at ordinary days),⁶⁹² *aeterna praemia* (eternal reward),⁶⁹³ *uera caritas* (true love),⁶⁹⁴ *cum grandi labore* (with great effort),⁶⁹⁵ *signum tangere/tacto signo* (ringing the bell),⁶⁹⁶ and *sedentes ad mensam* (sitting at the table).⁶⁹⁷ It is striking that these parallels in language and terminology hardly ever align with parallels in content; they usually appear in different contexts. None of these parallels in wording, however, appear exclusively in these two Rules, which means that we have no “smoking gun” that decisively proves that Jonas used Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Yet taken as a whole they at least make a case for Caesarius' influence on Jonas.

The lack of overlap between Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not preclude that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* supplemented Caesarius' Rule for Nuns – on the contrary. If we indeed assume that Jonas knew Caesarius' Rule but, in contrast with Donatus, did not quote or paraphrase the text, the most obvious explanation would be that Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* was already in place and that its content did not need to be repeated. Donatus and Jonas had, as I will argue, similar objectives: providing a revision and expansion of Caesarius' Rule that fits within the new monastic ideals associated with Columbanus. They did, however, develop different textual strategies. Donatus excerpted Caesarius and filled in what was missing in order to compose a “complete” and theologically

⁶⁸⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 12.1, SC 345, p. 188; *RcuiV*, c. 16.8; c. 17.12; c. 18.5; c. 19.11; c. 20.1.

⁶⁹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 20.4-6, p. 194: *Sit uobis anima una et cor unum in domino, 5 sint uobis omnia communia. 6 Sic enim legitur in Actibus Apostolorum, quia “erant illis omnia communia”*; *RcuiV*, c. 17.9: *Omnia ergo, quae in monasterio habentur, sint omnibus communia, iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus: Et erant, inquit, eis omnia communia.*

⁶⁹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 34.2, p. 214; *RcuiV*, c. 5.25. Both *debita laxare* and *debita relaxare* appear rarely in other texts.

⁶⁹² *CaesRV*, c. 71.4, p. 268; *RcuiV*, c. 10.4; c. 12.29. The expression appears rarely in other rules.

⁶⁹³ *CaesRV*, c. 63.11, p. 248; c. 65.5, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 5.11. The expression appears in no other monastic rule but is common in other theological texts.

⁶⁹⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 63.2, p. 246; c. 65.5, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 22.7. The expression appears in no other monastic rule but is common in other theological texts.

⁶⁹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 42.2, p. 224; *RcuiV*, c. 11.3; *De accedendo* 8, also *VCol I*, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11. The expression is common.

⁶⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 12.1, p. 188: *signo tacto*; *RcuiV*, c. 10.14: *signum tangere*. See also *VCol I*, c. 17, p. 184: *signo tacto*; *Vloh*, c. 14, p. 337, l. 20: *tactoque signo*.

⁶⁹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 18.2, p. 192; *RcuiV*, c. 10.12. The expression does appear in other monastic rules as well.

sound rule; Jonas left Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in place, giving more respect to Caesarius' exhortations not to change his text, but then wrote a new set of norms on top of it that discretely amended what he considered problematic or lacking. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can, as I will show, be read as a commentary on Caesarius' Rule for Nuns just as much as it is a commentary on Columbanus' Rule (and, as we will see in Chapters 5-6 of this study, a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*), but the way in which Jonas engages with these Rules is entirely different from Donatus' approach.

The 24 chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (or 25 if we consider *De accedendo* a part of it) discuss various aspects of monastic life in great detail and add elaborate theological explanations with a level of sophistication we do not find in any other monastic rule, but they by themselves do not constitute a *regula* suitable to organize a monastic community. Too much is missing. There are, for example, no provisions on the entry of nuns and on the transfer of property. There are no chapters on obedience, on the appointment of the abbess, on clothing, or on the death and burial of nuns, and there is no systematic treatment of monastic enclosure. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does, however, at numerous places imply that regulations on these topics are already in place and just needed to be expanded and applied in specific contexts.

Theoretically, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could have been written to elaborate upon practices and traditions that had been established enough to not require a textual basis: a written rule on top of an unwritten custom. This is, however, rather unlikely, given the fact female monastic life before Columbanus' arrival in Francia was by no means widely established and female monastic life *ex regula* was still a very recent phenomenon when the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written.⁶⁹⁸ There must have been a one (or, possibly, more than one) "base text" that regulated what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* did not need to regulate.

If we keep in mind that the foundation of Faremoutiers was an attempt to create a female version of Columbanus' monastic ideal, using Caesarius of Arles' Rule as a point of departure would have been the obvious choice. After all, Caesarius was himself a pioneer of female monasticism and he faced the same challenge as the founders of Faremoutiers: creating a new form of female monastic life that deviated from already existing male models.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁸ For an overview of sixth-century female monastic communities, see Hartmann, 'Reginae sumus', pp. 8-11.

⁶⁹⁹ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 117-124. There are a few other normative texts for female communities that theoretically could have been available to the community for which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written, such as the *Regula ad uirgines* of Aurelianus of Arles; the Rule of Leander of Seville; Caesarius' Letter *Vereor*;

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is a strong candidate as background text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but more evidence is needed in order to make a fully convincing argument. Providing such evidence is not merely a philological exercise that leads to a tedious accumulation of data. It gives us important insights into the intricacies of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and into Jonas' agenda. There are, however, two important caveats. It is possible that there was another "base text" for the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that has not been preserved. Secondly, we do not know to what extent the text that is preserved was really the text Caesarius had written.⁷⁰⁰ Its oldest manuscript, the *Codex Regularum*, has, after all, been written more than 350 years after the Rule for Nuns had been completed. This means that we have to treat the connection between Caesarius' Rule and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a very strong hypothesis rather than a proven fact.

One important clue connecting Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be found in the passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* where we hear the author's voice. I have already briefly discussed these passages in the previous chapter in the context of the question whether the Rule was written by a member of the community or by an outsider. There are seven instances in which Jonas addresses his audience directly with expressions such as *decernimus* (we decide); *non negamus* (we do not forbid), and *censemus* (we determine). In five of these seven cases Jonas makes provisions that modify or explicate what we find in Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines*, as if he was to say, "Your Rule says *this*, but I determine

Jerome's *Epistula ad Eustochium*, or Evagrius' *Sententia ad uirginem*. However, none of them left any traces in Jonas' work (or elsewhere in monastic texts of the seventh-century), which makes it unlikely that any of them formed the "base text" of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. See Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, PL 68, col. 399-406; Evagrius Ponticus, *Sententiae ad uirgines*, ed. André Wilmart, 'Les versions latines des sentences d'Evagre pour les vierges', in: *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911), pp. 143-153; Jerome, *Epistula 22 ad Eustochium*, CSEL 54, pp. 143-211; Caesarius of Arles, *Epistula Vereor*, SC 345, pp. 294-336; Leander of Seville, *Regula uirginum*, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 21-76.

⁷⁰⁰ Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag, pp. 151-169, at pp. 157-158 expresses doubts about the overall authenticity of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as it is preserved and suggests that it might be interpolated at a later stage since Courreau's and De Vogüés edition is a reconstruction of a text that is, as such, not preserved in any of the extant manuscripts. Given the overall coherence of the Rule, the reproduction of large parts of it in the *Regula Donati*, and the fact that its list of subscribers is corroborated by external evidence, I do not follow Helvétius' argument, though I acknowledge that a text whose earliest manuscript was produced more than 250 years after it has been written, needs to be read with some caution and with keeping the possibility of later alterations in mind.

that.” On the other two occasions, his *decernimus* and *censemus* refer to topics that were not at all addressed in Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns. Here is a presentation of these different cases.

(1) Jonas determines (*censemus*) that visiting nuns who are bound under the same *regula* may join the sisters for meals.⁷⁰¹ Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns provides an extensive list of people who are *not* allowed to join the meals of the nuns: bishops, abbots, clerics, laypeople, secular women, relatives of the abbess, and the nuns, but also religious women and the *prouisor* (steward) of the monastery. Rare exceptions may be made for religious women of greatest piety from the same city, if their visit did not harm the monastery’s reputation, thus probably religious women living in a domestic setting.⁷⁰² Jonas is, thus, somewhat more lenient by allowing nuns from other monasteries to stay within their monastery. Elsewhere in his Rule Jonas prescribes that, in principle, all guests are to be received and fed in a dwelling outside the *septa* (the inner space) of the monastery.⁷⁰³ This implies that he agreed with all the other exclusions listed in Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns.

Jonas’ decision to make an exception for other nuns who followed the same *regula* may have had practical reasons. Faremoutiers was connected to other female monasteries which probably followed its model. Hagiographic texts give evidence of travelling nuns and of recruiting nuns and abbesses from other monasteries.⁷⁰⁴ It would have been odd to force visitors from other monasteries to eat together with lay guests and pilgrims and not to allow them to partake in the monastic life that they were supposed to imitate.

(2) Jonas does not forbid (*non negamus*) nuns from having conversations at the table on high feast days – if the abbess gives permission.⁷⁰⁵ The common meal is for him the only

⁷⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.24: *Intus uero tantummodo, quae sacram deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.*

⁷⁰² *CaesRV*, c. 39, SC 345, pp. 220-222: *Conuiuium etiam his personis, hoc est episcopis, abbatibus, monachis, clericis, saecularibus uiris, mulieribus in habitu saeculari, nec abbatissae parentibus, nec alicuius sanctimonialis numquam, nec in monasterio, uel extra monasterium praeparetis. 2 Sed nec episcopo huius ciuitatis, nec prouisorii quidem ipsius monasterii conuiuium fiat. 3 De ciuitate uero nec religiosae feminae, nisi forte sint magnae conuersationis et quae monasterium satis honorent; et hoc rarissime fiat.* See also c. 37, p. 220; c. 40, p. 222; c. 53, p. 240. On religious women outside a monastic setting, see Magnani, Eliana, ‘Female house ascetics.

⁷⁰³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.21. See also *VColI*, c. 19, p. 190 on Columbanus demanding that King Theuderic II stays in the guest house of the monastery instead of entering its *septa secretiora*.

⁷⁰⁴ For example *Miracula Geretrudis*, c. 10-11, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 469; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 13-15, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 57-59; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 4, *AASS* November, vol. 3, p. 92.

⁷⁰⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 9.16-18: *Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollempnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda, 17 si ex permissu abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus, 18 sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur.*

occasion during which the nuns may have open conversations, albeit under strict surveillance. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is stricter. It states that nuns have to be silent and focus on the readings at all times while at the table.⁷⁰⁶

(3) On another occasion, which again addresses the topic of monastic meals, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is somewhat stricter, or at least less ambiguous than Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Jonas decides (*decernimus*) that two dishes of vegetables, legumes, or pastry plus a piece of fruit suffice.⁷⁰⁷ Caesarius allows three dishes at the single meal served during fasting periods and two dishes when the nuns eat twice a day.⁷⁰⁸

(4/5) Caesarius of Arles demands that all members of the community sleep in one common room and that each nun sleeps in a separate bed.⁷⁰⁹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* follows Caesarius by requiring a common dormitory (*schola*), which Jonas also calls *schola*. Jonas decides (*decernimus*), however, that two nuns should share one bed unless they are sick or old. He also determines (*censemus*) that two junior nuns may never share a bed.⁷¹⁰

(6/7) Only on two occasions does Jonas speak directly to his audience on topics not touched upon by Caesarius. He decides (*decernimus*) that no one may give or receive anything from her portion of food without the consent of the abbess,⁷¹¹ and he determines (*censemus*) that no nun may defend another nun because of kinship.⁷¹²

A comparison of the content of both Rules provides further evidence for Jonas' dependence on Caesarius. In various places Jonas fills in what Caesarius had left unsaid and, conversely, what Jonas prescribes would often make little sense without Caesarius' previous

⁷⁰⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 18.2, SC 345, p. 192: *Sedentes ad mensam taceant, et animum lectioni intendant.*

⁷⁰⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 10.4: *Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus duo fercula, exceptis pomorum donis, de leguminibus uel de holeribus conferta, seu farinae qualibet consparsione.*

⁷⁰⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 71.2, p. 268: *Cibaria omnibus diebus in ieiunio tria, in prandio bina tantummodo praeparentur.*

⁷⁰⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, p. 182; c. 9.1-2, pp. 186-188.

⁷¹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 9.1, p. 188: *...sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula; RcuiV*, c. 14.5/10: *Proinde ergo decernimus, ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in lectulis dormiant. (...) ¹⁰ luuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur.* The *Regula cuiusdam* is the only Rule allowing two nuns or monks in one bed. Even the *Regula Donati*, c. 65, CSEL 98, pp. 179-180 follows here *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22, SC 182, pp. 540-542. On sleeping arrangements, see p. §.

⁷¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 10.17: *Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere ab altera praesumat, praeter abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatisa commissum est.* This regulation could, however, relate to *CaesRV*, c. 42.1-4, p. 224 where Caesarius expresses great concern about nuns who harm themselves through excessive fasting. The special emphasis in Jonas' words (*illud praecipue decernimus*) resonates with Caesarius' nervousness about this topic (*ante omnia...ammoneo et contestor, ut uigilantissime consideretis...*). On the topic of excessive fasting, especially among religious women, see Bell, Rudolph M., *Holy Anorexia*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1985. This provision is discussed in detail on p. §.

⁷¹² *RcuiV*, c. 23.1: *Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio, nullo modo permitti censemus.* See p. §.

provisions. By analyzing how Jonas interacted with Caesarius we get a glimpse of Jonas' conscious alterations and the developments that must have taken place in the century between the production of Caesarius' and Jonas' Rules. I will focus on seven specific topics: children and novices, property and individual poverty, obedience, interactions with the outside world, anti-social behavior, liturgical discipline, and clothing.

Children and novices

Most monastic rules contain regulations on children, who either entered the community along with their parent or were given to the monastery at a young age. The variety of these regulations shows, however, that there was no uniformity with regard to the role of children in the monastery and that their role evolved over time.⁷¹³ Caesarius determines at the beginning of his Rule that children should not enter the monastery before the age of six and that no child may be taken in for the sole purpose of being brought up or educated.⁷¹⁴ Whoever enters the monastery as a child has to renounce her property at the point she reaches the legal age.⁷¹⁵ All nuns also have to learn how to read.⁷¹⁶ Novices have to go through a period of probation of about a year before becoming full members of the community. They are allowed to sleep in the dormitory of the other nuns only after this probation period and receive the vestments that had been used by other members of the community.⁷¹⁷ These are the only provisions about children and novices in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not require a minimum age for children, neither does it address external students, probationary periods for novices, rituals of monastic entry, profession, or the transfer of property. Probably, this silence was due to the fact that the

⁷¹³ On the practice of child oblation, see De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996, esp. pp. 32-40; on children in late antique and early medieval monasteries, see Hillner, Julia, 'Monks and children: corporal punishment in Late Antiquity', in: *European Review of History* 16:6 (2009), pp. 773-791. For a more extensive discussion of Jonas' provision on children in the monastery, see p. §.

⁷¹⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 7.3-4, SC 345, p. 186. On external schools in monasteries, see Hildebrandt, Madge M., *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1992.

⁷¹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 6.1-2, p. 184.

⁷¹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 18.7, p. 192.

⁷¹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 4, p. 182: on the probation periods; c. 7.3, p. 186: on six or seven years as lowest entry age; c. 43.7, p. 228: on the re-use of vestments; c. 58, p. 242: on professing to follow the *regula* and on the *salutatorium* as transitory space.

regulations of Caesarius on these matters were already in place. Jonas’s Rule does, however, contain several references to children, inexperienced nuns, and novices in the monastery, which implies that children were an integral part of the community and required special regulations: Punishment needs to be adjusted based on age;⁷¹⁸ those who are new to the monastery may receive larger portions of food;⁷¹⁹ nuns of “younger age” need to serve the others at the table;⁷²⁰ young nuns (*iuuenculae*) are not allowed to share a bed (as we have already seen); nuns who have not yet proven themselves have to sleep in a different dormitory;⁷²¹ they are also not supposed to take too many baths.⁷²² Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* devotes an entire chapter to the education of children and the responsibility of the entire community for their spiritual progress.⁷²³ Whereas Caesarius states that all nuns must learn to read, Jonas requires them to *use* their literacy for liturgical purposes.⁷²⁴

In sum, Jonas added aspects that Caesarius had not addressed but hardly repeats Caesarius’ provisions. His greater concern with the education and presence of children in the monastery points to a shift in recruitment patterns. For Caesarius, the entry of children (presumably along with their mothers) may still have been an exception to the rule rather than the norm.⁷²⁵ For Jonas, who was likely once a child oblate himself, it seems to be normal that children were given to the monastery at an early age.⁷²⁶ The Faremoutiers section of the monastery provides several examples of nuns who entered the community while they were still children.⁷²⁷

Private and communal property and the renunciation of the temporal world

⁷¹⁸ *Rcuiv*, c. 2.19; c. 10.18; c. 16.1-3; c. 20.13.

⁷¹⁹ *Rcuiv*, c. 10.5.

⁷²⁰ *Rcuiv*, c. 11.8.

⁷²¹ *Rcuiv*, c. 14.11-12.

⁷²² *Rcuiv*, c. 15.8.

⁷²³ *Rcuiv*, c. 24. See p. §.

⁷²⁴ *Rcuiv*, c. 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant.* See p. §.

⁷²⁵ Rusticula, the later abbess of Caesarius’ foundation, did enter the monastery as a child. See *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 341.

⁷²⁶ On Jonas’ biography, see O’Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 88-120.

⁷²⁷ *Vita Columbani* II, c. 13, p. 262 on Ercantrudis entering the monastery as a child; II, c. 15, p. 265 on the young nun Deurechildis; II, c. 16, p. 267 on two infant girls who see a globe arising from the nun Domna’s mouth.

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns regulates in detail how new members of the community have to give up their private possessions and cut all ties with the outside world (he uses the term *impedimenta mundi*, “hinderings of the world”) – topics addressed in almost every monastic rule, since they belong to the core of the monastic endeavor. Caesarius' nuns are, as already mentioned, required to draw charters of donation of their inheritance at the moment they reach a legal age. He recommends that nuns offer their possessions to the monastery rather than to the poor. Moreover, he emphasizes that the requirement to give up all worldly possessions also applies to the abbess.⁷²⁸

Jonas does not address the topic of giving up possession held outside the monastery or any other aspects of entry into the monastery or the transfer of property. He seems to take this side of monastic conversion for granted, which allows him to elaborate on different aspects of the renunciation of the world. Nuns entering the monastery were to give up their own will and control their desire to return to the world or to maintain family ties within the monastery – aspects not mentioned in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁷²⁹

Both rules strictly prohibit nuns from claiming anything that belongs to the monastery as their own, though just as in his other provisions, Jonas elaborates on aspects not addressed in Caesarius' Rule. Caesarius is more concerned about practical matters such as illegally importing private goods, buying wine, receiving gifts, or secretly keeping more than what the nuns need.⁷³⁰ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is less concerned with details but explains *why* the desire to own is so dangerous and which motivations may be the cause of it. Claiming ownership of something shows that one is still entangled with the world (*mundus*) and, as such, breaks the strict boundaries that separate the *mundus* from the *monasterium*. The term *mundus* appears seven times in his chapter on private property. A nun is supposed to despise (*contemnere*) private property. The desire for property (*desiderium, cupiditas*) is a vice (*uitium*).⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 5-6, SC 345, pp. 182-186; c. 21.1-6, pp. 194-196; c. 52, pp. 238-240; c. 59.3, p. 242. See also Hochstetler, 'The Meaning of Monastic Cloister', pp. 34-37.

⁷²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1-3: desire for the world; c. 5.9: familial love; c. 17.8: giving up one's own will; c. 23.1-4: family ties. Jonas addresses the aspect of cutting emotional rather than material ties to the world in a similar manner in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*, especially in an episode on a nun jeopardizing her salvation by harboring memories of the world and wishing to return, and in the episode of the fugitive nuns who refused to reveal their motivations of returning to the world. See *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263; II, c. 19, pp. 273-275.

⁷³⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 17.1, SC 345, p. 192; c. 28.4, pp. 206-208; c. 30.4, p. 208; c. 52, pp. 238-240.

⁷³¹ *RcuiV*, c. 17.1-4. For a more extensive discussion of this chapter, see p. §.

On a more practical level, Jonas describes how the abbess distributes goods according to everyone's needs. He prohibits the nuns from passing goods they received on to others (as he had forbidden the giving away of food) and urges them to treat everything belonging to the monastery with utmost care.⁷³² Jonas' focus on the responsibility for communal property resonates with several other passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that are concerned with *negligentia* towards objects belonging to the monastery.⁷³³ Such *negligentia* may have fatal consequences both for the community and for every individual nun. Whatever belongs to the monastery needs to be treated as if it is consecrated to God – *ac si sacrata deo*. It belongs to God and any damage is, thus, a sacrilege and all nuns have to handle what is entrusted to them *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina* (as if she is a guardian of someone else's things but not as the mistress of her own things).⁷³⁴

If we combine Caesarius' and Jonas' references to the renunciation of wealth, to private and collective property, and to the sacredness of everything belonging to the monastery, we end up with a fairly comprehensive and, mostly thanks to Jonas, theologically sound set of norms on the topic of property and the renunciation of the world. Jonas shifts his focus from specific provisions towards motivations, attitudes, and the devastating effects of worldly desires. We can observe this turn towards the internal state at various other places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It forms the key of Jonas' notion of monastic discipline.⁷³⁵

Obedience

⁷³² *RcuiV*, c. 17.5-11.

⁷³³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.11: control of every object that leaves and enters the monastery; c. 10.17: No food must be passed on without permission of the abbess; c. 17.7: No objects may be traded or given to outsiders without permission of the abbess.

⁷³⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14-15: care of the *praeposita* for the *res monasterii*; c. 3.22: care of the *portaria* for the vessels and utensils; c. 4.8: care of the *cellararia* for the *res sibi commissis*; c. 12.27: control of the prioress over the kitchen vessels; c. 13: careful distribution of the *utensilia* by a trustworthy nun appointed by the abbess; c. 16: sanctions on spilling, breaking, or losing monastic property; c. 17.6: treating everything *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina*. On the notion of the sacredness of monastic property in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51-67.

⁷³⁵ I return to this in Chapter 6 where I provide a detailed analysis of each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Oboedientia figures into several chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, even though Caesarius never requires the same unconditional obedience *usque ad mortem* (until death) to one's superior that we find in the Rules of Columbanus and Benedict.⁷³⁶ Caesarius' precepts are straightforward. The nuns have to fulfill orders without arguing, otherwise they will be excluded from table and prayer.⁷³⁷ They have to obey the abbess as they would obey God and report to the *praeposita* with love and without murmuring, because the abbess and *praeposita* take care of them.⁷³⁸ Juniors have to obey seniors.⁷³⁹ The first version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (before he added his *recapitulatio*) ends with the strong statement that the abbess, the *praeposita*, and all nuns need to obey the *regula sancta* (holy Rule) in *sancta et deo placita oboedientia* (holy and God-pleasing obedience) in order to achieve salvation.⁷⁴⁰

The question of the nature and meaning of *oboedientia* probably belonged to the topics of dispute among those who claimed Columbanus' legacy. Columbanus begins his *Regula monachorum* with the requirement to follow the orders of a superior unconditionally *usque ad mortem* (until death).⁷⁴¹ The *Regula Donati* follows Columbanus in this regard and turns unconditional obedience into the first step of humility by rearranging Benedict's provisions in chapter 5 (which defines obedience as the first step of humility) and chapter 7 (which defines fear of God as the first step of humility).⁷⁴² Moreover, Donatus concludes his Rule by claiming that obedience to the holy rule is a precondition of salvation. He uses Caesarius' words for this purpose.⁷⁴³ The *Regula cuiusdam patris*, the other anonymous seventh-century monastic rule, which is based on the Rules of Columbanus and Basil and on John Cassian's work, vigorously

⁷³⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1-3, SC 181, p. 412; c. 5, pp. 464-468; c. 7.34-35, pp. 480-482; c. 71, SC 182, p. 668; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122-124. On the topic of obedience in seventh-century monastic rules, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283-287; De Bhaldraithe, Eoin, 'Obedience: The Doctrine of Irish Monastic Rules', in: *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983), pp. 63-84.

⁷³⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 13.2, SC 345, p. 190; c. 17.2, p. 192.

⁷³⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192; c. 35.4-10, pp. 216-218.

⁷³⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 33.7, p. 214.

⁷⁴⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 47, p. 232. On the structure of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the different steps of its production, see p. §.

⁷⁴¹ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122-124.

⁷⁴² *Regula Donati*, c. 37.1-19, CSEL 98, pp. 166-167; c. 39-40, p. 167.

⁷⁴³ *Regula Donati*, c. 77.11, p. 188 quoting *CaesRV*, c. 47.2, SC 345, p. 232: *Credo tamen de Dei misericordia, quod non pro aliqua neglegentia reatum incurrere, sed pro sancta et Deo placita oboedientia ad aeternam beatitudinem possitis feliciter peruenire. Amen.*

challenges the requirement of unconditionally executing a superior's order by placing obedience to the *mandata Dei* (God's precepts) above obedience towards a superior.⁷⁴⁴

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* takes a different turn, which only makes sense if the straightforward requirements to follow orders, as we find them in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, were already in place. Jonas avoids the term *oboedientia* almost entirely.⁷⁴⁵ The only prominent place in which it appears is the title of chapter 5: *De inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo* (That one has to love each other and to obey each other). Notwithstanding its title, this chapter does not at all address obedience but focuses on the salvific effect of mutual love and forgiveness.⁷⁴⁶

This absence of *oboedientia* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does by no means imply a more lenient monastic discipline. On the contrary, obedience has to be internalized to an extent that there is no longer a need to give orders. For Jonas, it does not matter whether nuns are obedient – which is a precondition according to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. His concern is whether they *want* to be obedient and whether they express this attitude in everything they do or speak. Jonas probably agrees with Caesarius' notion that salvation depends on the *sancta et dei placita oboedientia* (holy and God-pleasing obedience), but his concern is how to *turn* this obedience into something that *is* “holy and God-pleasing.” Jonas' ultimate goal is to make *oboedientia* superfluous because everyone does already, powered by their zeal and fear, the right thing.

Interactions with the outside world

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains numerous provisions on the interaction between members of the community and those living outside the monastery in the world: visitors, stewards (*prouisores*), the poor, artisans, family members, clerics performing liturgical duties, bishops, and religious women from elsewhere. This includes regulations on receiving personal gifts from outside, the prohibition on rendering services to outsiders, and the admonishment to

⁷⁴⁴ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 19-25, ed. Villegas, pp. 25-28.

⁷⁴⁵ Jonas briefly mentions *oboedientia* in two chapters that deal with different issues. *RcuiV*, c. 3.24 refers to nuns from other monasteries who are bound *in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula* (in the unity of obedience under one rule). *RcuiV*, c. 17.1 reproaches those who are stubborn, haughty, disobedient or murmuring. *Oboedientia* is also almost completely absent in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.

⁷⁴⁶ See p. §.

control one's behavior when interacting with outsiders.⁷⁴⁷ Hardly any of these regulations appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁷⁴⁸ Reversely, most references to interactions with non-members of the community that we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are not addressed by Caesarius: the care of the abbess for pilgrims and the poor; how the *portaria* should interact with strangers at the gate; how gifts should be brought into the community and compensated with prayer,⁷⁴⁹ how the monastery should take care of guests and the poor in a special guest house; that nuns working there should receive their meals later; how the nuns communicate with strangers in the evening through a window in the gate; and how the nuns should behave when a *sacerdos* (priest or bishop) visits the monastery.⁷⁵⁰ The different kinds of interactions addressed in both rules may reflect the fact that Caesarius founded his monastery within the city of Arles while Faremoutiers and most other seventh-century monastic foundations were situated outside of cities. Yet if we combine what we find on the interaction with outsiders in both rules, we get a fairly comprehensive catalogue of norms on interaction between the monastery and the surrounding world.

Anti-social behavior

Caesarius addresses straightforwardly how to deal with manifestations of anti-social behavior that might disrupt the community: anger, violence, shouting, theft, quarreling, and, especially, expressing discontent (*murmuratio*).⁷⁵¹ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not repeat any of these prohibitions and sanctions aside from discussing the problem of *murmuratio*. Jonas addresses this issue from a different, again more inward-looking perspective: the question

⁷⁴⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 11, p. 188; c. 23-25, pp. 198-202; c. 27, pp. 204-206; c. 36-39, pp. 218-222; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 41, p. 222; c. 42.6-7, p. 224; c. 43, pp. 226-228; c. 46, p. 232; c. 51, pp. 236-238; c. 51.4, p. 238; c. 54, p. 240; c. 64.1, p. 250. See p. §.

⁷⁴⁸ An exception is *RcuiV*, c. 3.9 prohibiting the *portaria* from making eye contact with strangers, which could be read as an exemplification of *CaesRV*, c. 23, pp. 198-200.

⁷⁴⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 43, pp. 226-228 addresses the theme of gift-giving to the monastery. Jonas expands on this by requiring that all nuns have to pray for the donor. See *RcuiV*, c. 3.12.

⁷⁵⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 3.8-10; c. 3.20-21; c. 22.22.

⁷⁵¹ *CaesRV*, c. 3, p. 182: swearing and slander; c. 13.1, p. 190: on talking back; c. 17.2, p. 192: *murmuratio*; c. 26, p. 204: insults, theft, violence; c. 28.2-3, p. 206: no *murmuratio* about vestments; c. 31.1-2, p. 210: Sick nuns should take a bath without *murmuratio*; c. 32.4, p. 212: Porters and those who take care of the linen should serve without *murmuratio*; c. 33, pp. 212-214: anger, shouting, slander and violence; c. 34.2-6, pp. 214-216: Nuns who beat each other, need to ask for forgiveness; c. 35.4, p. 216: Nuns have to obey without *murmuratio*.

of how to prevent *murmuratio*,⁷⁵² how to impact the attitude that might lead to aggression and discontent, and how to meticulously control all expressions of (negative) emotions in one's voice and gestures.⁷⁵³ He was probably aware that peace and order in the community and the “inner peace” of the individual nun (which are both necessary for the collective and individual pursuit of salvation)⁷⁵⁴ could not be maintained by just suppressing and punishing discontent, quarreling, and anti-social behavior. His strategy, therefore, focuses more on prevention and shaping the correct state of mind.⁷⁵⁵ He approached this topic from three different perspectives: fostering motivation through reward, fear, and meticulous control,⁷⁵⁶ creating circumstances that give the nuns little reason for *murmuratio*,⁷⁵⁷ and requiring that all interactions are to be determined by the strict regimen of love.⁷⁵⁸ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could focus on this aspect of monastic discipline only because a previous rule had already addressed the dark sides of human interaction and imposed punishments for specific forms of aggressive or anti-social behavior.

Liturgical discipline

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns ends with a detailed liturgical program (*ordo psallendi*).⁷⁵⁹ This liturgical program is, as Caesarius states, inspired by the *regula* of Lérins, the monastery where he received his training.⁷⁶⁰ Liturgy plays, as we might expect, a preeminent role in Caesarius' foundation.⁷⁶¹ The *Vita Caesarii* addresses abbess Caesaria the Younger *cum choro sodalium monacharum* (along with the choir of the community of nuns), which implies that its authors regarded the community in the first place as a liturgical community.⁷⁶² Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains numerous regulations on the improvement of the quality of prayer: on punctuality to church, silence during prayer, not sleeping during vigils, permanent prayer and “meditation of

⁷⁵² For example *RcuiV*, c. 4.10-11; c. 4.19-20; c. 4.23-24; c. 12.23.

⁷⁵³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 1.12-15; c. 2.12; c. 2.18-19; c. 8.4; c. 9.16-18.

⁷⁵⁴ See p. §.

⁷⁵⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 6.2; c. 6.20-22; c. 7.3; c. 9.4; c. 12.15; c. 14.1-2; c. 16.4; c. 18.5; c. 22.4.

⁷⁵⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 1.12-15; c. 2.12; c. 2.18-19; c. 8.4; c. 9.16-18.

⁷⁵⁷ For example *RcuiV*, c. 4.10-11; c. 4.19-20; c. 4.23-24; c. 12.23.

⁷⁵⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 5; c. 22.1-7; c. 23.

⁷⁵⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 66 and c. 68-70, SC 345, pp. 252-266 (c. 67 addresses periods of fasting).

⁷⁶⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 66.2, pp. 252-254. On the liturgy in Caesarius' monastery, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 108-115.

⁷⁶¹ *CaesRV*, c. 20.3, p. 194; c. 21.7, p. 196; c. 22, p. 196.

⁷⁶² *Vita Caesarii I*, c. 1, SC 536, p. 146. See also I, c. 58, pp. 228-230.

the heart”, and the necessity to know and understand the content of the prayers.⁷⁶³ Caesarius also requests twice that the nuns remember him in their prayers as the author of the Rule and founder of their monastery.⁷⁶⁴

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain an *ordo psallendi*. This can only make sense if his rule was a supplement to another one. Based only on Jonas’s Rule, it would be impossible to answer the question of whether his community followed Caesarius’ liturgy, the liturgy outlined in Columbanus’ *Regula monachorum*, the *ordo* of the *Regula Benedicti*, or the perpetual prayer of Saint-Maurice d’Agaune.⁷⁶⁵

Instead of developing its own liturgical *ordo*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refers several times to prayers that do not form part of the Hours: prayers that mark the beginning and end of work shifts, before going to sleep, or before taking meals.⁷⁶⁶ As I have shown in the previous chapter of this study, the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* is equally prolific in describing prayers outside the formal liturgical context.⁷⁶⁷ Jonas is obviously just as concerned with prayer as Caesarius. He seems also to take much of what we read in Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns on liturgical discipline for granted. His regulations focus largely on the problem of the correct motivation and vigor for prayer – in analogy to his concern about negligence and lack of motivation in other contexts.⁷⁶⁸ Caesarius insists on perpetual prayer and demands that the nuns understand what they sing; Jonas explains that prayers need to be heartfelt.⁷⁶⁹

Both rules address the problem of punctuality at prayer – which was a matter of concern for almost every author of a monastic rule.⁷⁷⁰ Caesarius succinctly states that whoever does not proceed to the *opus Dei* after having heard the sign is to be reproached and, if it happens more often, segregated from the community and the communal meal.⁷⁷¹ Jonas devotes a full chapter to

⁷⁶³ *CaesRV*, c. 10, p. 188: no chatter or work during the Psalm singing; c. 12, p. 188: not arriving late at prayer; c. 15, p. 190: not sleeping during vigils; c. 21.7, p. 196: on ceaseless prayer; c. 22, p. 196: reflecting on the content of prayers; c. 66.1, p. 252: on ceaseless prayer.

⁷⁶⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 2.4-6, p. 172; c. 72, p. 270.

⁷⁶⁵ Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 115-120 provides an overview of all scattered references to liturgical activities in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

⁷⁶⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.12; c. 5; c. 6.14-16; c. 6.26-30; c. 9.8; c. 10.13-15; c. 12.24-28; c. 20.7.

⁷⁶⁷ See p. §.

⁷⁶⁸ For example *RcuiV*, c. 2.17-18; c. 6.29-30.

⁷⁶⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.4-6; c. 2.16-19; c. 5.14-16; c. 6.29-30; c. 8.1-6; c. 8.11-12; c. 12.24-28; c. 20.7.

⁷⁷⁰ Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, c. 52, CCCM 168A, pp. 444-461 collects 34 passages from monastic rules on the topic of punctuality at prayer.

⁷⁷¹ *CaesRV*, c. 12, SC 345, p. 188: *Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus dei uel ad opera uenerit, increpationi, ut dignum est, subiacebit. 2 Quod si secundo aut tertio ammonita emendare noluerit, a communione uel a conuiuio separetur.*

punctuality, both for daily and nightly Hours, in which he focusses on the correct attitude for prayer. He is concerned whether the nuns' mind is "attentive to the sound of the announcer and inclined to the work of God" (*mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi dei innixa*). He wants to ensure that the nuns proceed to prayer "with all dignity and gentleness" (*cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine*) and not "slowly and sluggishly" (*morose et segniter*).⁷⁷² Whereas Caesarius simply states that a nun who is not punctual should receive an *inrepatio* (reproach), Jonas explains what such a reproach entails: a nun who arrives late may not take her place but has to stay at a place reserved for latecomers in order to be exposed to shame.⁷⁷³ Jonas deviates from Caesarius in one regard: instead of excluding a nun who regularly shows up late, Jonas prohibits her from staying outside (*foris*) of the oratory because it is there, he argues, that she is especially prone to the trappings of the devil and that she might be overpowered by sleep.⁷⁷⁴ As someone who has transgressed the rule and showed negligence, she needs to be inside (*intus*) in order to receive the reproach but also the protection of the community.

Both Caesarius and Jonas touch upon the topic of intercessory prayer, assuming that it is possible to pray on behalf of someone else. Caesarius refers two times to intercessory prayer for outsiders, especially for himself. His *Vita* tells how the choirs of nuns support the troops (*caterua*) of priests in their protection of the city.⁷⁷⁵ References to intercessory prayer for outsiders can be found twice in the *Vita Columbani*. In his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, however, Jonas mentions this crucial aspect of monastic life only in passing.⁷⁷⁶ Instead, he focusses mostly on "internal" intercessory prayer, i.e. praying on behalf of each other and, in particular, for those who have committed a sin or did not show the appropriate attitude. Especially in the chapters on love and on confession (c. 5-6), Jonas stresses that mutual prayer is crucial for attaining salvation.⁷⁷⁷

Clothing

⁷⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 8.2-4.

⁷⁷³ *RcuiV*, c. 8.4-6.

⁷⁷⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 8.7.

⁷⁷⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 1.4-6, p. 172; c. 40, p. 222; c. 72, p. 270; *Vita Caesarii I*, c. 28, SC 536, p. 184. See also Letter of Pope Hormisdas to Caesarius, c. 1.7, SC 345, p. 354. On the role of sacred virgins as intercessors for their family or for society as a whole: Brown, Peter, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd ed. 2008, pp. 259-284.

⁷⁷⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13; *VCol I*, c.14, pp. 174-176; I, c. 22, pp. 204-205.

⁷⁷⁷ See p. §.

A rather mundane topic that is ubiquitous in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns but largely absent in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is that of monastic vestments, shoes, and other textiles: how they are to be produced, stored, cleaned, distributed, received as gifts, and purchased; the color of the monastic habit; the ritual of changing vestments at the moment of monastic entry; and the prohibition on decorating the monastery with embroideries and tapestries. No less than sixteen chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns discuss vestments, textiles, and fabrics.⁷⁷⁸ In contrast, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is largely textile-free, aside from a short reference to repairing and washing clothes, prohibiting nuns from claiming vestments and shoes for themselves, or passing on vestments to someone else – topics not addressed by Caesarius.⁷⁷⁹

Other topics addressed in only one of the rules

So far, I have given examples of both Rules addressing important aspects of monastic discipline from different perspectives: children, property, renunciation of the world, obedience, interaction with outsiders, anti-social behavior, liturgy, intercession, and clothing. A common pattern is that Caesarius provides straightforward regulations while Jonas omits most of them, elaborates on some of them, adds new ones, and shifts the focus from outward act to attitude and motivation. In doing so, he often places what Caesarius considers a mere matter of discipline at the crossroads of salvation and damnation.

It is easy to expand the list of omissions and additions by going through both Rules chapter by chapter. The following provisions (listed in the order of appearance, including some I already have discussed) appear only in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, even though we can assume

⁷⁷⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 4, SC 345, p. 182: on changing the *habitus*; c. 5, pp. 182-184: describing sacred virgins as *mutatis uestibus* and conversion as *uestimenta religiosa accipere*; c. 16, p. 190: on working with linen; c. 17.1, p. 192: no claim on vestments; c. 22.5, p. 198: nuns should distinguish themselves through their manners, not their vestments; c. 27.2-3, pp. 204-206: the *praeposita* and the *lanipendia* have to take care of the linen and the vestments; c. 28.1-3, p. 206: The monastery should produce their own vestments; the nuns should not mutter about their vestments; c. 30.1, p. 208: appointment of the person responsible for the linen; c. 32.4-5, p. 212: storage, distribution, and careful treatment of vestments and shoes; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 51.4, p. 238: not secretly receiving vestments as gifts; c. 43.7, p. 228: old vestments need to be given to the poor or to novices; c. 44.1-3, p. 228; c. 55, p. 240: simplicity and color of the habit; c. 45, p. 230; c. 60, p. 244: no embroideries, tapestries, and other luxury items. See also Tilley, Maureen, 'Caesarius's Rule for unruly nuns: permitted and prohibited textiles in the monastery of St John', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 26:1 (2018), pp. 83-89.

⁷⁷⁹ See *RcuiV*, c. 12.5; c. 17.5-7.

that they were followed in Faremoutiers as well: prohibition of private servants and educating children from outside the monastery;⁷⁸⁰ prohibition of private dwellings and of private closets with keys;⁷⁸¹ prohibition of acting as godmothers;⁷⁸² requirement of “chastity of the eyes” and appropriate behavior towards members of the opposite sex;⁷⁸³ prohibition of the secret storage of goods;⁷⁸⁴ provisions on the presence of priests and artisans in the monastery and visits of family members;⁷⁸⁵ prohibition of the abbess eating outside of the monastery;⁷⁸⁶ prohibition of excessive fasting;⁷⁸⁷ provision on care for the poor through the *prouisor*;⁷⁸⁸ provision on the color and simplicity of the habit;⁷⁸⁹ prohibition of embroideries, ornaments etc.;⁷⁹⁰ prohibition of laundering, repairing, or storing the vestments of outsiders;⁷⁹¹ provision on how long nuns are allowed to grow their hair;⁷⁹² provision on reading the Rule at entry and professing to follow the Rule;⁷⁹³ provision on the election of the abbess;⁷⁹⁴ provisions on burials;⁷⁹⁵ prohibition of eating poultry and meat, except in cases of illness.⁷⁹⁶

Conversely, if we go through the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, we see that the text largely addresses topics that Caesarius either touched upon only very generally, sporadically, or not at all. The first four chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, for example, describe in detail and with various digressions the four main offices in the monastery (abbess, *praeposita*,

⁷⁸⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 7.1/4, p. 186.

⁷⁸¹ *CaesRV*, c. 9, pp. 186-188; c. 51.1, p. 236. Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 2.16 on controlling regularly whether the nuns hide something close to their beds.

⁷⁸² *CaesRV*, c. 11, p. 188.

⁷⁸³ *CaesRV*, c. 23-25.2, pp. 198-202. The topics of chastity and virginity are almost completely absent in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* aside from some concerns about illicit desire that may arise if two nuns share one bed. See also Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 200-203 and pp. 249-272.

⁷⁸⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 30.2-3, p. 208; *RcuiV*, c. 2.16 address how the prioresses control whether a nun has stored something illicitly.

⁷⁸⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 36, pp. 218-220; c. 39-40, pp. 220-222; c. 62-64, pp. 246-250. *RcuiV*, c. 22.22-23 prescribes how nuns have to interact with visiting priests – a topic not addressed by Caesarius.

⁷⁸⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222.

⁷⁸⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 42.1-5, p. 224.

⁷⁸⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 42.6-7, p. 224.

⁷⁸⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 44, p. 228; c. 55, p. 240.

⁷⁹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230.

⁷⁹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.3, p. 238.

⁷⁹² *CaesRV*, c. 56, p. 240. See Leyser, Conrad, ‘Long-haired Kings and Short-haired Nuns: Writing on the Body in Caesarius of Arles’, in: *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993), pp. 143-150.

⁷⁹³ *CaesRV*, c. 58, p. 242.

⁷⁹⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 61, p. 244.

⁷⁹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 70, pp. 266-268.

⁷⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 71.7-8, p. 268.

cellararia, and *portaria*), which are mentioned only in passing in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁷⁹⁷

Moreover, Jonas mentions cooks, bakers, and brewers,⁷⁹⁸ while Caesarius addresses the *primiceria* (choir mistress), *formaria* (novice mistress), *posticiaria* (doorkeeper), and *lanipendia* (sister in charge of the wool work).⁷⁹⁹ Caesarius says very little about love and nothing about confession, which are addressed in chapters 5-7 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁸⁰⁰

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does have an *ordo conuiuii* on times of eating, but no further regulation on the order of the table and on cooking, topics addressed in chapters 10-11 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both texts address the theme of manual labor, but each describes different activities.⁸⁰¹ Only Jonas identifies *paenitentes* as a separate group.⁸⁰² There are no regulations on tools and implements in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, a topic addressed in chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both rules address the theme of care for the sick, but Jonas adds numerous details, such as regulations on bathing. In his chapters on caring for the sick, Caesarius focuses on getting them ready for returning to work, whereas Jonas is more concerned about care and special treatment.⁸⁰³ The theme of negligence in dealing with the monastery's tools is addressed in chapter 16 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but not by Caesarius. Caesarius' mentions *excommunicatio* once but has no detailed program of excommunication and punishment but we find it in chapters 18-20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.⁸⁰⁴ None of the aspects of mutual

⁷⁹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 30.1, p. 208: *Ad cellarium et ad posticum uel lanipendium tales a seniore eligantur, non quae uoluntates aliquarum, sed necessitates omnium cum timore dei considerent*. Jonas vastly expands on this. Caesarius says about the *praeposita* that the nuns have to report to her and that she should undermine her authority by apologizing when she treated someone too harshly: *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192; c. 27, p. 204; c. 29, p. 208; c. 30.1, p. 208, c. 35.1-3, p. 216; c. 47, p. 232; c. 59.3, p. 242.

⁷⁹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 12.18-22.

⁷⁹⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 25.6, p. 202; c. 27.2, p. 206, c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 35.10, p. 218; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 43.4, p. 226. On the *posticiaria*, see p. 5.

⁸⁰⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 5-7. Caesarius addresses mutual love at various places in his Rule, but does not devote a specific chapter to this topic. See *CaesRV*, c. 27.3, p. 206: on producing cloths with *amor* and *zelum*; c. 23.7, p. 200: on controlling each other *cum dilectione sororum*; c. 24.7, p. 202: on punishing out of love for the sisters and hate of the sins; c. 32.2, p. 210: on serving the sick *cum pietate*; c. 35.5, p. 216: on following the rule *cum caritate et uera pietate*; c. 21.6, p. 196: on living in concord and harmony.

⁸⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 12. *CaesRV*, c. 8, p. 186 establishes that the nuns are not allowed to choose the work they do; c. 14.2, p. 190 states that all kitchen tasks and other domestic tasks need to be performed alternating. *RcuiV*, c. expands extensively on that; in c. 16, p. 190. Caesarius mentions work with linen (which is not mentioned in *RcuiV*). *CaesRV*, c. 19.1-2, p. 192 determines that the nuns read for two hours before the *Secunda* and work afterwards; *RcuiV*, c. 12.2.3 specifies that the nuns should start working at the *Secunda* and that they should have another reading period after the Ninth Hour and that work should not interfere with reading.

⁸⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 3.14; c. 3.16; c. 6.24-30; c. 7.4-6; c. 9.20; c. 12.13-15; c. 16.7; c. 19.5-8; c. 19.11; c. 21.2-4.

⁸⁰³ *CaesRV*, c. 22.3-4, p. 198; *RcuiV*, c. 15.

⁸⁰⁴ On excommunication: *RcuiV*, c. 18-20; on escaping nuns: *RcuiV*, c. 21; on *paenitentes*: *RcuiV*, c. 6.24; c. 12.13; c. 20.9; c. 21.4. In Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, *paenitentes* are not mentioned and we find only one regulation to

interaction we find in chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be found in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and the same applies to the problem of escaping nuns, kinship relations and mutually defending each other, and the education of children – topics addressed in chapters 21, 23, and 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

In this Chapter, I have provided evidence supporting the hypothesis that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* forms an addition to Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* that completes what Caesarius left out, takes changes in circumstances and differences between the communities into account, and adds new theological and spiritual dimensions and a sense of urgency in line with Jonas' own monastic ideal. I have, so far, deliberately not addressed one specific aspect, the one that probably motivated Donatus to produce a new Rule instead of just using Caesarius: space and enclosure or, in the words of Donatus, the *immutatio loci*. The next Chapter will be devoted to comparing Caesarius' and Jonas' notion of space and the question of how Jonas modified and expanded Caesarius' concept of enclosure in a way that had a deep impact on future notions of sacred space in medieval monasticism.

excommunicatio: CaesRV, c. 34.1, p. 214: *Si qua uero pro quacumque re excommunicata fuerit, remota a congregatione, in loco quo abbatissa iusserit, cum una de spiritalibus sororibus resideat, quousque humiliter paenitendo indulgentiam accipiat.*

Chapter 4: Enclosure re-opened: Caesarius, Jonas, and the invention of sacred space

Hildemar of Corbie, the ninth-century teacher and master of young monks, draws in his commentary to the *Regula Benedicti* a remarkable distinction between a *coenobium* and a *monasterium*:

The difference between a *coenobium* and a *monasterium* is as follows: *coenobium* refers to the profession, to the discipline and to the place, while *monasterium* only refers to the place. Even though it is incorrect, people use *monasterium* for *coenobium* and, likewise, *coenobium* for *monasterium*. And when he [Benedict] talked about “coenobitical”, he implied “monastic” because “monastic” refers to the place where the *coenobium* is located.⁸⁰⁵

For a Carolingian monastic teacher, a *monasterium* is a space. *Monasterialis* (monastic) refers to a spatial setting, rather than to the community.⁸⁰⁶ In this chapter I hope to illustrate the crucial role that Caesarius of Arles and Jonas of Bobbio played in inciting such a “spatial turn” of monastic life.⁸⁰⁷ Jonas’ productive disagreement with the practice of total enclosure that Caesarius came to promote in his Rule for Nuns may have had a stronger impact on the the genesis a supposedly “Benedictine” understanding of the monastic space as a sacred space and of the medieval “cloister” than the *Regula Benedicti* itself.⁸⁰⁸

My exploration of the emergence of the monastic space begins with a brief history of the terms *claustrum* and *clausura* and a description of notions of space in the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*, followed by an analysis of the role of space in Caesarius of Arles’ monastic theology. Here I argue that Caesarius developed his concept of total enclosure as an attempt to resolve the challenges of the so-called semi-Pelagian debate on human agency and the

⁸⁰⁵ Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 1, ed. Rupert Mittermüller, Regensburg: Pustet 1880 p. 75: *Inter coenobium et monasterium hoc interest: coenobium attinet ad professionem et disciplinam atque locum, monasterium uero attinet solummodo ad locum. Tamen abusiue pro coenobio ponitur monasterium, et coenobium pro monasterio similiter ponitur. Et cum dixit coenobitarum, subiunxit monasteriale. Per illud monasteriale manifestauit locum, in quo coenobium est.* The text of Hildemar’s commentary is available with a facing English translation on www.hildemar.org.

⁸⁰⁶ Collins, Samuel W., *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan 2012, pp. 81-90 provides other references to Hildemar’s physical understanding of monastic sacred space.

⁸⁰⁷ On the “spatial turn” as a methodological and theoretical framework for research in the humanities and social sciences, see Warf, Barney and Santa Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New York: Routledge 2014, especially John Corrigan’s chapter ‘Spatiality and religion’, *ibid.*, pp. 157-172.

⁸⁰⁸ For an overview on the varieties of sacred spaces and of practices shaping and delineating sacred spaces, see Hamilton, Sarah and Andrew Spicer, ‘Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space’, in: Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 1-23.

dependence on divine grace. Based on the premise that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was an expansion of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (which I developed previous chapter) I will show how Jonas of Bobbio responded to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure and its theological shortcomings with a new concept of monastic space and boundaries consisting of a triple enclosure: of the physical space, the community, and the individual body. Even though the theological framework of Jonas' concept of the monastic space may not have had much of an afterlife, many of its practical and disciplinary implementation became an essential aspect of medieval monastic life.

The Rules of Basil, Pachomius, and Augustine, the works of John Cassian and other sources on fourth- and fifth-century monastic life show little concern for the monastery as a physical space and certainly no coherence in their provisions on monastic boundaries.⁸⁰⁹ Rules and narrative texts describe various monastic boundaries: natural boundaries that separate monasteries from the civilized world (the desert, the sea, rivers, impenetrable forests, etc.),⁸¹⁰ the space controlled, empowered, or owned by a saint,⁸¹¹ or the precincts of a Roman villa or *domus* turned into a monastery.⁸¹² A monastery could be anything from a cell or a cave inhabited by a

⁸⁰⁹ On the diversity of early monastic notions of space, see Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'Introducing monastic space: the early years, 250-750', in: *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 19 (2014), pp. 5-25; Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces et topographie des monastères de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge: réflexions à propos des règles monastiques', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 15-42; on the absence of a concern for space in Augustine's Rule, see Dey, Hendrik W., 'Building worlds apart. Walls and the construction of communal monasticism from Augustine through Benedict', in: *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004), pp. 357-371, at pp. 360-362; Dubreucq, Alain and Lauranson-Rosaz, Christian, 'De l'ermitage au monastère: aux origines de l'espace monastique en Gaule à partir de deux exemples: Burgondie et l'Auvergne (fin V^e-début VIII^e siècle)', in: *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 9 (2003) 279-294.

⁸¹⁰ Brunert, Maria-Elisabeth, *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, Münster: Aschendorff 1984; Goehring, James E., 'The dark side of landscape: ideology and power in the Christian myth of the desert', in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 437-451; Kasper, Clemens, *Theologie und Askese. Zur Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag 1991, pp. 200-222.

⁸¹¹ Angenendt, Arnold, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1994; Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, 'Women's monasteries and sacred space: the promotion of saints' cults and miracles', in: Lisa Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008, pp. 68-86 and pp. 117-122 (on the impact of the cult of saints on female monastic spaces).

⁸¹² Alciati, Roberto, 'And the Villa Became a Monastery: Sulpicius Severus' Community of Primuliacum', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 85-98. Dailey, 'Introducing monastic space', pp. 10-13; Dey, 'Building worlds apart'; Brooks Hedstrom, Darlene and Hendrik Dey, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Bully, Sébastien and

hermit or a small group of monks,⁸¹³ to a veritable city in the desert inhabited by hundreds or perhaps thousands of monks, such as Pachomius' foundation Tabennisi. There are instances where monasteries defined themselves as paradise-like spaces,⁸¹⁴ but in the first few centuries of monastic history, there is little indication that the monastery was recognized as a sacred space or that it could claim a power of asylum analogous to that which churches achieved in the Latin West – at least not before the seventh century.⁸¹⁵ As Kimberly Bowes shows, asceticism did not manifest itself in a specific spatial or material culture.⁸¹⁶ The question regarding to what extent monks and outsiders could mingle and whether a monastery should contain places accessible only to members of the community had no single answer.

We can, however, observe a similar development with regard to monastic space as with other important aspects of early monastic life: different concepts merged, diversity retreated, and certain models became prevalent and pushed others aside. This is a historical process – still to be explored systematically – that leads us from the tomb in which Antony hid and Pachomius' Koinonia to Hildemar's distinction between *monasterium* and *coenobium* and the straight lines and the perfect circles and half-circles of the Plan of St. Gall.⁸¹⁷ Unlike what we might expect, Benedict and Columbanus did not play a crucial role in this process. Monastic space rather emerged out of Caesarius' concept of enclosure and Jonas' *septa secreta*. Its development is deeply entangled with the challenges posed by Augustine's doctrine of prevenient grace and the question whether monastic discipline can have any salvific effect. For Caesarius and Jonas,

Eleonora Destefanis, 'The archaeology of the earliest monasteries in Italy and France (5th–8th c.): state of the question'.

⁸¹³ Rapp, Claudia, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016, pp. 88-179.

⁸¹⁴ Lauwers, Michel, 'Constructing Monastic Space in the Early and Central Medieval West (5th–12th centuries)', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

⁸¹⁵ On churches as sacred space: Markus, Robert Austin, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990, pp. 139-155; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, esp. pp. 27-41; Esders Stefan and Steffen Patzold, 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 371-392; logna-Prat, Dominique, 'Churches in the Landscape', in: Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds.), *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 363-379.

⁸¹⁶ Bowes, Kimberley, 'Inventing Ascetic Space: Houses, Monasteries and the "Archeology of Monasticism"', in: Dey/Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism*, pp. 315-351.

⁸¹⁷ On Carolingian concepts of space, see especially Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia, PA/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011, pp. 134-164.

defining monastic space was primarily a theological and only in the second place a practical challenge – as we will see in this chapter.

1. *Claustrum* and *clausura* in the *Regula Benedicti* and in the *Regula Magistri*: a detour

Before delving into Caesarius' and Jonas' spatial turn, we need to look at the origins of the two expressions that historians commonly use to describe monastic boundaries and monastic space: "enclosure" and "cloister" (*Klausur* and *Kloster*; *clôture* and *cloître*). They seem to have a Latin equivalent, *clausura/clusura* and *claustum* (or sometimes *claustra*, turned into singular noun). *Claustum*, at least, became a key expression in the medieval language describing monastic space (*clausura* to a somewhat lesser extent). If we look for the origins of these terms in a monastic context we end up with the usual suspects: John Cassian's work, the *Regula Benedicti*, and the *Regula Magistri*. Hardly any other monastic rule operates with these terms.⁸¹⁸ If we look how the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* used *claustum* and *clusura/clausura* and which concepts of monastic space they actually deployed, it appears that drawing a direct line between *claustum* and "cloister" or *clausura* and "enclosure", as it has been done in traditional scholarship, may be misleading.⁸¹⁹

Let us first look at John Cassian who is probably responsible for making *claustum* (or rather its plural *claustra*) a monastic household term. Cassian uses *claustra* primarily in reference to an "enclosure of the mouth", inspired by the biblical words of Micha 7, 5: "Do not trust in a friend; do not put your confidence in a companion; guard the doors (*claustra*) of your

⁸¹⁸ One exception is the Rule written by Isidore of Seville around the beginning of the seventh century. See *Regula Isidori*, c. 1 ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1971, p. 91: *Inprimis, fratres karissimi, monasterium uestrum miram conclauis diligentiam habeat ut firmitatem custodiae munimenta claustrorum exhibeant; inimicus enim noster diabolus sicut leo rugiens circuit ore patenti quaerens unumquemque nostrum quem deuoret*. See also c. 9.1, p. 104; c. 21.2, p. 120. The only other monastic rule that uses *clausura* is Caesarius' *Regula ad monachos*, c. 3, SC 398, p. 206. Here it refers to a cell or a closet that can be closed. *Claustra* appears in the chapter list of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin 1957, p. 142, which may have been a later addition. The chapter itself, c. 8, p. 154, l. 4, punishes monks who roam around *extra uallum, id est extra septam monasterii*.

⁸¹⁹ On the changing meanings of the term *claustum*, see Meyvaert, Paul, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustum', in: *Gesta* 12 (1973), pp. 53-59, reprinted in: *idem, Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others*, London: Variorum Reprints 1977, no. XVI; on *clausura*: Leclercq, Jean, 'La clôture: points de repère historiques', in: *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 43:4 (1981), pp. 366-371.

mouth from her who lies in your bosom.”⁸²⁰ Occasionally Cassian refers to the *claustra monasterii* or *claustra cellulae* but never by explaining these *claustra* within a theological framework. It’s simply a place that can and should be closed.⁸²¹

The *Regula Magistri* mentions the *claustrum* twice. In one case it refers to a specific space, not the monastery as a whole but rather the quarters for guests and travelling monks, which should be closed from both inside and outside in order to avoid theft.⁸²² In another chapter the Rule claims that the *claustra monasterii* can rightfully “close off” a monk who enters the monastery against his parents’ resistance.⁸²³ The term *clusura* (which does not appear in Cassian’s work) is more present in the *Regula Magistri*. Like Cassian’s *claustrum*, the *clusura* of the *Regula Magistri* evokes primarily the “enclosure” of the individual than that of a physical space. In its chapters on silence, the *Regula Magistri* refers to the “enclosure of the outer wall, that is, of the mouth and teeth” that prevents sins from arising from one’s heart to be brought to life through the tongue.⁸²⁴ Monks are supposed to keep an “enclosure of silence” (*clusura taciturnitatis*) unless they receive permission to speak.⁸²⁵ Buffoonery, idle talk, and laughter is to be punished with “eternal enclosure” (*aeterna clusura*) of the mouth.⁸²⁶ Conversely, the text

⁸²⁰ Micha 7, 5: *Nolite credere amico et nolite confidere in duce ab ea quae dormit in sinu tuo custodi claustra oris tui*. See Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 10.1, SC 109, p. 74: loquaciousness in prayer; *Collationes* IX, c. 35.2, SC 54, p. 72: on silent prayer; XVII, c. 20.12, p. 270: on the danger of disclosing the truth indiscriminately; XVIII, c. 12, SC 64, p. 24: on silence and patience; XXI, c. 26.2, p. 101: opening the *claustra labii* for prayer.

⁸²¹ Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 14, p. 84: retreat into the confines of one’s *cella*; V, c. 38.2, p. 250: staying within the *claustra monasterii* to avoid contact with one’s family; X, c. 3, p. 388: leaving the *claustra cellulae* to visit other monks; X, c. 5, p. 390: leaving the *claustra monasterii* for insufficient reasons; X, c. 7.5, p. 396: discontent with the *claustra cellae*; *Collationes* I, c. 20.5, SC 42, p. 103: being lured away from the *claustra spiritalia monasterii*; XVIII, c. 16, SC 64, p. 31: not putting trust only into the *claustra cellulae*; XXIV, c. 4-5, pp. 175-176: on different options of living inside and outside the *claustrum*.

⁸²² *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.18-21, SC 106, p. 324: *Cella ipsa habeat clusuram talem ab intus qualem a foris, ut nocte tam ab eis, inclusis secum hospitibus, ab intus missis claustris claus tollatur, quam ubi norunt abscondant, ut cum foris forte uoluerit hospis exire, ipse sibi custodes excitet, cum clauem requiret, quo praesente incipiat ad ignotum refrigerium foras exire*.

⁸²³ *Regula Magistri*, c. 91.3-4, p. 398: *Quod si contrarii exstiterint interim usque ad uim pro eo Domino inferendam, claustrum monasterii uindicetur, quem potens est Dominus defendere propter se, quia fortior est dextera eius ad protegendum, quam diaboli iniquitas ad ledendum*.

⁸²⁴ *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.21-23, SC 105, p. 402: *Habet deinde anima nostra constitutam portam oris et seram dentium, quam prauo claudat eloquio, – ut non excuset anima factorem suum munimum sibi minime custodiam fabricasse, – id est ut, cum promouerit a cordis radice aliquod peccatum et senserit se exterioris muri clusura, id est oris et dentium, sibi exitum denegari, reuertens denuo ad radicem cordis, ibi pereat in auortione sua et ut paruulus adlidatur ad petram, quam nascendo per linguam crescat ad poenam*. In c. 8.24-25, p. 404, the *Regula Magistri* refers to the *clusura catenae* (the shackling in chains) of the heart that prevents sins from being carried out through one’s hands and feet.

⁸²⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.10-12, pp. 408-410; c. 9.46, p. 416.

⁸²⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.51, p. 416.

describes the devil as being confined in the individual by a *clusura* that needs to be opened through confession.⁸²⁷ *Clusura* is thus, according to the *Regula Magistri*, primarily an enclosure that confines sinful thoughts and desires to oneself and prevents them from being spoken or acted out and impacting others.

At one point the *Regula Magistri* uses physical space as a metaphor for the bodily enclosure by describing the *monasterium* as the “workspace of the spiritual art” (*officina diuinae artis*) “in which the tools of the heart are placed in the enclosure of the body (*clusura corporis*) and where the work of divine art can be done by preserving diligent care.”⁸²⁸ On only two occasions does the *Regula Magistri* use *clusura* for something other than the boundaries of the individual: the *clusura* of the guest rooms (*claustrum* appears in the same context),⁸²⁹ and, in a chapter on the necessary hardships of monastic entry, the “darkness of the *clusura*” that one might escape through the willingness to suffer and to be dead to the world.⁸³⁰ *Clusura* in the *Regula Magistri* has, thus, nothing to do with an “enclosure” constituting a monastic closed space that is separated from the surrounding world. If at all, it is the world that needs to be enclosed, not the monastery. In fact, the spatial concept of the *Regula Magistri* largely revolves around another expression that appears exclusively in this text: *regia*, which might be best translated as “gate” but also as “gated space” or “entrance hall” (of the royal court).⁸³¹ Like *clusura*, the *regia* applies to the enclosure of the mouth or of the mind,⁸³² but also to the physical space of the monastery.⁸³³

⁸²⁷ *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.1-5, SC 106, pp. 62-64.

⁸²⁸ *Regula Magistri*, c. 6, SC 105, p. 380: *Officina uero monasterium est, in qua ferramenta cordis in corporis clusura reposita opus diuinae artis diligenti custodia perseuerando operari potest.* On the symbolic meaning of enclosure in the *Regula Magistri*, see also Dey, ‘Building worlds apart’, pp. 365-366.

⁸²⁹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.18-21, SC 106, p. 324.

⁸³⁰ *Regula Magistri*, c. 90.18-19, pp. 380-382: *Si obscuritas clusurae nos pro Deo obcaecet, ad momentum nos poterit obscurare, sed post hoc illa nos lux in aeterna uita suscipiet, quae non solis candore uel lunae, non stellarum caeli et lucernae, sed ipsius Dei perpetua magestate lucebit.* Transl. Eberle, p. 261: “If for the sake of God the darkness of the *clusura* makes us blind, it can dcan deprive us of sight for the moment, but afterwards we shall be received into eternal light by that other light which shines not with the brightness of the sun or the moon, not of the stars of heaven or of lamps, but with the everlasting majesty of God himself.” (Eberle translates *clusura* here with “dungeon”).

⁸³¹ See Frank, Karl Suso, ‘Die Klosteranlage nach der Regula Magistri’, in: *Regulae Benedicti Studia* 6/7 (1977/1978, published 1981), pp. 27-46, at pp. 29-31.

⁸³² *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.2, p. 62; c. 47.12, p. 214.

⁸³³ *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.51/53, SC 105, p. 340; c. 30.27, SC 106, p. 166; c. 66.7, p. 294; c. 67.4, p. 294; c. 95, pp. 442-448. On *regia*, see also Dey, ‘Building worlds apart’, pp. 362-364.

Regia is a key term of the last chapter of the *Regula Magistri*, on the gatekeepers (*ostiarii*). The *Regula Magistri* envisions the gatekeepers not as guards of enclosed monastic confines but as two old men whose task is to keep the *regia* of the monastery closed and to open them whenever someone wants to enter or leave. Only during the hours of reading and prayer and at night should the *regia* be closed entirely.⁸³⁴ In principle, however, all necessary infrastructure – the bakery, mills, and the *refrigerium* (probably the lavatories) – should be inside (*intus*) the *regia* so that the monks can limit their interaction with secular outsiders. The rationale provided is odd: lay people who mingle with monks might venerate them in an excessive manner or make fun of them.⁸³⁵

All in all, the *Regula Magistri* does not envision a strictly enclosed monastery. At least some guests take their meals with the monks.⁸³⁶ It assumes that guests and visitors roam the monastery, requires strict supervision and is concerned primarily with theft rather than the potential destructive influences of outsiders.⁸³⁷

The *Regula Benedicti* uses *claustra* twice and *clusura* once. Benedict’s chapter on silence (c. 6), imposes, like the *Regula Magistri*, an *aeterna clausura* on the utterance of idle words and laughter.⁸³⁸ In the chapter on travelling monks (c. 67), the *claustra monasterii* appear indeed in reference to the monastic space. Benedict imposes a punishment on monks who dare to leave the *claustra monasterii*, to roam around, or do anything in general without order of the abbot.⁸³⁹ The *claustra monasterii* are thus meant to protect the monks from the dangers of the outside world, rather than to protect the monastery from outsiders who might cross its physical boundaries. The most poignant reference to *claustra monasterii* in the *Regula Benedicti* appears in the chapter on the “Instruments of Good Works” (c. 4). Benedict states that the workshop for using these “instruments” consists of the *claustra monasterii* and *stabilitas in congregatione*.⁸⁴⁰ Out of its context (moral instruments rather than physical tools) and since it is clearly a variant of

⁸³⁴ On closing the gates at night: *Regula Magistri*, c. 30.27, p. 166.

⁸³⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 95.19-21, p. 446.

⁸³⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.18, pp. 94-96; c. 24.23-25, p. 128; c. 79, pp. 322-328.

⁸³⁷ See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.3-22, pp. 322-326.

⁸³⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.8, SC 181, p. 472: *Scurrilitates uero uel uerba otiosa et risum mouentia aeterna clusura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aperire os non permittimus.*

⁸³⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 67.7, SC 182, p. 662: *Similiter et qui praesumpserit claustra monasterii egredi uel quocumque ire uel quippiam quamuis paruuum sine iussione abbatis facere.*

⁸⁴⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.78, SC 181, p. 464: *Officina uero ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione.*

the respective passage from the *Regula Magistri* on the “Workspace of the Spiritual Art”, we can assume that Benedict understood *claustra monasterii* not primarily as a reference to a physical cloister but rather in a symbolic sense.

Neither the *Regula Magistri* nor the *Regula Benedicti* make the monastic space inaccessible for outsiders. It is striking that the monastery as physical space with clear boundaries is, aside from the short, symbolic reference to the “*claustra monasterii*” in chapter 4 of the *Regula Benedicti* almost entirely absent from the sections of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* that describe the theological core of monastic life (the prologue and the first seven chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*; the “*thema*” and the first ten chapters of the *Regula Magistri*).

If we look for references to monastic space in the *Regula Benedicti* we are mostly stuck with the dire regulations of its chapter on the gatekeepers (c. 66). Like the gatekeepers in the *Regula Magistri*, Benedict’s *ostiarum* are supposed to open the gate rather than close it and to greet visitors rather than send them away.⁸⁴¹ Benedict also echoes the *Regula Magistri* when he recommends that everything the monks need should be placed within the monastery (*intra monasterio*) so that the monks do not need to leave the monastery’s grounds, which is, according to Benedict, bad for their soul.⁸⁴² The monastery of Benedict was not a “cloister” either.⁸⁴³

The fact that the monasteries envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* may have been more open than what we would imagine as a “Benedictine” monastery, does not mean that space did not have any spiritual meaning in these Rules. Benedict refers in his Rule to the monks’ goal to live in God’s *tabernaculum* (tent, canopy) which they attain through good works and fulfilling their *officium* (duty).⁸⁴⁴ The monastery itself may not be a *tabernaculum* but

⁸⁴¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1-5, SC 182, pp. 658-660.

⁸⁴² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.6-7, p. 660: *Monasterium autem, si possit fieri, ita debet constitui ut omnia necessaria, id est aqua, molendinum, hortum, uel artes diuersas intra monasterium exerceantur, ut non sit necessitas monachis uagandi foris, quia omnino non expedit animabus eorum.*

⁸⁴³ Bonnerue, Pierre, ‘Éléments de topographie historique dans les règles monastiques occidentales’, in: *Studia Monastica* 37 (1995), pp. 57-77, at p. 60 comes to a similar conclusion.

⁸⁴⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.22-23, SC 297, p. 418: *In cuius regni tabernaculo si uolumus habitare, nisi illuc bonis actibus curritur, minime peruenitur. Sed interrogemus cum propheta Dominum dicentes ei: Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?*; prologue.39, p. 422: *Cum ergo interrogassemus Dominum, fratres, de habitatore tabernaculi eius, audiuius habitandi praeceptum, sed si conpleamus habitatoris officium.* Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, pp. 82-83 shows how Smaragdus and Hildemar interpreted Benedict’s reference to the *tabernaculum* differently. Smaragdus emphasizes the otherworldly character of the *tabernaculum*, while Hildemar emphasizes the role of the monastery itself as sacred space.

Benedict calls the monastery a *domus Dei* (house of God) twice, once in the context of the care for guests, once describing the abbot's responsibility for the *domus Dei*.⁸⁴⁵ Benedict's *domus Dei* is thus rather determined by the monks' acts than by physical boundaries.

The *Regula Magistri* has a little more to say about space. It concludes its chapter on the easy tasks of the gatekeepers and the "open door policy" of the monastery with an unexpectedly emphatic statement on the nature of monastic space. Being in the monastery is like being in heaven:

Therefore, since all these things are located inside, let the gate (*regia*) of the monastery be always shut so that the brothers enclosed (*clausi*) within with the Lord, may so to speak be already in heaven, separated from the world for the sake of God. This gate of the monastery is to have on the outside an iron ring in a bracket, which when struck by a visitor will indicate to those inside the arrival of anyone who comes unexpectedly.⁸⁴⁶

The monastery envisioned by the *Regula Magistri* may be a special, paradise-like place, which is closed off from the world through clear boundaries, most likely a wall, as Hendrik Dey argues,⁸⁴⁷ but it is *not* a secluded space whose thresholds may not be crossed. Inaccessibility does, for the *Regula Magistri* not define a "sacred" space. Its gate is closed only for as long as one does not need it to be opened and opening the gate has no impact on the status of the monastery. In other words, both the *Regula Magistri* and the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles operate with the notion of the monastery as a paradise-like space permanently detached from the world; for Caesarius, however, the gates separating the monastery from the *saeculum* have to be not only closed, but firmly locked in order to prevent anyone from crossing the boundaries between monastery and world (as we will see in the next section).

The *clusura* of the *Regula Magistri*, that of the mouth and the body, can be found neither in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, nor in the *Regula Benedicti*, but it re-surfaces in our *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. This conceptual proximity between the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that circumvents the *Regula Benedicti* adds yet another argument in

⁸⁴⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 53.22, SC 182, p. 616; c. 64.5, p. 648.

⁸⁴⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 95.22-24, SC 106, pp. 446-448: *Cum ergo haec omnia intus fuerint constituta, clausa sit semper monasterii regia, ut intus clausi cum Domino fratres ueluti a saeculo sint iam causa Dei in caelestibus separati. Quae regia monasterii a foris circumcellum habeat ferreum in fimella, quo ab adueniente concusso cuiuslibet superuenientis intus indicetur aduentus*; transl. Luke Eberle, *The Rule of the Master*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, p. 284 (slightly revised).

⁸⁴⁷ Dey, 'Building walls apart', pp. 363-367. On the spatial organization of the monastery according to the *Regula Magistri*, see also Frank, 'Klosteranlage'.

support of Marilyn Dunn’s hypothesis that the *Regula Magistri* was present and may even have been compiled in Columbanus’ foundations.⁸⁴⁸

The text of the *Regula Benedicti* says little about space and about what we could understand as “cloister” but this does not mean that it could not be *used* in support of strict spatial and spiritual boundaries. The term cloister (*claustrum*) as we know it today is “epigenetic”, emerging from various later interpretations of the text and from a deliberate redefinition of the terms *clausura* and *claustrum*. We see this interpretation of *claustrum* as enclosed space especially in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms. Various Carolingian reform texts, in particular the commentaries to the *Regula Benedicti* by Smaragdus and Hildemar refer to *claustrum* and *clausura* as physical space.⁸⁴⁹ Benedict may have understood the *officina diuinae artis* and the *claustra monasterii* in chapter 4 of his Rule symbolically, but Hildemar of Corbie and likely many after him, had no qualms about reinterpreting Benedict’s *officina* as mundane workshops and understanding his *claustra monasterii* as an actual physical cloister.⁸⁵⁰

Moreover, Hildemar uses Benedict’s chapter on the gatekeepers (*ostiarii*) for an extensive digression on how to build a monastery at a safe distance from the disturbances of a king’s, bishop’s, or count’s court – all places inhabited by women, clerics, and lay people.⁸⁵¹ In

⁸⁴⁸ Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MA: Blackwell 2000, pp. 182-184. It is not unlikely, though hard to prove, that Jonas knew the *Regula Magistri*. He may have shared ideas with the *Regula Magistri* but did not use its words. There are a few instances in which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses expressions that otherwise appear exclusively in the *Regula Magistri*, such as *decrepita aetate/aetate decrepitis* (*Regula Magistri*, c. 95.1, SC 106, p. 442; *RcuIV*, c. 15.10) or *una uoce* (*Regula Magistri*, c. 23.35, p. 118; c. 32.10, p. 174; *RcuIV* 9.14).

⁸⁴⁹ In the sources related to the Carolingian monastic reforms that are edited in vol. 1 of the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1974, *clausura* and *claustrum* appear various times referring to a secluded space with restricted access. See, for example, *Ordo Casinensis I*, c. 5, CCM 1, p. 102; *Memoriale qualiter IV*, p. 251; *Institutio Sancti Angilberti de diuersitate officiorum, praefatio*, p. 293; *Capitula qualiter*, c. XI, p. 354; *Constitutiones Corbeiensis*, c. VI.4, p. 401. Hildemar’s *Expositio Regulae* uses *claustrum* sixty times, exclusively referring to monastic space. *Clausura*, however, remains for Hildemar the enclosure of the mouth (see *Expositio Regulae*, c. 6, p. 206). The same applies to Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 4.78, CCM 8, p. 147, though Smaragdus uses *claustra* also in a symbolic sense in c. 5.10/11, p. 152, and as *claustra taciturnitatis* in c. 6.3, p. 158. On the later use of *claustrum*: De Jong, Mayke, ‘Internal Cloisters: The case of Ekkehard’s Casus Sancti Galli’, in: Walter Pohl und Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2000, pp. 209-221, at pp. 211-212; Meyvaert, ‘The Medieval Monastic Claustrum’, pp. 53-54.

⁸⁵⁰ Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 4, ed. Mittermüller, p. 182: *Et bene dixit, claustra monasterii esse officina, quia sicut in officinis diuersae artes a diuersis magistris, ut diximus, aguntur, ita et in monasterio diuersae operationes in singulis locis fiunt, i. e. cum alii legunt, alii cantant, alii operantur aliquid manibus, alii laborant in coquina, et caetera his similia*. See also Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, pp. 84-86.

⁸⁵¹ Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 66, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 606-607.

his commentary on Benedict's chapter on travelling monks (c. 67), Hildemar develops an elaborate ritual for monks who cross the monastic boundaries. Returning to the monastic space is only allowed after an act of confession and purification by prayer. If a monk arrives too late to perform this ritual, he is not allowed to enter the monastic confines and has to stay in the guest house. Reversely, anyone who leaves the monastery must take his own *claustra* with him, as it were.⁸⁵² Hildemar reminds us of the fact that there is a fundamental difference between Benedict's monasticism and "Benedictine" monasticism as it would emerge several centuries after the Rule was written.

As I will show in the next sections, it is likely that Caesarius and Jonas of Bobbio may have had a strong impact on this "epigenetic" redefinition of *clausura* and *claustrum*. Both Caesarius and Jonas developed their own respective concepts of monastic space out of very specific historical circumstances. Caesarius' new and, as we know from various sources, rather controversial model of a female monastic community, was placed in the midst of Arles, a densely populated late Roman city.⁸⁵³ Faremoutiers, the monastery most likely addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, was also a new kind of monastery – a female variant of an embattled legacy of Columbanus and an institution set up within a complicated and ever-shifting political surrounding.⁸⁵⁴ Both institutions needed protection from external interference – and a clear definition of space and boundaries probably served as protective measure. Yet Caesarius' and Jonas' contributions to the notion of monastic space were by no means motivated solely by safety concerns; they formed part of a theological fortification of their monastic endeavors. Space came to play a crucial role in the monastic pursuit of salvation.

⁸⁵² Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 67, pp. 609-614.

⁸⁵³ See, for example, Hormisdas, *Letter to Caesarius*, c. 3, SC 345, p. 356, rebuking Caesarius for using ecclesiastical property for his monastery. On the conflicts around Caesarius' foundations, see Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 117-124; *idem*, 'Caesarius's Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition of the 'Vita Caesarii'', in: *Revue bénédictine* 100 (1990), pp. 441-481, esp. pp. 456-464. On Caesarius' precarious position in Arles, see Leyser, Conrad, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2000, pp. 86-90; Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange', in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 208-234.

⁸⁵⁴ On the conflicts arising after Columbanus' death, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-305. Faremoutiers seems to have been one of the battle grounds. See *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 253.

2. The roaring lion and the spiritual battle in Caesarius' early works

Before analyzing the concept of space and enclosure that Caesarius developed in his Rule for Nuns, we need to make one more short digression. Caesarius wrote, next to his Rule for Nuns, three other works that engaged with the question of the nature and justification of monastic life. At least two of them are older than his Rule for Nuns. They witness that Caesarius' ideas about the monastic pursuit of salvation and the role of space and boundaries in this pursuit changed during his career. Comparing Caesarius' earlier monastic works with the Rule for Nuns makes it even more visible what was new and revolutionary about this Rule and how his innovations tie into the theological debates of Caesarius' lifetime. I will address an exhortative letter that is usually indicated as the letter *Vereor* (named after its beginning term),⁸⁵⁵ a somewhat shorter homily to a community of monks,⁸⁵⁶ and his Rule for Monks.⁸⁵⁷

Caesarius' letter *Vereor* addresses his sister Caesaria (also known as Caesaria the Older) and her community of virgins already established by him in a monastery close to the city walls of Arles. As such it could be considered a predecessor of his Rule for Nuns. The text is, however, not only preserved as a letter to a female community; it was, probably already during Caesarius' lifetime, transformed in a letter to monks, which shows that the ideas expressed in *Vereor* were considered applicable to everyone living a monastic life – not just to religious women.⁸⁵⁸

The original version of *Vereor* was written at some point before the winter of 507/508, when Caesarius' first foundation was destroyed during a siege of Arles by a coalition of Frankish and Burgundian warriors.⁸⁵⁹ *Vereor* revolves around the following key passage:

⁸⁵⁵ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, SC 345, pp. 294-336.

⁸⁵⁶ Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, SC 398, pp. 148-160. Aside from his *Homilia ad monachos*, Caesarius left us five more sermons addressing monastic communities, but they do not contribute to the arguments developed here: Caesarius, *Sermones ad monachos*, SC 398, pp. 60-160.

⁸⁵⁷ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, SC 398, pp. 204-226.

⁸⁵⁸ On the transmission of the male and female versions of *Vereor*, see <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Caesarius-Ep-Vereor.html>; Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 168-173.

⁸⁵⁹ On the date of *Vereor*: Adalbert de Vogüé/Joël Courreau, in: SC 345, p. 283; Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters. Translated with notes and introduction*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994, pp. 127-128; Rudge, Lindsay, *Texts and contexts: Women's dedicated life from Caesarius to Benedict*, Ph.D. thesis University of St. Andrews 2006, pp. 55-59. On the siege of Arles: *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 28, SC 536, p. 184; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 104-110.

Rejoice therefore and exult in the Lord, venerable daughters, and constantly give him abundant thanks, for he deigned to attract and to call you forth from the shadowy life of this world into the tranquil haven of the religious life. Ponder constantly where you came from and where you deserved to end up. In faith you left the darkness of the world and in happiness you began to see the light of Christ. You despised the fire of passion and came to the cool refuge of chastity. You rejected gluttony and chose abstinence. You rejected avarice and luxury and took hold of charity and mercy. And although your battle will not be over until the end of your life, nevertheless, by the grace of God I am certain of your victory.⁸⁶⁰

Caesarius describes the choice to live a religious life as a triumphant and joyful moment of leaving the darkness of the world and he praises Caesaria and her sisters for engaging in a battle of virtues against vices (*castitas* against *libido*; *abstinentia* against *gula*; *caritas* and *miser cordia* against *auaritia* and *luxuria*). Though it is a battle that will last until their final moments, Caesarius is, “by the gift of God” (*deo donante*), confident of their ultimate victory. A key element of the nuns’ battle is, as we subsequently read in *Vereor*, the protection of their *uirginitas*, both of the body and of the mind, by avoiding at all costs any exposure to sexual temptation. Contacts with the outside world, especially with members of the opposite sex, are to be reduced to a bare minimum. For Caesarius, this was not only an act of self-defense for the nuns but also a way to protect those who, by interacting with the members of the community, might be led into temptation themselves.⁸⁶¹

Chastity, modesty (*pudicitia*), the maintenance of purity, and the protection of virginity are addressed especially at the beginning and at the end of the letter.⁸⁶² They form a frame for a long list of vices to be fought that shows the influence of John Cassian’s work on the eight principle vices.⁸⁶³ Caesarius elaborates on *gula/ebrietas* (gluttony and drunkenness), *superbia* (pride), *inuidia* (envy), *detractio* (slander), *uerba otiosa* (idle talk), *iracundia* (anger),

⁸⁶⁰ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.1-7, p. 298: *Gaudete ergo et exultate in domino, uenerabiles filiae, et gratias illi iugiter uberes agite, qui uos de tenebrosa saeculi huius conuersatione ad portum quietis et religionis adtrahere et prouocare dignatus est. 2 Cogite iugiter unde existis et ubi peruenire meruistis. 3 Reliquistis fideliter mundi tenebras, et lucem Christi feliciter uidere coepistis; 4 contempstis libidinis incendium, et ad castitatis refrigerium peruenistis; 5 respuistis gulam, et abstinentiam elegistis; 6 repudiastis auaritiam atque luxuriam, et caritatem ac misericordiam tenuistis. 7 Et quamuis uobis usque ad exitum uitae non deerit pugna, tamen deo donante securi sumus de uestra uictoria*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 130.

⁸⁶¹ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 3.14-17, pp. 304-306.

⁸⁶² Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 4.1-2, p. 310; c. 10, pp. 334-336.

⁸⁶³ Cassian, *Institutiones* V-XII; SC 109, pp. 186-500; *Collationes* IV, SC 42, pp. 188-217. On Cassian’s influence on Caesarius, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 83 and pp. 96-97; Christophe, Paul, *Cassien et Césaire. Prédicateurs de la morale monastique*, Gembloux/Paris 1969.

pusilanimitas (lack of courage), *iuramentum/maledictum* (cursing), *uoluptas* (pleasure), *luxuria* (licentiousness), and *uanitas* (vanity). All of these vices are to be fought by good works (*bona opera/bene agere*).⁸⁶⁴

Vereor combines in a somewhat odd way the joy of conversion with a cry for battle. The letter is saturated with military terminology: *inimicus* (enemy); *bellator* (warrior); *arma spiritalia* (spiritual weapons); *pugna* (fight); *uictoria* (victory); *aduersarius* (adversary); *repugnare* (to fight back); *uincere* (to defeat); *uulnus* (wound); *hostis* (enemy); *refugere* (to escape); *perdere* (to lose); *captiuus* (prisoner); *rebellare* (to fight back); *captiuitas* (imprisonment); *fugitiuus* (fugitive); *inuictus* (undefeated); *expugnatio* (combat); *praesidium* (protection); *praeda* (loot); *exercitus* (army); *pax* (peace); *certamen* (battle); *militia christiana* (spiritual warfare); *praelium* (battle). All of these terms can (just like the vices the nuns have to fight) be found in Cassian's *Collationes* as well.⁸⁶⁵

Castitas and *uirginitas* are, as Caesarius emphasizes, major assets in the nuns' battle, where the devil is present at any moment, roaming around the community as a roaring lion (*leo rugiens* – an allusion to I Peter 5, 8).⁸⁶⁶ Another asset, however, is conspicuously absent: a notion of a protective space. Leaving the *saeculum* behind requires embracing a new *conuersatio* (way of life), but it does not imply entering a space, a *monasterium*. The term *monasterium*, which would become ubiquitous in the Rule for Nuns, does, in fact, not appear in *Vereor*.

When Caesarius wrote *Vereor*, he seems not yet to be tainted by the theological disputes on grace, free will, and the salvific effect of good works that would later have a deep impact on his work and his position as a bishop.⁸⁶⁷ He used Pelagius' *Letter to Demetrius* along with John Cassian's works, Jerome's letters, and Pseudo-Cyprian's *De singularitate clericorum* as sources

⁸⁶⁴ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.9, p. 300; c. 8.8, p. 326.

⁸⁶⁵ On the use of military terminology in monastic texts, see Smith, Katherine Allen, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press 2011, pp. 112-155.

⁸⁶⁶ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.10-11, p. 300: *Audite apostolum Petrum dicentem: Sobrii estote et uigilate, quia aduersarius uerster diabolus tanquam leo rugiens aliquid deuorare querens circuit. (1 Pt 5, 8) 11 Quamdiu in hoc corpore uiuimus, die noctuque Christo adiutore uel duce contra diabolum repugnemus.*

⁸⁶⁷ Leyser, Conrad, 'This Sainted Isle: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism', in: William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (eds.), *The Limits of Ancient Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1999, pp. 188-206, at pp. 192-193 offers doubts about the role of Lérins, the place of origin of Caesarius, as hotbed of "Semi-Pelagianism." On Caesarius initial disinterest in the Pelagian matters, see *ibid*, pp. 204-207; Mathisen, 'Caesarius of Arles', pp. 208-234; Weaver, Rebecca Harden, *Divine Grace and Human Agency: A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy*, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press 1996, pp. 181-196.

for his letter *Vereor*.⁸⁶⁸ Even though *Vereor* does contain a couple of references to divine support,⁸⁶⁹ he makes clear that the nuns' own good works and their *uirginitas* are pivotal for winning the battle for salvation which they fight by themselves. Caesarius expresses a triumphant optimism that living a religious life, avoiding temptation, protecting *uirginitas*, and fighting vices will lead the nuns safely towards the eternal fatherland (*aeterna patria*).

It is noteworthy that this program, which places chastity and virginity at the center of monastic *conuersatio* and which defines monastic life as a lifelong battle against vices, would eventually gain a much wider reception than Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁸⁷⁰ The passage on the joyful renunciation of the world quoted above reappears not only in Caesarius' own Rule for Monks but also in a letter sent by Caesarius' niece Caesaria (also called Caesaria the Younger) to the Merovingian queen Radegund along with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁸⁷¹ Though undoubtedly written to a female community, the entire letter *Vereor* was disseminated widely in an almost identical version addressed to monks.⁸⁷² Extracts also appear in the *Liber Scintillarum* (a widespread late-Merovingian theological florilegium), and a long passage (beginning with the passage quoted here) is inserted into the Carolingian *Institutio Sanctimonialium*.⁸⁷³ As problematic as it may have been from a purely theological standpoint, the salvific quality of the combination of virginity, conversion, and the lifelong battle against vices was an easy sell – though, as we will see, not necessarily to someone like Jonas of Bobbio. For him, there is no “*Gaudete ergo et exultate in domino.*”

Caesarius' shorter *Homilia ad monachos* is written in the same spirit as *Vereor*. Caesarius likewise emphasizes chastity but shows no concern at all about monastic space or the

⁸⁶⁸ On the sources of *Vereor*, see De Vogüé/Courreau, in: SC 345, pp. 280-281.

⁸⁶⁹ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.7, p. 298: *Deo donante*; c. 2.11, p. 300: *Christo adiutore*; c. 2.18, p. 302: *Christo adiutore*; c. 4.13, p. 312: *Christo adiuuante*; c. 4.15, p. 312: *Deo adiuuante*; c. 10.1, p. 234: *Deo adiuuante*.

⁸⁷⁰ Rudge, *Texts and Contexts*, pp. 73-127.

⁸⁷¹ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 26, SC 398, pp. 222-226; Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 82-92, SC 345, pp. 488-490.

⁸⁷² On the manuscript transmission of *Vereor*, see <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Caesarius-Ep-Vereor.html>. The version for monks is edited in PL 67, col. 1154C-1160D.

⁸⁷³ See De Vogüé/Courreau, in: SC 345, pp. 287-289. *Liber Scintillarum*, c. 7.54-55, CCSL 117, p. 34; c. 13.24-27, p. 67; c. 21.39, p. 99; c. 23.24-25, p. 103; *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, c. 5, MGH Conc. 1, pp. 434-437. See also Schilp, Thomas, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1998, pp. 61-64.

monasterium as such. He propagates monastic life as a war against vices in even more militaristic terms than in *Vereor*. The *Homilia* begins with this battle cry:

We come together at this place most beloved, not to a quiet and safe place but to fight and engage in combat; we proceed to a battle; we mount for war against the vices!⁸⁷⁴

Like *Vereor*, Caesarius' Homily ends with a warning against the *leo rugiens* who roams around and devours anyone who is not sufficiently vigilant or who shows negligence.⁸⁷⁵ The battle against vices is, as we can see by reading *Vereor* and the *Homilia ad monachos* alongside, not determined by gender difference. The roaring lion devours monks just as nuns.

Caesarius' Rule for Monks, our third witness, is a somewhat enigmatic text. It does not appear in any collection of monastic rules but only in two early medieval manuscripts containing canon law texts and acts of episcopal councils.⁸⁷⁶ According to its prologue, an unknown person requested the Rule from Caesarius' nephew Teridius after the bishop's death. It is likely that Caesarius had written this text in his function as a bishop in order to be disseminated among various monasteries in his dioceses.⁸⁷⁷ Caesarius' successor Aurelianus of Arles merged both of Caesarius' monastic Rules into one Rule applicable for both genders.⁸⁷⁸

Caesarius' Rule for Monks consists of 24 short and very straightforward regulations many of which appear in different phrasing in the first 35 chapters of his Rule for Nuns. Additionally the Rule contains two extensive theological digressions.⁸⁷⁹ The second one, which concludes the Rule, includes the section from *Vereor* on the triumphant battle that is quoted above.⁸⁸⁰ Adalbert de Vogüé has shown that the first 35 chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and Caesarius' Rule for Monks both used passages from Augustine's *Praeceptum* and that the

⁸⁷⁴ Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, c. 1, SC 398, p. 148: *Ad locum hunc, carissimi, non ad quietem, non ad securitatem, sed ad pugnam certamenque conuenimus; ad agonem huc processimus; ad exercenda cum uitiiis bella conscendimus.*

⁸⁷⁵ Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, c. 11-12, SC 398, pp. 156-158. Military terms in the *Homilia ad monachos* include *pugna; certamen; agon; hostis; conflictus; proelium; castra spiritalia; certare; gladius; militare; aduersarius; bellum; miles; impugnare; inimicus; insidiator.*

⁸⁷⁶ Brussels, Royal Library 8780-93 (2493), fol. 25v-32v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1564, fol. 16r-18r.

⁸⁷⁷ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, SC 398, p. 204.

⁸⁷⁸ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237-256, at p. 240. On the text: *Diem, '...ut si professus fuerit'*. See also p. § (bibliography).

⁸⁷⁹ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, SC 398, pp. 214-218; c. 26, pp. 222-226.

⁸⁸⁰ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 26.2-8, pp. 222-224.

Rule for Nuns stands closer to Augustine's text than the Rule for Monks.⁸⁸¹ This implies that the Rule for Monks was written after the first 35 chapters of the Rule for Nuns. However, the two digressions that form the theological core of the Rule for monks are much closer to *Vereor* and to Caesarius' *Homilia ad monachos*. Monastic life is, here as well, a battle and fiercely competitive:

But just as you had to fight for your life if you had marched into a battle against one people or another, you should fight even harder in this spiritual battle, so that the adversaries of the soul do not slay you. You have as many adversaries as you have vices. And therefore, fight like soldiers of Christ, so that you may rule with him in the heavens who says: Whoever takes his cross and follows me (Matth. 16, 24), if he leaves his father, mother, wife, children, and richness, he will receive hundredfold reward and will own eternal life. (Matth. 19, 19) Have this contest among each other: who prevails over the other in humility, in love, who is more gentle, more attentive in the works of God, who has greater patience, who is more reticent, gentle, mild, contrite...⁸⁸²

Aside from prohibiting women from entering the monastery (an analogy to *Vereor*), there is no other reference to monastic space.⁸⁸³ Instead, Caesarius frames his Rule for Monks by the requirement of *perseuerantia*. He begins by stating that conversion requires perseverance *usque ad mortem*; he ends the text with the words of Matthew 10, 22 that not the one who begins but the one who perseveres will be saved.⁸⁸⁴ There is, thus, a difference between the Rule for Monks which the irreversibility of monastic vows in the foreground and *Vereor* which revolves around the ideal of *uirginitas*. This does, however, not mean that both ideas are tied to one gender.

⁸⁸¹ De Vogüé, Adalbert, 'La règle de Césaire d'Arles pour les moines: un résumé de sa Règle pour les moniales', in: *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 47 (1971), pp. 369-406; Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 193-200.

⁸⁸² Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.4-11, SC 398, p. 216: *Vos uero sicut certamen habituri eratis, si in pugnam contra gentem aliquam ambulassetis, ut non ibi mortem faceretis, quantum magis in isto spiritale certamine pugnat, ut non uos aduersarii animae percutiant. Quanta uitia habueritis, tantos hebetis aduersarios. Et ideo certate sicut milites Christi, ut cum ipso regnetis in caelis, qui dixit: Si quis tulerit curcem suam et secutus me fuerit (Matth. 16, 24), si quis relinquerit patrem, matrem, uxorem, filios et facultates, centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam possedebit. (Matth. 19, 19) Hoc certamen habete inter uos, qui alterum uincat per humilitatem, per caritatem, qui sit micior, qui sit in opera dei uigilancior, qui pacienciam habet maiorm, qui sit tacitus, mitis, blandus, conpunctus.*

⁸⁸³ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 11.1, p. 210: *Mulieres in monasterio numquam ingrediantur, quia in remoto loco est.* The term *monasterium* appears one other time in the context of donating property either to one's parents or to the *monasterium*. Caesarius, does, however quote Luke 13, 24: *Contendite intrare per angustam portam* in c. 19.1, p. 214.

⁸⁸⁴ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, p. 204: *In primis, si quis ad conuersionem uenerit, ea condicione excipiat, ut usque mortem suam ibi perseueret.* c. 26.17-18, pp. 224-226: *Vestes enim seculares deponere et religiosas adsumere unius horae momento possumus; mores uero bonos iugiter retinere uel contra male dulces uoluptates seculi huius quamdiu uiuimus, Christo adiutore laborare debemus, quia non qui inceperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit. (Matth. 10, 22).*

Vereor, like Caesarius' Rule for Monks, addresses *perseuerantia* and despite focusing on *uirginitas* it was largely transmitted as a letter addressing a community of monks.⁸⁸⁵

Two other topics are conspicuously absent in Caesarius' Rule for Monks. There is no self-referential mentioning of the *regula* as a disciplinary or salvific tool and neither is there any intention whatsoever to turn the community into a *congregatio sancta* or its members into holy monks. The term *sanctus* appears only once, stating that God and the angels will rejoice over the monks' *sancta conuersatio* (holy way of life).⁸⁸⁶ Like *Vereor*, the text shows little sensitivity to the theological disputes on grace, free will, and human agency. It is *perseuerantia* and persistence in battle that does the trick, not divine grace.

Even if it is true that Caesarius wrote his Rule for Monks after he had started writing his Rule for Nuns, as Adalbert de Vogüé has shown, both Rules drift apart in five important aspects: the question whether monastic life has to be understood as a lifelong battle; the question whether monastic *conuersatio* and good works are a way of attaining sanctity; the question whether it is possible to pursue salvation on one's own; the question whether the *regula* itself plays any role in a monastic pursuit of salvation; and, finally, the question whether space and enclosure have any importance and salvific impact.

3. Escaping the jaws of the spiritual wolves: enclosure and the creation of a *congregatio sancta*

The most prominent feature of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is what modern historians call "total enclosure." Instead of just requiring *perseuerantia*, irreversible monastic vows, or *stabilitas in congregatione* (as the *Regula Benedicti* calls it), Caesarius forces his nuns not to leave the monastic confines for the rest of their lives and reduces any contact between them and the outside world to a minimum. The *Vita Caesarii* reports that his nuns rather burn to death than leave their enclosure.⁸⁸⁷ Already in the early middle ages, this lifelong incarceration has been understood to be the main feature of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.⁸⁸⁸ Modern scholars have

⁸⁸⁵ Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.17-18, SC 345, p. 302.

⁸⁸⁶ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.12, SC 398, p. 216.

⁸⁸⁷ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 26, SC 536, p. 282.

⁸⁸⁸ For example, Caesaria, *Constitutum*, SC 345, pp. 496-498; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 57-58, SC 536, pp. 228-230; II, c. 50, p. 308; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, MGH SRM 2, p. 393; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, c. 104, MGH SRM 1.2, pp. 365-366. On Caesarius' impact: Dailey, 'Introducing monastic space', pp. 17-18 with a survey of literature in n. 33.

developed different interpretations of Caesarius' concept of total enclosure.⁸⁸⁹ Maaïke van Rossem, for example, sees it as a measure of protection, particularly protection of *uirginitas*, which contributed to reducing the role of women within ecclesiastical structures.⁸⁹⁰ Suzanne Wemple considers enclosure an expression of the valorization of female religious life.⁸⁹¹ For Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, enclosure could shape a “spiritual space apart from the detractions of the world”, and was in addition a necessary form of protection from physical violence that made it possible for women to live a religious life which they otherwise could not. The rule, in her eyes, guaranteed autonomy and spiritual independence.⁸⁹² Cordula Nolte sees it as a result of the conception of womanhood as the weaker gender, more susceptible to temptations and transgressions, and thus as a profoundly sexist approach to religious life.⁸⁹³

All of these interpretations can be supported by good arguments. Enclosure could have been both protective *and* repressive; it was certainly rooted in a concern about female *uirginitas* and based on the premise that women represented the weaker sex. It marginalized women but it also gave them autonomy by strictly imitating male interference into the life they lived within the enclosure. I hope to show, however, that total enclosure, along with the requirement to follow a holy and unchangeable *regula*, was motivated not only by practical considerations and inherent misogyny but just as much – or even more – grounded in Caesarius' monastic theology. It is this theological framework, more than the practice of enclosure itself, that had an afterlife and a strong impact on medieval concepts of monastic space.

⁸⁸⁹ For a comprehensive list of literature on Caesarius' enclosure, see Dailey, 'Confinement and Exclusion', p. 305, n. 2; for an overview of sources on the spatial separation of women from Caesarius' onwards, see Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500-840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 7-19.

⁸⁹⁰ Van Rossem, Maaïke, 'De poort in de muur. Vrouwenkloosters onder de Regel van Caesarius', in: *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 4 (1983), pp. 41-91.

⁸⁹¹ Wemple, Suzanne Fonay, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1981, pp. 150-158.

⁸⁹² Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, 'Strict active enclosure and its effects on the female monastic experience (ca. 500-1100)', in: John A. Nichols und Lillian Thomas Shank (eds.), *Medieval Religious Women*, vol. 1: *Distant Echoes*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1984, pp. 51-86, at pp. 52-53 and p. 78.

⁸⁹³ Nolte, Cordula, 'Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad virgines des Caesarius von Arles', in: Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn (eds.), *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 7, Düsseldorf: Schwann 1986, pp. 257-271, at pp. 265-268.

Three years after the destruction of Caesaria's first monastic foundation outside the walls of Arles, Caesarius built a monastery for his sister at a safer place, within the walls of Arles and close to his episcopal palace.⁸⁹⁴ Caesarius' *Vita* gives the following report of its foundation:

Meanwhile, Caesarius rebuilt in particular the monastery that he had begun to prepare for his sister in likeness of the earlier rule (*prioris normae*) and for the sake of solitude of the cloister (*claustrum*). (...) Since that which agrees with a Christian does not hinder the divine plan, he created, like a new Noah of our own time, on account of storms and tempests an arc of a monastery for the companions and sisters at the side of the church.⁸⁹⁵

I suggest reading *prior norma* as a reference to a first version of Caesarius' Rule, the one that still shows similarities to his Rule for Monks. After the re-foundation, Caesarius revised and expanded his Rule over a period of twenty-two years until in 534 a finalized, "official" version was confirmed by his own signature and that of six of his fellow bishops.⁸⁹⁶ As a Rule that grew and changed over almost an entire generation, the text documents the evolution of Caesarius' monastic experiment.

It is easy to identify the different stages of its production. The first sixteen chapters are largely inspired by the monastic rules Caesarius had encountered before he became a bishop. Much of chapters 17-35 paraphrases the Rule of Augustine (the *Ordo monasterii* and the *Praeceptum*). Both parts together might represent what the *Vita Caesarii* calls the *prior norma*, though it is also possible that Caesarius' first Rule for Nuns consisted only of chapters 1-16 and that he added material from Augustine's Rule in a second step. Chapters 36-47 have, as we will see, a different tone and were most likely written after the community had existed for a while. When Caesarius completed his rule in 534, he added what he calls a *recapitulatio*, which covers chapters 48-65. At the beginning of the *recapitulatio*, Caesarius declares that from that point

⁸⁹⁴ This site has recently been excavated, though without gaining a full understanding of the monastery's spatial organization. See Heijmans, Marc, 'Les découvertes archéologiques dans l'enclos Saint-Césaire', in: J.-M. Rouquette et al. (eds.), *Arles: histoire, territoires et cultures*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale 2008, pp. 250-252; *idem*, 'L'enclos Saint-Césaire à Arles, un chantier controversé', in: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales* 3 (2010), pp. 2-15. On the topography of the monastery, see also De Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, pp. 98-114.

⁸⁹⁵ *Vita Caesarii*, c. 35, *SC* 536, p. 194: *Inter ista igitur monasterium praecipue, quod sorori praeparare coeperat, et instar prioris normae et singularitate claustrum <...> Ipsa uero, siquidem nihil obuiat mysterio quod congruit christiano, quasi recentior temporis nostri Noe propter turbines et procellas sodalibus uel sororibus in latere ecclesiae monasterii fabricat archam.* I have adjusted the translation of Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 26 based on the suggestions made by Marie-José Delage, in her edition of the *Vita Caesarii*, *SC* 536, p. 194, n. 4-5. The following paragraphs expand upon Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 173-193.

⁸⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 73, *SC* 345, p. 272. The list of subscribers appears only in the (lost) manuscript Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 617. All six bishops appear in various other contemporary sources which makes it likely that the list is authentic. See De Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, p. 273 (apparatus).

onwards everything he wrote previously (*quascumque scedas prius fecimus*) is invalid and the Rule needs to be followed as it stands.⁸⁹⁷ This probably referred to the *norma prior* mentioned in the *Vita Caesarii* but also to *Vereor*. It is exclusively the *regula* itself that the nuns are supposed to follow – without any alterations.

Chapters 66-71 consist of the liturgical program, a calendar of periods of fasting, instructions on the death and burial of nuns, and the meals of the community (*ordo conuiuii*). These chapters may have been part of the *norma prior* and moved towards the end because of the insertion of new material.⁸⁹⁸ Chapters 72-73 contain concluding remarks and the signature of his fellow bishops. This division needs to be used with some caution since it is possible that Caesarius, when expanding the text, had also made alterations to the already existing parts.

If we compare Caesarius' Rule for Nuns with his previous monastic programs, we need to look at both the content as well as the semantic changes.⁸⁹⁹ The most striking difference between the three texts I discussed so far and the final version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is that the battle is over. Hardly any of the military terms that were ubiquitous in his older monastic texts are found in the Rule for Nuns.⁹⁰⁰ There is no *leo rugiens* roaming around in the monastery anymore and – even more remarkably – none of the references to an embattled *uirginitas* and *castitas* as primary assets for attaining salvation can be found in the Rule for Nuns. We can assume that *uirginitas* remained central to monastic life, but Caesarius addressed the topic only in a sideline, in two chapters on the “desire of the eyes” (*concupiscentia oclorum*) that were inspired by Augustine's *Praeceptum*.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 49.1-2, SC 345, p. 234: *Pro qua re quascumque scedas prius fecimus, uacuas esse uolumus; 2 hanc uero, in qua manu mea recapitulationem scripsi, sine ulla diminutione rogo et moneo ut Deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis.*

⁸⁹⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 48, pp. 232-234. On the different stages of the composition of the *Regula ad uirgines*, see Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 173-174; De Vogüé/Courreau, in: SC 345, pp. 45-68; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 118-119. It is noteworthy that the liturgical *ordo* appears in its complete version only in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum*. All other manuscripts omit at least parts of it. See De Vogüé/Courreau, in: SC 345, p. 153. The Rule as it is presented by De Vogüé and Courreau is a reconstruction based on several incomplete textual witnesses. Helvétius, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', pp. 157-158 casts doubt's on De Vogüé's and Courreau's reconstruction.

⁸⁹⁹ McCarthy, Maria Caritas, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 1960, pp. 35-48 provides an analysis of Caesarius' monastic language in order to prove the authenticity of his Rule, however without reflecting on the content and the ideas conveyed in his choice of expressions.

⁹⁰⁰ Of all the military terms used in *Vereor* and in the *Homilia ad monachos* only the following ones appear in the Rule for Nuns: *certamen* (once); *hostis* (once); *militare* (once, in a biblical quotation); *inimicus* (once); *uulnus* (thrice).

⁹⁰¹ *CaesRV*, c. 23-24, SC 345, pp. 198-202. Even here, Caesarius avoids the term *uirginitas*.

The devil, who is overly present in *Vereor*,⁹⁰² becomes, according to the Rule for Nuns, a weak and easy target. Two things keep him at bay: the *regula* and enclosure, which forms the center of the *regula*.⁹⁰³ Instead of having the nuns engage in a lifelong battle with the *leo rugiens*, Caesarius simply banned the *lupi spiritales* (spiritual wolves, an allusion to John 10, 1-16) from the monastic confines. Caesarius begins his Rule with the following precept:

These things first befit your holy souls: If a girl, leaving her parents, desires to renounce the world and enter the holy fold to escape the jaws of the spiritual wolves by the help of God, she must never, up to the time of her death, go out of the monastery, nor into the basilica, where there is a door.⁹⁰⁴

He repeats this requirement at the beginning of his *recapitulatio*:

This is what we especially wish to be observed by you without any relaxation, that no one of you up to the time of her death, be permitted to go out of the monastery or into that basilica in which you have a door, or presume on her own to go out.⁹⁰⁵

The definitive version of this Rule closes with the following words:

And because for the sake of guarding the monastery, I have closed and forbidden the use of some doors, in the old baptistery, in the *scola* and in the weaving room, and in the tower next to the *pomerium*, let no one ever presume under any pretext of utility whatsoever to open them: but it shall be allowed to the holy congregation to offer resistance, and they are not to permit that to be done, which they know to be against their good reputation or peace.⁹⁰⁶

Based on the idea that the devil could be banished from the monastery's space, Caesarius is now even more optimistic than in *Vereor* and in his Rule for Monks. He and his nuns rejoice, not because they have an opportunity to fight their battle, but because, thanks to Caesarius' own

⁹⁰² On the devil in Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*: c. 1.8-10, SC 345, pp. 296-298; c. 2.10-11, p. 300 (using the image of the *leo rugiens*); c. 3.24-31, pp. 306-308; c. 4.7-8, p. 310; c. 4.14, p. 312; c. 4.16, p. 312; c. 8.14, p. 326.

⁹⁰³ There are a number of references to the devil in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, but Caesarius emphasizes that *uigilantia* and adherence to the Rule are sufficient to keep him at bay. See *CaesRV*, SC 345, c. 21.5, p. 196; c. 23.1, p. 198; c. 26.2, p. 204; c. 34.2, p. 214; c. 49.1-6, pp. 234-236; c. 63.6-7, p. 248.

⁹⁰⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 2.2-3, p. 180: *Haec sanctis animabus uestris prima conueniunt. 3 Si qua relictis parentibus suis saeculo renuntiare et sanctum ouile uoluerit introire, ut spiritalium luporum fauces deo adiuuante possit euadere, usque ad mortem suam de monasterio non egrediatur, nec in basilicam, ubi ostium esse uidetur*; transl. McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns*, p. 171.

⁹⁰⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 50, p. 236: *Hoc enim est quod specialiter absque ulla diminutione a uobis uolumus obseruari, ut nulla ex uobis usque ad mortem suam de monasterio egredi, uel in ipsam basilicam, in qua ianuam habetis, aut permittatur, aut per seipsam praesumat exire*; transl. McCarthy, p. 188, slightly adjusted.

⁹⁰⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 73.1-2, p. 272: *Et quia propter custodiam monasterii aliqua ostia siue in ueteri baptisterio, siue in scola uel in textrino uel in turre iuxta pomerium clausi atque damnauit, nullus illa umquam sub qualibet utilitatis specie aperire praesumat, 2 sed liceat sanctae congregationi resistere, et, quod famae uel quieti suae incongruum esse cognoscunt, fieri non permittant*; transl. McCarthy, p. 204.

initiative and thanks to the Rule he composed, the nuns have practically won and can comfortably and quietly spend their time praying for the visitation of Jesus Christ:

Because the Lord in His mercy has deigned to inspire and aid us to found a monastery for you, we have set down spiritual and holy counsels for you as to how you shall live in the monastery according to the prescriptions of the ancient Fathers. That, with the help of God, you may be able to keep them, as you abide unceasingly in your monastery cell, implore by assiduous prayer the visitation of the Son of God, so that afterwards you can say with confidence: *We have found Him Whom our soul has sought.* (Cant. 3, 4)⁹⁰⁷

Yet if we look at Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as a whole and listen to the story the text tells through its different stages, we can see how Caesarius' optimism has become tainted by an increasing anxiety over how to uphold the two major conditions for keeping the wolves and lions outside the monastery, so to speak. Most of the provisions made in chapters 36-47 explicate how enclosure needs to be implemented and protected. Caesarius restricts the access of outsiders to the monastery and regulates and minimizes contacts between the nuns and the outside world: no man may enter the monastery aside from those fulfilling liturgical tasks and those doing repair work;⁹⁰⁸ the same applies to secular women, religious women, and monks.⁹⁰⁹ The abbess meets guests only in the presence of witnesses.⁹¹⁰ Only bishops, abbots and well-reputed monks may pray in the oratory within the monastery (which seems to be a different place than the *basilica* where the nuns were not allowed to enter).⁹¹¹ The gates (presumably to the visitors' space and the oratory) should only be open at certain times.⁹¹² The nuns are not supposed to hold *conuiuia* (festive meals) with anyone, not even with the bishop or the *prouisor* (steward) of the monastery. Rare exceptions are made only for religious women living in the city and for female relatives, provided they are living a religious life as well.⁹¹³ The abbess is not allowed to eat outside the

⁹⁰⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 1.1-3, p. 170: *Sanctis et plurimum in Christo uenerandis sororibus in monasterio, quod deo inspirante et iuuante condidimus, constitutis Caesarius episcopus. 2 Quia nobis dominus pro sua misericordia inspirare et adiuuare dignatus est, ut uobis monasterium conderemus, quomodo in ipso monasterio uiuere debeatis, secundum statuta antiquorum patrum monita uobis spiritalia ac sancta condidimus. 3 Quae ut deo adiuuante custodire possitis, iugiter in monasterii cellula residentes, uisitationem filii dei assiduis orationibus implorate, ut postea cum fiducia possitis dicere: Inuenimus quem quaesiuit anima nostra.* (Cant. 3, 4); transl. McCarthy, p. 170.

⁹⁰⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 36, pp. 218-220: no men *in secreta parte*; c. 37, p. 220: no *matronae saeculares*; c. 51.2-3, pp. 236-238: no *familiaritas* with anyone.

⁹⁰⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 37, p. 220.

⁹¹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 38.1, p. 220.

⁹¹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 38.2, p. 220.

⁹¹² *CaesRV*, c. 38.3, p. 220; c. 59.1-2, p. 242: gate only open *oportunitis horis*.

⁹¹³ *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220-222; c. 53, p. 240: no *conuiuia*, not even for *feminae religiosae*; c. 40.1-2, p. 222: exceptions only for religious relatives from other cities.

monastery.⁹¹⁴ The nuns should not give out alms at the gates of the monastery. Care for the poor needs to be exercised through the *prouisor* of the monastery.⁹¹⁵ Nuns are not allowed to receive or give any gifts without the knowledge of the abbess and the gatekeeper (*posticiaria*).⁹¹⁶ The nuns are not allowed to clean, repair, dye, or store the vestments of outsiders.⁹¹⁷ The nuns' vestments should be produced within the monastery and not bought outside.⁹¹⁸ All interactions between the abbess and outsiders and between nuns and their family members require witnesses.⁹¹⁹

Caesarius expresses the urgency of these measures with a series of emphatic phrases: *ante omnia* (first and foremost); *coram deo et angelis eius obtestor* (I appeal to you in the presence of God and his angels); *coram deo et angelis eius ammoneo et contestor* (I admonish and appeal to you in the presence of God and the angels); *cum grandi affectu caritatis adiuro* (I beg you with great love and charity), etc. Not less than 18 chapters contain these markers of urgency.⁹²⁰ Just as *Vereor* is framed by Caesarius' concern for *uirginitas* and his Rule for Monks is framed by the necessity of *perseuerantia*, in the Rule for Nuns, total enclosure and following the *regula* forms the “alpha and omega” for the nuns' pursuit of salvation.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222: The abbess may not eat outside the monastery unless it is absolutely necessary.

⁹¹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 42.6, p. 224.

⁹¹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 25, p. 202; c. 43.1-3, p. 226; c. 54, p. 240.

⁹¹⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.4-5, p. 238.

⁹¹⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 28.1, p. 206.

⁹¹⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 36.5, p. 220; c. 38, p. 220; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 51.3, p. 238.

⁹²⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 30.4, p. 208: *Ante omnia coram deo et angelis eius obtestor*; c. 36.1, p. 218: *Ante omnia propter custodiendam famam*; c. 42.1, p. 224: *Illud ante omnia...ammoneo et contestor, ut uigilantissime consideretis*; c. 43.1-2, p. 226: *Ante omnia obseruandum est...contestor coram deo et angelis eius*; c. 47.1, p. 232: *coram deo et angelis eius ammoneo et contestor*; c. 48.4, p. 234: *Et ideo coram deo et angelis eius contestamur*; c. 49.2, p. 234: *sine ulla diminutione rogo et moneo ut deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis*; c. 50, p. 236: *specialiter absque ulla diminutione*; c. 55, p. 240: *Moneo specialius*; c. 59.3, p. 242: *deo medio contestor*; c. 62.1, p. 246: *iterum atque iterum rogo, et per omnipotentem deum uos contestor*; c. 63.1, p. 246: *Et hoc ante omnia rogo*; c. 63.2, p. 246: *uos cum grandi affectu et cum uera caritate salubriter ammonemus*; c. 63.8-9, p. 248: *Haec enim ego cum grandi non solum timore sed etiam tremore cogitans, dum pauescit animus meus, ne uobis aliqua uel minuta peccata subripiant, non solum ammoneo, sed etiam supplico partier et contestor, et cum grandi affectu caritatis adiuro*; c. 64.4, p. 250: *Praecipue tamen...contestor*; c. 69.25, p. 266: *Ante omnia*; c. 70.4, p. 268: *Ante omnia studendum est*; c. 72.1, p. 270: *coram domino deo nostro obtestor et deprecor*.

⁹²¹ It is not uncommon in monastic rules to place their central idea at the beginning and the end as a means of framing the rest of the rule. Caesarius' own Rule for Monks begins with and ends with emphasizing *perseuerantia*: c. 1.1, SC 398, p. 204; c. 26.17, pp. 224-226. His letter frames its content with a call for *uirginitas* and *castitas*, c. 2, SC 345, p. 298; c. 10, pp. 334-336. The monastic rule written by his successor, Bishop Aurelianus of Arles, places the necessity to obey the *regula* at the beginning and the end: Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240; c. 55, p. 256. The *Regula Benedicti* begins with the famous words *Obsculta o filii praecepta magistri* and ends with the recommendation to direct one's monastic life according to the writings of Cassian, Basil, and the *sancti patres*. *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1, SC 181, p. 412; c. 73, SC 182, p. 672.

Before Caesarius inserted his *recapitulatio*, his Rule ended in chapter 47 with an admonition that expresses both Caesarius' anxiety and optimism. *If the nuns follow his Rule (and particularly the rules of enclosure), they are still on the safe side:*

I admonish and I charge you before God and the angels, holy and highly venerated mother of the monastery, and you, the prioress of the holy congregation, let no one's threats or persuasions or flattery ever relax your spirit, and do not yourselves take away anything from the established form of the holy and spiritual rule. I trust moreover, by the mercy of God, that you will not incur guilt for any negligence, but through your obedience, holy and pleasing to God, you will be able happily to attain eternal beatitude.⁹²²

These concluding remarks point us to another pivotal innovation that emerged in the process of expanding and revising the text. Caesarius uses the term *sancta* (holy) in this short section not less than four times: he calls the abbess a *sancta mater*; the community is a *congregatio sancta*; he refers to the *institutio sanctae ac spiritalis regulae* (institution of the holy and spiritual rule); and makes *oboedientia sancta et Deo placita* (the holy and God-pleasing obedience) the basis for reaching salvation. Caesarius' use of *sancta* in these contexts is not accidental. Throughout his Rule he does not only address the nuns with an increasing density as *sanctae uirgines, sanctae sorores, sanctae filiae*, or simply *sanctae*, but repeatedly calls their community an *ouilis sanctum* (holy flock) or a *sancta congregatio*.⁹²³ The *sancta congregatio* is ruled by the *sancta abbatissa* or *sancta mater*;⁹²⁴ it follows the *monita spiritalia ac sancta*, the *sancta regula*, or the *institutio sancta regulae*.⁹²⁵ The nuns perform *orationes sanctae*, are engaged in *studium sanctum*, act in *sancta oboedientia, deuotio sancta, affectus sanctus, pietas sancta*, or simply *sanctitas*.⁹²⁶ The expressions *sanctus/sancta/sanctum/sanctitas* appear no less than fifty-seven times. The density of its use increases in the different stages of the Rule's

⁹²² *CaesRV*, c. 47, SC 345, p. 232: *Te uero sanctam ac uenerabilem monasterii matrem, et te praepositam sanctae congregationis, coram deo et angelis eius ammonero et contestor, ut nullius umquam uel minae uel oblocutiones uel blandimenta molliant animum uestrum, ut aliquid de sanctae ac spiritalis regulae institutione minuatis. 2 Credo tamen de dei misericordia, quod non pro aliqua neglegentia reatum incurrere, sed pro sancta et deo placita oboedientia ad aeternam beatitudinem possitis feliciter peruenire*; transl. McCarthy, p. 187. See also c. 61.2, p. 244; c. 64, p. 250.

⁹²³ *CaesRV*, c. 1.1, p. 170; c. 2.2, p. 180; c. 6.2, p. 184; c. 26.1, p. 204; c. 27.2, p. 206; c. 27.3, p. 206; c. 36.6, p. 220; c. 40.2, p. 222; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 49.4, p. 234; c. 59.3, p. 242; c. 62.1, p. 246; c. 63.1, p. 246; c. 65.1, p. 252; c. 72.3, p. 270; c. 73.2, p. 272; c. 73.3, p. 272.

⁹²⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 30.7, p. 210; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 61.1-2, p. 244; c. 72.1, p. 270.

⁹²⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 1.2, p. 170; c. 43.4, p. 226; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 62.2, p. 246; c. 64.5, p. 250.

⁹²⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 1.4, p. 172; c. 29.2, p. 208; c. 47.2, p. 232; c. 48.2, p. 234; c. 49.7, p. 236; c. 62.2, p. 246; c. 70.4, p. 268.

production. The term appears six times in the prologue, fifteen times in the first thirty-five chapters (less than once every three chapters), ten times in the latter twelve chapters 36-48 (almost once every chapter) and twenty-five times in the *recapitulatio*.⁹²⁷

If we compare Caesarius' use of *sanctus* and *sanctitas* with other rules, we can safely dismiss the assumption that this is simply an expression of a common religious language. In his Rule for Monks, Caesarius speaks once of *conuersatio sancta* (holy way of life) but does not use the term *sanctus* in the context of the abbot, the community, or the rule.⁹²⁸ In his *Homilia ad monachos*, the term *sanctus* is completely absent. Caesarius does use the term *sancta* several times in *Vereor*, following epistolary conventions, but never in reference to a *congregatio sancta* or to a *regula sancta*.⁹²⁹ Benedict, by comparison, uses *sanctus* occasionally for the works the monks should aspire to and refers to a *sancta regula* only in a sideline. Columbanus is even more stingy with the word *sanctus* – and the same applies, as we will see, to Jonas of Bobbio.⁹³⁰

Caesarius, thus, replaces the notion of the community as spiritual battleground with the idea that total and irreversible enclosure, along with the *regula*, which becomes a *regula sancta* or the *institutio sancta regulae*, could turn a monastic community into a *congregatio sancta*. Sanctity, thus, becomes “organizable” by means of shaping an impenetrable space that is detached from the surrounding sinful world and by means of submitting its inhabitants to an unchangeable Holy Rule. Breaking the enclosure and abandoning the *regula sancta* would irrevocably destroy the *congregatio sancta*. This was probably the main reason for Caesarius to

⁹²⁷ The *Vita Caesarii* as well describes the monastery as *monasterium sanctum* and the bodies of the nuns as *corpora sacra*. See *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 11, SC 536, p. 258; II, c. 50, p. 308.

⁹²⁸ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.12, SC 398, p. 216.

⁹²⁹ Caesarius uses *sancta* numerous times when addressing the nuns directly: *Vereor*, title, SC 345, p. 294; c. 6.3, p. 316; c. 8.15, p. 326; c. 8.20, p. 328; c. 9.1, p. 328; c. 9.6, p. 330; c. 10.2, p. 334; c. 10.17, p. 336. Furthermore, he refers to the *conuersatio*, *conscientia*, *colloquia*, *uita*, *religio*, *opera*, and *oratio sancta*: c. 1.7, p. 296; c. 1.9, p. 296; c. 3.16, p. 306; c. 6.1, p. 316; c. 6.10, p. 318; c. 7.3, p. 320; c. 7.5, p. 320; c. 9.5, p. 330. On four occasions he refers to the *anima sancta*: c. 3.10, p. 304; c. 4.14, p. 312; c. 9.12, p. 332; c. 10.1, p. 334; twice he calls a chaste nun a *uasa sancta*: c. 5.8/10, p. 314.

⁹³⁰ The *Regula Benedicti* uses the term *sanctus* predominantly to refer to saints and “holy fathers” and to feast days. See *Regula Benedicti*, c. 14.1, SC 182, p. 522; c. 15.1, p. 522; c. 18.25, p. 534; c. 49.3, p. 604; c. 58.18-19, p. 630; c. 64.18, p. 652; c. 73.2-5, p. 672. Benedict calls the acts the monks should strive to achieve *sancta*. See c. 2.12, SC 181, p. 444: *omnia bona et sancta factis*; c. 5.3, p. 464: *seruitium sanctum*; c. 6.3, p. 470: *bonis et sanctis eloquiis*; c. 21.1, SC 182, p. 538: *fratres boni testimonii et sanctae conuersationis*. Only twice, at not very prominent places, Benedict calls the Rule a *sancta regula*: c. 23.1, p. 542 in the context of excommunication; c. 65.18, p. 658 in the context of the prior. Columbanus' Rule uses the term *congregatio sancta* once in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 6, ed. Walker, p. 148 on the re-integration of excommunicated into the *congregatio sancta*. Likewise, Aurelianus' Rule for Monks addresses the community as *congregatio sancta* once in c. 55, ed. Schmidt, p. 256. He refers, however, several times to the *sanctus abbas*.

add a *recapitulatio* of another seventeen chapters which re-iterates all aspects of monastic enclosure and repeats numerous times that the *sancta regula* may not be mitigated or changed by any means and by anyone within or outside the community.⁹³¹ Even on his death bed, Caesarius urged his nuns never to deviate from the *regula* that he had imposed on them.⁹³² Caesarius' *Regula sancta* may have gone out of use nevertheless, but the principle of the monastic rule as salvific *regula sancta* re-emerges in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms. Due to the efforts of the Carolingians reformers the *Regula Benedicti* would become the *regula sancta* per se.

4. “Organizing grace”: Caesarius and the “Semi-Pelagian” controversy

What motivated Caesarius to abandon the notion of the monastery as a spiritual battleground and to invent enclosure as a salvific tool? I would argue that Caesarius' decision to submit his nuns to total enclosure is related to the so-called Semi-Pelagian debate on whether human achievements could be based on free will or had to be preceded by divine grace and, more concretely, whether good works and strict asceticism may lead to eternal salvation.⁹³³ At first sight, making such a connection seems odd. After all, Caesarius' triumphant optimism that his nuns have reached a space that ensured their eternal salvation seems to contradict the idea that salvation depends on divine grace and not on human agency. Caesarius tries it nevertheless and the fact that he stands on somewhat shaky grounds may have contributed to the nervousness expressed in his Rule.

Caesarius played a crucial role in the debate on grace and free will. At the Council of Orange of 529 (so, only five years before the final touches on his Rule for nuns), he advocated for a formula that turned the ability to do good works into an effect of divine grace. The acts of the Council of Orange determined that all human achievements and expressions of free will – the ability to pray, the will to be cleansed from one's sins, the beginnings of faith, desire, striving,

⁹³¹ *CaesRV*, c. 47-49, SC 345, pp. 232-236; c. 62-64, pp. 246-250.

⁹³² *Vita Caesarii II*, c. 47, SC 536, p. 304.

⁹³³ On the early history of the “Semi-Pelagian” debate: Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency*; Leyser, Conrad, ‘Semi-Pelagianism’, in: A. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publ. 1999, cols. 761-766.

labor, study, and imploring, the right choice that leads to salvation, and avoidance of hypocrisy – are eventually the result of divine grace rather than the cause of it.⁹³⁴

Caesarius may have considered his own foundation the ideal experimental space for facing the challenges posed by a doctrine of prevenient grace. It was, after all, his own private endeavor and, as a monastic community for women, less indebted to existing male monastic traditions. He could start from scratch and use, as it were, religious women who were already submitted to his episcopal power and supervision as his Guinee pigs. This would explain the shifts in language and emphasis that we saw when comparing the Rule for Nuns to his previous works: Caesarius abandons the battle of virtues and vices and replaces *uirginitas* as a salvific tool by, so to speak, a new typ of “*uirginitas*”, that of the monastic space (though he never uses *uirginitas* metaphorically as a reference to enclosure).

There are some remarkable connections between the “Semi-Pelagian” debate and the production and promulgation of the Rule for Nuns. Five years after the Council of Orange, Caesarius had the final version of his Rule approved by the signature of six bishops. All of them signed with the words *consensi et signaui* (I have approved and signed), a variation of the phrase *consensi et subscripsi* that we find in the lists of subscribers of the acts of episcopal councils (including the Council of Orange). No other early medieval monastic rule has been approved in this way by a board of bishops.⁹³⁵ Two of the six bishops who approved Caesarius’ Rule also appear on the list of subscribers of the acts of the Council of Orange: Lupercianus of Fréjus and Cyprianus of Toulon.⁹³⁶

Cyprianus of Toulon was not only involved in the Council of Orange, but he also staunchly supported Caesarius’ teachings on prevenient grace at another council that took place a year earlier in Vaison, where Caesarius’ position on grace and free will was under attack. Moreover, Cyprianus was one of the four authors of the *Vita* of Caesarius which was produced shortly after Caesarius’ death at the behest of the nuns of his foundation.⁹³⁷ It was he who

⁹³⁴ Council of Orange (529), c. 3-9, *CCSL* 148A, pp. 53-76; Mathisen, ‘Caesarius of Arles’, pp. 211-219. See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 60, *SC* 536, pp. 232-234. Caesarius defends the doctrine of prevenient grace in short *Opusculum de gratia*, ed. German Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2: *Opera Varia*, Abbaye de Maredsous: Maretoli 1942, pp. 159-164.

⁹³⁵ Adalbert de Vogüé suggests, however, that the *Regula patrum tertia* was promulgated at the Council of Clairmont of 535. See De Vogüé, in: *SC* 298, pp. 519-526.

⁹³⁶ See Council of Orange (529), *CSEL* 148A, pp. 64-65; *CaesRV*, c. 73, *SC* 345, p. 272.

⁹³⁷ Klingshirn, ‘Caesarius’s monastery for women’, pp. 445-451.

described Caesarius in the context of founding his monastery as a Noah of his own time who fashioned for his nuns “an ark on account of storms and tempests.”⁹³⁸ Ralph Mathisen argues, moreover, that only thanks to Cyprianus the acts of the Council of Orange survived and made it into canonical collections. The bishops’ discussion and the decisions made at the Council of Vaison have left no traces in historical records except for their rebuttal found in Caesarius’ *Vita*.⁹³⁹ Cyprian, as a spokesman of prevenient grace, had, thus, no qualms of placing his name under a Rule that promoted itself as salvific tool.

Another author of the *Vita Caesarii* was Firminus, the bishop of Uzès, who also appears on the list of subscribers of the Rule for Nuns. It was probably Firminus who wrote the section of the *Vita Caesarii* that praised Cyprianus defense of Caesarius’ theological viewpoints:

Blessed Caesarius could not attend the meeting [i.e. the Council of Vaison] as he had planned because of a serious illness. But he sent the most outstanding bishops [in his place], accompanied by priests and deacons, among whom holy Cyprianus, the distinguished bishop of Toulon, stood out prominently. Cyprianus proved everything Caesarius had been saying from the divine scriptures and demonstrated from the most ancient pronouncements of the fathers that no one could make any advance in divine progress on his own unless he had first been called by the intervention of God’s grace. But while they were seeking to establish their own justice, they did not observe God’s justice. (...) ⁹⁴⁰ At that point Boniface of blessed memory, bishop of Rome, became aware of this controversy and confirmed by apostolic authority the course of action by which holy Caesarius had settled the dispute among those who were quarreling. ⁹⁴¹

Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns, a rule that opens up a safe pathway to salvation was, thus, explicitly approved by three supporters of a theology of prevenient grace. How is it possible to read the Rule for Nuns as a document of a theology of prevenient grace? First, some general observations: Permanently withdrawing from the world is, as Caesarius implies, not an ascetic exercise, a battle, or an *opus bonum* (good work). To the contrary, entering the monastic space is supposed to be a joyful moment. Whatever the nuns do, they do it *feliciter* (happily) and *libenter* (gladly) – as Caesarius emphasizes several times in his Rule.⁹⁴² Life within the monastery may

⁹³⁸ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, p. 194; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius: Life*, p. 26.

⁹³⁹ See Mathisen, ‘Caesarius of Arles’, pp. 210-211 and pp. 223-225 on Cyprianus’ role in the preservation of the acts of the Council of Orange.

⁹⁴⁰ The author inserts a number of biblical passages supporting this theological viewpoint.

⁹⁴¹ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 60, SC 536, pp. 232-234; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius. Life*, pp. 40-41; see also *idem*, ‘Caesarius’s monastery for women’, p. 450.

⁹⁴² *CaesRV*, c. 1.5, p. 172; c. 47.2, p. 232; c. 65.5, p. 252: *feliciter*; c. 49.2, p. 234: *fideliter ac feliciter*; c. 49.7, p. 236: *non solum fideliter, sed etiam feliciter*. *CaesRV*, c. 58, p. 242 emphasizes that the nuns have to follow the Rule *prompta et libera uoluntate*; c. 59.1, p. 242 states that the nuns have closed all entries except for the one in the

have been mildly austere – no quilted or embroidered coverings and no wall paintings were permitted – but it was certainly not ascetic in any way comparable to the lives of the desert fathers who were revered and imitated by the monks in Gaul. Caesarius recognizes, for example, that it is a problem if the nuns don't have enough wine.⁹⁴³ The nuns' enclosure may have been irreversible, but it has little to do with the harsh life of male and female recluses in Egypt and Syria who locked themselves away in caves, tombs, or behind impenetrable walls.⁹⁴⁴ It is also clear that Caesarius did not want to repeat the mistakes that had forced him to leave his home monastery Lérins where he, as *cellarius*, wanted to impose on his fellow monks his own ascetic standards. The *Vita Caesarii* implies that Caesarius, once he left Lérins, realized that bodily asceticism, fasting and austerity, is not a path to salvation but a bridge to nowhere.⁹⁴⁵

Aside from taking *opera bona*, harsh asceticism, and spiritual battle out of the equation, Caesarius replaces the set of authorities he had used for *Vereor* (Pelagius, Ps.-Cyprian, Cassian) with one main authority: Augustine, the main proponent of a theology of prevenient grace. By paraphrasing Augustine's *Praeceptum* and *Ordo monasterii* in chapters 17-34 of the Rule, Caesarius presents the *norma prior*, the first version of his Rule for Nuns, as an elaboration of Augustine's monastic Rule. Caesarius was not the only sixth-century monastic legislator who "Augustinized" his work, though. The *Regula Tarnatensis*, written soon after Caesarius' Rule, incorporates most of Augustine's *Praeceptum* as well, as does the so-called *Regula Eugipii*.⁹⁴⁶ Hendrik Dey suggests that the use of Augustine's work in the *Regula Benedicti* could also be understood as a sort of disclaimer in the "Semi-Pelagian" debate.⁹⁴⁷

basilica *cum uestra uoluntate aut cum uestro permissio*: the nuns themselves insisted on complete enclosure. See also Van Rossem, 'Poort', p. 57.

⁹⁴³ On embroidery: *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230. On the standard of living in the monastery, see, for example, *CaesRV*, c. 30.7, p. 210: the responsibility of the abbess to provide wine for the monastery. See also the advice against excessive asceticism Caesaria gives in a letter to Queen Radegund 74-81, *SC* 345, pp. 486-488.

⁹⁴⁴ Some examples for ascetic recluses: Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 5, ed. Adelheid Wellhausen, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2003, pp. 501-502; *Historia monachorum*, c. 6.1, ed. Eva Schulz-Flügel, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1990, p. 284; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* II, c. 12, *SC* 510, pp. 268-274; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Historia religiosa*, c. 15; transl. Richard M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1985, pp. 115-116; *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* I, c. 32-33, *SC* 90, pp. 188-190; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 25-26, *SC* 142, pp. 264-268; Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum*, *MGH SRM* 1.2, pp. 286-291. See also Van Rossem, 'Poort', p. 55.

⁹⁴⁵ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 7, *SC* 536, pp. 156-158.

⁹⁴⁶ *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 14-23, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 33-45; *Regula Eugipii*, c. 1, *CSEL* 87, pp. 3-16.

⁹⁴⁷ Dey, 'Building worlds apart', p. 366 following De Vogüé, in: *SC* 181, pp. 33-39 and pp. 63-64.

Of course, simply inserting and reframing Augustine’s words and avoiding references to heroic ascetic battles and *opera bona* does not necessarily bring a monastic rule in line with the doctrine of prevenient grace. Caesarius resolved the problem by other means. The mildly comfortable monastery itself, the nuns’ conversion, and, most importantly, the *regula* are, as he states at the beginning of his Rule, at the end of its first version, at the beginning of the *recapitulatio*, and at the end of his final version, in themselves a product of divine support and inspiration.⁹⁴⁸ This emphasis on divine support runs throughout the entire text. The nuns escape the “spiritual wolves” and are converted to religious life inspired by God (*deo inspirante*).⁹⁴⁹ As Caesarius emphasizes at the end of the penultimate version of his Rule, they are able, by the mercy of God (*de dei misericordia*), to achieve eternal beatitude by avoiding *neglegentia* and through holy and God-pleasing obedience.⁹⁵⁰ Caesarius created the *regula* “by the graceful God” (*deo propitio*) and revised it “by inspiration of God” (*deo inspirante*) so that his nuns can follow it “with the help of God” (*cum dei adiutorio*).⁹⁵¹ At the beginning of his *recapitulatio*, Caesarius refers no less than five times to divine support. Following his God-given *regula* is an effective way to ward off the devil:

This rule, in which I have written the *recapitulatio* with my own hand, I beg and counsel you to fulfill, with the help of God (*deo adiutore*), faithfully and fruitfully without any relaxation, incessantly imploring the help of God (*dei adiutorium inplorantes*), lest the old enemy, who is wont to drag his followers down to himself from the heights of heaven to the depths of hell, ensnare you with his poisonous wiles. Hence, I warn you, holy (*sanctae*) and venerated daughters, to strive zealously to drive away his suggestions with all your strength and with most vigilant attention. And, with the help of God (*cum dei adiutorio*), so run as to obtain, because, not he who begins, but “...he that perseveres unto the end, he shall be saved.” Although I trust that you in your holy piety will always remember those things we have written above, and that with Christ (*Christo auxiliante*), you will strive, not only faithfully, but fruitfully to fulfill them, nevertheless in order that those things which we have established may be imprinted in your hearts more firmly, we have wished to make this little recapitulation, which I have written with my own hand. I ask that, with God inspiring you (*deo inspirante*), you receive it gladly, and that you strive constantly with the help of God (*cum dei adiutorio*) to keep it.⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁸ See *CaesRV*, c. 1.1-2, SC 345, p. 170, quoted on p. §.

⁹⁴⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 2.2, p. 180; c. 4.1, p. 182.

⁹⁵⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 47.2, p. 232. See footnote §.

⁹⁵¹ *CaesRV*, c. 48.1/3, pp. 232-234. See footnote §.

⁹⁵² *CaesRV*, c. 49, pp. 234-236: *Pro qua re quascumque scedas prius fecimus, uacuas esse uolumus; 2 hanc uero, in qua manu mea recapitulationem scripsi, sine ulla diminutione rogo et moneo ut Deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis, 3 incessanter Dei adiutorium inplorantes, ne uos uenenoso consilio suo antiquus hostis inpediat, qui de ipso caeli fastigio sibi consentientes ad inferni profunda consuevit abstrahere. 4 Vnde, sanctae ac uenerabiles filiae, moneo ut omni uirtute et uigilantissima sollicitudine suggestiones illius repellere studeatis. 5 Et sic cum Dei*

Caesarius subsequently urges his nuns to be “inspired by Christ” (*Christo inspirante*) and elect an abbess who will successfully follow the *regula*.⁹⁵³ He states that “God in his mercy” (*deus pro sua misericordia*) will not allow the abbess to change any part of the *regula* and calls on the nuns to be “inspired by God” (*deo inspirante*) and to resist any such attempt.⁹⁵⁴ He concludes his *recapitulatio* with yet another optimistic statement: that the nuns will reach the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia*) if they follow his precepts and reproach the negligent “by the mercy of God” (*de dei misericordia*) and “with the Lord’s support” (*praestante domino*).⁹⁵⁵ His liturgical section begins with the request to sing Psalms incessantly “with the help of God” (*cum dei adiutorio*).⁹⁵⁶ In his testament, which he wrote “inspired by God” (*deo inspirante*), Caesarius addresses his nuns as an “entire congregation that the Lord has placed in the monastery through His grace” (*uniuersae congregationis, quam ibi dominus sua gratia collocauerit*).⁹⁵⁷

Another recurring motif of Caesarius’ Rule is the emphasis that everything, including the manifestations of divine support, happens *within* the monastic space (*in monasterio; in cellula monasterii*). The expression *monasterium* appears 55 times; in *Vereor* and in the *Homilia ad monachos*, as already said, not a single time; in his Rule for Monks just twice.⁹⁵⁸ The *monasterium* or *cella monasterii* takes on a crucial role in the nuns’ pursuit of salvation.

Since God’s grace manifests itself *in monasterio*, it is unthinkable to Caesarius that any nun would ever want to return to the world. His nuns are “dead to the world” and the transition

adiutorio currite, ut adprehendere ualeatis, 6 quia non qui coeperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit. (Matth. 10, 22) 7 Et licet credam quod ea quae superius scripta sunt sancta pietas uestra et semper memoriter teneat, et Christo auxiliante non solum fideliter, sed etiam feliciter implere contendat, 8 tamen, ut ea quae constituimus sancto cordi uestro tenacius ualeant inhaerere, istam paruulam recapitulationem, quam manu mea scripsi, fieri uoluimus. 9 Quam rogo ut Deo inspirante et libenter accipere, et iugiter studeatis cum Dei adiutorio custodire; transl. McCarthy, pp. 187-188.

⁹⁵³ *CaesRV*, c. 61.2, p. 244.

⁹⁵⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 64.1-2, p. 250.

⁹⁵⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 65.5-6, p. 252. See note p. \$.

⁹⁵⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 66.1, p. 252.

⁹⁵⁷ Caesarius, *Testament 2/4*, SC 345, p. 380.

⁹⁵⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 1.1, p. 170 *in monasterio*; c. 1.2, p. 170: *in ipso monasterio uiuere*; c. 1.3, p. 170: *in cellula monasterii*; c. 2.3, p. 180: *de monasterio non egrediatur*; c. 5.1, p. 182: *ad monasterium ueniunt*; c. 7.3, p. 186: *in monasterio*; c. 21.2, p. 194: *quando ingrediuntur monasterium*; c. 28.1, p. 206: *in monasterio*; c. 30.7, p. 210: *cella monasterii*; c. 34.5, p. 216: *in monasterio*; c. 36.1, p. 218: *in monasterio*; c. 39.1, p. 222: *in monasterio*; c. 43.2, p. 226; c. 44.2, p. 228: *de monasterio*; c. 44.3, p. 228: *in monasterio*; c. 45.4, p. 230: *in monasterio*; c. 50.1, p. 236: *de monasterio egredi*; c. 59.1, p. 242: *ianua monasterii*; c. 60.1, p. 244: *in monasterio*. See also Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1.4, SC 398, p. 206 on giving possessions either to the parents or to the *monasterium*; c. 11.1, p. 210 on prohibiting women entry to the *monasterium*.

from this preliminary death to being truly dead becomes a mere formality. Their dormitory is, as his niece Caesaria states, modelled after their future dormitory, their final resting place in the monastery's basilica (which was inaccessible to the nuns while they were still alive).⁹⁵⁹

Caesarius' hagiographers describe the nuns' reward as follows:

Great numbers of virgins arrived there in throngs. By renouncing their property and parents they spurned the frail and deceptive blossoms of mortal existence and sought the lap of Caesarius, their father, and Caesaria [the elder], their mother. They did this so that torches aflame—they might await with him entry into the kingdom of heaven, and having entered properly might deserve to cling to the perpetual embraces of Christ. They are so strictly cloistered that until they die, none of the women are permitted to go outside the doors of the monastery.⁹⁶⁰

Yet the construction of a divinely inspired and effectively salvific space and discipline places Caesarius himself in a rather awkward position. He is, as he freely admits, a sinner and not at all superior to his nuns, but he is also a procurer of the divine grace that causes the nuns' joyful state of safety.⁹⁶¹ He built his monastery with divine support; with that same divine support he gave the *regula* to the nuns who entered the monastery with divine support and who will fulfill the *regula* with divine support. The *Vita Caesarii*, which was written in part by Cyprianus and Firminus for the nuns and with an audience in mind that had known Caesarius, makes a vigorous attempt to resolve this conundrum. Differently from Caesarius himself, who carefully avoided using the term *gratia* in his Rule for Nuns, the authors of his *Vita* had no qualms in emphasizing numerous times that Caesarius was indeed a procurer of divine *gratia*. Caesarius began his career, as his hagiographers tell, after having been tonsured by bishop Silvester of Chalon-sur-Saône because he was “set aflame by the promptings of divine grace.”⁹⁶² Divine grace endowed him, as we read later, with a “wonderfully retentive memory”, but also protected him from the harmful “inventions of human learning.”⁹⁶³ Caesarius tried to avoid being

⁹⁵⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 1.3, SC 345, p. 170. See footnote §. *Constitutum Caesariae*, pp. 496-498. On the burial of the nuns, see also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 58, SC 536, pp. 228-230.

⁹⁶⁰ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, SC 536, p. 196: *Conueniunt inibi uirginum multitudines cateruatim: facultatibus quoque et parentibus renuntiantes, respuunt mortalium flores fallaces partier et caducas. Caesarii patris, Caesariae matris expetunt gremium, quatinus cum eodem accensis lampadibus caelestis regni ianuam preastolentur, et competenter ingressae Christi perpetuis mereantur amplexibus inhaerere; ita retrusae, ut usque diem transitus earum nulla liceat foris ianua egredi de monasterio*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 26.

⁹⁶¹ *CaesRV*, c. 72, SC 345, p. 270. A similar idea is expressed in Teridius, *Epistula ad Caesariam*, c. 1, pp. 418-422.

⁹⁶² *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 4, SC 536, p. 152: *diuinae gratiae instigatione succensus*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 11.

⁹⁶³ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 9, p. 158: *quatinus tanta Dei gratia sanctus Caesarius refertus, tantaque memoria dono Christi uideretur esse fulcitus...*; transl. Klingshirn, pp. 13-14.

appointed as a bishop but “he could not be hidden, for it was divine grace and not his faults that revealed him.”⁹⁶⁴ In one of his many miracles, he extinguished a fire through his prayers “so that God’s grace might not remain hidden in him.”⁹⁶⁵ He is “worthy to possess more gifts of divine grace than many of the servants of God have had together”, and his hagiographers praise him as a “preacher of grace.”⁹⁶⁶ Divine grace has granted him the ability to pray for the sick.⁹⁶⁷ The first book of Caesarius’ *Vita* concludes with this statement that explicitly ties his achievements for his monastery to divine grace:

In short, because of the progress of his listeners, the obedience of his pupils, and the consecration of virgins, he had so many gifts bestowed on him by divine grace that he has not been crowned for only one merit, but because of his shimmering merits, he is now encircled by so many crowns that he is completely transformed into a crown of glory.⁹⁶⁸

Caesarius’ “had it” and he “gave it” to his nuns, as the authors of the *Vita Caesarii* sought to make clear to Caesaria the Younger and everyone else. Cyprianus, Firminus, and the other two authors of the *Vita Caesarii* are, however, ambivalent about the question whether divine grace was tied only to Caesarius as a *uir Dei* (a term appearing more than twenty times in the text) or also to his status as an ordained bishop. The text contains two miracle stories that convey conflicting messages. In one of them, Caesarius orders his fellow bishop Eucherius to rise up a paralyzed woman. After Eucherius reluctantly followed Caesarius’ order, the woman was miraculously healed. Other bishops “have it” as well, as the *Vita* implies, but only because they followed Caesarius’ instructions.⁹⁶⁹ In another story, Caesarius asks a fellow bishop to make the sign of the cross over the crippled hands of a woman. After the bishop’s intercession shows no effect, Caesarius makes the sign of the cross himself and the woman was healed.⁹⁷⁰ Other bishops, as the *Vita* implies here, *should*, in their position, be able to do what Caesarius does – and act as a procurer of grace – but in reality, they often do not.

If we read the *Vita Caesarii* closely, we can, however, also find some discrete traces of unease with tying the success of Caesarius’ experiment to his role of procurer of divine grace. It is as if the authors knew that resolving a theological conundrum by creating a saint as a sort of

⁹⁶⁴ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 14, p. 166; transl. Klingshirn, p. 16.

⁹⁶⁵ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 22, p. 178; transl. Klingshirn, p. 20.

⁹⁶⁶ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 45, p. 210; transl. Klingshirn, p. 32.

⁹⁶⁷ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 6, p. 244.

⁹⁶⁸ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 59, p. 230; transl. Klingshirn, p. 39.

⁹⁶⁹ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 47, pp. 212-214.

⁹⁷⁰ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 16, p. 266.

deus ex machina, is a bit shaky. Too much emphasis on prevenient grace might have caused some discontent among Caesarius' nuns, as one of the most puzzling episodes of the *Vita Caesarii* implies. It describes Caesarius' training after he had left the monastery of Lérins. The African rhetor Pomerius, who familiarized Caesarius with Augustine's theology, appears in this episode in a rather negative light.⁹⁷¹ He is described as merely a teacher of grammar who spoiled Caesarius' "monastic simplicity" (*simplicitas monasterialis*, which might refer to his life in Lérins) with "worldly knowledge" (*scientia saecularis*). It is – of all things – divine grace that averts Caesarius from this dangerous path and immunized him against "human learning" (*figmenta humanae eruditionis*). Caesarius has a remarkable nightmare:

So it happened one day that when he had grown weary from a vigil, he placed on his bed under his shoulder the book that his teacher had given him to read. When he had fallen asleep on it, he was soon struck with a terrible vision of divine inspiration. During his brief nap, he saw the shoulder on which he was lying and the arm with which he had been resting on the book being gnawed by a serpent winding itself around him. Terrified by what he had seen, he was shaken out of his sleep and he began to blame himself more severely for wanting to join the light of the rule of salvation to the foolish wisdom of the world (*stulta sapientia mundi*). And so he at once condemned these preoccupations, for he knew that those endowed with spiritual understanding (*intellectus spiritalis*) possessed the adornment of perfect eloquence.⁹⁷²

Do the snakes indicate the danger of Pomerius' teaching or of Augustine's theology? Augustine himself appears at two places in the *Vita Caesarii*. Caesarius, in no false modesty, places himself as a preacher on the same level as Augustine and Ambrose by recommending his fellow bishops to read and deliver the sermons of Augustine, Ambrose, his humble self, and any of the church fathers.⁹⁷³ At the end of his life, Caesarius hopes to die and be buried on the same day as his beloved Augustine – a sign of divine approval of his achievements:

When he learned that his feast day was near, he said, "I believe that the Lord will not separate my death much from his. For as you yourselves know, I have loved his most catholic way of thinking by as much as I differ from him in merit. Nevertheless, I do not think that the day of my burial will be very much separated from the time of his death."⁹⁷⁴

Caesarius missed the reward of dying on Augustine's death day by being just one day early. Moreover, he died just one day after the anniversary of the foundation of his monastery, which

⁹⁷¹ On Pomerius and his influence on Caesarius, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 65-100.

⁹⁷² *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 9, p. 160; transl. Klingshirn, p. 14.

⁹⁷³ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 54, p. 224.

⁹⁷⁴ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 46, pp. 302-304; transl. Klingshirn, p. 64.

would have been another privileged moment. Caesarius' hagiographers found this coincidence noteworthy enough to mention.⁹⁷⁵ It could be read in two ways. Either Caesarius' death symbolically linked the foundation of his monastery with Augustine's teaching, or it shows that Caesarius *almost*, but not entirely, succeeded in reconciling his monastic experiment with Augustine's theology. He would have been caught in the middle.

Caesarius' experiment had a lasting impact, despite the theological unease that it may have created. Some of its elements – the replacement of strict individual asceticism with a life of moderate comfort, the disciplining repertoire, the *regula sancta*, and the idea of the monastery as an otherworldly, protective and protected space – found their way into a broader (female *and* male) monastic discourse. The “toolkit” Caesarius developed for his foundation survived, albeit largely deprived from their theological framing, from the objective of reconciling prevenient grace with the monastic strive for salvation and, in most cases, without the imperative of lifelong confinement to a space with impenetrable boundaries.

A case in point for the impact of Caesarius' model is the Rule for Monks and Nuns that Caesarius' successor Aurelianus of Arles (d. 551) wrote within a generation after Caesarius' death. Aurelianus considered neither Caesarius' Rule for Monks nor his Rule for Nuns adequate for his foundations in the same city, but he used material from both works to create his own Rule.⁹⁷⁶ While Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was framed by the demand of total enclosure, Aurelianus placed the simple requirement to obey the *regula* at the beginning and the end of his Rule.⁹⁷⁷ For him, monastic entry amounted to complete submission to the *regula*. His monks and nuns had to follow the *regula* “as a remedy for *our* soul and for the salvation of your souls” (*pro remedio animae nostrae et pro animarum uestrarum salute*). Discipline and the *regula* allow his monks and nuns to proceed on the way to perfection and to arrive happily at the kingdom of

⁹⁷⁵ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 48, p. 306.

⁹⁷⁶ On Aurelianus' Rules, see <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Regula-Aureliani-ad-monachos.html> (with a bibliography); for a detailed comparison of Caesarius' and Aurelianus' Rules, see Diem, ‘...ut si professus fuerit’.

⁹⁷⁷ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240: *Hoc iubente deo in primis statuimus tenendum, ut si quis ad conuersionem uenerit, regula ei in salutorio legatur; et si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiat*; c. 55, p. 256: *Et uos, sancta congregatio, per profectum uestrum et per deum omnipotentem coniuro, ut omnia quae in hac regula pro remedio animae nostrae et pro animarum uestrarum salute statuimus, integra et inlibata custodiat*.

heaven.⁹⁷⁸ Though Aurelianus followed Caesarius by requiring enclosure, this enclosure almost becomes an afterthought in comparison to the importance of following the *regula*.⁹⁷⁹

Most of the theological core of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, however, did not make it into Aurelianus' Rule – or if it did, only in a distorted way. Caesarius' opening statement that he founded his monastery *deo inspirante et iuuante* (inspired and supported by God) is in Aurelianus' Rule almost cynically reversed. He founded the monastery *deo miserante ac iubente rege Hildeberto* (by God's mercy and by order of King Childebert).⁹⁸⁰ The idea that monastic discipline could shape something like collective sanctity is also gone. Aurelianus addresses the abbot ten times as *sanctus abbas* and his monks and nuns once as “you, holy community” (*uos, sancta congregatio*), but otherwise uses the expression *sanctus* rarely.

Caesarius' depiction of monastic entry as joyful moment has disappeared as well. Aurelianus describes monastic conversion as a painful process of abandoning the joys of the world: asceticism has returned, as has the strive for *uirginitas* and *castitas*.⁹⁸¹ Only in one chapter does Aurelianus unleash Caesarius' rhetoric of urgency and emphasis on divine support, but only in reference, rather anticlimactically, to the simple responsibility of the abbot to provide clothing and nourishment for his monks.⁹⁸²

For Queen Radegund who about a generation after its completion imported Caesarius' Rule to her new foundation, enclosure became a practical instrument of protecting herself and her community from very worldly threats;⁹⁸³ for Gregory of Tours, Caesarius' Rule became a legal text that proved useful in persecuting a group of revolting nuns who had left Radegund's

⁹⁷⁸ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.8, p. 240: *Et ideo regulam uobis ac disciplinam instituimus, quae uos ad uiam perfectionis recte facerent gradi et ad regna caelorum feliciter peruenire.*

⁹⁷⁹ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 2, p. 240: *Exceptus uero usque ad mortem suam nee praesumat nec permittatur monasterio egredi.*

⁹⁸⁰ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.1, p. 239.

⁹⁸¹ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.2-4, p. 239: *...ut repudiatis saeculi uoluptatibus ac, temporalibus gaudiis contemptis simul uel spretis, elegeritis sanctissimae uitae nitorem, et, uirginitatis ac castitatis gratiam complectentes, amorem dei tota uiscerum et cordis auiditate sectantes configere timore dominico carnes uestras et dicere illud...*

⁹⁸² Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 54, ed. Schmidt, p. 255: *Et quia deo propitio digna et sufficiens uobis facultas conlata est, quae sufficere monasterio uestro possit, coram deo et angelis eius te, sancte frater abba, et te, uenerabilis quicumque fueris praepositus, ammoneo et contestor, ut sanctae congregationi, quae deo inspirante et iubente secundum instituta quam fecimus regulariter uiuant, omnia quae eis sunt necessaria in uestitu et in uictu cum sufficientia tribuatis.*

⁹⁸³ Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 63-64, SC 345, p. 486; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 40, MGH SRM 1, pp. 464-465; c. 42, p. 470. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Merovingian Monasticism: Dissent and Experiment', in: Isabel Moreira and Bonnie Effros (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019, forthcoming.

monastery.⁹⁸⁴ About two generations later, Donatus of Besançon and Jonas of Bobbio developed their own response to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. They, as well, were happy to apply Caesarius' disciplining toolkit, but shared reservations against his theological framework and his optimism that spacial separation by enclosure and the *sancta regula* would suffice in the pursuit of salvation. Their unease led to highly creative responses and, in the case of Jonas, to a revolutionary new concept of monastic space – as we will see in the following section.

5. The devil returns: Jonas of Bobbio's unsafe space

Donatus of Besançon, who wrote the other revision of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, omitted most of its provisions on enclosure and on separating the monastery from the outside world – along with much of their theological framework. Donatus also skipped over Caesarius' reference to the banned spiritual wolves. Furthermore, he largely replaced Caesarius' triangle of *regula* – divine favor – enclosure with a new triangle based on Benedict's *humilitas* and *oboedientia* and Columbanus' *paenitentia*. He, as it were, ripped the heart out of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and replaced it with a new one that blends Benedict's and Columbanus' ideas.

Jonas' strategy is different and much more sophisticated. Instead of assuming that enclosure and the *regula* could keep the spiritual wolves at bay, he concedes that the devil does roam around within the monastic confines, despite all disciplinary efforts. The monastery again becomes a battlefield, but Jonas uses expressions different from those appearing in *Vereor* and Caesarius' *Homilia ad monachos*. He develops different strategies against a different kind of devil. It is no longer a battle for *uirginitas* or a battle against a catalogue of specific vices as laid out in *Vereor*.

Eight chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refer to the *inimicus*, *hostis* or *diabolus*, and it is remarkable that most of them envision the devil as a spatial intruder – of the monastic space but also of one's own inner space: It is the task of an abbess to build, through her example and teaching, a protective wall (*praesidium*) to overcome the enemy.⁹⁸⁵ Retaining love

⁹⁸⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* X, c. 16, MGH SRM 2, pp. 505-509.

⁹⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 1.18-19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, 19 ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum praesidiis prebuit supplementum.*

in one's heart is necessary to extinguish the old enemy's poison that leads to (eternal) death.⁹⁸⁶ During prayer, no nun may stay outside the oratory, to prevent the sleep that gives the evil enemy a chance to enter her.⁹⁸⁷ Nuns who share a bed must not sleep face to face, "lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation."⁹⁸⁸ Confession should prevent a nun from hiding the devil within herself.⁹⁸⁹ Nuns should be punished if they, incited by the devil, become insolent or haughty.⁹⁹⁰ If excommunication and punishment have no effect, love and prayer should help a nun who is entangled in the trap of the devil.⁹⁹¹ A protective circle of virtues (*ambitus uirtutum*) should surround the community in order to overcome the devil.⁹⁹² To sum up: the devil enters, casts sinful thoughts and desires inside, is hidden inside but also waits outside, and should be banned from the space and the community by the circle of virtues or the protective walls upheld by the abbess and the nuns. The shift of focus towards one's inner space does not at all mean that the physical space no longer mattered – quite to the contrary, as we will see.

Jonas' acknowledgment that the monastery is *not* a safe space forces him to re-define the nature of the monastic community – and he does this both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in his *Vita Columbani*. The community is not at all a *congregatio sancta* anymore (as it was for Caesarius) and the *regula* is no *regula sancta* and salvific instrument. Jonas is, in fact, very reluctant to use the term *sanctus* at all. In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it appears almost exclusively in the context of the Holy Scripture, the Holy Spirit, holy fathers, saints, and holy

⁹⁸⁶ Rcuiv, c. 5.12-13: *Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, ¹³ sicut scriptum est: Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24)

⁹⁸⁷ Rcuiv, c. 9.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio.*

⁹⁸⁸ Rcuiv, c. 14.7-8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, ⁸ ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

⁹⁸⁹ Rcuiv, c. 16.9-10: *Si uero ex maioribus culpis quod ad animae maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet abbatissae, ¹⁰ ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpa faciem diaboli interius recondat.*

⁹⁹⁰ Rcuiv, c. 18.1-2: *Si qua uero soror instigante diabolo contumax uel superba, seu inoboediens uel murmurans apparuerit, uel etiam in quocumque casu lapsa, seniorum precepta uel sanctae regulae normam uiolare temptauerit, ² haec secundum praeceptum domini secreto a senioribus semel uel bis corripiatur.*

⁹⁹¹ Rcuiv, c. 20.7-8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis dominus orationum officio deprecetur, ⁸ ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.*

⁹⁹² Rcuiv, c. 22.3: *Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

feast days. The same hesitancy manifests itself in Jonas' hagiographic works.⁹⁹³ None of the nuns described in the Faremoutiers section are *sancta*; all of them have, as we saw, some flaw or stain that needs to be removed through the remedy of confession and penance, through acts of preparation for their death, and through prayer – particularly the prayer of the community. The community is not perfect or *sancta* either, but nevertheless remains an important agent in the pursuit of each nun's eternal salvation.⁹⁹⁴ The Faremoutiers miracles as well as almost the entire second part of the *Vita Columbani* constitute an hagiography without saints. Organizing sanctity – what Caesarius hoped to achieve – is no longer an option for Jonas.

Moreover, Jonas does not describe Columbanus or Burgundofara (as abbess) or himself (in his role as author of the Rule) as “procurer of grace” in the way that Caesarius was stylized (and styled himself). Jonas refers to *gratia* (in the sense of divine grace) exactly once in his *Vita Columbani*, in the context of Columbanus' miraculous knowledge of the negligence of two of his monks;⁹⁹⁵ in his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* the *diuina gratia* is just as absent as phrases such as *deo adiuuante* or *deo adiutorio*. What does Jonas do to keep a community of imperfect nuns under control, who share their place with an ever-present devil? How does he protect the nuns from the persistently looming danger of slipping into eternal damnation? I address this large question in depth in Chapter 6 which analyzes each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. At this point I will focus on one particular aspect: Jonas' concept of space and boundaries.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains various references to space and boundaries that make sense only if we assume that Caesarius' practical regulations on enclosure are still in place. Indeed, space continues to play a central role for Jonas despite the fact that he does not share Caesarius' optimism that impenetrable walls might keep the wolves out of the monastery. Since enclosure and *regula* are no longer sufficient to guarantee the path to salvation, the control of the monastic space needs to be expanded by a sophisticated apparatus of discipline and surveillance. Even this improved apparatus does not guarantee full safety, as we know from the

⁹⁹³ Jonas uses the term *sanctus* four times in his *Vita Columbani*, referring to Columbanus' *doctrina sancta* (VCol II, c. 9; p. 248, l. 24) and *sancta regula* (II, c. 9, p. 249, l. 1; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 8), and to one of his nuns' life as *uita sancta* (II, c. 18, p. 270, l. 27). Aside from that Jonas calls Columbanus *sanctus* at four occasions: I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 21; I, c. 18, p. 186, l. 7; I, c. 20, p. 196, l. 23; I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 7. Eusthadius is called *sanctus* only once (II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 3). Jonas does not conceal that Eusthadius had his flaws and that even he did not experience a smooth *felix exitus*. See VCol II, c. 10, pp. 256-257.

⁹⁹⁴ On this aspect, see p. 5.

⁹⁹⁵ VCol I, c. 11, p. 171, l. 17.

Faremoutiers episodes. As Jonas tells us in the Faremoutiers miracles, some nuns escape damnation only narrowly; others not at all.⁹⁹⁶

Caesarius' and Jonas' program strongly differ on the question what it means to leave the world. For Caesarius, it is a physical status, for Jonas a mental attitude. For Caesarius, it seems to have been unthinkable that any of the nuns who joyfully and with the help of God have left the world would be willing to leave the monastery and throw themselves in front of the wolves. The *Vita Caesarii* recounts that when the monastery nearly burned down, the nuns risked their lives by taking shelter in the cistern of the monastery (along with their books and possessions) instead of leaving the monastic confines.⁹⁹⁷ Jonas picks up on this idea of the impossibility of returning to the world in a series of rhetorical questions, all of which center on "why should a nun who has left the world, want to return?" For him, however, returning to the world was less a matter of leaving the monastic confines but of harboring worldly desires and emotions. In the same way, leaving the world for good meant much more than entering the monastic space; it was primarily a conversion of the mind. Why would a nun want to return to the world after having left behind the desire for worldly *faleramenta* (idleness) and *perfunctoria* (carelessness) and after having directed her desire only to God? Why would she do so, after having learned not to claim any *res mundi* (objects pertaining to the world) for herself? Why would she do so, after having transferred her will (*uoluntas*) to the abbess and given up any *familiaritas*, i.e. attachment to kin?⁹⁹⁸ Jonas' primary concern is, as we also know from the Faremoutiers episodes, the nuns' *mental* escape. This even applies to the nuns who actually ran away from the monastery. Whether they are saved or doomed is not determined by their physical escape but by their willingness to reveal what motivated them to do so.⁹⁹⁹ Jonas is aware that the nuns can escape into the world while their bodies stay in the monastery but also move legitimately around outside the monastery while their mind remains fully enclosed, as the gatekeepers do.

Jonas is, therefore, realistic enough to concede that both mental and physical escape would inevitably happen and therefore need to be addressed in his Rule. Chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* determines how to deal with nuns who crossed the monastic boundaries and wanted to return to the monastery. The chapter is a thoroughly revised version of

⁹⁹⁶ See p. § and p. §.

⁹⁹⁷ *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 26, SC 536, p. 282. See also Klingshirn, 'Caesarius's monastery for women', pp. 455-456.

⁹⁹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; c. 9.6; c. 17.2-4; c. 17.8; c. 23.2-5.

⁹⁹⁹ *VCol* II, c. 13, pp. 263-264; II, c. 19, pp. 273-275. See p. §.

the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* in which Benedict allowed monks who left the monastery (or who were expelled) to return three times before being banned irrevocably.¹⁰⁰⁰

Jonas writes:

If at any time – what should be far removed from Christian piety – a sister leaves the confines of the monastery (*septa monasterii*) and, after fleeing to the outside (*foras*), returns, after having remembered her former piety and being daunted by the fear of eternal judgment, she should first promise the improvement of her entire character.² After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within confines of the monastery (*septa monasterii*).³ And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love,⁴ but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place (*in extremo loco*) among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable.⁵ But if after the third re-admission she is defiled (*maculata*) by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.¹⁰⁰¹

Jonas' revision of Benedict's Rule points to a number of important changes, many of which can be related back to Caesarius' Rule, filling gaps that Caesarius, in his optimism, left open. Jonas defines – in line with Caesarius – both escape and return as an act of breaking physical boundaries, the *septa monasterii*, as he calls them. He defines escape as an act that has fatal effects on the nun's salvation – to an extent that he even assumes that a nun would, out of fear for her soul, voluntarily return to the monastery. Jonas also emphasizes that a return to the monastery entails a change of one's inner attitude (*emendatio morum*). Therefore, he allows nuns to return only after a strict examination of their motivations. Finally – and again fitting with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns – he demands that a nun who has escaped more than once to be spatially separated *in extremo loco*, confined to the most remote space within the *septa* of the monastery. Caesarius had banned recalcitrant nuns to the *saluatorium*, the remote place where the monastic space and the outside world overlapped.¹⁰⁰²

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29, SC 182, p. 554.

¹⁰⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 21: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.* ² *Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscat, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.* ³ *Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur,* ⁴ *sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.* ⁵ *Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, sciat omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum denegandum.* See p. § for a detailed analysis of this chapter.

¹⁰⁰² *CaesRV*, c. 65.1-2, p. 252: *...a sanctae congregationis uestrae conuentu eam accensae zelo sancti spiritus remouete;* ² *et tamdiu in cella saluatorii sit remota, quamdiu dignam paenitentiam agens humiliter ueniam petat.* On spatial separation as punishment, see Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara

Physical space, as we see here, matters for Jonas if it is combined with a social space established by the community and a mental space of the individual. In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, as will be illustrated in the following pages, Jonas does not abandon Caesarius' enclosure; instead he triples Caesarius' effort. He creates three intertwined spaces with three different enclosures, three different insides and outsides (*intus* and *foris*), and three disciplinary apparatuses to uphold these enclosures: the *septa monasterii*, the *ambitus uirtutum* (circle of virtues) or *praesidium* and the *area pectoris* (the). These conceptual and physical spaces are the core of Jonas' monastic ideal and will have a lasting impact on the future development of monastic life in the West. They are implied, for example, in legal constructions of monastic space as we find them in foundation charters, privileges and immunities of monasteries, and in the medieval cloister as it is read into the *Regula Benedicti* by its commentators from the ninth century onwards.

The expressions *septa monasterii*, *septa coenubii*, or *septa secreta* play a prominent role in Jonas' work, appearing five times in his Rule and fifteen times in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis*. Jonas did not invent the expression *septa monasterii*; it appears several times in the acts of episcopal councils,¹⁰⁰³ once in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, twice in Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum*, and once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*.¹⁰⁰⁴ It is through Jonas and the impact of his *Vita Columbani*, however, that the *septa monasterii* found their way into various hagiographic texts.¹⁰⁰⁵ They also appear as *septa aut secreta* in episcopal privileges granted to monasteries following the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* which prohibit bishops and

A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149-166.

¹⁰⁰³ Council of Vannes (461-491), c. 7, *CCSL* 148, p. 153; Council of Agde (506), c. 38, p. 206: Hermits are allowed to have their cells *intra monasterii septa*; Council of Tours (567), c. 16, *CCSL* 148A, p. 182: A monk who does not return *ad septa monasterii* has to do penance; c. 17, p. 182: Women are not allowed to enter the *septa monasterii*; Council of Mâcon (581-583), c. 20, p. 228: on a nun who escaped *de septa monasterii*; Council of Paris (614), c. 14, p. 279: Fugitive monks or nuns who do not voluntarily return *ad septa monasterii* are to be excommunicated; Council at an Unknown Place (614), c. 6, p. 287: no baptisms and burials *intra septa monasterii*.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* I, c. 32.1, ed. R. A. B. Minors, *Fontes Christiani*, vol. 39, Freiburg: Herder 2003, p. 276; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* VIII, c. 19, *MGH SRM* 1, p. 468; IX, c. 41, p. 507: two letters related to the uprising at Radegund's monastery in Poitiers; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 3-4: penance for a monk who roams around *extra uallum, id est extra sepem monasterii*. See also Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie historique', p. 59, n. 12.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For example: *Vita Amati*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 216; Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Galli*, c. 13, p. 322; *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 3, p. 342; c. 5, p. 342; *Vita Desiderii*, c. 31, p. 588; *Vita Sigiramni*, c. 5; p. 609; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 35; *Vita Frodoberti*, l. 15, p. 73; *Vita Odilae*, c. 11, *MGH SRM* 6, p. 43; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, p. 102; *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 47, p. 242; *Vita Rigoberti*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 7, p. 64.

their entourage from entering the monastic space without permission.¹⁰⁰⁶ The expression did not disappear after the seventh century, but it did not become part of common monastic language either.¹⁰⁰⁷ This, however, does not mean that the idea of protected boundaries disappeared along with the expression. Rather, the term *claustrum* replaces the term *septa monasterii* and becomes ubiquitous in medieval texts from the ninth century onwards.

In Jonas' work, the *septa* usually appear in the context of illicit transgressions of physical boundaries. Unlike previous sources that use the expression, Jonas' *Vita Columbani* puts a strong emphasis on crossing the monastic *septa* in *both* directions.¹⁰⁰⁸ I will first address how Jonas defines monastic space from an outside perspective and how non-members of the monastic community are supposed to act in regard to monastic boundaries. Then I will show how Jonas, particularly in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, describes monastic space from an inside perspective. Both perspectives show that Jonas redefined existing notions of monastic space. He envisions a "double structure" with internal boundaries that define a space entirely inaccessible to outsiders and outer boundaries that surround an intermediate space in which monks, guests, pilgrims, workmen, and family members could interact with each other. Aside from storage rooms, stables, and other buildings essential for the functioning of the monastery as an economic unit, the guesthouse (*domus hospitalis*) was an essential part of the monastic outer space.¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁶ Macrulfus, *Formulae*, no. 1, *MGH Formulae*, p. 40: ...nulli nostrum liceat monasterii adire secreta aut finium ingredi septa. See also Privilege for the monastery of Rebais, *PL* 87, col. 1136A; Privilege for the monastery of Soissons, *PL* 88, col. 1185A. For more episcopal charters using the term *septa monasterii*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Maximilian Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63-89, here p. 78, n. 105.

¹⁰⁰⁷ A search on *septa monasterii* in the *Patrologia Latina Database* provides just sixty-six hits in texts written after the Merovingian period.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 4; I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 8; p. 191, l. 11; p. 191, l. 11; c. 20, p. 194, l. 2: three references in the context of the conflict with Theuderic II; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 6: building activities of Athala, abbot of Bobbio; II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 26: wolves break into the *septa monasterii* and infect Agrestius' supporters with rabies; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 25: Burgundofara educates Ercantrudis *intra septa coenubii* so that she does not know the difference between man and woman; II, c. 17, p. 268, p. 13: Wilsindana has a vision in the garden *intra monasterii septa*; c. 19, p. 271, l. 28: two fugitive nuns violate the *septa monasterii*; p. 272, l. 4: they try to climb over the *septa monasterii*; l. 12-13: noise withholds them when they try to leave the *septa monasterii*; they try to return into the *septa*; p. 273, l. 9: two other nuns escape *extra septa monasterii*. See also *Vloh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 25; John feels trapped *infra monasteriorum septa*; p. 331, l. 22-23: he is sent away from the *coenubii septa* of Lérins; c. 17, p. 340, l. 5: a sick person receives water from a well *inter septa caenubii*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Maillé, Geneviève Aliette de Rohan-Chabot Marquise de, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, Paris: A. & J. Picard 1971, pp. 22-29 provides a detailed outline of the organization of monastic space in female communities founded in the aftermath of Columbanus, based on references in hagiographic texts and monastic rules. Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a Tight Community shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 2, Cambridge:

Differing from previous uses, the term *septa monasterii* for Jonas refers particularly to the inaccessible inner space of the monastery, which may have been inspired by the monastic enclosure as developed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Expanding on Caesarius, Jonas "empowers" the *septa monasterii* as a space privileged for the pursuit of salvation and for performing intercessory prayer for the outside world. We will see how theology meets its practical implementation.

a. The *septa monasterii*, the outside perspective

Especially in the first book of the *Vita Columbani*, which describes the life of the saint himself and his monastic foundations, the monastic boundaries play a central role, to an extent that we could read the text as a manifesto for a new concept of monastic space. The dramatic climax of the first book of the *Vita Columbani* is the confrontation between Columbanus and two members of the Merovingian royal dynasty, Brunhild (d. 613) and her grandson Theuderic II (d. 613). Both of them initially belonged to the supporters of Columbanus and his followers and sponsored his main monastic foundation, Luxeuil. Like other Merovingian rulers they expected to profit from supporting the holy man and his community, which consisted of both of Irish *peregrini* and members of the local aristocracy.¹⁰¹⁰

If we believe Jonas, the relationship between the royals and Columbanus turned sour when the saint attacked Theuderic II for taking concubines in lieu of entering a lawful marriage. Columbanus refused to bless Theuderic II's children and predicted that they would never become rulers. Knowing that assaulting a holy man might have devastating effects, Brunhild and Theuderic tried to exile him while forcing all monks of Frankish origin to stay in Luxeuil. The attempt to get the dangerous holy man out of the country failed. Columbanus first relocated to the territory of Theuderic's brother Theuderbert and later into the realm of Clothar II who, as an avid supporter of Columbanus and a king who willingly followed the saint's political and moral

Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, shows how high medieval monasteries developed very similar forms of spatial organization.

¹⁰¹⁰ On Brunhild's and Theuderic's involvement with Columbanus' foundations, see especially Wood, Ian N., 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99-120.

guidance, eventually took control over all Frankish kingdoms and exterminated what was left of Brunhild's branch of the Merovingian family.¹⁰¹¹

Next to the altercations about sexual morals and politics, Jonas developed another line of conflict – around the respect of the monastic *septa* and the *regula* that establishes them. Theuderic's downfall, an event known to Jonas' audience and perhaps even vividly remembered by some of them, was not caused by his moral depravity or even by his attempts to exile the saint but, explicitly, by demanding access to the monastery he had sponsored and by forcing himself into its refectory:

Therefore, the king, under compulsion, came to the man of God at Luxeuil. He confronted Columbanus about why he did not comply with the customs of the region (*ab conprouincialibus moribus disciseret*) and did not allow all Christians access to the inner confines (*septa secretiora*) of the monastery. Blessed Columbanus, who was courageous and strong in mind, replies in this way to the king's criticism: it is not his custom to allow the laity, strangers to the religious way of life, access to the living quarters of the servants of God. Appropriate and suitable places have been prepared by him specifically for this purpose, which can accommodate all the guests who arrived. The king replies to this, "if you wish to have the gifts of our generosity and the support of our assistance, everyone must be allowed free access everywhere." "If you try to violate what has up till now been strictly forbidden under the discipline of the Rule (*nunc usque sub regularis disciplinae abenis*)", Columbanus replies, "I no longer want to be sustained by any of your gifts or support, and if you have come here for this reason, so that you might destroy the communities of the servants of God and dishonor the regular discipline (*ut seruorum Dei caenubia distruas et regularem disciplinam macules*), your kingdom will soon be completely destroyed and all the royal offspring annihilated." Later events proved the truth of this prophecy. The king had already rashly entered the refectory, but terrified at hearing these words he quickly came back outside.¹⁰¹²

Theuderic retreated, but the damage was irreversible. He later sent a group of soldiers into the monastic confines to arrest Columbanus. In this context, Jonas tells a story that exemplifies the power of the monastic space: the leader of the group of soldiers remains outside and sees that, within the *septa monasterii*, Columbanus makes himself invisible to his persecutors, like Alberich the dwarf (no relative of mine). The leader watches the scene through a window and sees how his soldiers search for the saint who quietly sits in front of the oratory and reads a book. Realizing that something miraculous is going on, he calls them to retreat

¹⁰¹¹ VCol I, c. 18-23, pp. 186-206.

¹⁰¹² VCol I, c. 19, pp. 190-191; transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press 2017, pp. 136-138.

immediately.¹⁰¹³ Two counts sent by Theuderic to arrest Columbanus implore the saint to leave the monastery voluntarily. When the saint refuses, they back off and delegate the task of entering the monastery to a group of common soldiers. Torn between following their superiors' orders and offending a holy man, they beg the saint to leave the monastery without being forced. Columbanus gives in and leaves Luxeuil but, instead of returning to Ireland, he only leaves the boundaries of Theuderic's kingdom and extends his support to Theuderic's adversaries.¹⁰¹⁴

Jonas teaches in the first book of the *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus' foundations and those of his followers involve not only the monks and nuns living in the monastery, but everyone who interacts with the monastery and expects the spiritual support of its inhabitants: kings, aristocrats, bishops, and even ordinary people. Monasteries became indeed an essential part of the social fabric of Merovingian society,¹⁰¹⁵ but under the condition that everyone respects their *regula* and, in particular, their physical boundaries and material possessions. Columbanus, or rather his followers and the narrator of his *Life*, did not invent this notion of space and social integration – there have been traces in earlier texts – but they did make it a generally accepted model that would be reinforced in various later hagiographic narratives,¹⁰¹⁶ and manifested itself in episcopal privileges and royal immunities.

It is noteworthy that Jonas embeds the dramatic lesson about the inviolability of the monastic *septa* into a wide range of other references to space, boundaries and their transgression outside the monastic sphere. Columbanus refuses to enter the boundaries of the royal court; Theuderic tries to incarcerate Luxeuil's monks and Columbanus within the boundaries of their monasteries; Columbanus allows prisoners to cross the boundaries of their prison. The saint's power, as Jonas emphasizes time and again, is the power to define and cross spatial limits and to restrict access to that space.

Because Jonas' notion of space was new and contested and not in accordance with the *mores comprounciales* (the local customs) he explained it to his audience by using an unusual literary device, a series of animal miracles. In other saints' lives, such miracles mostly remind

¹⁰¹³ VCol I, c. 20, pp. 193-194.

¹⁰¹⁴ VCol I, c. 20, pp. 194-195.

¹⁰¹⁵ See Kreiner, Jamie, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

¹⁰¹⁶ For example *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 11-13, MGH SRM 6, pp. 71-72; *Miracula Austrigisili*, c. 6, MGH SRM 4, p. 203; *Vita Carileffi*, c. 33-35, AASS, July, vol. 1, p. 98; *Vita Pardulfi*, c. 15, MGH SRM 7, pp. 33-34.

the reader that animals naturally grasp the saint's power where humans fail to do so.¹⁰¹⁷ In Jonas' work they play a more specific role. They explain how monastic space functions and how claims of inviolability of space grow out of the unconditional respect towards the saint himself.¹⁰¹⁸

Columbanus meets a pack of twelve wolves and, while reflecting whether it would be better to surround himself with real beasts or with beastly humans, he realizes that the wolves snap at his clothes, but shy away from attacking him. The saint's body is, as we learn, off-limits.¹⁰¹⁹ Perhaps Columbanus had protected himself through hygienic asceticism, boasting such a formidable odor of sainthood that even wolves avoided him.

Soon afterwards, Columbanus finds a cave he wants to use as an eremitic hideout. A bear who was living in the cave willingly gives up what the saint had claimed for himself in friendly words.¹⁰²⁰ The animal fable affirms that regardless of who else lives there, whatever space the saint claims is his.

In a third story, a raven steals a glove that Columbanus had left on a stone in front of the refectory (thus inside the monastery). Columbanus, realizing that only the mischievous bird could have committed such a theft, warns the animal that he would not be able to feed his young if he does not return the glove. The raven comes back remorseful and delivers the stolen object.¹⁰²¹ We learn that not only that the monastic space itself is sacrosanct, but so too is everything within this space that belongs to the monastery, even if it is an object as mundane as a glove. The raven story can be read as a prefiguration of the conflict between Columbanus and Theuderic that happened soon afterwards. We find a similar concern for monastic objects – from an inside perspective – in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which devotes two entire chapters to the care for objects (c. 13 and 16).

¹⁰¹⁷ See, for example, Alexander, Dominic, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2008; Leyerle, Blake, 'Monks and Other Animals', in: Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller (eds.), *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 2005, pp. 150-174.

¹⁰¹⁸ The following paragraphs build on previously published work, particularly Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521-559, esp. pp. 531-543; *idem*, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51-67.

¹⁰¹⁹ *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 166.

¹⁰²⁰ *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 167.

¹⁰²¹ *VCol* I, c. 15, pp. 178-179.

In the next episode, Columbanus encounters another bear who is just about to eat from the carcass of a deer that had been killed by wolves. The saint decides that the deer's skin could be used to make shoes for his monks and sends the bear away. The saint returns to the monastery and orders his monks to rescue the carcass. They find the deer surrounded by a swarm of birds who were attracted by its smell but remain at a fearful distance, knowing that the saint had declared the deer forbidden food and that it would be lethal to eat from it.¹⁰²² This fourth lesson has several layers. It shows that the order which Columbanus had given to the bear, also applies to all other animals and that it is binding, regardless of whether the saint is present or not. Even in the saint's absence the deer is untouched, and it is not Columbanus who rescues it, but his monks who partake in the saint's authority. Moreover, the birds surrounding the deer at a safe distance could be understood as marking something like a forbidden zone established by the saint's order. Shortly thereafter, Theuderic violates the forbidden zone of Columbanus' monastery – and he is bitterly punished for it. As we learn from the vultures, the saint's power does not cease with his absence.

A last animal miracle, which happens after the showdown between Theuderic II and Columbanus, adds yet another dimension to Jonas' notion of monastic space, Columbanus and his disciple Chagnoald realize that a bear has eaten the fruit from the monastery's orchard. Columbanus orders Chagnoald to make an agreement with the bear, dividing the orchard into two parts, one for the bear and one for the monastic community – a deal the bear willingly accepts.¹⁰²³ It is, again, not the saint who gets involved, but his assistant, who would after Columbanus' death become an important administrator in Luxeuil.

Jonas explains in this last lesson how monks could peacefully negotiate their claim on land they needed to support themselves; he provides a model for how the outside world, for mutual benefit, should give into the monastery's claims. This could be read as a prefiguration of Jonas' fruitful collaboration with King Clothar II who, after having wrested control over all the Frankish kingdoms, became a protector and ardent supporter of Columbanus and his monastic foundations.¹⁰²⁴ Jonas thus extended, step by step, Columbanus' spatial claims from the saint's own body, to the space, property, and boundaries of the monastery and to the monastery's

¹⁰²² *VCol I*, c. 17, p. 181.

¹⁰²³ *VCol I*, c. 27, p. 217.

¹⁰²⁴ *VCol I*, c. 24, pp. 206-208; c. 30, pp. 221-223.

control over its estates, which are just as much protected by the power of the saint as his own body.¹⁰²⁵

The clash between Columbanus and Theuderic and the differentiation of monastic space in Jonas' animal stories hint towards a "double structure" of an inaccessible and empowered inner space, the *septa monasterii* or *septa secreta*, and an outer area with various levels of accessibility – the orchard in the last animal episode. This double structure became, in many variations, a self-evident feature of medieval monasteries – so self-evident that historians eventually saw little need to question its origins.¹⁰²⁶ However, we should by no means take for granted that it was always there and that we can assume its existence even if it is not mentioned in our sources.

Most of our early sources that address the question of monastic space either imply that there were no places in the monastery that categorically exclude outsiders (this would be, for example, the case for Lérins and the Jura monasteries)¹⁰²⁷ or imply that outsiders were in principle excluded from the monastic space. Caesarius' foundation for his nuns, Aurelianus' monasteries, or the community that the Jura Father Romanus founded for his sister, are examples of monasteries that give no access to outsiders.¹⁰²⁸ How impenetrable boundaries would become was partly, though not exclusively, determined by gender and the question whether the monastery was situated within a city, in a civilized and accessible countryside or truly *in eremo* (in the wilderness).

Of course, monasteries before Columbanus operated with various forms of internal boundaries, but outside the realm of Caesarius' experiment, there is little indication that monastic conversion, monastic identity, or the power of the monastery was "spatialized" in the sense that monastic conversion entailed access to a privileged space. Instead of creating places of *quies* by exclusion (to use a term that would appear in episcopal privileges), monastic rules before

¹⁰²⁵ On the development towards sacralization of monastic estates, see Lauwers, 'Constructing monastic space'; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 1-23.

¹⁰²⁶ Studies on the "double structure" of monasteries include Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie monastique'; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 156-183 (on Cluny); Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a tight Community shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space', forthcoming; Uggé, 'Lieux, espaces'.

¹⁰²⁷ See, for example, *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 15, SC 142, p. 256; c. 172, p. 172.

¹⁰²⁸ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 25-26, pp. 264-268.

Columbanus were primarily concerned with organizing *how* monks and outsiders were supposed to interact,¹⁰²⁹ how they were to be welcomed, housed, and set to work,¹⁰³⁰ how they ate in the refectory,¹⁰³¹ or, especially in the case of the *Regula Magistri*, how to prevent outsiders from stealing monastic property.¹⁰³² Some early monastic rules explicitly forbid women from entering the monastic space, which implicates that men had access.¹⁰³³ The *Regula Magistri*, however, hints at internal boundaries such as when monks ask for prayer when crossing the “outside threshold of the last portal” (*limen forense ultimae regiae monasterii*), but this stipulation is not paired with any restrictions of access to inner spaces.¹⁰³⁴ In addition, there is no indication of a double structure in the *Regula Benedicti*.

Jonas of Bobbio indicates that his notion of exclusive *septa* within a larger monastic space is, on the one hand, a novelty that deviates from the *mores conprouinciales* (local customs), but also strongly emphasizes that it was an essential part of the *regula* and a precondition of the monastery’s functioning. The monks can live and pray on others’ behalf only if their undisturbed life is guaranteed and the inner boundaries of their monastery are respected. Whoever breaks them will face dire consequences, which does not only apply to Theuderic. Later hagiographic text provide several examples of monastic intruders who face divine punishment.¹⁰³⁵

Monasteries founded in the aftermath of Columbanus did indeed operate in a social surrounding that respected their physical boundaries. Otherwise it would have been impossible for Luxeuil and other monasteries to become safe havens and places for voluntary retreat or imprisonment for political and dynastic adversaries who were indeed protected from violence for

¹⁰²⁹ For example, *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.36-42, SC 297, p. 192.

¹⁰³⁰ For example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 53, SC 182, pp. 610-616; *Regula Magistri*, c.1.13-92, SC 105, pp. 332-350; c. 78-79, SC 106, pp. 316-328; c. 87.60-65, pp. 364-366.

¹⁰³¹ For example, *Regula Magistri*, c. 24.20-21, pp. 126-128.

¹⁰³² For example, *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.87, p. 62; c. 79.3-4, p. 322; c. 87.52-61, pp. 364-366; c. 88.7-14, pp. 368-370.

¹⁰³³ *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 4, SC 298, pp. 534-536; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 4, ed. Vincent Desprez, ‘La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique’, in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117-148, at p. 128; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 20, ed. Villegas, p. 43. The *Regula Tarnatensis* restricts women to a special *domus hospitalis*. See also Council of Tours (567), c. 17, CSEL 148A, p. 182; Council of Auxerre (591-605), c. 26, p. 268; See also Bonnerue, ‘Éléments de topographie historique’, pp. 59-61.

¹⁰³⁴ *Regula Magistri*, c. 66.7 and c. 67.4, SC 106, p. 294; transl. Eberle, pp. 232-233; see also Uggé, ‘Lieux, espaces’, p. 22.

¹⁰³⁵ See, for example, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 17, p. 269; *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 11-13, MGH SRM 6, pp. 71-72; *Miracula Austrigisili*, c. 6, MGH SRM 4, p. 203; *Vita Carileffi*, c. 33-35, AASS July, vol. 1, p. 98; *Vita Pardulfi*, c. 15, MGH SRM 7, pp. 33-34.

as long as they stayed within the monastic boundaries.¹⁰³⁶ The fact that many monasteries founded in the seventh century developed an institutional continuity reaching far beyond the medieval period underlines the spiritual and legal power of the *septa monasterii*. Hardly any of the numerous monastic foundations mentioned in the works of Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great just a generation before Columbanus managed to develop the same longevity.

b. Jonas' *septa monasterii*: the inside perspective

Having looked at the *septa monasterii* from outside, I will now describe what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* reveal about the inside perspective: the organization and the spiritual and disciplinary implications of monastic space, and how Jonas' monastic space relates to Caesarius of Arles' enclosure. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* indicates, just like the *Vita Columbani*, that the monastery consists of an inner space, *septa*, and an outer zone that is shared with the surrounding non-monastic world. Jonas does not explicitly address and explain the model itself, which implies that it was already a given when he wrote his Rule. He did, however, provide a large number of detailed regulations on the organization of monastic space which show that the double structure was not yet established to the point that it would disappear into the realm of the self-evident and thus become largely invisible to us. This places us in a fortunate position for understanding the rationale for this spatial organization, especially since Jonas in his Rule tends to connect practical aspects with spiritual and theological reflections.

Most of Jonas' references to monastic boundaries, to the organization of the physical space of the monastery and to its spiritual dimension can be found in the third chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which is titled *De monasterii portaria* ("On the Porter of the Monastery" – a detailed analysis of this particularly complicated chapter appears in Chapter 6 of this study). Though the chapter title only refers to a *portaria*, the chapter itself describes two monastic functions: *portaria uel ostiaria*, each of which can be held by more than one person. As we will see, the expression *uel* does here not indicate that *portaria* and *ostiarii* are just synonyms

¹⁰³⁶ De Jong, Mayke, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in: *eadem*, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 291-328.

but that they refer to two different kinds of accesses to the monastery, the *porta*, the gate, and the *ostia*, the doors.

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does not mention a *portaria* or *ostiaria* and, given his emphasis on all aspects of enclosure and the number of different offices in the monastery he *does* mention, we can assume that the *portariae* or *ostiariae* would have appeared in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns if these offices had then existed. Caesarius does, however, refer several times to the office of the *posticiaria*, who was responsible for accepting gifts, donations, and other goods and channeling them into the monastery. He seems to have invented this term, which otherwise appears only once in Baudonivia's *Vita Radegundis* and three times in the *Regula Donati* in the sections quoted from Caesarius. Afterwards the *posticiaria* disappears from our sources.¹⁰³⁷

Jonas' chapter on the *portaria* is, as far as we know, largely phrased without a textual model, containing only vague allusions to a number of chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁰³⁸ What Jonas says about the *portariae* and *ostiariae* and their tasks is largely new and unprecedented in earlier monastic rules. He knew Benedict's chapter about the *ostiarius* but chose not to use it. His *portariae* and *ostiariae* may have fulfilled some of the functions of Caesarius' *posticiaria* and Benedict's *ostiarius*, but the spatial setting in which they operated was different and their responsibilities therefore were much broader. Jonas describes the task of the *portariae* and *ostiariae* in general terms in two passages:

A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought to be of the sort who raise the reward (*merces*) for all the nuns together (*omnes simul*).¹⁰³⁹

And inside (*intus*) let them acquire the profits of reward (*lucrae mercedis*) from their fellow sisters (*consodales*) while they take in their turn care of all outside (*foris*).¹⁰⁴⁰

Since there is no indication that the *portariae* and *ostiariae* operate outside the monastic gate, we can assume that *intus* and *foris* refer in this chapter to the enclosed part of the monastery (*intus*) and the space between the *septa monasterii* and the gate (*foris*). Jonas confirms this

¹⁰³⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 25.5-6, SC 345, p. 202; c. 30.5, p. 208; c. 43.3-4, p. 226. Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8, MGH SRM 2, p. 383. Baudonivia's use of this term indicates that Radegund's foundation in Poitiers was indeed organized along the lines of Caesarius' Rule.

¹⁰³⁸ Allusions to *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1, SC 182, p. 658; c. 53.15, p. 614; c. 54.1-2, p. 616; c. 67.5-6, p. 662; c. 38.10-11, p. 576; and c. 31.10, p. 558 are documented in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

¹⁰³⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent.*

¹⁰⁴⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*

notion of *intus* and *foris* when he prohibits anyone except for nuns following the same *regula* to eat within the *septa monasterii*:

Within the confines and doors of the monastery (*intra septa monasterii uel ostia*) they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] in the guesthouse outside (*foris in hospitali*), just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. But we decree that only those may eat and drink inside (*intus*) who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.¹⁰⁴¹

It is the task of the *portariae* to operate this intermediate space outside of the *ostia* (doors) but inside the *porta* (gate). This space existed neither in Caesarius' monastery nor is it envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti*. Just like other office holders in the monastery (the abbess, *praeposita*, *cellararia*, cooks, and supply keepers), the *portariae* are supposed to earn reward and profit both for themselves and for the community by operating this space.

The assignment of *portariae* and *ostiariae* requires special qualifications. They must have internalized the enclosure by “being crucified to the world”, as it were, and desire nothing of the present pomp and vanities with their minds dedicated entirely to Christ.¹⁰⁴² Nothing that happens outside should enter the eyes or ears of the *portariae* or enter the monastery through their the eyes and ears.¹⁰⁴³ A second qualification consists of representing the community to the outside world in a favorable manner through exemplary behavior, humility, and friendly speech.¹⁰⁴⁴ Only whose mind and body is fully enclosed is allowed to operate outside of the physical enclosure of the monastery.

Jonas implies that operating outside (*foris*) is an onerous and perilous task performed on behalf of those who remain inside (*intus*) and are therefore in a better and safer position. It is not a privilege but rather a necessary service to the rest of the community. The office of *portaria* was

¹⁰⁴¹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.23-24: *Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per abbatissae ordinationem ministrent.* ²⁴ *Intus uero tantummodo, quae sacram deo uouerunt reigionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.*

¹⁰⁴² *RcuiV*, c. 3.1-5.

¹⁰⁴³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.8-9: *Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur.* ⁹ *Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.* c. 3.13: *Fabulis, quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant.*

¹⁰⁴⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.5: *Tale semper superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur;* c. 3.7: *Sic caetae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant.*

probably not permanently assigned to certain nuns but, like the kitchen service, rotated among those who were qualified on the basis of seniority, steadfastness and moral qualities. The practical tasks of the *portariae* include greeting those who arrive at the gate (*porta*), taking care of guests, pilgrims and the poor, serving food to guests, receiving and giving out goods and gifts (under strict supervision of the abbess), and keeping a very close eye on the monastery's possessions, which are to be treated *ac si sacrata deo* (as if they were consecrated to God).

The chapter on the *portariae* and a number of other references to spaces scattered over the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* provide us with an abundance of details on the organization of the monastery, though we have to keep in mind that Jonas does not outline a complete plan of the monastery and leaves out whatever does not require regulation.¹⁰⁴⁵ The outer precincts of the monastery were closed by a *porta*, a gate, which was open between Vespers and the Second Hour and contained a window to be used for after-hour negotiations.¹⁰⁴⁶ The *septa monasterii* contained several *ostia* which were also closed with locks and keys at night, and thus presumably open during the day. The *Vita Columbani* uses the plural, *ostia*, as well and calls the *septa monasterii* a *domus*, which implies that we should not imagine it as a sort of monastery within a monastery but rather as a compact building, albeit with a garden (*hortus*) as part of it.¹⁰⁴⁷

As far as we know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *septa monasterii* consisted of the refectory (*refectorium*), kitchen (*coquina*), dormitory (*dormitorium*), at least two churches (*oratorium/ecclesia* and *alia ecclesia*), a special *cella* for the infirm, a place where the nuns took their baths and washed their hair, and a special place for the penitents, possibly a sort of prison.¹⁰⁴⁸ There was also a room where the nuns gathered and where all nuns were seated according to their rank.¹⁰⁴⁹ Jonas uses the term *scola* in reference to the dormitory as well as to the space where the nuns make confession. Either *scola* referred generically to any common

¹⁰⁴⁵ Uggé, 'Lieux, espaces', pp. 18-42 provides a systematic overview of spaces within the monastery mentioned in Latin monastic rules. See also Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', pp. 54-56; Frank, 'Klosteranlage', pp. 32-46; Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Éléments de topographie', pp. 57-77.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 268 on the *hortus* within the *septa monasterii*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The following places within the enclosure are mentioned in the Rule: *Scola*: *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; c. 12.13; c. 14; *dormitorium*: 16.2; *quoquina*: 16.2; *refectorium*: 16.2; c. 24.7; *extremus locus inter paenitentes*: c. 21.4; *oratorium* 3.12; *ecclesia* 6.24-25; c. 8.9; c. 11.2; *alia ecclesia* 6.24; c. 19.7. On baths and washing hair: c. 12.14; c. 15.8.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 22.15, referring to a *consessus sororum*.

room or the nuns made their first confession in their dormitory. The *scola* may also have been the only room of the monastery that was heated.¹⁰⁵⁰

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* also mentions a brewery (*bracisatorium*), a mill (where the *pistrices* work) and a storage room (*cellarium*), but it is not clear whether they were inside or outside the *septa monasterii*.¹⁰⁵¹ The *domus hospitalis*, however, was certainly outside (*foris*).¹⁰⁵² There were, of course, other spaces in the monastery that are not mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* such as lavatories and, presumably, a *scriptorium* and a library.¹⁰⁵³

The most vivid discussion of monastic space and how it functions occurs in the *Vita Columbani*, in a dramatic episode where nuns flee the monastery.¹⁰⁵⁴ As they move in and out of the different spaces, the consequences for doing so become clear:

When, in the dark shadows and the silence of the pitch-black night, they [the escaping nuns] had already sought to put their foolish plan into practice, and were trying to leap over the *septa monasterii* with the use of a ladder, suddenly a fiery mass like a cylinder came from the middle of the *dormitorium*, and filled and lit up the whole building (*domus*). It then separated into three spheres and went through the passages of the doors (*per ostiarium*) with a great noise of thunder. The building (*domus*) had a number of doors (*ostia*), through which the fire bore its globes. The noise of thunder wakened the sleepers, and brought correction to those who were leaving the monastic inner space (*egredientes monasterii septa*). When already the feet of some of them had crossed the perimeter (*uallum*), terrified by such noise they wished to move back into the *septa*, but, as though they had been weighed down with lead, they were powerless to go back. For the Devil, with what skill he could, tried to harm those whom divine punishment would by no means allow to perish. Thus confounded, they acknowledged their sins and, having turned back, they revealed them to the mother in confession.¹⁰⁵⁵

The fugitive nuns had to cross two different borders, the *septa* and the *uallum*, which probably refers to the enclosure reserved for the nuns and the outer boundary of the monastery.¹⁰⁵⁶ Their return into the *septa* was prevented by a punishing miracle. In line with Jonas' chapter on confession (c. 6) and on nuns leaving the monastery (c. 21), they were allowed to return into the *septa monasterii* only after having revealed their guilt and confessed to the

¹⁰⁵⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: *scola* as place of confession; c. 12.13: penitents are in charge of heating the *scola*; c. 14: *scola* as dormitory.

¹⁰⁵¹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.12: *cellarium*; c. 3.18 and c. 12.18: *pistrices*; c. 12.21: *bracisatorium*. On the place of the *cellarium* in different rules, see Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie monastique', pp. 64-66.

¹⁰⁵² *RcuiV*, c. 3.23.

¹⁰⁵³ See also Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces'.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See p. §.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 219 (slightly revised).

¹⁰⁵⁶ On the inner and outer boundaries, see also Chapter 3, p. §.

abbess. The *septa monasterii* enclose a space not only forbidden to outsiders, but even to nuns who have stained themselves through an attempt to escape.

Reading the *Vita Columbani* along with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* reveals some more details about the spatial structure of the monastery. As we already saw, Jonas illustrates the special power of the *septa monasterii* with a miraculous event that happened in Luxeuil: Columbanus is invisible to the soldiers who want to arrest him within the *septa monasterii*, even though he is sitting in the atrium of the monastery's church (*in atrio ecclesiae*). He is, however, visible to their leader, who waits outside and sees the scene through a window.¹⁰⁵⁷ There is a specific regulation Jonas' chapter on the *portaria* that aligns with this miracle story:

And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside (*foris*), they should by no means (*nullatenus*) bring to the storeroom (*cellarium*) before it is carried before the oratory (*ante oratorium*) and the entire congregation prays together (*omnis simul*) for the one who presented it.¹⁰⁵⁸

Few texts related to Columbanus or his foundations express the connection between gift-giving and intercessory prayer, and none of them is as explicit and detailed.¹⁰⁵⁹ Jonas implies that there was a need of physical proximity between gift and prayer: you don't pray for something that was already hidden away in the store room. It would therefore have made more sense to carry gifts *into* the church rather than place them outside, *ante oratorium*. The best explanation would be that the place *ante oratorium* would indeed have been visible to outsiders who were not allowed to enter the *oratorium* but could *hear* the nuns singing on their behalf while *seeing* their gifts within the monastery. The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* contains several references to hearing the community singing from a distance.¹⁰⁶⁰ Donors seeing their gifts piled up *ante oratorium* and the leader of the soldiers seeing the invisible Columbanus may have been looking through the same type of window.

These few details that Jonas reveals in his Rule and in his stories point to three central aspects of his spatial concept. First, the monastery consisted of an inner space, the *septa secreta*, and an outer space. Second, Jonas gives up the idea of total enclosure: the *portariae* were

¹⁰⁵⁷ *VCol* I, c. 20, pp. 193-194.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.12: *Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portant, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.*

¹⁰⁵⁹ *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 175-176; I, c. 22, p. 204; *Bobbio Missal*, no. 438/440, ed. E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal*, London: Harrison 1920, p. 130; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See, for example, *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 12; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8-14; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4-5; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 25-268, l. 5: hearing angelic choirs; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 20-24; II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 24-26: hearing singing from a distance.

supposed to operate outside the *septa monasterii* as long as they keep their own bodily and mental enclosure; fugitive nuns were allowed to return into the *septa* under certain conditions and the doors of the *septa monasterii* were closed only during night time. Third, the *septa monasterii* created a space of special power. Whoever crosses them illicitly in any direction faces divine punishment. Those inside enjoy special protection and, last but not least, it is in this space that intercessory prayer for insiders and outsiders unfolds its effect. Giving up Caesarius' total enclosure, establishing spaces with different layers of accessibility, and giving up the idea that physical boundaries alone could keep the devil at bay and ensure salvation forced Jonas to develop a second (and eventually a third) set of protective boundaries, not a physical space but a space determined by the community and protected by its behavior, an *ambitus uirtutum*.

c. The *ambitus uirtutum*

Chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* bears the long and convoluted title “How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts.”¹⁰⁶¹ It is, like the chapter on the *portaria* largely original, aside from a few allusions to Benedict's chapters on the internal hierarchy (c. 63) and on mutual obedience (c. 71). Benedict has a lot to say about hierarchy but remains rather vague on the question of *how* members of the community should interact. Jonas fills this void with a number of new provisions and a unique framework – a new kind of enclosure. The chapter begins with the following statement:

The institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how great affection (*affectus*) and service of love (*ministerium caritatis*) the souls placed in the monastery should love (*diligere*). But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favors it has to be shown. In the end the crowd [of nuns] (*copia*) has a very wide circle of virtues (*latissimus ambitus uirtutum*), because being surrounded (*circumsepta*) [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy (*hostis*) who is turned against them.¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁶¹ RcuIV, c. 22.title: *Qualiter inuicem se humilient uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint seruanda praecepta.*

¹⁰⁶² RcuIV, c. 22.1-3: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt. 2 Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officiis demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est. 3 Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

There are several puzzling elements in this passage. Jonas uses the term *copia* which could refer either to a multitude of objects or a multitude of people, the latter usually in a military sense: the “troops” of nuns, which would be a return to the military language of Caesarius’ earlier monastic texts.¹⁰⁶³ No other monastic rule uses *copia* referring to the community. In his *Vita Columbani*, Jonas regularly deploys another military term, *cohors*, which up to that point had not been part of monastic language either.¹⁰⁶⁴

The expression *latissimus ambitus uirtutum* is also unique. It is a key term for understanding the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas’ monastic ideal as a whole. The *ambitus uirtutum* creates a space by surrounding (*circumsepta*) the “troops” of nuns that are, as it were, under siege by the devil, which reminds of the *lupi spiritales* that roam around Caesarius’ monastic confines. It delineates, however, not a physical space but a social space upheld by the community itself, or rather by the virtues that all members of the community display together. A similar idea is expressed in two other chapters of Jonas’ Rule. The chapter on the abbess ends with the words:

[The abbess] should perform the care of all so that from the progress of all [sisters] she receives the profits of her reward and that as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, she receives as much profit for her toils as matches the protective measures she has provided as reinforcements (*praesidia*) to overcome the enemy.¹⁰⁶⁵

The term *praesidium*, which also has a military connotation, appears again in the context of providing protection through mutual prayer as part of the ritual of confession that involves, as Jonas emphasizes, the *entire* community:

The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, *praesidium* is obtained.¹⁰⁶⁶

It is likely that Jonas envisioned a connection between the *septa monasterii* and the *ambitus uirtutum*. The *septa monasterii* are empowered not only by the fact that they are

¹⁰⁶³ Jonas uses *copia* again in *RcuiV*, c. 22.9: *Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur*. Here it could be translated either as “abundance of love” or as “army of love.” Maybe Jonas deliberately played with this ambiguity.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 166; c. 10, p. 170; I, c. 20, p. 195; I, c. 21, p. 199; I, c. 29, p. 223; II, c. 1, p. 230; II, c. 11, p. 257; c. 16, p. 267.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 1.18-19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, 19 ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiiis prebuit supplementum*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium*.

detached from the sinful surrounding world and inaccessible to outsiders, but also by the *uirtus* of those living inside the monastery. Columbanus' own foundations and those related to Luxeuil are, as I have discussed elsewhere, not empowered by the *uirtus* of a saint who is present through his or her relics. There is, to speak in the words of Mircea Eliade, no stable *axis mundi*, or, in Peter Brown's words, no place "where heaven and earth meet." The nuns have to produce *uirtus* themselves – and they have to do it all together.¹⁰⁶⁷

The term *ambitus* has a second implication. It is not a static circle, a *uallum* that, once built, stays in its place. Whereas Caesarius' monastic ideal envisions a status quo that needs to be upheld, Jonas views it as a process that is to be kept in permanent motion to prevent its own collapse. The term *ambitus* derives from *ambire* (to walk around). The nuns are continuously on patrol. It is a border that needs to be re-established continuously and, as we know, will never keep the devil completely at bay. The nuns, thus, must always be on watch and in a state of permanent alertness, which explains why Jonas is particularly concerned with preventing *neglegentia*, *tepor* (lukewarmness), *tepiditas* (tepidity), and inciting *uigor*, *feruor*, *sollicitudo* (anxiety), *intentio*, *uigilias* (watchfulness), *studium*, and *zelus* (zeal).¹⁰⁶⁸ This idea of a constant movement is also implied by the term *coetus sororum*, which also contains the verb *ire*. *Coetus* also belongs to Jonas' specific semantic repertoire. Though extremely rare in other monastic rules, it appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and six times in Jonas' hagiography.¹⁰⁶⁹

If we look at the broader context of the *ambitus uirtutum* and the *praesidium* against the devil, we realize that Jonas develops something that is fundamentally different from the monastic programs he builds upon: the community of nuns as a community (*coetus*, *cohors*, *congregatio*,

¹⁰⁶⁷ Diem, 'Monks, Kings', pp. 558-559; *idem*, 'The stolen glove'; Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York: Harcourt 1959, pp. 20-65; Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints*, Chicago: Chicago University Press 1981, pp. 1-22.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Feruor/feruens*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.18; c. 12.6; c. 19.2; c. 22.4. It appears six times in *VCol*; *intentio/intentus*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 3.9; c. 8.2; c. 9.11; c. 12.2; c. 14.2; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 22; 23; 26; 19 times in *VCol*; *neglegentia/neglegens*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 4.16; c. 8.5; c. 12.29; c. 13.5; c. 13.6; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.2; c. 16.12; c. 16.4; 13 times in *VCol*; *sollicitudo/sollicitus*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 8.11; c. 13.2; c. 13.4; c. 14.4; *De accedendo* 21; three times in *VCol*; *studium/studere*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.15; c. 3.18; c. 3.25; c. 4.3; c. 4.21; c. 6.18; c. 6.23; c. 9.6; c. 9.9; c. 9.20; c. 13.4; c. 15.8; c. 19.3; c. 22.13; c. 22.21; c. 23.7; c. 23.9; twelve times in *VCol*; *tepiditas*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.18 and *VCol* II, c. 7; *tepor*: *RcuiV*, c. 16.1 and three times in *VCol*; (*per*)*uigil/uigilias*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.3; c. 10.14; c. 14.2; c. 14.3; four times in *VCol*; *uigor*: *RcuiV*, c. 14.2 and nine times in *VCol*; *zelus*: *RcuiV*, c. 3.25; once in *VCol*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 8.6; c. 12.24; *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160; I, c. 11, p. 170; I, c. 22, p. 204; II, c. 17, p. 270; II, c. 25, p. 291; *Vloh*, c. 12, p. 336. *Coetus* appears otherwise one the *Liber Orsiesii*, once in Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, five times in the *Regula Isidori*, and once in the *Regula Fructuosi*.

copia, caterua) becomes a major agent, but in the individual's pursuit of salvation, also an object in the individual's pursuit of salvation. This dramatically increases the pressure on each individual nun and forces Jonas to enhance his disciplinary apparatus, because a nun is now not only responsible for her own salvation but also for that of the other members of the community. Both *lucrum* (reward) and *damnum* (harm) is shared by the entire *copia* or *cohors* of the nuns. If one nun fails, all of them might lose the battle.

The idea of the community as agent with its members sharing mutual responsibility of each other's salvation can be found only at a very rudimentary level in previous monastic rules. Caesarius' nuns act as praying community, though mostly for outsiders; Benedict makes (aside from *humilitas* and *oboedientia*, which can be acted out by the individual *towards* the group) the *stabilitas in congregatione* the touchstone of monastic conversion and emphasizes at some points that the monks should not harm each other.¹⁰⁷⁰ Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* focuses primarily on transgressions within the community and disturbance of communal rituals. However, all three rules hardly ever extend the individual's responsibility beyond his or her own salvation or allow the community to play a role in the individual's salvation.¹⁰⁷¹ Monks or nuns can harm themselves by acting in a dysfunctional way within the community and by not submitting themselves to the communal rule, but they cannot jeopardize the salvation of others and they cannot expect the community to defend their own. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* vastly expands the individual's responsibility and completely redefines the nature of coenobitic monasticism.

The idea of making the community such an agent and a "third party" in the pursuit of salvation and upholding the barrier against the devil manifests itself throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well as the *Vita Columbani* on various levels and, in particular, in the language Jonas deploys. The purpose of any task and role within the community is to produce, as Jonas emphasizes time and again, reward and surplus (*lucrum, merces, fructus, praemium*), not primarily for individual benefit but for the benefit of the entire community. Reward never comes with a possessive pronoun. The abbess, for example, has to act exemplary both in deeds and in words because if her deeds contradict her words, the profit of the words (*fructum uocis*) will

¹⁰⁷⁰ See especially *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.78, SC 181, p. 464; c. 58.17, SC 182, p. 630; c. 71, p. 668.

¹⁰⁷¹ On this aspect of Columbanus' Rule: Diem, Albrecht, 'Columbanian monastic rules: dissent and experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Europe in the Middle Ages: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68-85, at p. 71.

have no effect (on the community).¹⁰⁷² She takes care of everyone in the community so that she can receive the profits of the reward (*lucra mercedis*) through the progress of everyone.¹⁰⁷³ The prioress receives profit of her toil (*fructus laboris*) by taking most diligent care of all objects belonging to the monastery.¹⁰⁷⁴ The same expectations extend to assigned roles below the level of abbess as well, such as how the *portaria* builds up merit (*merces aedificare*) for the entire community.¹⁰⁷⁵ They prepare the profits of reward (*lucra mercedis*) by acting on behalf of the entire community.¹⁰⁷⁶ They must guard vessels as if they are consecrated to God to prevent squandering merit (*merces*) by not preserving God's property.¹⁰⁷⁷ In sum, they have to follow the Rule zealously so that they receive uncorrupted reward (*merces incorrupta*).¹⁰⁷⁸ In this context, it is clear that this *merces incorrupta* that the *portaria* accrues is meant to be *merces* for all, not just for the *portaria*. The *cellararia* as well needs to fulfill her work with humility and love so that it creates *merces*.¹⁰⁷⁹ Even the great abundance of profit (*magna copia fructuum*) resulting from acquiring salvation through confession seems to pertain to the community as a whole rather than to the individual, as Jonas indicates by using an impersonal passive phrasing: "For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences."¹⁰⁸⁰ Conversations at table need to be of a sort that creates profit (*fructus*) rather than damage (*damnum*) for the soul.¹⁰⁸¹ The nuns must not neglect the profit of the readings (*fructus lectionis*) while working.¹⁰⁸² The work for the cooks should be divided in a way that prevents causing

¹⁰⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 1.4-5: *Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, 5 ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.*

¹⁰⁷³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.18: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14: *Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata, 15 ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.*

¹⁰⁷⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent.*

¹⁰⁷⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*

¹⁰⁷⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22: *Uasa uel reliqua utensilia, quae ad opus hospitem baiulant, ac si sacrata deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant, cuius res deripiendo non reseruant.*

¹⁰⁷⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.25: *Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.*

¹⁰⁷⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 4.21: *Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si omnia cum humilitate ac pietate studuerit agere.*

¹⁰⁸⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 6.17: *Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus acquiritur.*

¹⁰⁸¹ *RcuiV*, c. 9.20: *Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio scripturarum, quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum.*

¹⁰⁸² *RcuiV*, c. 12.2: *Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est, ut lectionis fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps lectioni diuinae uacetur.*

discontent where they should gain *merces*.¹⁰⁸³ Those tasked with the care of the tools of the monastery should guard them with zeal so that they receive the *merces* for the tasks they were assigned.¹⁰⁸⁴

Just as much as Jonas collectivizes *merces*, *fructus*, *lucrum*, and *praemium*, he emphasizes that transgressions, in particular *neglegentia*, cause harm to the whole community and therefore lead to damnation. This applies, for example, to the responsibilities of the *cellararia*;¹⁰⁸⁵ to those who harm their sisters through idle talk;¹⁰⁸⁶ to the those taking care of tools; to the abbess' responsibility to prevent harm from coming to the nuns during their sleep.¹⁰⁸⁷

Thus far Jonas presents a markedly different vision of monastic space than Caesarius, but they both share one major concern: the system must be watertight in order to prevent any loopholes through which the devil might enter. Caesarius' nervous and repetitive *ante omnia* (first and foremost) resonates in Jonas' own language of urgency: the *ambitus uirtutum* is only upheld if each and every individual nun fully participates in the process. We can see this in Jonas' obsessive use of the term *omnis*, which appears 96 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (and 43 times in the Faremoutiers section). The term *nullus/nulla* appears 27 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Other expressions that Jonas uses regularly are *nullatenus* (by no means, 13 times) and *omnino* (absolutely, four times).¹⁰⁸⁸ Half of the 96 references to *omnis* and of the 27 references to *nullus/nulla* refer to the community. Here are some (of the many) examples reflecting the importance of individual behavior for communal benefit:¹⁰⁸⁹ The abbess needs to correct the vices of *all* according to the character of *everyone*, and take care for the

¹⁰⁸³ *RcuiV*, c. 12.22-23: *Cocae uero per ebdomadas cocinent, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad coquinandum deputentur, 23 ne inpositus sine discretione labor, unde mercedem mercari debuit, inde murmurii fructum reportet.*

¹⁰⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 13.4-6: *Et sic ipsa utensilia, seu quaecumque eis ab abbatissa commissa fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent, 5 ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, 6 antepontes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus dei neglegenter.*

¹⁰⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 4.16: *Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat.*

¹⁰⁸⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 9.4-5: *Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat, 5 quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de otioso iuxta Domini praeceptum rationem sumus reddituri.*

¹⁰⁸⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 14.4: *...tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternas sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.*

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Nullatenus* appears 13 times in the *RcuiV* and 14 times in *VCol*; *omnino* four times in *RcuiV* and ten times in *VCol*.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See also *RcuiV*, c. 1.6-7; c. 2.12; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 4.5-8; c. 4.16; c. 6.20; c. 7.1; c. 8.4; c. 8.8-9; c. 9.10-11; c. 9.3-6; c. 9.8; c. 9.10; c. 10.12-17; c. 11.6; c. 14.10-13; c. 17.t; c. 17.9-10; c. 20.7-11; c. 22.21-23; c. 24.10-11.

improvement of *all* nuns.¹⁰⁹⁰ The prioresses need to control the beds of *all nuns*, to assess everyone's motivation for prayer.¹⁰⁹¹ The *entire* community (*omnis simul congregatio*) has to pray together for those giving gifts to the monastery.¹⁰⁹² The *cellararia*, who is picked out of the *entire* community, needs to serve the *entire* community (*tota congregatio*).¹⁰⁹³ All nuns should serve equally so that in *all of them* “the tinder of piety is strong.”¹⁰⁹⁴ *All the nuns* have to ask for blessing of the food *una uoce* (in unison).¹⁰⁹⁵ Those doing the kitchen service have to ask the *entire* community of sisters (*omnis coetus sororum*) for their prayer and wash the feet of *all sisters* (*omnes sorores*).¹⁰⁹⁶ The vice of avarice has to be wiped out of *each and every nun* (*ab omni monacha*).¹⁰⁹⁷ A recalcitrant nun is reproached by *the entire* community together (*simul ab omni congregatione*).¹⁰⁹⁸ Love should be enshrined in the hearts of *every nun* (*in omnibus*).¹⁰⁹⁹ Jonas' *ambitus uirtutum* needs to be just as impenetrable as Caesarius' enclosure.

Robert Markus suggested in his famous essay “How on Earth Could Places Become Holy” that Christianity initially operated on the basis of the idea that there are no spaces that are holy in and of themselves, but that space is sanctified only by the acts performed in it. Markus argues that this notion had been gradually replaced by a concept of a physical sacred space that

¹⁰⁹⁰ *RuiV* 1.16-19: *Habeat ergo tot animos mater, quot habet in suo regimine filias, ut iuxta omnium mores omnium nouerit uitia coercere.* ¹⁷ *Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat.* ¹⁸ *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* ¹⁹ *ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidii prebuit supplementum.*

¹⁰⁹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.16-17: *Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum.* ¹⁷ *Itemque post completam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant.*

¹⁰⁹² *RcuiV*, c. 3.12: *Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.*

¹⁰⁹³ *RcuiV*, c. 4.1-3: *Monasterii cellararia sapiens et religiosa ex omni congregatione eligenda est, quae non sibi, nec suis uoluntatibus,* ² *sed toti congregationi aequanimiter et piaae placeat dispensando,* ³ *nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat.*

¹⁰⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 9.1-2: *Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobriaetate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum,* ² *ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes.*

¹⁰⁹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 9.14: *Abbatissa uero uigilet, ut confestim cum cibus ministratus fuerit signum tangere procuret. Et omnes, cum signum audierint, una uoce benedictionem rogent.*

¹⁰⁹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 12.24-26: *Ingredientes autem pro se orari rogent omnem coetum sororum,* ²⁵ *orantes in oratione dicant: Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini, qui fecit caelum et terram, (Ps. 123/124, 8, LXX) et Adiua nos Deus salutaris noster. (Ps. 78/79, 9, LXX)* ²⁶ *Exeuntes uero lauent omnium sororum pedes.*

¹⁰⁹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 17.5: *Amputandum ergo est hoc uitium radicitus ab omni monacha.*

¹⁰⁹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 18.3: *Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur.*

¹⁰⁹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 23.7: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus.*

is, for example, constituted by the presence of a martyr.¹¹⁰⁰ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* seems to return to this “pre-physical” notion of sacred space.

d. The *area pectoris*

Caesarius believed that enclosure and obedience towards the *regula* shaped a system that was stable for as long as no one interfered with it. Jonas is aware that both physical enclosure and the *ambitus uirtutum* are inevitably prone to failure due to the inherent imperfection of any member of the community. He introduces, therefore, another set of disciplinary measures that emerge, again, around a notion of space and boundaries: the “inner space” of the individual nun, which is enclosed by her body but connected to the physical and social space around her through three main orifices, the mouth, ears, and eyes, but also through the moving body itself. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* tries to extend its disciplining power *into* this “inner space” of every nun. Many of the alterations to the *Regula Benedicti* that I will discuss in the next section of this study (c. 6) can be explained by this objective of disciplining the mind rather than just the outward behavior.

In the *Vita Columbani* Jonas uses the expression *area pectoris*: the space of one’s chest. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expresses a spatial notion of the individual, for example, by contrasting the hand, which acts outside (*foris*) versus the mind (*mens*) which is confined to the inside (*interius*).¹¹⁰¹ Jonas speaks of the face of the devil hidden (*interius*) inside of a nun,¹¹⁰² or about the love enclosed by one’s heart (*corde clausus*).¹¹⁰³ *De accedendo ad deum* speaks of the

¹¹⁰⁰ Markus, Robert Austin, ‘How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places’, in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 257-271, at pp. 264-268. See also Yasin, Ann Marie, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009, 14-45; Czock, *Gottes Haus*.

¹¹⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 12.10-11: ...*id est, ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac scripturarum recordatione dulcescat.*

¹¹⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 16.1: ...*ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpa faciem diaboli interius recondat.*

¹¹⁰³ *RcuiV*, c. 23.7: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat.*

“stubborn mind” (*mens obstinata*) that may not give access to the Lord, and of God knocking at the “enclosed space of the mind” (*septa mentis*).¹¹⁰⁴

Whatever happens within this last enclosure is decisive. It determines whether the individual nun attains salvation or incurs damnation. Jonas distinguishes himself in this regard from Benedict and Caesarius and, to a large extent, from Columbanus, all of whom are primarily interested in acts rather than attitudes. We can observe this shift on a semantic level if we look at the use of the term *mens* (mind) in Jonas’ work and in previous monastic rules. *Mens* appears nineteen times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, five times in *De accedendo ad deum*, and thirty-eight times in the *Vita Columbani*. As an object of discipline the *mens* is virtually absent in Caesarius’, Benedict’s, and Columbanus’ Rules.¹¹⁰⁵

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* tries to cross the boundaries between a nuns’ outwardly visible actions and the feelings, motivations, thoughts, and dreams that accumulate in the nun herself: her *status mentis* (state of the mind),¹¹⁰⁶ the *tenacitas mentis* (stubbornness of the mind),¹¹⁰⁷ the *nitor mentis* (splendor of the mind),¹¹⁰⁸ the *ignauia mentis* (idleness of the mind),¹¹⁰⁹ the *mens obstinata* (the obstinate mind),¹¹¹⁰ the *mens intenta* (the focused mind),¹¹¹¹ the *mens prompta* (the read mind),¹¹¹² the *contritio cordis* (contrition of the heart),¹¹¹³ the *affectus cordis* (affection of the heart),¹¹¹⁴ or the *motus animi* (motion of the mind).¹¹¹⁵ The

¹¹⁰⁴ *De accedendo* 12-15: *Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur.* ¹³ *Sic per Apocalipsin dicitur: Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* ¹⁴ *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus,* ¹⁵ *ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet.*

¹¹⁰⁵ The term *mens* appears five times in the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus: *CaesRV*, c. 15.1, *SC* 345, p. 190 on the mind that should not be distracted by manual work; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.5, *SC* 181, p. 442: on the role of the abbot in infusing the teaching of divine justice into the *mens* of his monks; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 126: on a diet that does not burden the stomach or confuse the *mens*; c. 7, p. 132: about the *capacitas mentis* of a monk singing the liturgy and the prayer in heart and mind; *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, p. 166 about the *ardor mentis* exciting too much devotion.

¹¹⁰⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.4; c. 6.2; c. 22.6.

¹¹⁰⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 18.5.

¹¹⁰⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 7.3.

¹¹⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 9.4.

¹¹¹⁰ *De accedendo* 12.

¹¹¹¹ *De accedendo* 22.

¹¹¹² *De accedendo* 26.

¹¹¹³ *RcuiV*, c. 6.26; c. 19.8.

¹¹¹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.2.

¹¹¹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 22.4.

ultimate goal of this discipline is laid out in *De accedendo ad deum*. Getting access to God, but also giving access to God in one's mind:

¹¹ Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart (parare cor) and the Lord's task to give counsel.* (Prou. 16, 19) ¹² Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if the access to the stubborn mind is not denied [*si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur*]. ¹³ In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate (ad ostium) and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I shall eat with him and He with me.* (Apoc. 3, 19-20) ¹⁴ Whenever we stand [in front of the gate] we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind [*corpore quam animo parati esse debemus*] for the work of the service of divine mercy, ¹⁵ in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosed space of the mind [*intra mentis septa recipiamus*] and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – [the mercy] which comes to the meal and leads us to his meal. ¹⁶ When someone comes to this [meal], *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* ¹⁷ *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* ¹⁸ *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.* (Cfr Ps. 35/36, 9-11) ¹⁹ Therefore let the tongue always bring forth these things in order that it please the Creator along with serving work...¹¹¹⁶

Ideally, the *mens* of the nuns is alert (*paratus, fortis, uigil, inpiger, sollicitus* etc.) and directed towards God; factually, it is permanently threatened by distraction or slipping into negligence, sluggishness, or lukewarmness (*negligentia, tepiditas, tepor* etc.).¹¹¹⁷ Moreover, the inner self is a space that permanently pollutes itself and has the potential of polluting its surroundings and of being polluted by its surroundings. All of this can only be prevented through a highly sophisticated system of controlling, closing, and opening the gates that connect the *mens* with the outside: one could call it a hydraulic discipline.

In both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas uses a broad semantic repertoire of pollution and purification that is largely absent in Caesarius', Benedict's,

¹¹¹⁶ *De accedendo* 11-19: *Sic Salomon testatur dicens: Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* (Prou. 16, 19) ¹² *Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur.* ¹³ *Sic per apocalipsin dicitur: Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* (Apoc. 3, 19-20) ¹⁴ *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus,* ¹⁵ *ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet.* ¹⁶ *In qua quis cum uenerit, inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* ¹⁷ *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* ¹⁸ *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.* (cfr Ps. 35/36, 9-11) ¹⁹ *Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: Seruite, inquit, Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.* (Ps. 2, 11) ²⁰ *Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur...*

¹¹¹⁷ On motivation, see p. §.

and Columbanus' Rules. It has little to do with ritual pollution in line with Old Testament laws,¹¹¹⁸ with pollution through blood and sex that disqualifies a priest to fulfill his duties,¹¹¹⁹ with the purity of virginity, or with Mary Douglas' concept that everything ambiguous or liminal is considered impure.¹¹²⁰

The death of the nun Wilsindana summarizes much of Jonas' ideas on pollution of the monastic space and the individual. Wilsindana exposes a nun who has secretly carried the dirt of the world into the monastery, concealed in her *area pectoris*:

“Don't you see with how much filth (*sordes*) she has filled her mind, and how she has not attempted in any way to purge (*purgare*) by means of confession the filthy area of her heart (*caenosa area pectoris*), which she polluted with all kinds of dirt (*omni spurcitia maculauit*) while still in the world, before she was enclosed (*clauderetur*) here?”¹¹²¹

Wilsindana's reaction to this transgression is drastic – and spatial: “Throw her out! Out the door! Throw out the trash!”¹¹²²

Before examining in detail how the system of discipline in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* aims at purifying the nuns from *sordes*, *spurcitia*, *macula*, *caenum*, etc. (which I am going to do in Chapter 6 where I address each chapter of the Rule individually) I will use somewhat broader strokes to describe Jonas' hydraulic discipline. The most dangerous gate connecting the inside of the nun with her surroundings is the mouth – *os*. As Jonas explains, for example, in his chapter on sleep (c. 14), the devil harms the souls of the nuns through the mouth by exciting lethal desires through their conversation.¹¹²³ Expanding on Caesarius' proscriptions

¹¹¹⁸ On the role of “ritual purity” and pollution in monastic discourse, see, for example, De Jong, Mayke, ‘*Imitatio morum*. The cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world’, in: Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, New York/London: Garland Publishing 1998, pp. 49-80; De Nie, Giselle, ‘*Contagium* and Images of Self in Late Sixth-Century Gaul’, in: Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (eds.), *Purity and Holiness. The Heritage of Leviticus*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 1999, pp. 247-261; Meens, Rob, ‘“A Relic of superstition”. Bodily impurity and the Church from Gregory the Great to the twelfth century Decretists’, *ibid.*, pp. 281-293.

¹¹¹⁹ See Angenendt, Arnold, ‘Mit reinen Händen. Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese’, in: Georg Jenal and Stephanie Haarländer (eds.), *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Hirsemann 1993, pp. 297-316.

¹¹²⁰ Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966, pp. 2-6.

¹¹²¹ VCol II, c. 17, p. 269: “*Non aspicitis, quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcitia maculauit?*”

¹¹²² VCol II, c. 17, p. 269: “*Eice*”, inquit, “*foras eice, iacta quisquilias.*”

¹¹²³ Rcuiv, c. 14.7-8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

on silence, Jonas develops a regime of the spoken word that is stricter and more comprehensive than anything we find in the rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. In principle, Jonas bans any kind of conversation that is not absolutely necessary.¹¹²⁴ Moreover, he organizes the entire monastic life and, in particular, the nuns' work, around the requirement that not a single word may be exchanged without a third person as a witness – a requirement of total enclosure of the mouth that is not found anywhere else.¹¹²⁵ Open conversation can take place only at the moment of festive meals and is strictly limited to edifying topics that benefit the nuns' souls.¹¹²⁶ Jonas does, however, not only restrict the spoken word, but with equal concern, the sound of the word, the *uox* of those who are allowed to speak. He uses differing expressions, but his ideas are largely congruent with the *clusura* of the mouth and body as we find it in the *Regula Magistri*.

The sound of the spoken word, just as much as the content, reveals what happens inside of a nun. Therefore the Rule must ensure that through the use of their voice the nuns reveal the best and conceal the worst of their inner state: it is the *uox* of the abbess, not just the spoken words, that should be in accordance with her deeds to have an effect on the nuns.¹¹²⁷ The *portariae* should “show the favors of all patience in their friendly conversation.”¹¹²⁸ The *cellararia* should respond to requests “with gentle words without any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response.”¹¹²⁹ At the table, the nuns must converse “in such a way, that they speak with a lowered and not with an unrestrained voice, lest that for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged.”¹¹³⁰ Nuns must speak with visiting priests “with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found *in omnibus* (in all of

¹¹²⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 9.7: *Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad completam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae comitatum loquendum est.*

¹¹²⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 3.8: *Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. c. 9.21: Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae, necessaria conloquantur. c. 12.18-19: Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem. 19 Et si necesse fuerit, ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat.*

¹¹²⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 9.16-19.

¹¹²⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.4-6.

¹¹²⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.7: *Sic caetae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant.*

¹¹²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 4.19: *...leni sine ulla asperitate in responsione procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat.*

¹¹³⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 9.18: *...sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur.*

them).”¹¹³¹ It is, as Jonas emphasizes in chapter 22 of his Rule, “the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a rigid or amicable or certainly loving mind.”¹¹³²

The other dangerous orifice of the bodily enclosure is, of course, the ear. Jonas is concerned about the effects that the unrestrained voice may have on a fellow nun, just as much as he wants to ensure that the nuns do not hear any harmful words, be it from outsiders, from gossiping *portariae* (who have access to information from the outside world),¹¹³³ from the fellow nun with whom she shares her bed,¹¹³⁴ or from the nuns who are separated from the community in a state of excommunication and penance.¹¹³⁵

There are also some references to the control of the eyes. *Portariae* have to cast down their eyes to avoid looking at strangers;¹¹³⁶ all sisters have to cast down their eyes during meals and are by no means allowed to gaze at each other’s plates.¹¹³⁷ Nuns sharing a bed have to lie in spoon position so that they can’t look into each other’s eyes.¹¹³⁸ It is not by accident that the Faremoutiers-section of the *Vita Columbani* is full of references to sensory impressions: hearing, seeing, but also smelling.¹¹³⁹

A fourth frontier region between the inside and the outside is the body itself. Jonas is, more so than Caesarius, Benedict, or Columbanus, concerned with bodily movements and what they might express and reveal about one’s inner state of mind. The *praeposita* needs to control the nuns’ beds at night not just in order to ensure that they wake up for prayer “so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters].” This is to be done likewise at all nighttime services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service

¹¹³¹ *RcuiV*, c. 22.23: *Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatisa, ut cum his aliqua sororum loquatur, cum omni humilitate et modestia ac sobrietate loquendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobrietatis inueniatur.*

¹¹³² *RcuiV*, c. 22.5: *...ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum.*

¹¹³³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13: *Fabulis, quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audierint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant.*

¹¹³⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 14.8.

¹¹³⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 19.9.

¹¹³⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.9: *Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.*

¹¹³⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 10.12: *Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur.*

¹¹³⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 14.7: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat.*

¹¹³⁹ See p. § on the role of sensory expressions in the Faremoutiers episodes of the *Vita Columbani* and in Book Four of the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great.

eagerly, and which with tepidity.”¹¹⁴⁰ Nuns who confessed grave sins need to express their contrition by prostrating themselves to the ground.¹¹⁴¹ The person hearing confession needs to react *cum grauitate et moderatione* (in dignity and moderation).¹¹⁴² Nuns reveal, as Jonas explicitly states, their *motus animi* (the movements of the soul) in the ways in which they move. What they do may be less relevant than *how* they do it:

Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be trifle in the act, yet are clearly well observed or overlooked, because of the motion of the mind which is either lukewarm or heated, for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a rigid or amicable or certainly loving mind.¹¹⁴³

We may extrapolate from these regulations the impression that Jonas aimed at imposing on his nuns a carefully choreographed life in which discipline ensured, literally, that all nuns were kept in line. This also includes children who were not supposed to roam around the monastery without oversight.¹¹⁴⁴ It is possible that Jonas operated under the assumption that restraint of the body and of the voice were not only means of preventing damage but also had an impact on what was going on inside of the nuns. This would be in line with the theories that the sociologist Arlie Hochschild developed in the 1980s on “emotional labor”, suggesting that the control of movements and facial expressions imposed on flight attendants was not only meant to create happiness among passengers but also to induce an artificially cheerful mood among those who were forced to smile.¹¹⁴⁵

Jonas is, however, fully aware that even this rigorous regime of closing the mouth, averting the eyes, protecting the ears, and restraining the body’s movements does not create or

¹¹⁴⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 2.17-18: *Itemque post completam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant. 18 Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. See p. 5.*

¹¹⁴¹ *RcuiV*, c. 6.26-27.

¹¹⁴² *RcuiV*, c. 7.3.

¹¹⁴³ *RcuiV*, c. 22.4: *Sunt etenim nonnulla, quae in actu uidentur exigua, et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur, 5 ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut, certe pia purissimum patefacient affectum.*

¹¹⁴⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 24.2: *Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare.*

¹¹⁴⁵ Diem, Albrecht, ‘Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules’, in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17-39; Hochschild, Arlie Russel, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, Berkeley/London: University of California Press 2012 (orig. 1983); *eadem*, ‘Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure’, *American Journal of Sociology* 85:3 (1979), pp. 551-575.

guarantee purity and sinlessness, neither outside nor inside of the enclosure of the mind. The mind is inevitably penetrated and damaged through dreams, desires, thoughts, sights, and sounds.

In chapter 6, we read:

Whatever the mind or flesh (*mens uel caro*) commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought (*actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu*) at daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed (*ut purgetur*). But whatever stain the mind contracts later (*mens maculae adtraxerit*), after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.¹¹⁴⁶

Purity thus can only be restored through an ongoing and ceaseless process of repair, restoration, and purification – again not a state to be attained but an endless movement. The floodgates of the internal enclosure must be strictly closed at any time, except at the moment of confession, when they need to be opened as widely as possible. Purification can happen, as Jonas emphasizes several times, only through a *uera et pura confessio*, and this purification needs to happen on a strictly regular basis no less than three times a day and involving every single nun.¹¹⁴⁷ These topics are addressed extensively in the chapters on love and confession (c. 5-7) and in *De accedendo ad deum* (on prayer). These chapters, which form the core of Jonas' Rule, will be discussed more in detail in the following sections of this study.

As I have already stated, Jonas' discipline of the mind cannot be found in the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. It does, however, strongly resonate with the *Regula Magistri*. In this Rule the *mens* is clearly a matter of concern, albeit not as intensely as for Jonas. The *Regula Magistri* reminds us that monks should keep their *mens* focused on the teachings of the master, the teachings of the abbot, God, the brothers who are absent from the oratory, the lecture, prayer, and heavenly thoughts.¹¹⁴⁸ The *Regula Magistri* also operates with a similar

¹¹⁴⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 6.20-22: *Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari.* ²¹ *Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut purgetur, censendum est.* ²² *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est.* See p. §.

¹¹⁴⁷ For a detailed analysis of Jonas' concept of confession and its theological basis, see p. §.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Regula Magistri*, prologue.8, SC 105, p. 290: *et auditus tuus per considerationem mentis ambulando in triuium cordis tui perueniant*; c. 2.5, p. 352: *ut iussio eius [abbatis] uel monitio siue doctrina fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur*; c. 9.22, p. 410: *ut numquam desit menti nostrae memoria Dei*; c. 20.t, SC 106, p. 98: *Quomodo debent haberi in oratorio absentes in mente*; c. 24.37, p. 130: *mentem suam alibi non faciat aberrare, sed in hoc intendat quod legitur*; c. 48.14, p. 220: *Orare ergo debemus cum omni mente*; c. 82.11, p. 338: *mentem nostram in hac uita de supernis semper cogitationibus occupemus.*

notion of the *mens* as enclosure: God should have a dwelling in our mind; if an evil thought takes hold of one's mind it needs to be kept inside; the ear should not hear anything that would disturb the mind; we should cry out and expose what is going on within our mind through confession.¹¹⁴⁹

The *Regula Magistri*, like Jonas' Rule, contrasts outward acting with the internal state of the mind. It does so in the context of manual work and addressing the *cellarius*; it emphasizes that prayer should happen both through *uox* (voice) and *mens*, and that the body should show through the garment that a monk is owned by God *in mente*.¹¹⁵⁰ It is also striking that the *Regula Magistri* shares with Jonas' work various terms related to purity that do not show up in the *Regula Benedicti* such as *maculare*, *medicina*, *polluere*, *soluere*, *sanies*, *sorditas*, *spurcidus*, and *spurcitia*.¹¹⁵¹ The fact that Jonas shares many phrases with the *Regula Benedicti*, but words and ideas with the *Regula Magistri*, is puzzling, and may incite us to re-open the *Regula Magistri* – *Regula Benedicti* debate by focusing on the content and ideas of these rules rather than on philological intricacies. But this needs to be done in a different study.

A final thought: It is important to notice that neither Caesarius' enclosure nor Jonas' *septa secreta* should be described as *sacred* spaces. Superimposing this anthropological category would grossly oversimplify the complexity of both spatial concepts and would make many of the differences between Jonas' and Caesarius' (and subsequent) theologies of the monastic space invisible.¹¹⁵² Neither Caesarius nor Jonas call their monastery a *locus sanctus*, even though the

¹¹⁴⁹ *Regula Magistri*, thp.17, SC 105, p. 304: *ut pater et Dominus in mentibus nostris tabernaculum suum et inhabitatorem faciat Spiritum Sanctum*; c. 8.27, p. 404: *ut mox captiuauerit mentem mala cogitatio*; c. 10.105, pp. 440-442: *et nihil omnino quod conturbet mentem auribus datur*; c. 15.9-11, SC 106, p. 64: *Quid taces, anima, et non erumpis in uoce et mentis tuae exponis ardorem, et eiecto de intus ipso feruore malitiae, praestis fatigatae refrigerium passioni?*

¹¹⁵⁰ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.96, p. 26: *et quod minus laborat minibus, plus manibus operatur*; c. 16.48, p. 80 (on the *cellarius*): *dicente abbate pro eo fratribus ut habeatur in mente*; c. 47.18-19, p. 216: *Qui sonat in uoce, ipse sit et in mente psallentis. Psallamus ergo uoce et mente communiter*; c. 90.76, p. 392: *ut merito iam ab omnibus hoc uidearis in corpore, quod a Deo possideris in mente*.

¹¹⁵¹ *Maculare*: *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.11, SC 106, p. 330: *cogitatio turpis maculat*; *medicina*: *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.29, p. 66: *et aduersus necessitatem uulneris eius similis diuina medicina legatur*; *polluere*: c. 80.t, p. 328: *polluti per somnum*; c. 90.86: *polluatur in saeculo*; *soluere*: c. 14.17, p. 50: *solue intercessione tua*; *sanies*: c. 15.64: *et de eo fuerit sanies eiecta*. The *Regula Magistri* also uses the expressions *sordidus*, *sorditas*, *spurcidus*, and *spurcitia* which appear in the *Vita Columbani* but not in the *Regula Benedicti*.

¹¹⁵² The amount of literature on sacred space is boundless. The most comprehensive introduction to sacred space in an early medieval context is Czock, Miriam, *Gottes Haus: Untersuchungen zur Kirche als heiligem Raum von der Spätantike bis ins Frühmittelalter*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2012, pp. 1-16.

term would eventually slip into the language of charters granting rights to monasteries.¹¹⁵³ For Caesarius, this is more remarkable, given his ubiquitous use of *sanctus*. The space itself does for him not contribute to turning the community into a *congregatio sancta*; it is the *regula sancta* and particularly its provisions on enclosure, which create impenetrable boundaries. These boundaries are rather *ex*-clusive than *in*-clusive, in the sense of closing the sinful outside-world off and creating a “non-space” (οὐ-τόπος) in which, as it were, the mechanism of sinfulness do not apply. Caesarius’ enclosure is more concerned about the wolves outside than about the space it encloses, so maybe it would be more appropriate to call it an “exclosure”.

The monastery would become a *locus sanctus* much later, predominantly in legal texts that protected the monastic space from outside interference. It is the interaction with the outside world and the necessity to give the monastery a protective legal framework that turns the monastic space from a “sanctifying space” (at least in the eyes of Caesarius) to a sacred space.¹¹⁵⁴

To Jonas is – as we saw – hardly anything holy. It is therefore only consistent that he does not call his monastery a holy space. Caesarius and Jonas share the idea that their monastic space is defined by its boundaries and by keeping the world (*saeculum*) outside, rather than by proximity and distance to a center, such as the presence of a saint. Both spatial concepts function without relics, which distinguishes them from churches, religious communities serving the shrine of a martyr, or many later monastic foundations that were either established on the grave of a saint or imported martyrs and other saints from elsewhere or turned their own founder into an object of veneration.¹¹⁵⁵ Luxeuil flourishes without Columbanus’ relics; Bobbio develops a cult of Columbanus only centuries later;¹¹⁵⁶ Burgundofara’s foundation, the monastery for which Jonas most likely wrote his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* eventually becomes Faremoutiers (*monasterium Farae*), but there is no indication of an meaningful cult of Burgundofara. Yet Jonas’ space has much more layers of meaning than Caesarius’. It is not a safe space but a

¹¹⁵³ The first authentic Merovingian charters for a monastery using the expression *locus sanctus* were issued in 654 (King Clovis II for Saint-Denis, *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger* 1, no 85, pp. 217-219), 658/659 (Clothar III for Mantier-la-Celle, no. 92, pp. 238-239) and in 693 (Clovis III for Saint-Calais, no. 140, pp. 352-354).

¹¹⁵⁴ See Esders and Patzold, ‘From Justinian to Louis the Pious’. Miriam Czock pointed me to this important aspect which certainly deserves further elaboration in a separate publication.

¹¹⁵⁵ On the rise and diversity of monastic saints’ cults, see Mattingly, Todd Matthew, *Living Reliquaries: Monasticism and the Cult of the Saints in the age of Louis the Pious*, Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 2019.

¹¹⁵⁶ O’Hara, Alexander and Faye Taylor, ‘Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy: the Case of Bobbio and the Miracula Sancti Columbani’, in: *Viator* 44 (2013), pp. 43-61.

battleground that needs to be constantly guarded; it is a space that needs to be kept clean from pollution both from the outside (the monastery) and from the inside (of each nun), but it is also a powerful space in which intercessory prayer may unfold its power, in which the nuns hear the angels singing, in which Columbanus could become invisible, and nuns meet the Apostle.

Keeping the world outside makes it, at least, a powerful space.

The monastic battlefield and the always present devil disqualifies Jonas' monastic space as sacred space, but this also applies to the *area pectoris*, the inner space of a nun. Paul's dictum in I Cor. 6, 19 of the body as temple of the Holy Spirit does not apply to Jonas' nuns whose inner space needs to be ceaselessly cleansed in a never-ending rhythm of confession and mutual intercessory prayer.¹¹⁵⁷ More about that in the following Chapters.

¹¹⁵⁷ I Cor 6, 19: *An nescitis quoniam corpus uestrum templum est Spiritus Sancti, qui in uobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis uestri?*

PART III: DISCIPLINE

Chapter 5: The *Regula Benedicti* in seventh-century Francia

Our knowledge of the early history of the *Regula Benedicti* – the Rule that would become the guiding norm of Western monasticism – is based on scattered and disjointed evidence. There is the story of the Rule that Benedict, the founder of Montecassino, allegedly wrote shortly before his death (around 550). Gregory the Great, who tells this in the second book of his *Dialogi*, calls the text “of excellent discretion in clear style.”¹¹⁵⁸ Two hundred years later, the historian Paul the Deacon added the dramatic twist that the monks of Montecassino saved the manuscript of Benedict’s Rule (along with some other books, a loaf of bread, and some wine) when the monastery was raided by the Lombards and its inhabitants had to escape to Rome.¹¹⁵⁹ According to Paul the Deacon, the autograph was returned to Montecassino around 750; it was destroyed in a fire in 893.¹¹⁶⁰

The allegedly oldest witness of the *Regula Benedicti* after Gregory’s *Dialogi* is a letter written by an otherwise unknown Venerandus to bishop Constantius of Albi (d. 647).¹¹⁶¹ Preserved only in a fifteenth-century copy, this letter was considered to be original mainly because of its bad – thus Merovingian – Latin, which is not a very strong argument for its authenticity. It strictly enjoined the abbot and the monks of the otherwise unknown monastery Altaripa to obey to the *Regula Benedicti* and threatens the abbot with removal from his office if he does not follow this order. Neither the idea of a bishop ordering a monastery to follow a specific monastic rule, nor the threat of severe repercussions, nor the entire understanding of

¹¹⁵⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 36, SC 260, p. 242: *Nam scripsit monachorum regulam discretionem praecipuam, sermone luculentam.*

¹¹⁵⁹ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* IV, c. 17, MGH SRL, p. 122.

¹¹⁶⁰ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, pp. 178-179; Traube, Ludwig, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*, Munich: Verlag der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898, pp. 627-628.

¹¹⁶¹ Ed. in Traube, *Textgeschichte*, pp. 690-691, based on St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 917, p. 3. See Diem, Albrecht, ‘Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West’, in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 53-84, at p. 67; Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2nd ed. 1988, pp. 267-268 and Engelbert, Pius, ‘Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der *Regula Benedicti* im Frühmittelalter’, in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 81 (1986), pp. 39-60, at pp. 40-41 assume that the letter is authentic.

“following a rule” as a legal norm finds any parallels in other early seventh-century texts. If anything, the Venerandus Letter would fit in the context of Carolingian debates on implementing the *Regula Benedicti*, but is out of place in the period it was allegedly written.

The first reasonably reliable references to the *Regula Benedicti* appear in charters for a number of monasteries founded from the 630s onwards, which granted monasteries privileges under the condition that their inhabitants follow a combined *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani*. This *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* largely disappeared from the sources in the late seventh century.¹¹⁶² Friedrich Prinz, who pioneered the study of monastic life after Columbanus (and coined the expression *Iro-Fränkisches Klosterwesen* – “Hiberno-Frankish monasticism”), assumed that the more moderate *Regula Benedicti* replaced Columbanus’ harsh precepts and that Frankish monasticism increasingly turned “Benedictine” – a hypothesis that is based on little source evidence since not only the *Regula Columbani* but also the *Regula Benedicti* largely disappeared from Frankish sources in the late seventh century.¹¹⁶³ There are, however, several later diplomatic forgeries and hagiographic narratives that aim at providing monasteries with a “Benedictine” past reaching further back than the Carolingian monastic reforms.¹¹⁶⁴ The first witnesses of the text and content of the *Regula Benedicti* are the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

We find in the first half of the eighth century a number of traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Anglo-Saxon sources, particularly in the work of the Venerable Bede.¹¹⁶⁵ The oldest extant

¹¹⁶² Diem, Albrecht, ‘Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?’, in: Max Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63-89. On the spread of the “*Regula Benedicti et Columbani*”, see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 121-151 and pp. 263-292; Moyse, Gérard, ‘Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e-X^e siècles)’, in: *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 131 (1973), pp. 21-104 and pp. 369-485; Engelbert, ‘Regeltext und Romverehrung’, pp. 40-44. According to Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 277, the last episcopal charters referring to *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* was the privilege of Aredius von Vaison for the monastery Graselle from 683, ed. Jean Marie Pardessus, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, vol. 2, Paris 1849, no. 401, pp. 191-193 and the privilege of bishop Widigern of Strassburg for the monastery of Murbach from 728, ed. Pardessus, vol. 2, no. 543, pp. 352-355.

¹¹⁶³ See Engelbert, ‘Regeltext und Romverehrung’, pp. 47-49.

¹¹⁶⁴ For later diplomatic forgeries referring to the *Regula Benedicti*, see *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, no. 71, pp. 181-183; no. 78, pp. 197-200; no. 87, pp. 224-227; no. 91, pp. 234-237; no. 186, pp. 462-465.

¹¹⁶⁵ Anglo-Saxon references to the *Regula Benedicti* include Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 1, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1896, p. 364; c. 8, p. 372; c. 11, p. 375; c. 16, pp. 379-380; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66, l. 1706-1707, *CCSL* 123B, p. 521; Bede, *In Ezram et Nehemiam* III, l. 466-473, *CCSL* 119A, pp. 350-351; Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 14, ed./transl. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, p. 202; c. 19-20, pp. 222-224; *Vita Cuthberti* III, c. 1, pp. 94-96; Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 14, ed. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, c.

manuscript of the *Regula Benedicti*, now preserved in the Bodleian Library (Hatton 48), was probably produced at the beginning of the eighth century in an Anglo-Saxon monastery. Anglo-Saxons monks were a likely faction promoting the *Regula Benedicti* in Francia at that time.¹¹⁶⁶

In 719 a community of monks settled at Montecassino, the alleged place of origin of the *Regula Benedicti*.¹¹⁶⁷ Montecassino became a prime destination of Anglo-Saxon and, later, Frankish monks and successfully claimed authority over Benedict's legacy.¹¹⁶⁸ From the middle of the eighth century onwards, initially instigated by the Anglo-Saxon monk Boniface and his successors, the *Regula Benedicti* became a tool for monastic reform and unification, culminating in the Aachen synods of 816/817.¹¹⁶⁹ For at least two hundred years, there are no undoubtedly authentic traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Italy, its alleged region of origin.¹¹⁷⁰ The "story" of

14, p. 30; c. 47, p. 98: Wilfrid allegedly introduced the *Regula Benedicti* in his monastery of Ripon after a journey to Gaul (which would be the first and only example of the introduction of the *Regula Benedicti* in Anglo-Saxon England until the tenth century). See Wormald, Patrick, *The Times of Bede*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Oxford: Blackwell 2006, pp. 3-29; Foot, Sarah, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006, pp. 49-60.

¹¹⁶⁶ Sources on Anglo-Saxon monks propagating the *Regula Benedicti* in the Frankish kingdoms include Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, c. 14, *MGH Script.* 2, pp. 371-372; *Vita Liudgeri* I, c. 18, p. 410; Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, c. 5, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 102; *Vita Leobae*, c. 10, p. 125; *Vita Alcuini*, c. 11, p. 191; Boniface, *Ep.* 86, *MGH Epp.* 3, p. 368; *Concilium Germanicum*, c. 7, *MGH Concilia* 2.1, p. 4.

¹¹⁶⁷ See Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, *MGH SRL*, pp. 178-179. On the re-foundation of Montecassino: Meeder, Sven, 'Monte Cassino and Carolingian politics around 800', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 279-295; Wollasch, Joachim, 'Benedictus abbas Romensis. Das römische Element in der frühen benediktinischen Tradition', in: Norbert Kamp, Joachim Wollasch, Manfred Balzer, Karl Heinrich Krüger, and Lutz von Padberg (eds.), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hauck*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1982, pp. 119-137; Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung', pp. 49-51.

¹¹⁶⁸ Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 74-75; Padberg, Lutz von, 'Missionare und Mönche auf dem Weg nach Rom und Monte Cassino im 8. Jahrhundert', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 111 (2000), pp. 145-168; Palmer, James T., *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish world, 690-900*, Turnhout: Brepols 2009, pp. 201-204.

¹¹⁶⁹ Sources in Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 70-72; *idem*, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', in: van Espelo *et al.* (eds.), *Religious Franks*, pp. 243-261. On the Aachen reforms, see most recently Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016; *eadem*, 'The Deposit of Monastic Faith: The Carolingians on Essence of Monasticism', in: Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past: Papers read at the 2011 Summer Meeting and the 2012 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2013, pp. 74-86. Still seminal: De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622-653; Semmler, Josef, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in: Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1-49.

¹¹⁷⁰ Hallinger, Kassius, 'Papst Gregor der Große und der hl. Benedikt', in: Basilius Steidle (ed.), *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, Rome: Orbis Catholicus/Herder 1957, pp. 231-319; Ferrari, Guy, *Early Roman Monasteries*;

the triumph of the *Regula Benedicti* is, thus, largely a Carolingian story.¹¹⁷¹ The pastiche of evidence of a rule appearing and disappearing in various regions at different times became from the ninth century onwards the backbone of the history of monasticism and the basis of a shared monastic identity. The gaps were filled in with the assumption that the triumph of “Benedictinism” had already begun long before the Carolingian reforms, that Gregory the Great and the Venerable Bede were “Benedictine” monks and that monasteries, after following various “mixed rules”, decided to follow Benedict’s wiser and moderate precepts.¹¹⁷²

The story of the origins of the *Regula Benedicti* poses a number of problems that are relevant for this study. First, there is the question whether the text we know as the *Regula Benedicti* was indeed the Rule “of outstanding discretion in clear style” ascribed to Benedict, the founder of Montecassino, as Gregory the Great claims in the second book of his *Dialogi*. Neither the content of the *Dialogi* nor the remainder of Gregory’s work gives clear indications that he knew the *Regula Benedicti*, let alone that he was a “Benedictine” monk before he became pope.¹¹⁷³ If we abandon the premise of Benedict of Nursia’s authorship of the *Regula Benedicti* and its origin in Montecassino, the text could have been written anywhere: in Italy, in Merovingian Francia, and maybe even in the Insular world. The Venerable Bede was the first to identify Benedict, the hero of Gregory’s *Dialogi*, with the blessed (*benedictus*) author of the Rule.¹¹⁷⁴

Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century, Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana 1957, pp. 377-401.

¹¹⁷¹ On the role of the *Regula Benedicti* in Carolingian reforms, see Diem, ‘The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*’; Dartmann, Christoph, ‘Normative Schriftlichkeit im früheren Mittelalter: das benediktinische Mönchtum’, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 100 (2004), pp. 1-61.

¹¹⁷² Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 288-292.

¹¹⁷³ Hallinger, ‘Papst Gregor the Große’, pp. 259-277; Clark, Francis, *The “Gregorian” Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism*, Leiden: Brill 2003, pp. 219-227. Adalbert de Vogüé argues in his introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, SC 181, pp. 150-151 in favor of Gregory’s knowledge of the *Regula Benedicti* on the basis of one single passage in his *In librum primum Regum expositionum* IV, c. 17, CCSL 144, p. 330 that shows vague similarities to *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58.2/8, SC 182, pp. 626-628. Both quote I Joh. 4, 1 and both use the phrase *dura et aspera*. See also Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, p. 137 on the meanings of the term *regula* in Gregory’s *Dialogi*.

¹¹⁷⁴ Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 1, ed. Plummer, p. 364 refers to *Benedictus* as he appears in Gregory’s *Dialogi*: *Qui ut beati papae Gregorii uerbis, quibus cognominis eius abbatis uitam glorificat utar: Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab ipso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile, aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli animum uoluptati dedit*. In c. 11, p. 375 Bede refers to the *regula*, presumably having the same *Benedictus* in mind: *Sed iuxta quod regula magni quondam abbatis Benedicti, iuxta quod priuilegii nostri continent decreta, in conuentu uestrae congregationis communi consilio perquiratis, qui secundum uitae meritum et sapientiae doctrinam aptior ad tale ministerium perficiendum digniorque probetur...*

It is, of course, not impossible that parts of the established narrative holds true: that there was *one* genius who founded Montecassino and wrote the *Regula Benedicti* the way we know it, that the *Regula Magistri* formed the model for the text and that the *Regula Benedicti* started its triumph after being divorced from Columbanus' grim precepts, but this narrative stands on too shaky a foundation to be able to serve as a cornerstone for any modern narrative of the origins of Western monasticism or, for the purpose of this book, as a broader context that might shape our understanding of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

If we stop taking for granted that Benedict of Nursia was the author of the *Regula Benedicti*, another problem arises: is there *one* author of the text, or has the *Regula Benedicti* been assembled from various sources that may have been written by different authors at different points in time?¹¹⁷⁵ The long prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* could perfectly stand on its own, as does chapter 7 on the ten steps of humility or the liturgical outline in chapters 8-18. The *Regula Benedicti* would function without these parts. The *Regula Benedicti* contains two chapters on the abbot (c. 2 and c. 64), two chapters on obedience (c. 5 and c. 71), defines the first step of humility in two different ways (c. 5; c. 7.10-30). The Rule discourages the community to appoint a prior but nevertheless refers to a prior or to priors several times (c. 21.7; c. 62.7; c. 65). Neither the *Regula Donati* (the first witness of the text itself), nor the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (the first text using and revising the *Regula Benedicti*) quote the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* as we know it, or the liturgical *ordo* of chapters 8-18. Donatus, at least, quotes the twelve steps of humility, which indicates that his version of the *Regula Benedicti* contained this part.¹¹⁷⁶

Then there is the question how this *Regula Benedicti* is related to the much longer *Regula Magistri*, the other presumably Italian monastic rule – which has been a topic of a heated but excruciatingly dull debate.¹¹⁷⁷ Parts of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* overlap

¹¹⁷⁵ Rudolf Hanslik discusses this question in the introduction to his edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, CSEL 75, pp. XVII-XVIII, without coming to a verdict. On the problem of authorship in general, see also p. §.

¹¹⁷⁶ *Regula Donati*, CSEL 98, pp. 139-188 uses *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2-7, SC 181, pp. 440-490; c. 19-20, SC 182, pp. 534-538; c. 22, pp. 540-542; c. 24-25, pp. 544-546; c. 27-28, pp. 548-552; c. 31-36, pp. 556-572; c. 40-43, pp. 578-590; c. 47, pp. 596-598; c. 52-53, pp. 610-616; c. 58, pp. 626-632; c. 63-65, pp. 642-658. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* paraphrase, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, SC 181, pp. 440-452; c. 18-20, SC 182, pp. 528-538; c. 22-26, pp. 540-548; c. 28-33, pp. 550-562; c. 35-39, pp. 564-578; c. 41-44, pp. 580-592; c. 46-48, pp. 594-604; c. 53-54, pp. 610-618; c. 63-67, pp. 642-662; c. 69-71, pp. 664-668; c. 73, pp. 672-674.

¹¹⁷⁷ The main contributions to this debate are provided by Knowles, David, 'The *Regula Magistri* and the Rule of St. Benedict', in: *idem*, *Great Historical Enterprises*, London: Nelson 1963, pp. 139-195. Knowles refuted the long hold viewpoint that Benedict must have been the first. This was later corroborated by Adalbert de Vogüé, in his introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, SC 181, pp. 173-314. Knowles' and De Vogüé's viewpoint has

almost verbatim. In other instances, both texts say similar things in different words, but there are also sections in which both rules part from each other in wording, content, and monastic ideal. The communities addressed by each Rule are different in size and internal organization. The discussions on the chronology and connections of both texts are based on the premise that both rules have single authors and that one rule directly depends on the other. Adalbert de Vogüé at least admits that his arguments on the priority of the *Regula Magistri* are based on the assumption that Benedict used an earlier version of the *Regula Magistri* that is different from the text we have today.¹¹⁷⁸

While it is still possible that there was indeed one Benedict behind the *Regula Benedicti*, or at least most of its chapters, I consider it rather unlikely that the *Regula Magistri*, a chaotic, idiosyncratic, contradictory, and redundant hodgepodge of straightforward regulations, speeches, theological reflections, and long-winded commentaries on monastic life is the work of one “Master”, though it is undoubtedly a “masterwork” of its own kind. The basic structure of the *Regula Magistri* is a dialogue. A question, phrased as *interrogatio discipulorum*, is followed by the words *Respondit Dominus per magistrum*: God responds through *the* – or *a* – *magister*. It may not be by accident that the two complete manuscripts extant conclude the text with *explicit regula sanctorum patrum* (here ends the Rule of the Holy Fathers – plural).¹¹⁷⁹ A modern librarian scribbled the title *Regula Magistri* into its oldest manuscript.¹¹⁸⁰ In the *Codex Regularum*, the text has no title. The first running title calls the text *Regula per interrogationem discipuli et responsionem magistri facta*, which was simplified to *Regula Magistri* on the running titles of subsequent folios.¹¹⁸¹

If the *Regula Magistri* was just a monastic florilegium presented in the form of questions and answers, it would be possible that both camps in the now dormant debate about which rule predates the other are both partly right and partly wrong. Some parts of the *Regula Magistri*

been questioned by Marilyn Dunn, ‘Mastering Benedict: monastic rules and their authors in the early medieval West’, in: *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), pp. 567-594, which earned a fierce refutation by Adalbert de Vogüé, ‘The Master and St Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn’, in: *English Historical Review* 112 (1992), pp. 95-103. Marilyn Dunn responded with a rejoinder: ‘The Master and St Benedict: a rejoinder’, in: *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), pp. 104-111. A summary of the first phase of the debate is provided by Jaspert, Bernd, *Die Regula Magistri-Regula Benedicti-Kontroverse*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1975.

¹¹⁷⁸ De Vogüé, ‘The Master and Saint Benedict’, p. 90.

¹¹⁷⁹ Paris, BnF, lat. 12205, fol. 157r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 184vb.

¹¹⁸⁰ Paris, BnF, lat. 12205, fol. 64v.

¹¹⁸¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 142v-143r.

could have been older, others younger than the *Regula Benedicti*. Benedict may simply have been one of the “masters”, which would explain that both Rules overlap in many chapters. In some sections, one text could have influenced the other; in others both works (or compilations) may have fished in the same pond and used or appropriated the now lost textual material independently from each other.¹¹⁸² Neither the question of how much of the “Benedictine” narrative holds true, nor the question of the shape, authorship, and relationship of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* will be fully addressed here, but it is important to ensure that our reading of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is not determined by assuming that they *are* resolved. Jonas’ Rule itself vastly complicates these questions because there are various points in which the content and the ideas expressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stand closer to the *Regula Magistri*, while showing indisputable ties to the *Regula Benedicti* on the level of language and phrasing.¹¹⁸³

The two first witnesses of the *Regula Benedicti* (or a text very similar to the one we have now), the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Regula Donati*, play a rather ambivalent role in the history leading to the “triumph” of the *Regula Benedicti*. Donatus praises Benedict along with Columbanus as *abbas beatissimus* and mines their Rules in order to revise and expand the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles.¹¹⁸⁴ Jonas does not mention Benedict at all or piggybacks on his authority. Instead, he refers to generally to the authority of the “holy fathers” or to “holy scriptures” (*traditio multorum patrum iuxta scripturarum seriem, series sanctarum scripturarum, or instituta sanctorum patrum*).¹¹⁸⁵ As we will see in Chapter 6 of this study, he wholeheartedly disagrees with various provisions and foundational ideas of the *Regula Benedicti* and this may

¹¹⁸² There is, for example, the problem that several chapters of the *Regula Magistri* indicate that their author regarded *monachi* as category apart, different from *laici* (lay people). See *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.6, SC 105, p. 330; c. 7.31, p. 388; c. 24.23, SC 106, p. 128; c. 56.1, p. 262; c. 58.5, p. 274; c. 61.12-15, p. 280; c. 78.t, p. 316; c. 83.9, p. 344; c. 87.t, p. 354; c. 90.t, p. 378; c. 90.83, p. 394. The term *laicus* is absent from the *Regula Benedicti*. If Benedict had indeed used the *Regula Magistri* this would imply that he had removed all references to *laici* with a lice comb, which wouldn’t make much sense in a broader historical context that does indeed move towards regarding monks as a category apart from lay people. See Diem, Albrecht, ‘...ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiat. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles’, in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191-224, at p. 206.

¹¹⁸³ See p. § and p. §; Dunn, ‘Mastering Benedict’, pp. 570-571 makes this suggestion. This study will add evidence in support of this aspect of Dunn’s argument.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Regula Donati*, prologue.1-5, CSEL 98, p. 139.

¹¹⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.1; c. 9.1; c. 22.1.

have been the reason why he punished its author with silence. Thus, the text of the future *sancta regula* of Benedict started its history, as far as it is visible to us, by being dismantled, processed in a florilegium, and refuted.

Neither Donatus' nor Jonas' way of composing a new rule out of older material was unique. There are other florilegia of existing monastic rules that quote their material more or less faithfully, as does Donatus. The *Regula* ascribed to Eugippius largely consists of fragments of Augustine's Rule, the *Regula Magistri*, and the *Regula Basilii*. The *Regula orientalis* quotes Pachomius' and Macharius' Rules. Aurelianus' Rule, the *Regula Tarnatensis*, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris* paraphrase older monastic rules but express new ideas in a similar way as Jonas does.

It is likely that Jonas' disagreement with the *Regula Benedicti* was the main reason for composing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Benedict's Rule was gaining a foothold at Luxeuil and its affiliations. It is obvious that Jonas knew and thoroughly studied the text in order to write the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but his *Vita Columbani* does not contain any trace of the *Regula Benedicti*, not even unintended terminological overlaps that would have been unavoidable if Jonas had studied the text well when he wrote the *Vita Columbani*.¹¹⁸⁶ None of the countless parallels between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains material that undoubtedly comes from the *Regula Benedicti*, which gives us a clear indication about the chronology: Jonas must have started writing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* after completing the *Vita Columbani*.

Jonas not only ignores the *Regula Benedicti* in his *Vita Columbani*, he staunchly claims that all affiliations of Luxeuil, i.e. Rebais, Remiremont, Faremoutiers, Jouarre, Solignac, St. Martial, Donatus' monasteries, and many unnamed foundations, were established *ex regula Columbani*.¹¹⁸⁷ His claim clashes in two cases with evidence from charters that predate the *Vita Columbani*: the foundation charter of Solignac drawn by Eligius of Noyon (*ca* 632)¹¹⁸⁸ and the episcopal privilege for Rebais issued by Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux, Burgundofara's brother (*ca* 637). Both charters claim not only that the monks of Solignac and Rebais were supposed to

¹¹⁸⁶ See De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 11, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2007, pp. 31-49.

¹¹⁸⁷ *VCol* I, c. 26, pp. 109-210; II, c. 10, pp. 255-256. See Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?', pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁸⁸ Foundation charter for Solignac, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 746-749. The foundation is described in *Vita Eligii* I, c. 15-16, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 680-682. See also Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 133-134 and pp. 268-269; Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 67-68.

follow a *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* but identify this observance as the *modus Luxouiensis* (the practice of Luxeuil), implying that the *Regula Benedicti* was at that point already in use in Luxeuil itself.¹¹⁸⁹

Solignac is founded...

...ea tamen condicione interposita, ut uos uel successores uestri tramitem religionis sanctissimorum uirorum Luxouiensis monasterii consequamini et regulam beatissimorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani firmiter teneatis (...) ut regulam supradictorum patrum, quam in sepe memorato monasterio Luxouiense tenent, omni custodia teneatis et uigilias atque obsecrationes ad placandam iram furoris Domini assidue impendatis...¹¹⁹⁰

[...under the condition that you or your successors follow the path of piety of the most holy men of the monastery of Luxeuil and firmly keep the Rule of the blessed fathers Benedict and Columbanus, (...) that you keep the Rule of the above mentioned fathers with all watchfulness which they keep in the above mentioned monastery of Luxeuil and that you persistently devote vigils and pleas to sooth the anger of the fury of the Lord.]

Burgundofaro describes the foundation of Rebais as follows:

...ubi monachos uel peregrinos sub regula beati Benedicti, et ad modum Luxouiensis monasterii, deuoti deliberant collocare. (...) Et si aliquid ipsi monachi de eorum religione tepide egerint, secundum regulam ipsius beati Benedicti uel beati Columbani, ab eorum abbate corrigantur, quia nihil de canonica auctoritate conuellit, quidquid domesticis fidei pro quietis tranquillitate tribuitur.¹¹⁹¹

[where those devout people plan to settle monks or *peregrini* under the Rule of the blessed Benedict and following the model of the monastery of Luxeuil (...) And if these monks carry out tepidly something of their way of life, they should be corrected by their abbot according to the Rule of this blessed Benedict and of the blessed Columbanus because, whatever is assigned to the inmates of faith in keeping with the tranquility of the place, nothing of that may be ripped away from the canonical authority.]

None of that is mentioned in Jonas' report on the early history of Luxeuil, and the *Regula Benedicti* is conspicuously absent in his undoubtedly biased description of the disputes between

¹¹⁸⁹ On these two texts, see Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*'; *idem*, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 69-70; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 67-73; Ewig, Eugen, 'Das Formular von Rebais und die Bischofsprivilegien der Merowingerzeit', in: *idem*, *Spätantikes und fränkischen Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, vol. 2, Munich: Artemis Verlag 1979, pp. 457-463. Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester, pp. 55-72 argues that Jonas deliberately omitted referring to the Rebais Privilege in his *Vita Columbani* in because he was opposed to the notion of monasteries held under the control of families such as the Faronids rather than under the control of Luxeuil. She does, however, not assume that this omission has anything to do with the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani*.

¹¹⁹⁰ Eligius, *Foundation Charter of Solignac*, MGH SRM 4, c. 3/4, pp. 747-748.

¹¹⁹¹ Privilege of Burgundofaro von Meaux für Rebais (637), ed. Pardessus, vol. 2, no. 293, pp. 61-63.

Columbanus' successor Eusthadius and the allegedly rebellious monk Agrestius about the orthodoxy of the *Regula Columbani*.¹¹⁹² Clare Stancliffe and Thomas Charles-Edwards suggest that the question whether the *Regula Benedicti* should play a role in Columbanus' foundations and Luxeuil's affiliations, was one of the many matters of contention arising after Columbanus' death – and they are probably right.¹¹⁹³

Hagiographic texts give different answers to the question of whether Luxeuil followed the *Regula Columbani* or the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani*. The *Vita Filiberti* recounts that Philibert, the founder of Jumièges, visited Luxeuil and Bobbio and other monasteries *sub norma sancti Columbani* during his travels through various other monasteries; he did also, however, thoroughly study the *Basilii sancti charismata*, *Macharii regula*, *Benedicti decreta*, *Columbani instituta sanctissima* in order to develop his own *regula* that he introduced in his various foundations.¹¹⁹⁴ The *Vita Sadalbergae* claims that under the rule of Waldebert, the second successor of Columbanus, numerous monasteries were founded under the *Regula beatorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani*.¹¹⁹⁵

There may have been various reasons for a dispute about the place of the *Regula Benedicti*. Should there be another non-Insular monastic authority besides Columbanus? Is it necessary to adjust Columbanus' monastic practices to local monastic traditions? Is it necessary to build monastic observance around a set of written precepts understood as legal norm or is Columbanus' Rule as we know it (an ascetic treatise plus liturgical outline, plus penitential handbook) sufficient as textual basis? Do Luxeuil, Bobbio, and Luxeuil's filiations really

¹¹⁹² VCol II, c. 9-10, pp. 247-257. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-305, at pp. 267-278.

¹¹⁹³ Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, pp. 383-390; Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', in: John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2001, pp. 189-220, at pp. 211-213.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Vita Filiberti*, c. 5, MGH SRM 5, p. 587: *Sed quia perfecti uiri semper a perfectiora sectantur, coepit sacerdos Domini sanctorum caenobia circuire, ut aliquod emulumentum ex successione sanctitatis ualeret accipere. Lustrans Luxouium et Bobium uel reliqua cenobia sub norma sancti Columbani degentia atque omnia monasteria, quas intra suo gremio Francia et Italia hac tota claudit Burgundia, astuta intentione prouidens, ut prudentissima apis, quicquid melioribus florere uidit studiis, hoc suis traxit exemplis. Basilii sancti charismata, Macharii regula, Benedicti decreta, Columbani instituta sanctissima lectione frequentabat assidua, sicque honestus uirtute aromatum sequacibus sanctum monstrabat exemplum.*

¹¹⁹⁵ *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 8, MGH SRM 5, p. 54. On the discussion whether the *Vita Sadalbergae* is a genuine Merovingian text or has been written in the Carolingian period, see Hummer, Hans J., 'Die merowingische Herkunft der *Vita Sadalbergae*', in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003), pp. 459-493. Hummer argues against Bruno Krusch that the work is in its core Merovingian.

consider themselves “Columbanian”, i.e. based on a distinct monastic ideal embodied by the Irish monk Columbanus, or were Luxeuil and Bobbio just two aristocratic and royal monastic foundations in local traditions that accidentally involved the strange, weird looking and annoying Irish *peregrinus* with his twelve companions who then excessively imposed their radical monastic practices on them? The *Regula Columbani*, as it is mentioned in Jonas’ *Vita Columbani*, may not even have been a specific written text, but a monastic ideal most aptly expressed in Jonas’ own narrative.¹¹⁹⁶

Bishop Donatus did not follow the path of Jonas and explicitly recognized the authority of the *Regula Benedicti* and the necessity of following a Rule. If there was indeed a debate on the question whether to integrate the *Regula Benedicti* into Columbanus’ legacy, Donatus would probably have sided with Eligius (the founder of Solignac), Audoinus (the founder of Rebaix), Burgundofaro, and other bishops who subsequently issued privileges for monasteries under the *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani*. We can indeed speculate whether favoring the *Regula Benedicti* also represented a specifically episcopal interest in giving these monasteries a proper legal basis.¹¹⁹⁷ Around 670, Bishop Leodegar of Autun, who had been imprisoned in Luxeuil, presided at the first (and in the Merovingian period the only) regional council that imposed the *Regula Benedicti* (now without additional reference to Columbanus) upon all monasteries in his diocese.¹¹⁹⁸

All of these questions of monastic politics may have played a role in the composition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My analysis of this text shows that Jonas’ discontent with the *Regula Benedicti* was first and foremost programmatic, i.e. caused by disagreements on doctrinal questions, concepts of monastic discipline, and ideas of how a monastic community should function and which role it should play in the pursuit of salvation.

Jonas’ own monastic ideal – or rather his claim on Columbanus’ true heritage – was hardly compatible with the monastic ideal of the *Regula Benedicti*. One way of explaining why

¹¹⁹⁶ On the thesis that *Regula Columbani* does not necessarily refer to Columbanus’ own *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, see Diem, ‘Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?’.

¹¹⁹⁷ Eugen Ewig analyzed most of these episcopal privileges in great detail in various articles that have been bundled in *Spätantikes und Fränkisches Gallien*, vol. 2.

¹¹⁹⁸ Council of Autun (ca 670), c. 15, ed. Hubert Mordek and Roger E. Reynolds, ‘Bischof Leodegar und das Konzil von Autun’, in: Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang 1992, pp. 71-92, at pp. 90-92. On Leodegar’s imprisonment in Luxeuil, see *Passio Leodegari*, c. 12-14, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 294-296.

Jonas pretended in the *Vita Columbani* that the *Regula Benedicti* did not exist in his world while extensively using it in his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be a change of strategy. He may have realized that ignoring the *Regula Benedicti* would eventually undermine his own credibility. His new strategy would be to acknowledge the Rule's existence, to rip the text to pieces and to present an alternative that somehow looked like the *Regula Benedicti* but was, in fact, his own Rule.

Reading the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines – a user's manual

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is an excessively complicated text and it provides even more challenges than the Faremoutiers episodes in the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas produced a *Gesamtkunstwerk* with a number of recurring features that need to be explained before analyzing the text. Most chapters consist of a combination of theological reflections (sometimes presented in form of an introduction) and practical provisions or implementations of his theological ideas.¹¹⁹⁹ Both aspects are often linked with phrases such as *sic enim*: that's how we should do it. Jonas' desire to *explain* rather than prescribe manifests itself also in the fact that almost half of the chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* have the expressions *qualis*, *qualiter*, and *quomodo* in their titles.

The theological reflections are usually free from allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* and can be seen as Jonas' own contribution, which distinguishes his work not only from the *Regula Benedicti* but, quite often, from the entire tradition of monastic normative texts. This means that it is particularly valuable to confront Jonas' ideas with these traditions and to make visible his very own notion of the pursuit of salvation. In some chapters, the practical provisions merely serve as examples that underline the programmatic points he wants to convey. The normative implementations of Jonas' theological program do not only appear in the respective chapters but are spread throughout the Rule, which turns the text into a maze of ideas.

Most of the practical provisions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show traces of Benedict's wording – probably just enough to allow his audience to see Benedict shining through his text and to accept the new Rule as a suitable alternative. The proximity to the *Regula Benedicti* led in modern scholarship to the misleading verdict that the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

¹¹⁹⁹ Introductory sections can be found in *RcuiV*, c. 2; c. 3; c. 6; c. 8; c. 14; c. 22; c. 23; c. 24 and in *De accedendo*.

uirgines consisted of two-third *Regula Benedicti* and one-third *Regula Columbani*.¹²⁰⁰ Even on the level of pragmatic regulations, the similarities between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule are in many instances deceiving. Jonas places Benedict's words into different contexts, shifts emphases or simply prescribes something different with similar words. For example, he uses Benedict's chapter on the sleeping arrangements in the monastery to craft his chapter on how the nuns ought to sleep (c. 14) but prescribed something Benedict vigorously prohibited: that two members of the community sleep together in one bed. The chapter in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on re-admitting *fugitive* nuns (c. 21) clearly shows traces of Benedict's chapter on *expelled* monks. This means that analyzing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* requires reading the text very closely *against* the *Regula Benedicti*. Every alteration, omission, or addition potentially carries meaning.

There are some other complicating factors. All chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are tied together and form part of one breathtakingly coherent monastic program that manifests itself in each specific set of provisions and in the use of a consistent semantic repertoire. Jonas invented, as it were, his own monastic idiom. No chapter can be understood isolated from all the others. Jonas' craftsmanship manifests itself in six different ways:

(1) Many topics that are addressed in specific chapters return throughout the Rule. For example, the discussion of mutual love in chapter 5 provides a theological argument on the salvific effect of *amor*, *dilectio*, *caritas*, and *pietas*, which is implemented in almost every other chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and superimposed upon material of the *Regula Benedicti*. Jonas' chapters on confession (c. 6-7) explain the salvific effect of confession and describe a regular confessional ritual. We find allusions to this ritual in various other chapters of the Rule in different contexts. Jonas' chapter on the education of children (c. 24) addresses the place of children in the monastery, but its main ideas are implemented throughout the Rule whenever children needed to be addressed. *De accedendo ad Deum* (see Chapter 7-8 of this study) describes monastic existence as an unceasing *opus Dei* (work of God) that encompasses all aspects of monastic life and not just liturgical activities. Consequently, we find the idea of the unceasing *opus Dei* expressed in almost every chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(2) Jonas' monastic program revolves around a number of theological premises: the already mentioned notion of the perpetual *opus Dei*, the imperative of mutual love as a crucial

¹²⁰⁰ Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 286.

factor in the pursuit of salvation, the idea that the monastic community collectively acts as a third party in the interaction between God and the individual, and the notion that the individual nun is not only responsible for her own salvation or damnation but also for the eternal well-being of the entire community. These premises are consistently superimposed upon the material Jonas took from the *Regula Benedicti*. His main disciplinary concern is not the outward acting of the individual nun but her *status mentis*, which is entangled by the weakness caused by the Fall of Adam and therefore needs to be put under a constant regime of discipline, control, and incitement. The *mens* as object of monastic discipline is virtually absent in the *Regula Benedicti* but ubiquitous in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The most radical premise of Jonas' program is that there is no escape. His concept of monastic discipline can only work if all loopholes are closed and if it applies equally to *every* member of the community at *any* moment and in *any* space. The terms *omnis* (all), *omnimodo* (in any way), *omnino* (entirely), *nullus* (none), *semper* (always), and *nullatenus* (by no means) are omnipresent throughout the Rule and *De accedendo ad Deum*, appearing no less than 168 times – almost as often as the word *et* (which appears 194 times).

(3) A number of chapters combine, in an ingenuous way, a topic and a theme (or several themes) – and topics and themes are not always directly related to each other. They manifest themselves through recurring expressions or specific semantic fields. The chapter on the abbess (c. 1) for example, uses the responsibilities of the abbess as point of departure for explaining the relationship between *opus* (work) and *uox* (voice). The chapter on the organization of meals (c. 10) uses its regulations as a case study on the imperative of mutual service, using the terms *ministrare* and *administrare* as key words. The chapter on tools and implements (c. 13) describes the task of distributing tools and implements but also uses this task as example for illustrating the responsibility of the individual for the community. *Cura* is the key term for this chapter. The chapter on escape and readmission (c. 21) uses this issue to illustrate his concept of space and boundaries. *Septa monasterii* becomes therefore the recurring term in this chapter. Almost every chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* has, thus, several layers of meaning and ties into various central themes at the same time. We have already seen something similar in the Faremoutiers episodes.

THIS TABLE WILL BE DELETED

Here is a tentative list of topics, themes and recurring terms in each specific chapter.

Chapter	Topic	Themes	Key words or semantic fields
1	Abbess	Teaching and acting, motivation; finding a balance, avoiding extremes.	<i>bonus/bonitas</i> (7); <i>omnis</i> (7); <i>opus</i> (7); <i>uox</i> (6)
2	Prior	motivation, weakness, hierarchy, communication, preventing loopholes	<i>consilium</i> (3x); <i>cursus</i> (3x); <i>humilis/humilitas</i> (3x); <i>interrogare</i> (3x); <i>mos</i> (3x); <i>nullus</i> (4x); <i>omnis</i> (10x); <i>subditus</i> (3x); <i>tepscere</i> (3x); terms related to strength and weakness: <i>excitare</i> ; <i>expergescens</i> ; <i>feruor</i> ; <i>fortis</i> ; <i>inpiger</i> ; <i>intentus</i> ; <i>sollers</i> ; <i>uigil</i> ; <i>fuscatus</i> ; <i>ignauia</i> ; <i>languens</i> ; <i>neglegentia</i> ; <i>segnitia</i> ; <i>tarditas</i> ; <i>tenebris</i> ; <i>tepscere</i> ; <i>tepiditas</i> ; <i>torpscere</i> .
3	Gatekeeper	The monastery and the surrounding world; enclosure; physical and symbolic concepts of inside and outside	<i>foris</i> (8x); <i>intus</i> (2x); <i>merces</i> (3x); <i>necessitas/necessarius</i> (4x); <i>nullatenus</i> (6x); <i>numquam</i> (2x); <i>omnis</i> (8x); <i>porta</i> (4x); <i>recipere</i> (4x); <i>si</i> (8x); <i>sic</i> (3x); <i>talis</i> (3x)
6	Confession	Power of Prayer	<i>confessio/confiteri</i> (13x); <i>cottidianus</i> (4x); <i>cursus</i> (4x); <i>dare</i> (6x); <i>delictum/delinquere</i>

			<i>(6x); dicere (6x); Dominus (6x); mens (4x); oratio/orare (7x); peccatum (6x)</i>
9	Silence	Care for the soul (<i>anima</i>), speaking	<i>abbatissa (7x); anima/animus (6x); desiderium/desidium (3x); Dominus (6x); frui/fructus (3x); hora (3x); loqui (8x) mensa (4x); necessarius/necessitas (5x); omnis (5); praesumere (3x); regula (3x); silentium (3x); studere (3x)</i>
10		The authority of the abbess	<i>abbatissa (7x); administratio/administrare (4x); benedicere/benedictio (3x); eibus (7x); corpus (3x); dies (3x); fercula (3x); mensa (4x); mensural (3x); ministrare/ministra (4x); omnes (4x); potus (4x); reficere (3x); signum (3x).</i>
11	Serving meals	The unceasing <i>opus Dei</i> ; monastic “choreography”	<i>exigere (3x); hora (3x); inquoatio (3x); mensa (5x); reficere/refectio (6x); sollemnitas (4x)</i>
12	Manual work	The unceasing <i>opus Dei</i>	<i>facere (10x); lauare (5x); manus (7x); necesse/necessarius/necessitas (6x); omnis (8x); opus/operare (20x)</i>

13	Care for property		<i>committere (3); cura (3)</i>
14	Sleeping arrangements	The always-prepared soul	<i>dormire (9), anima (3)</i>
15	Sick nuns	Imitation of Christ through mutual care	<i>cura (9), ministrare/ministra (4); Christus (3)</i>
16	Accidents	Negligence, guilt and the imperative of confession	<i>casus (4x); confessio (4x); culpa (7x); neglegentia/neglegens (4x)</i>
17	Private property	Renunciation of the world	<i>abbatissa (4x); communis (3x); mundus (7x); omnis (6x); proprius (4x); res (7x)</i>
18-20	Excommunication		<i>abbatissa (4x); congregatio (4x); corripere/correptio (8x); corrigere/correctio (5x); culpa (8x); emendare (5x); excommunicate/excommunicatio (11x), nolle (5x); regula/regularis (5x)</i>
21	Escape	Monastic space and boundaries	<i>septa (2)</i>
22	Humility	Hierarchy, protection	<i>abbatissa (8x); affectus (3x); benediction (4x); caritas (4x); com meatus (4x); humiliare/humiliatio/humilis (12x), iunior (5x); locus (5x); omnis (6x); ordinare/or do (7x); senior (7x); uerus (5x); uirtus (5x)</i>
23	Siding with family	Imperative of mutual love	<i>amor (3x); Christus (3x); consanguinea (3x); corrigere (3x); cruxifixus (3x); defendere</i>

			(6x); <i>proprius</i> (3x); <i>uoluntas</i> (3x)
24	Children		<i>disciplina</i> (3x); <i>nutriri</i> (3x)

(4) As I have shown in Chapter 4 of this study, Jonas expands upon Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns. A lot of Jonas’ decisions to use or ignore material from the *Regula Benedicti* can be explained by the fact that Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns is present in the background. As one could expect from an author who crafts his text so carefully, Jonas does not like redundancies. Whatever has been said already does not have to be repeated. If Jonas returns to a topic that has already been addressed by Caesarius, there is always an explanation. Either Jonas deviates from Caesarius (often switching to the first-person plural, thus using his own voice) or he exemplifies, expands, explains, or contextualizes a provision that has already appeared in Caesarius’ Rule.

(5) Even though Jonas uses the *Regula Benedicti* as his main textual “quarry”, this does not mean that he does not use other sources. The *Regula Basilii*, Columbanus’ Rules, and the works of John Cassian left a number of identifiable traces in Jonas’ text and sometimes served as sub-text in a similar way as the *Regula Benedicti*.¹²⁰¹ Some passages also indicate Jonas’ knowledge of the Rule of Isidore of Seville and the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* – directly or through florilegia.¹²⁰² Jonas never just paraphrases his sources but took their language and ideas to mold something that is entirely his own and often a critical response to the work he uses. Just as much as the Faremoutiers miracles can be read as a response to the fourth book of Gregory’s *Dialogi*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be read as a critical engagement not only with the *Regula Benedicti* but also, for example, with John Cassian’s and Basil’s monastic ideals.

The *Regula Magistri* forms a peculiar problem in this intertextual web. There is no “smoking gun” that proves that Jonas directly used this text, but there are numerous instances in which the program of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* rather responds to the content of the

¹²⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.8-9, c. 9.1, and c. 14.15 use Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 9, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 138-140; *RcuiV*, c. 15.24 uses *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, CSEL 86, pp. 134-135; *RcuiV*, c. 6.19-22 uses *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 272-273; *RcuiV*, c. 9.1 uses Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, p. 124; *RcuiV*, c. 22.5-9 uses Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, SC 109, p. 498.

¹²⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 11.4 shows strong similarities with *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18.2, ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, Montserrat 1959, p. 115; *RcuiV*, c. 10.4 with *Regula Isidori*, c. 9.4-5, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 104-105.

Regula Magistri than to the *Regula Benedicti* whose words Jonas used. The peculiar triangle of the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and Jonas' Rule is a constant reminder that the *Regula Magistri-Regula Benedicti* debate is not a closed case.

(6) A final challenge for the analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is its place within the textual corpus produced by Columbanus or in his aftermath. Jonas' work, both his *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are, as I already have shown, attempts to establish a distinct understanding of the monastic ideal allegedly inspired by Columbanus. They represent what Jonas perceives as the *Regula Columbani*. Jonas phrases this “*Regula Columbani*” in his own, unique and consistent language. Jonas' *Vita Columbani* has various sequels, most notably the *Vita Sadalbergae*, the *Vita Galli*, the *Vita Agili*, or the *Vita Wandregisili*, but none of his continuators wanted to imitate Jonas' monastic idiom or seriously engage with his theological ideas.¹²⁰³

Jonas' position, especially his refusal of the *Regula Benedicti*, was by no means the only or the prevalent voice among those who claimed Columbanus' legacy. There are, as we saw, in the charters for Rebas and Solignac, monks and bishops who considered the *Regula Benedicti* part of the *modus Luxouiensis* (the way of life of Luxeuil); there was the *Regula cuiusdam patris* which rewrote Columbanus' original Rules in a way similar to Jonas' revision of the *Regula Benedicti* but developed a radically different monastic ideal;¹²⁰⁴ and there is the *Regula Donati* which uses Benedict's text and acknowledged his authority, but nevertheless succeeds in creating a highly original Rule which, in some regards, turns out to be strikingly similar to Jonas' program. There is no definitive proof that Jonas and Donatus' knew each other's Rules, but it is striking that the few sections of Donatus' Rule that were not compiled from identifiable sources, show the closest proximity to Jonas' Rule.¹²⁰⁵

¹²⁰³ On Jonas' impact on later hagiography, see Berschin, Walter, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988, pp. 48-104; O'Hara, Alexander and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Columbanus; Life of John of Réomé; and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017, pp. 78-83.

¹²⁰⁴ Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

¹²⁰⁵ Aside from various inserted sanctions and penances (most of them in style of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*), the following passages of the *Regula Donati* cannot be traced in any other rule and are probably original: *Regula Donati*, c. 1.22, CSEL 98, p. 146: biblical quotation; c. 2.10, p. 146: imprisonment for contradicting the abess; c. 5.2, p. 149: the *praeposita* needs to know the *regula*; c. 5.8, p. 150: imprisonment of the *praeposita* as alternative to expulsion; c. 8.8, p. 152: tariffed penance for claiming private property; c. 9.3, p. 152: The abess assigns work; tariffed penance for those who are obstinate; c. 10.6, p. 153: tariffed penance for ostentation; c. 11.3, p. 153: tariffed penance for not sleeping in separate beds or having one's own closet; c. 14.2-3, p. 155: *disciplina regularis*

All of these aspects need to be considered when reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which made the presentation of an analysis of this text a challenge. Like in my analysis of the Faremoutiers episodes, I decided not to “deconstruct” the text by re-arranging its material according to themes or according to the six modes of contextualization just described, but to follow Jonas’ structure, despite the danger of repetitions, some redundancies, and a substantial thicket of cross references. Jonas’ Rule is, after all, a masterwork in its own that should not be torn apart. The text should be read in the way its audience read or heard it and my analysis also serves as an old-fashioned sentence-by-sentence commentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The text deserves this. My objective was, however, to produce more than just a commentary. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is not only the final Rule in Benedict of Aniane’s *Codex Regularum* but represents the end of a genealogy of monastic normative texts: the last monastic rule written before the definitive “takeover” of the *Regula Benedicti* – at least the last preserved one. It incorporates, but also criticizes and elaborates on large parts of the Latin normative monastic tradition and it documents very concretely the challenge of a pioneering experiment of a new monastic model: a female community that claims to embody the tradition of Columbanus, and a definitive attempt to create a monastic institution that allows its members to actively pursue their individual and collective salvation.

Jonas was not under pressure to produce a “complete” Rule similar to that of Benedict or Donatus because many topics one would expect to find in a monastic rule had already been addressed by Caesarius. He could restrict himself to addressing topics that were, in his view, essential to his monastic program. Therefore, I will use Jonas’ choice as a foundation for an alternative approach to the history of early medieval monasticism that revolves around themes that have so far hardly been part of the narrative of the emergence of Western monasticism; these include, for example, hierarchy and authority, space, love, confession, sleep, the sacredness of objects, and monastic excommunication. Some of these topics may even be relevant beyond the

for not arriving at prayer or table in time; c. 19.3-5, p. 157: confession; c. 20.9, p. 158: on the abbess giving permission to speak while at work; c. 22.2, p. 159: *disciplina regularis* for not responding to a reproach; c. 23.1-4, p. 159: confession; c. 24.1-2, p. 160: public reproach and tariffed penance for storing objects and food at one’s bed; c. 32.2, p. 163: tariffed penance for holding each other’s hands; c. 33.6, p. 164: tariffed penance for speaking at table; c. 35.2, p. 165: tariffed penance for swearing; c. 49.9, p. 171: tariffed penance for raising one’s voice; c. 52.10, p. 172: prohibition of arguing is especially applicable to nuns; c. 52.23, p. 173: exclusion for refusing to apologize; c. 53.11, p. 174: tariffed penance for receiving gifts; c. 54.2, p. 174: no education of girls who are not *sub habitu religionis*; c. 56, p. 175: no entry for worldly women; c. 57.2, p. 175: witnesses in interaction with outsiders; c. 58.3-5, p. 176: not attending festive meals; c. 75.2-13, p. 185: liturgical *ordo*.

scope of monastic history and tie into the universal human experience. Each chapter analysis is therefore also meant to be a more general reflection on the themes Jonas chooses to address.

Chapter 6: The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and its context

The abbess/abbot (chapter 1)

This chapter consists of five sections. I begin with a reflection of the role of the abbot and the abbess in early medieval monastic rules. The next two sections address the role of the abbess in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (which Jonas expands) and in the *Regula Benedicti* (which Jonas rewrites). I will especially focus on the concept and language of abbatial authority in the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' Rule. The fourth section (the core of the chapter) provides a sentence-by-sentence analysis of the first chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which shows how Jonas envisions the role and the authority of the abbess but also his concept of authority in general. Additionally, this analysis will provide a wealth of insights into everyday life in the monastery addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and into Jonas' language, style and rhetorical strategies. The last section addresses briefly how the provisions of Jonas' first chapter manifest themselves in the other chapters of his Rule and in Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.

The abbot and abbess in early medieval monastic rules

The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* define proper coenobitical life in almost the same words as life *sub regula uel abbate* (under a rule and an abbot).¹²⁰⁶ Not all monastic communities organized themselves on the basis of a written *regula*, but we can assume that most of them required submission to the authority of a leader (*abbas, abbatissa, pater, mater, is qui praeest, or praepositus*). Yet Benedict and the *Regula Magistri* explicitly condemn *sarabaitae* (as they call them), i.e. groups of monks living without *regula* and *pastor*. This indicates that there were at least some communities that attempted to organize themselves not in a hierarchical manner.¹²⁰⁷ Obedience and submission under someone's authority became, however, for most

¹²⁰⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.2, SC 181, p. 436; *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.2, SC 105, p. 328. See De Vogüé, Adalbert, 'Sub Regula vel Abbate, Étude sur la signification théologique des règles monastiques anciennes', in: *Colectanea Cistercensia* 33 (1971), pp. 200-241. De Vogüé shows that there are various early monastic sources emphasizing either the aspect of *sub regula* or of *sub abbate*.

¹²⁰⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.6-9, p. 438. On *sarabaitae*, see Blanchard, Monica J., 'Sarabaitae and Remnuoth. Coptic Considerations', in: James E. Goehring and Janet A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity*.

monks and nuns an essential element of their ascetic repertoire or an equivalent alternative to any individual ascetic pursuit.¹²⁰⁸

The question of how abbatial authority was constructed, legitimated, upheld, and theologically justified is much more complicated than one might assume from such a standard element of monastic practice. Hidden below the imperative of obedience, monastic rules developed vastly varied concepts of authority. They differed, for example, on the question whether the abbot or abbess represents Christ in the monastery; whether the abbot or abbess is responsible for the salvation of the members of his/her community; whether they are bound by the *regula*, embody the *regula*, or stand above the *regula*; to what extent authority is monopolized by the abbot or abbess or shared by a group of seniors; how the abbot or abbess is to be chosen or appointed, and whether a community can depose its superiors; whether the abbot or abbess should rule, just supervise, or primarily represent the community towards the outside world; whether the abbot or abbess should act as teacher or as *paterfamilias*; whether he or she is expected to be an aristocrat; to what extent he or she is supposed to operate outside the monastery, etc.¹²⁰⁹ It would be a book of its own to trace and compare different notions of abbatial authority in early medieval monastic rules and narrative texts.¹²¹⁰ A comparison of

Language, Literature, and Social Context, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2007, pp. 49-60; Caseau, Béatrice, 'L'image du mauvais moine: Les remnuoths et les sarabaïtes de Jérôme et de Cassien', in: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009), pp. 11-25.

¹²⁰⁸ Foucault, Michel, *Die Geständnisse des Fleisches. Sexualität und Wahrheit 4*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2019, pp. 149-177 analyzes the roots of unconditional obedience as Christian ascetic practice in philosophic, especially Stoic, traditions.

¹²⁰⁹ For various approaches to role of the *regula* for abbatial authority, see De Vogüé, 'Sub regula vel abbate', pp. 227-232.

¹²¹⁰ The by far most prolific study on the rule of the abbot is Felten, Franz J., 'Herrschaft des Abtes', in: Friedrich Prinz (ed.), *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen*, Stuttgart: Anton Hirsemann 1988, pp. 147-296. See esp. pp. 193-223 on the role of the abbot in various normative texts. Felten does address Caesarius' Rule for Nuns only tangentially on pp. 229-230 and does not mention the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* at all. See also De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Community and Abbot in the Rule of St. Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1979, pp. 63-159; Constable, Giles, 'The Authority of Superiors in Religious Communities', in: George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdél, and Janine Sourdél-Thommine (eds.), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de La Napoule*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1978, pp. 189-210; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'image de l'abbé à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-Lutz, and Volker Sciorr (eds.), *Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 2012, pp. 253-276 (with an overview of references to abbatial authority in hagiographic texts); Jacobs, Uwe Kai, *Die Regula Benedicti als Rechtsbuch. Eine rechtshistorische und rechtstheologische Untersuchung*, Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau Verlag 1987, pp. 15-25; Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel. Im Auftrag der Salzburger Äbtekonzferenz*. St. Ottilien: Eos 2002, pp. 76-93 and pp. 538-551. An exemplary study, though largely limited to Irish rules, is Bhaldraithe, Eoin de, 'Obedience: The Doctrine of the Irish

authority in the Rules of Caesarius and Benedict and in Jonas' work sheds at least some light on the complexity of the problem and may provide a roadmap for further investigations.

Before delving into Caesarius' and Benedict's Rules it is worthwhile to reflect briefly upon the question how authors of monastic rules organized their provisions and what their opening chapters reveal about the program and purpose of their rules. After all, the corpus of preserved monastic rules does not only represent different sets of monastic norms, but also different concepts of normativity and authority.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* belongs to the monastic rules that “start at the top” with a chapter on the authority, tasks, and responsibilities of the abbess. Only a few other rules start in a similar way with a chapter on the abbot or abbess.¹²¹¹ Many more, however, address the abbot (and a description of other offices in the monastery) in one of the first chapters, thus still at a prominent place.¹²¹² Some rules begin with explaining the purpose of monastic life.¹²¹³ Others reveal in a dedicatory letter the specific circumstances of their genesis.¹²¹⁴ Four monastic rules begin with describing monastic entry as submission to the *regula*.¹²¹⁵ The *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, and the Visigothic *Regula communis* start with a typology of good and bad monks, probably in order to defend their monastic program against alternative models of

Monastic Rules', in: *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983), pp. 63-84. On different notions of obedience, see also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283-287. On the role of the abbot secular and ecclesiastical normative texts, see Felten, Franz J., *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich. Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1980, pp. 99-111 and pp. 144-174.

¹²¹¹ *Regula orientalis*, c. 1, SC 298, p. 462; *Regula Donati*, c. 1, CSEL 98, pp. 145-146.

¹²¹² *Regula Isidori*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 92-93; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 139-141; *Regula communis*, c. 3, pp. 177-178; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, SC 181, pp. 440-452.

¹²¹³ *Regula Basilii*, prologue, CSEL 86, pp. 5-7; *Regula quattuor patrum*, prologue, SC 297, p. 180; *Regula patrum secunda*, praefatio, p. 274; *Regula Benedicti*, prologue, SC 181, pp. 412-424; *Regula Magistri*, prologue, SC 105, pp. 288-294; *Regula Leandri*, Letter to Florentina, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 21-37.

¹²¹⁴ *Regula Pachomii, Praefatio Hieronymi*, ed. Armand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932, pp. 3-9; *Regula Basilii, praefatio/prologus*, CSEL 86, pp. 3-7; *Regula Fructuosi*, prologue, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 137; *CaesRV*, c. 1, SC 345, pp. 170-172; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, SC 398, p. 304; *Regula Isidori*, prologue, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 90-91.

¹²¹⁵ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 1, ed. Boon, p. 13; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 1, SC 298, p. 532; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237-256, at p. 240; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 1, PL 68, col. 399D; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 1.6, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7-65, at p. 15; *Regula Isidori, praefatio*, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 90-91; *Regula Donati*, prologue.1-5, CSEL 98, p. 139.

monastic life.¹²¹⁶ Some rules begin with a reflection on peace, concord, and unanimity within the community,¹²¹⁷ or on obedience,¹²¹⁸ which indicates that they have been written in order to resolve internal conflicts. Two rules have unusual beginnings which point to other reasons for their composition: The Rule of Isidore of Seville begins with an outline of the monastic space;¹²¹⁹ the *Regula Fructuosi* with a chapter on prayer.¹²²⁰

If we assume that the first chapter and the subsequent arrangement of chapters reflects the author's priorities, this reveals that authors of monastic rules held different viewpoints on the importance of the abbot or the abbess and defined the relationship between the authority of the abbot and the authority of the Rule differently. As we will see, Jonas' decision to "start at the top" is somewhat odd because he is much more concerned about the community than about the abbess. His emphasis is on shared responsibility rather than hierarchy and authority.

b. *The abbess in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns*

Jonas wrote his Rule most likely as an extension of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Therefore we first need to look at the provisions on the abbess we find there. Caesarius addresses the role of the abbess in two chapters and mentions her about thirty times throughout the rest of his Rule. For him, the abbess should be concerned about the salvation of the souls of her nuns, the property of the monastery, and the physical well-being of her community. She is also responsible for the interaction between the monastery and the outside world.

Here is the key passage:

Because the mother of the monastery has to be solicitous for the salvation of souls, and, concerning the temporalities of the monastery, has continually to think of what is needed

¹²¹⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 1, SC 105, pp. 328-350 and *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1, SC 181, pp. 436-440: on the four kinds of monks; *Regula communis*, c. 1-2, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 172-177: refuting family monasteries and monastic communities of priests.

¹²¹⁷ Augustine, *Praeceptum* 1.1-2, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris 1967, p. 417; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 1.1-9, SC 297, pp. 180-182; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.5-10, pp. 274-276; *Regula Macharii*, c. 1, p. 372; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 1, ed. Vilanova, p. 109.

¹²¹⁸ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 122; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 1, ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117-148, at p. 127.

¹²¹⁹ *Regula Isidori*, c. 1, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 91.

¹²²⁰ *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 1, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 137-139.

for nourishment of the body, and also to entertain visitors and to reply to letters from the faithful...¹²²¹

One of Caesarius' main concerns is that the abbess never changes or mitigates the *regula* of the monastery, which she has to follow like any other member of the community:

Even though I trust that this will not be done, nor that God on account of his mercy will allow it, if at any time any abbess should try to change or to relax something of the essence of this rule, and, either because of kinship, or for any kind of circumstance, should desire to be subject to and to be within the household of the bishop of this city, under the inspiration of God, with our permission, resist on this occasion with reverence and with dignity, and on no account remit it to be done; rather, according to the letter of the most holy Pope of the city of Rome, with God assisting you, strive to make yourselves secure in all things. I admonish especially concerning the recapitulation written below which I have written and signed with my own hand, that you remove nothing at all from it. Any abbess and prioress who might try to do anything contrary to the spirit of the Rule should know that they will have to defend themselves in my presence before the tribunal of Christ.¹²²²

Throughout his Rule, Caesarius gives several examples of specific responsibilities of the abbess, such as ensuring that no nun starves herself to death and that the nuns fast according to their abilities, negotiating with outsiders, determining what work the nuns have to do, controlling which objects or persons enter or leave the monastery, determining the severity of punishments, deciding when a novice is ready to join the community, and keeping the key to the gate.¹²²³ Caesarius prohibits the abbess from claiming privileges such as having her own servant, talking to visitors alone, holding banquets (*conuiuia*) for her own family, or eating outside the monastery.¹²²⁴ His Rule for Nuns also contains an extensive chapter on how the community chooses an abbess who is able to guard the rule, keep contact with the outside world, and protect

¹²²¹ *CaesRV*, c. 27.1, SC 345, p. 204: *Et quia monasterii mater necesse habet pro animarum salute sollicitudinem gerere, et de substantiola monasterii, quod ad uictum corporis opus est, iugiter cogitare, salutantibus etiam affectum inpendere, et epistolis quorumcumque fidelium respondere...* Transl. Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960, p. 179.

¹²²² *CaesRV*, c. 64, p. 250: *Illud etiam, quod non credo nec Deus pro sua misericordia fieri patiatur, si quocumque tempore quaelibet abbatissa de huius regulae institutione aliquid inmutare aut relaxare temptauerit, uel pro parentela seu pro qualibet condicione subiectionem uel familiaritatem pontifici huius ciuitatis habere uoluerit, 2 Deo uobis inspirante ex nostro permissio in hac parte cum reuerentia et grauitate resistite... 5 Quaecumque enim abbatissa aut quaelibet praeposita aliquid contra sanctae regulae institutionem facere temptauerint, nouerint se mecum ante tribunal Christi causam esse dicturas.* Transl. McCarthy, pp. 191-192, slightly revised.

¹²²³ *CaesRV*, c. 28, pp. 206-208; c. 29.1, p. 208; c. 30.7, p. 210; c. 34.1, p. 214; c. 34.4, pp. 214-216; c. 40.1, p. 222; c. 42.6-7, p. 224; c. 43.2, p. 226; c. 43.7, p. 228; c. 45.6, p. 230; c. 54, p. 240; c. 58, p. 242; c. 59.2, p. 242; c. 67, p. 258; c. 71.9, p. 268.

¹²²⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 7, p. 186; c. 38.1, p. 220; c. 39.1, pp. 220-222; c. 41, p. 222.

the reputation of the monastery.¹²²⁵ As one might expect, Caesarius’ description of the tasks of the abbess circles to a large extent around matters of “passive enclosure”, i.e. controlling and limiting interactions between the monastery and the outside world, and on matters of keeping the *regula*.¹²²⁶

In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, Jonas mitigates Caesarius’ strict requirement to obey the *regula* exclusively. He identifies, as we will see, a number of instances in which the abbess should follow her own *discretio* (discernment), *iudicium* (judgement), *arbitrium* (decision), or *uoluntas* (will) on the basis of her *sapientia* (wisdom).¹²²⁷ His abbess has quite a bit more leeway and is more flexible than Caesarius’ would have envisioned.

Jonas elaborates on Caesarius’ statement that the abbess should take care of the salvation of the soul of each member of her community. The expectation that the audience of his Rule knew Caesarius’ texts would explain why Jonas omits to discuss the election of the abbot and the requirement of submitting to the *regula*.¹²²⁸ Both topics are sufficiently covered by Caesarius, so that there is no need to address them.¹²²⁹

c. The *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas’ abbess

The relationship between Benedict’s concept of the abbot and Jonas’ concept of the abbess is much more complex than that between Caesarius’ and Jonas’ abbesses. Comparing both Rules leads us to some of the core aspects of Jonas’ program and shows us which techniques he applies in revising the *Regula Benedicti* – techniques that we will encounter throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas’ chapter contains several allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* (especially to its chapters on the abbot and his election) and parallels in phrasing and structure that prove that Jonas developed his outline of the authority, tasks, and

¹²²⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 61, p. 244.

¹²²⁶ See p. §.

¹²²⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1: *sapientia* of the abbess; c. 1.11: punishments according to the *scientia* of the abbess; c. 10.1: order of the table according to the *scientia* of the abbess; c. 10.5: *iudicium* of the abbess on the size of portions; c. 12.6: *arbitrium* of the abbess on meal times; c. 12.23: *discretio* in imposing workload; c. 15.10: *arbitrium* of the abbess in the care of the sick; c. 16.1: *iudicium* of the abbess on the seriousness of acts of *neglegentia*; c. 18.1: *scientia* in imposing excommunications; c. 20.3-4: *scientia* of the abbess in punishing the reluctant; c. 23.9: *arbitrium* of the person who punishes; c. 24.11: *arbitrium* and *discretio* in the care of children.

¹²²⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.1-5, SC 182, p. 648; c. 64.20-22, p. 652.

¹²²⁹ On the election of the abbess: *CaesRV*, c. 61, SC 345, p. 244.

responsibilities of the abbess as a critical engagement with Benedict's Rule.¹²³⁰ What makes it complicated, is that Jonas at the same time uses and mines the *Regula Benedicti*, commented on it, turned its content upside down by changing the framing of its provisions, and replaces Benedict's language with his own monastic idiom.

At first glance, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stipulates roughly the same requirements as the *Regula Benedicti*. Both Rules focus on the role of the abbot/abbess as teacher who instructs by word and example, and as the one who upholds discipline and individual improvement by moderately punishing delinquents and encouraging those who do well. Jonas additionally mentions the role of the abbess in interaction with outsiders, pilgrims, visitors, and the poor.

If we look beyond the pragmatic provisions, however, Jonas' Rule appears to be quite different from the *Regula Benedicti*. This pertains especially to the way the authors frame abbatial authority and responsibility. Benedict's chapter on the abbot defines four intertwined yet different sources of abbatial authority. The abbot acts as the representative of Christ in the monastery (*Christi agere uices in monasterio*);¹²³¹ he plays the role of the father and the *paterfamilias* of his sons (*fili*);¹²³² he is the *pastor* taking care of his flock (*grex, ouile*);¹²³³ and he is the *magister* teaching his *discipuli*.¹²³⁴

¹²³⁰ All parallels in phrasing are indicated bold in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the apparatus fontium which provides the full text of the *Regula Benedicti*. It is noteworthy that Jonas does not use c. 3 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which regulates how the abbot should take the advice of the community into account. Jonas does, however, engage with this theme in his chapter the *praeposita* (c. 2).

¹²³¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.2, SC 181, pp. 440-442: *Christi enim agere uices in monasterio creditur, quando ipsius uocatur pronomine.*

¹²³² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.3, p. 442: *...dicente Apostolo: Accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater* (Rom. 8 15); c. 2.7, p. 442: *Sciatque abbas culpae pastoris incumbere quicquid in ouibus paterfamilias utilitatis minus potuerit inuenire.*

¹²³³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.8-9, p. 442: *Tantundem iterum erit ut, si inquieto uel inoboedienti gregi pastoris fuerit omnis diligentia attributa et morbidis earum actibus uniuersa fuerit cura exhibita, pastor eorum in iudicio Domini absolutus dicat cum propheta Domino: Iustitiam tuam non abscondi in corde meo, ueritatem tuam et salutare tuum dixi* (Ps. 39/40, 11); *ipsi autem contemnentes spreuerunt me...*; c. 2.39, pp. 450-452: *Et ita, timens semper futuram discussionem pastoris de creditis ouibus, cum de alienis ratiociniis cauet, redditur de suis sollicitus...*

¹²³⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.11-14, p. 444: *Ergo, cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis, id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam uerbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini uerbis proponere, duris corde uero et simplicioribus factis suis diuina praecepta monstrare.* ¹³ *Omnia uero quae discipulis docuerit esse contraria in suis factis indicet non agenda, ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobis inueniatur, ne quando illi dicat Deus peccanti: Quare tu enarras iustitias meas et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu uero odisti disciplinam et proiecisti sermones meos post te.* c. 3.6, pp. 452-442: *Sed sicut discipulos conuenit oboedire magistro, ita et ipsum prouide et iuste condecet cuncta disponere.* On the different sources of abbatial authority according to the *Regula Benedicti*, see also Constable, 'The authority of superiors', pp. 189-191.

As a representative of Christ in the monastery the abbot is supposed to follow the Lord's commands (*praecepta Domini*) and, as a *magister*, to transmit these commands to his community. He needs to treat everyone equally and show equal love to everyone, but has to take his monks' good and bad deeds into account.¹²³⁵ The abbot's second main task, being a *pastor* and *paterfamilias*, consists of reprimanding and encouraging his monks wisely and moderately through words but also, if necessary, through physical punishment.¹²³⁶ He will be held accountable for his teaching (*doctrina*),¹²³⁷ and the well-being of his sheep.¹²³⁸ His overall goal must be increasing and improving his flock and ensuring the salvation of the souls of his monks.¹²³⁹ The abbot's responsibility ends, however, at the point when his sheep refuse, despite all efforts, to be obedient to their pastor.¹²⁴⁰

Benedict expresses his ideas in a wide range of juridical terms and expressions of power, authority, law, order, and obedience: *admonere* (to admonish), *constituere* (to constitute), *corrigere* (to correct); *corripere* (to reprimand), *disciplina* (discipline), *emendare* (amend), *increpare* (to rebuke), *iudex* (judge), *iudicare* (to judge), *iussio* (decree), *iustitia* (judgment), *iustus* (just), *lex Diuina* (divine law), *mandata* (commandments), *mors* (death), *oboedientia* (obedience), *ordo* (rank), *peccare* (to sin), *poena* (punishment), *praeceptum* (precept), *rationem reddere* (to give account), *regere* (to govern), *regula* (rule), and *tremendum iudicium* (fearsome judgment).¹²⁴¹ All in all, the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* on the abbot (c. 2 and c. 64) give the impression that the abbot is in a sort of contractual position both with Christ and with his monks. The monks allow him to impose his unlimited authority on them, which he has received from Christ. We find the idea of a contractual relationship between abbot and monks also in the tradition of Visigothic monastic *pacta*.¹²⁴²

¹²³⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.16-22, pp. 444-446.

¹²³⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.22-29, pp. 446-448.

¹²³⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.6, p. 442.

¹²³⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.7, p. 442.

¹²³⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.30-34, pp. 448-450. On the delegated responsibility, see Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 196-200.

¹²⁴⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.8-10, p. 442.

¹²⁴¹ Jacobs, *Die Regula Benedicti als Rechtsbuch*, pp. 127-144 provides a complete list of juridical terms in the *Regula Benedicti*. See also Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 181-183.

¹²⁴² Benedict of Aniane included one *pactum* between monks and their abbot in his *Concordia Regularum*. See Herwegen, Ildefons, *Das Pactum des hl. Fructuosus von Braga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des suevisch-westgotischen Mönchtums, und seines Rechtes*, Stuttgart: Enke 1907; Bishko, Charles Julian, 'The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism', in: *idem, Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300*, London: Variorum Reprints 1984, pp. 1-47.

Jonas constructs the authority of the abbess differently. She does not act *uice Christi* (representing Christ). She is described as the *mater* caring for her *filiae*,¹²⁴³ but she does not carry the authority of a *materfamilias*. She is a teacher, but Jonas does not call her *magistra* or her nuns *discipulae*. Her authority is derived from her nobility in wisdom (*sapientia*) and *sancitas* (sanctity) and from her virtues: *continentia* (continence), *castitas* (chastity), *caritas* (love), *beneuolentia* (benevolence), *sollicitudo* (care), *miserericordia* (mercy), *scientia* (knowledge), *prouidentia* (providence), *pietas* (love), and *cura* (care).¹²⁴⁴

Even though Benedict's abbot and Jonas' abbess are both teachers, the content of their teaching is described differently. Benedict's abbot teaches, establishes, and imposes the *praeceptum Domini* (mandate of the Lord) and instills the *fermentum diuinae iustitiae* (ferment of divine justice) into the *mens* (mind) of his disciples. He does so by *facta* (deeds) and by *uerba* (words). More receptive monks are to be taught primarily through his words; those who are less intelligent through his deeds. His teaching may never contradict his own behavior.¹²⁴⁵ The main qualification of Benedict's abbot is that he is *doctus diuinae iustitiae* (erudite in divine justice).¹²⁴⁶

Jonas' abbess acts as a teacher of souls (*ad erudiendas animas*). The nuns are to imitate the behavior of their superiors rather than listen to their *doctrina*. Jonas may have phrased this as a direct critical commentary to Benedict's strong emphasis on *doctrina*.¹²⁴⁷ Jonas' nuns learn their *doctrina* from the *uox* (voice) and from their superior's *forma actuum* (behaviour) rather than from *uerba* (words) and *facta* (deeds). It stands out that Jonas uses the term *uox* no less than five times in a row, which is, as we will see, in line with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which puts a strong emphasis on the performative side of speaking and acting.¹²⁴⁸

The most striking difference between the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consists of Jonas largely replacing Benedict's language of authority. Jonas develops an entirely new terminology that mostly consist of "soft" and positive sounding expressions, many

¹²⁴³ The expressions *mater* and *filiae* appear once in *RcuiV*, c. 1.16 but never again throughout the rest of the Rule.

¹²⁴⁴ *Caritas*, *miserericordia*, *prouidentia*, and *cura* appear in Benedict's chapters on the abbot as well.

¹²⁴⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.11-15, SC 181, p. 444.

¹²⁴⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.10, SC 182, p. 650.

¹²⁴⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.3: *Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant.*

¹²⁴⁸ On the role of pure speech, see Leyser, Conrad, 'Masculinity in Flux: Nocturnal Emission and the Limits of Celibacy in the Early Middle Ages', in: D. M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, London/New York: Taylor and Francis 1999, pp. 103-120, at pp. 115-120.

of which will re-appear later in his Rule.¹²⁴⁹ The language of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* echoes the brochure of a wellness spa: *antidotum* (antidote); *beniuolentia* (benevolence); *blandus* (gentle); *bonitas* (kindness); *bonus* (good); *caritas* (love); *coepere* (to begin); *comptus* (embellished); *consentire* (to accord with); *cor* (heart); *cultus religionis* (practice of piety); *cura* (care); *desiderium* (desire); *donum* (gift); *erudire* (educate); *fidelis* (faithful); *flos* (flower); *fructus uocis* (fruit of the word); *hortari* (to admonish); *imitabilis* (imitable); *infundere* (to pour); *laetificare* (to delight); *laudabilis* (praiseworthy); *lenis* (gentle); *mederi* (to heal); *meliorare* (to improve); *merces* (reward); *meritum* (merit); *misericors* (merciful); *nutrire* (nourish); *opulentus* (generous); *ornatus* (adorned); *perseuerare* (to persevere); *pietas* (love); *praemium* (profit); *praesidium* (protection); *praestus* (excellent); *profectus* (progress); *prouidentia* (providence); *sacrum eloquium* (sacred speech); *sanare* (to heal); *sanus* (healthy); *scientia* (knowledge); *sollicitudo* (attendance); *sollicitus* (passionate); *subuenire* (to assist); *supplementum* (reinforcement).¹²⁵⁰ Only a few terms share the authoritarian and legalistic tone of the *Regula Benedicti*: *austeritas* (strictness); *cohercere* (to restrain); *correptio* (reproach); *corrigerere* (to correct); *delinquens* (offender); *disciplina* (discipline); *doctrina* (teaching); *facinus* (misdeed); *flagellum* (scourge); *ignauia* (idleness); *lasciuus* (lascivious); *malus* (evil); *subiugatus* (subordinate); *uitium* (vice).¹²⁵¹

The abbess' tasks are described in a string of positive terms. She needs to educate the souls (c. 1.2); join sacred works to sacred speech (c. 1.4); delight the hearts of all the faithful (c. 1.7); be excellent in the attendance of strangers and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and the needy (c. 1.8); correct the idleness of offenders, and lead

¹²⁴⁹ The following expressions from Benedict's provisions on the abbot do not appear in Jonas' text: *corripere*; *iudicare*; *iudicium*; *iussio*; *iustitia*; *lex diuina*; *mandata*; *oboedientia*; *poena*, *praeceptum*; *rationem*; *reddere*; *regula*.

¹²⁵⁰ The following terms do appear in Benedict's chapters on the abbot as well: *bonus*; *caritas*; *coepere*; *consentire*; *cor*; *cura*; *merces*; *meritum*; *misericors*; *nutrire*; *prouidentia*; *sollicitudo*; *sollicitus*. The following terms appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, but not in the chapters on the abbot: *desiderium*; *donum*; *eloquium*; *erudire*; *hortari*; *lenis*; *perseuerare*; *pietas*; *sanare*; *sanus*; *scientia*; *subuenire*. The following terms do not appear in the *Regula Benedicti* at all: *antidotum*; *beniuolentia*; *blandus*; *bonitas*; *cultus religionis*; *fidelis*; *flos*; *fructus uocis*; *imitabilis*; *infundere*; *laetificare*; *laudabilis*; *mederi*; *meliorare*; *opulentus*; *ornatus*; *praemium*; *praesidium*; *praestus*; *profectus*; *supplementum*.

¹²⁵¹ On shared emotional language creating specific "emotional communities" see Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 1-31. Rosenwein does in her work not address monastic rules in particular, but her model perfectly applies to the impact of Jonas' emotional language on the community of Faremoutiers. On the emotional language of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see also Diem, Albrecht, 'Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules', in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17-39.

lascivious and feeble nuns back to a way of life of piety (c. 1.9); mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness (c. 1.10); be good to the good according to their merit (c. 1.11); heal by gentle exhortation (c. 1.12); assist the reckless with mild persuasion (c. 1.13); pour the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood (c. 1.13); offer exhortation by admonishment (c. 1.14).

There is also a darker side to her responsibilities: she should not kindle the fuel of misdeeds (c. 1.10); she should be evil to the evil through the scourge (c. 1.11); not nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects (c. 1.12). But this harsh side almost disappears under a large, soft blanket of kindness. Jonas' abbess is much more a coach than a strict leader. The simple characterization of the abbot as *is qui praeest* in the *Regula Benedicti* does not work for Jonas. Benedict's concept of discipline revolves around the biblical word from II Tim. 2, 4: *Argue, obsecra, increpa* (accuse, conjure, reproach); Jonas replaces this assignment with words from Ps. 118/119, 66: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, Domine* (Lord, teach me kindness, discipline and knowledge). Burgundofara, as described in the *Vita Columbani*, fully embodies this ideal of goodness, discipline and wisdom.

Both the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* elaborate on the responsibility of the abbot and abbess. Benedict does so, again, in strongly juridical terms, emphasizing that the abbot will be punished at the day of judgment for every sheep he lost and needs to give an account of his deeds. The stern *rationem reddere* – giving account at the last judgment – appears no less than five times in Benedict's chapters on the abbot and once in the chapter on the *cellararius*.¹²⁵² Jonas looks at responsibility from the opposite perspective. He does not talk about the punishment a failing abbess might face at the day of judgment but about the reward she will expect after her death for her care and for having helped establish a protective wall (*praesidium*) to overcome the enemy, i.e. the devil.¹²⁵³

This does not at all imply that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is less strict and more lenient than the *Regula Benedicti*. Beneath a much friendlier language hides a program of monastic discipline that uses highly effective means to turn the monastery into a “total institution” in which power goes much deeper than demanding obedience and humility.¹²⁵⁴ Jonas

¹²⁵² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.34-37, SC 181, p. 450; c. 3.11, p. 454; c. 63.2, SC 182, p. 544; c. 64.7, p. 650; c. 65.22, p. 658; also in c. 31.9, p. 558 on the *cellararius*.

¹²⁵³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.18-19. On the devil, see p. §.

¹²⁵⁴ On the concept of a “total institution”, see Goffman, Erving, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, pp. 1-124. Total institutions, as defined by Goffman, consist of closed communities that are separated from the rest of society, organized by strict norms and

produces, as we will see in the rest of the Rule, a frightening example of soft-spoken authority that by far surpasses any overtly authoritarian and repressive system. Even Jonas' emphasis on *merces*, *lucrum*, and *praemium* instead of Benedict's stern *rationem reddere* may have its dark side, since it implies that salvation turns from something to be granted to whoever has done everything right, to a reward available only to someone who excels in virtue.

Jonas puts a strong emphasis on the *uox*, the sound of one's words. We get a glimpse of this sound when we listen to the text rather than read it, which was probably the main way the Rule was conveyed.¹²⁵⁵ The middle part of chapter 1, which deals with the abbess' treatment of offenders, consists of a series of sentences starting with *sic ergo...sit...sit...sic...sic...sit*. It sounds as if the Rule is hissing at the nuns who hear the Rule.¹²⁵⁶

d. Jonas' chapter on the abbess – an analysis

The chapter on the abbess of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be divided into four parts. The first one (c. 1.1-6) describes the abbess in her role as a teacher who instructs both by word and by example and who needs to make sure that her words (or rather voice) do not contradict her work. The second part (c. 1.6-8) addresses the qualities the abbess should show both towards the members of the community and towards outsiders: her chastity (*castitas*), her charity (*caritas*), her zeal in care (*sollicitudo*), and her magnanimity towards the poor and needy (*erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta*). The third part (c. 1.9-15), which covers almost half of the chapter, deals with the abbess' disciplinary function, requiring that she find a balance between encouragement and punishment and between strictness and moderation in dealing with delinquents. The chapter ends (c. 1.16-19) with a general reflection on the responsibility of the mother (*mater*) towards her daughters (*filiae*) for improving their character (*mores*), and the

submitted to a single authority that holds the power to enforce the rules. Those who, voluntarily or by force, become part of a total institution are forced to give up their former identity and to develop a new one that is solely determined by the institution itself. Goffman's list of examples of total institutions includes orphanages and nursing homes, mental hospitals, leprosaria, P. O. W. camps, concentration camps, army barracks, ships, boarding schools, monasteries, and convents. Goffman's understanding of monasteries is largely based on a selective reading of the *Regula Benedicti*. Adding concentration camps to the list of total institutions is, in my view, highly problematic since it has the potential of trivializing the crimes committed in Nazi concentration camps and exposes them to inappropriate comparisons.

¹²⁵⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 58.1, SC 345, p. 242; *RcuiV*, c. 9.13.

¹²⁵⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 1.6-11.

reward (*lucrum, merces*) she may “receive as much profit for her toils as many protective measures (*praesidium*) she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy.”¹²⁵⁷ The balance between discipline and encouragement has to be reached by the abbess’ wisdom (*sapientia*) and moral qualities – her care, charity, zeal, and magnanimity. All of these aspects return throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Jonas begins his Rule with these words:

¹ Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, ² ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. ³ Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant.

[¹ The abbess of the monastery must be noble not so much in birth as in wisdom and sanctity, ² so that she, who toils by night over her speaking in order to educate the souls by correct instruction, does not contradict [her speaking] through her own deeds. ³ For indeed, subordinates imitate the appearance of their superiors’ deeds more than they lend their ear to the teaching that is introduced [to them].]

Of all monastic rules, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only one that assumes that the abbess is from aristocratic stock, even though Jonas states that aristocratic origin is neither necessary nor sufficient. Yet it reflects on the fact that the monasteries founded *ex regula Columbani* were joint endeavors of royal and noble families and self-evidently ruled by aristocrats. Benedict assumed that both *nobiles* and people without property might enter the monastery; Jonas does not make such provisions.¹²⁵⁸

Various hagiographic texts contain a statement slightly different from that in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, emphasizing that an abbot/abbess or monastic founder was *not only* aristocratic by blood *but also* by sanctity.¹²⁵⁹ Jonas’ use of *sanctitas* along with *genus* and

¹²⁵⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.19: ...ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum praesidiis prebuit supplementum.

¹²⁵⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58-60, SC 182, pp. 626-640. The Faremoutiers miracles in the *Vita Columbani* describe nuns of different backgrounds but there is no indication that any of them was of lower birth. There might be a difference between female and male monastic communities in this regard. Audoin’s *Vita Eligii*, c. 10, MGH SRM 4, p. 678 describes how Eligius freed captives and gave them a choice between returning home, staying with him or entering a monastery. In this case, Eligius would pay for their monastic garbs.

¹²⁵⁹ On nobility of the abbot/abbess and nobility by birth and virtues: Jerome, *Ep.* 108, c. 1, CSEL 55, p. 306; *Vita Aldegundis*, c. 2, MGH SRM 6, p. 85; *Vita Amati*, c. 2, MGH SRM 4, p. 216; *Vita Austrobertae*, c. 4, AASS February, vol. 2, col. 419E; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 1, MGH Script. 15, p. 201; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 1, AASS, Nov., vol. 3, col. 90B; *Vita Eustadiolae*, c. 1, AASS June, vol. 2, col. 133C; *Vita Leobae*, c. 3, MGH Script. 15, p. 123; *Vita Romarici*, c. 2, MGH SRM 4, p. 221; *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 1, MGH SRM 4, p. 340; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 1, MGH SRM 5, p. 51;

sapientia is odd because he is otherwise extremely stingy in using the expressions *sanctitas* and *sanctus*. In his *Vita Columbani*, he speaks of Columbanus' *sanctitas* only once and describes Athala, Columbanus' successor in Bobbio, once in words similar to those in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *Burgundionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate* (of Burgundian origin, noble by birth but more noble by sanctity).¹²⁶⁰ Otherwise Jonas never uses *sanctus* or *sanctitas* in reference to a person. For him, there is no “absolute” or attainable sanctity in a person (or a community), though someone may have the opportunity to act saintly or, in a few exceptional cases, to be noble by sanctity.¹²⁶¹

By using *anima* (soul) as metonym for nun, Jonas makes a crucial programmatic statement right in the first sentence of his Rule. The ultimate purpose of monastic discipline is to ensure the salvation of the *anima* and to prevent her from eternal damnation. Jonas refers to the *anima* as the primary object of concern no less than thirteen times throughout the Rule.¹²⁶²

4 Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, 5 ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. 6 Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi.

[4 Therefore, [the abbess] must join sacred works to sacred speech, so that one who imitates [her] teaching based on her word may imitate her way of life based on her work, 5 lest if in anything the work contradicts the word, the profit of the word does not achieve result. 6 Therefore, she should be in such a way adorned through both the word and the work that the work accords with the word and the word with the work.]

I have already mentioned Jonas' emphasis on *uox*, the spoken word or voice, rather than just the *uerbum*. It is not only the content, but also the tone that counts. The expression *cultus* (way of life) is important to Jonas. It is absent in the *Regula Benedicti* but appears six times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo*, and 29 times in the *Vita Columbani*. In

Virtutes Geretrudis, c. 6, *MGH SRM 2*, p. 467. See also O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 256-259 on Columbanus' impact on transforming monasteries into aristocratic centers, and Hummer, Hans J., *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 206-208 on the development of a notion of spiritual nobility among seventh-century Frankish aristocrats. Hummer provides more examples of the motive of nobility by birth and virtues in hagiographic texts.

¹²⁶⁰ *VCol II*, c. 1, p. 230, l. 10-11; II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 27.

¹²⁶¹ See p. §.

¹²⁶² *RcuiV*, c. 2.9; c. 2.12; c. 5.2; c. 6.18; c. 9.4-6; c. 9.13-15; c. 9.19; c. 14.1-2; c. 14.7-8; c. 16.9-10; c. 17.2; c. 22.1; c. 23.2-3. See also 1.16 (*animus*).

sentence 1.9, Jonas specifies *cultus* as *cultus religionis* (here tentatively translated as “practice of piety”).

⁶ Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta, et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriiis imitabilis exemplo. ⁷ Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda. ⁸ Erga peregrinorum et hospitem sollicitudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta.

[⁶ She should be embellished with the flower of continence and chastity, praiseworthy in the mouth of everyone, through her example imitable for the desires of everyone. ⁷ She should be adorned with the benevolence of love, so that she delights the hearts of all the faithful. ⁸ [She should be] excellent in the attendance of strangers (*peregrini*) and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and needy.]

It is remarkable that Jonas immediately moves from emphasizing the harmony of *uox* and *opus* to the impact the abbess is supposed to make not only on the members of the community but also on the outside world. She is supposed to be an example to all the faithful. This statement aligns with the idea that monasticism in Jonas’ world had a much wider constituency than monks and nuns themselves. Outsiders could partake in the monastic endeavour by founding or supporting monasteries or receiving moral guidance from them. Since monasteries were founded as places of intercessory prayer to be performed with the highest standards of purity, the demonstrable *continentia* and *castitas* is an essential part of monastic life.¹²⁶³ Jonas returns to the notion of “demonstrative chastity” when outlining the interaction between the *portaria* and outsiders in the chapter on the gatekeepers (c. 3).¹²⁶⁴

Jonas’ reference to the care for *peregrini* (strangers or pilgrims), the sick, the poor, and the needy implies that the monastery encompassed much more than the community of nuns but operated as a place to be visited by outsiders, supported a hospital, and engaged in the care for the poor. It may even have included a community of *matricularii* (registered poor).¹²⁶⁵ Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns explicitly states that the nuns themselves should not engage in care for the poor at the monastery’s gate, but delegate to a *prouisor* the task to give away whatever is not needed by the nuns themselves.¹²⁶⁶ Jonas assigns the care for the poor, strangers, and guests both

¹²⁶³ Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 312-321.

¹²⁶⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.4-9.

¹²⁶⁵ On *matricularii* forming part of monastic communities, see Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*, pp. 31-33 and pp. 164-171. I discuss the question of the meaning of *peregrini*, *hospites*, and *pauperi* more extensively in the connetary to the chapter on the gatekeepers, p. §.

¹²⁶⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 42.6-7, SC 345, p. 224.

to the *portariae* and to the *cellararia*. The gatekeepers had to do or supervise the actual work; the *cellararia* was responsible for dispensing the necessary resources.¹²⁶⁷

To what extent the nuns themselves were directly involved with care outside the monastery and to what extent the real work was done by outsiders in service of the monastery remains unclear. The *Vita Eligii* recounts how Eligius, when he founded the monastery of Solignac, populated his foundation with one hundred freed slaves (*uernaculi*) and fifty monks. The number of external servants for a male community outnumbered the community of monks by factor two.¹²⁶⁸ In a female monastery the ratio may even have been higher. Yet aside from a handful remarks that could potentially acknowledge the presence of a community larger than that of the nuns themselves, the “outside community” does not play a role in Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns or in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹²⁶⁹ There are no references to interactions with “outside members” of the community in the Faremoutiers episodes. The *Vita* of Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, which contains various parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, does, however, explicitly refer to a *familia* of the monastery that includes people living in the neighborhood.¹²⁷⁰

The largest section of this chapter describes the role of the abbess as the one who supervises, encourages and, if necessary, punishes her nuns:

9 Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat, ut ad cultum reregionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat. 10 Sic misericorditer bonitatis dona distribuatur, quatenus ex nimia bonitate facinorum fomenta non nutriat. 11 Sit ergo bonis bona per meritum, sit malis mala per flagellum, quod mediante scientia agendum est, iuxta Psalmistae orationem dicentis: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, Domine.* (Ps. 118/119, 66) 12 In utroque etenim abbatissae cauendum est, ne aut nimia bonitate in subiectarum cordibus uitia nutriat, aut nimia disciplinae austeritate ea, quae leni increpatione sananda fuerant, rigida correptione diripiuntur. 13 Incautis etenim sic blanda persuasione subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat. 14 Sanis uero moribus ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant. 15 Nihil etenim prodest coepisse, si in opere bono quod coeperant non studeant perseuerare. 16 Habeat

¹²⁶⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.10; c. 4.12.

¹²⁶⁸ *Vita Eligii* I, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 681.

¹²⁶⁹ On different communities within the monastery, see Cochelin, Isabelle, ‘Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a tight Community shielded by an Outer Court’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

¹²⁷⁰ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, p. 93A: *Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent; ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi praemium adquisiuit, et illorum animabus lucrum fecit.* The expressions *praemium* and *lucrum* appear at the last sentence of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

ergo tot animos mater, quot habet in suo regimine filias, ut iuxta omnium mores omnium nouerit uitia coercere.

[9 She should correct the idleness of offenders to lead [their] lascivious and feeble minds back to a way of life of piety. 10 She should mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness in such a way that she does not kindle the fuel of their misdeeds out of too much kindness. 11 Therefore she should be good to the good according to merit; she should be evil to the evil through the scourge. This ought to be done mediated by knowledge, according to the prayer of the Psalmist, who says: *Lord, teach me kindness, discipline and knowledge.* 12 Therefore, either way the abbess ought to take heed: she should neither nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects through too much kindness, nor should they who should have been healed by gentle exhortation, be destroyed by too great a strictness of reproach. 13 She should therefore in such a way assist the reckless with mild persuasion that she pours, as it were, the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood. 14 But to those of sound character she should offer these things by admonishment, so that what they begun to do, they may bring to an end by improving themselves. 15 For indeed, there is no gain in having begun something, if they are not eager to persist in the good work that they have begun. 16 Therefore, the mother should have as many souls as she has daughters under her guidance, so that according to the character of each of them she may know to restrain the vices of all.]

The key to this passage – and in fact to the entire Rule – is the expression *mens* (mind), a term absent from the *Regula Benedicti* except for one passage defining the *mens* as a receptacle for the “yeast of divine justice.”¹²⁷¹ Jonas’ ultimate goal is the preparation of the soul (*anima*), but his primary target is the *mens*, which, as we learn from various other passages in the Rule, acts autonomously and therefore needs to be guided, controlled, disciplined, and brought back on the path of the *cultus religionis*. It is, for example, the *mens* that commits crimes at night that need to be confessed first thing in the morning, and it is the *mens* that hastens to prayer once the sign has been given.¹²⁷² Jonas is concerned about the activities of the *mens* rather than the outward deeds of a nun. The fundamental problem is that the *mens* suffers not only from lasciviousness but from weakness. Throughout the Rule, Jonas returns numerous times to the idea that the *mens* is grown old, weary, and weak through the fall of Adam, but can be strengthened and incited through monastic discipline.¹²⁷³

¹²⁷¹ The only exception can be found in *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.5, SC 181, p. 442: *...sed iussio eius uel doctrina fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur.*

¹²⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 6.20; c. 8.2-3.

¹²⁷³ See *RcuiV*, c. 3.3-4; c. 6.2; c. 6.18; c. 6.22; c. 6.30; c. 7.3; c. 8.2; c. 8.11; c. 9.4; c. 12.11; c. 12.15; c. 13.6; c. 14.1; c. 16.4; c. 18.5; c. 22.5-6; *De accedendo* 22.

Cultus religionis (practice of piety) also belongs to Jonas' key expressions. It "frames" the Rule by appearing in the first and in the last chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*. Moreover it appears no less than five times in the *Vita Columbani* and thrice in the *Vita Iohannis*.¹²⁷⁴ *Cultus religionis* can be understood as an alternative to Benedict's term *conuersatio* (roughly: way of life) but it encompasses more than that. The primary concern of the abbess is not the practice itself but the mental attitude that motivates it.

It is, as Jonas emphasizes, the task of the abbess not only to punish in a wise and moderate manner, but also to encourage and to motivate. She needs to find a balance between strictness and leniency through her *scientia*. His emphasis on the discretion of the abbess could be understood as a critical response to the idea of an inflexible *disciplina regularis*, punishment according to the book, or the tariffed penances laid out in the *Regula coenobialis*. The *disciplina regularis* is, in Jonas' Rule, only mentioned as the last resort or as a punishment for particularly severe and dangerous transgressions.¹²⁷⁵ The abbess' disciplinary measures are neither punishments for the sake of punishment nor impositions of tariffed *paenitentia*, but healing measures for the wounded soul.

Jonas ends his chapter by introducing three more key concepts of his Rule: love, reward and protection:

17 Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat. 18 Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, 19 ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.

[17 So great should the providence for all be that neither love takes away the place of punishment, nor punishment that of love. 18 She should perform the care of all so that she from the progress of all [sisters] receive the profits of her reward, 19 so that she, as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, receive as much profit for her toils as many protective measures she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy.]

¹²⁷⁴ See *RcuiV*, c. 24.4; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18, and p. 282, l. 26-27; *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 7; c. 2, p. 329, l. 12. The expression *cultus religionis* is not uncommon in other sources but does not appear in any other monastic rule. No author uses it as often as Jonas of Bobbio. Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule uses the term *religio*. It appears once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* but several times in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Basilii*.

¹²⁷⁵ See *RcuiV*, c. 3.14: *paenitentia regularis* for allowing gossip to enter the monastery; c. 3.18: *disciplina regulae* for violating table rules; c. 17.12: *disciplina regularis* for refusal to improve; c. 18.4: verdict *secundum regulam* for refusal to improve; c. 19.11: *paenitentia regularis* for illicitly interacting with excommunicated nuns.

Love (*pietas*) and punishment (*disciplina*) may not exclude each other. They are two sides of the same coin. In subsequent chapters Jonas emphasizes several times that punishment has to be understood as a form of love.¹²⁷⁶ Finally, Jonas states that the abbess (as mother) may expect but also create reward from her care for all her daughters, using three different expressions: *lucrum*, *merces*, and *praemium* (a fourth one, *fructus*, appears in other passages). It is possible that this specific passage draws upon a sermon of Caesarius of Arles, which uses *praemium*, *lucrum*, and *meritum* in the context the priestly care and responsibilities.¹²⁷⁷

One important detail is that neither *merces* nor *lucrum* nor *praemium* has a possessive pronoun – and this applies to subsequent uses of reward terms. Jonas emphasizes time and again that fulfilling one’s role responsibly creates reward, but he also makes clear that it is not only the individual nun who profits from this reward, but the entire community. Whatever the abbess (or any nun) achieves for herself, she achieves for everyone.¹²⁷⁸

The last key idea expressed in the chapter on the abbess has already been discussed in the context of Jonas’ concept of space. One task of the abbess is to keep a protective wall (*praesidium*) intact that helps the nuns to overcome the devil. Instead of focusing primarily on a physical separation between the monastery and the dangerous world outside, Jonas assigns to the abbess the task to help the community to create a protective “moral” or “mental” space that keeps the devil at bay. Later in the Rule he calls this space *ambitus uirtutum*.¹²⁷⁹

e. The implementation of Jonas’ provisions in the rest of the Rule and in the Faremoutiers miracles

In order to gain a full understanding of the role of the abbess in Jonas’ program we also need to take into account how he describes her tasks and responsibilities in the other parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Almost every chapter the Rule refers at some point to the *abbatissa* – or rather to the wisdom (*sapientia*), knowledge (*scientia*), will (*uoluntas*), provision (*commeatus*), management (*dispensatio*), mandate (*ordinatio*), judgment (*arbitrium*), permission

¹²⁷⁶ See, for example, *RcuiV*, c. 20.5; c. 23.6-8; c. 24.2.

¹²⁷⁷ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 5, c. 5, *CCSL* 103, p. 25.

¹²⁷⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 4.21; c. 5.11; c. 5.17; c. 9.19-20; c. 12.2; c. 12.23; c. 13.5; *De accedendo* 8; 23.

¹²⁷⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 22.3.

(*permissio*), care (*cura*), judgment (*iudicium*), zeal (*studium*), and order (*iussio*) of the abbess. It is striking how much Jonas is interested in these attributes of the abbess rather than the abbess herself. His notion of authority manifests itself in the grammatical function of the abbess. She primarily appears in the genitive. In Caesarius' and Benedict's Rules the abbot and abbess mostly appear as agent, i.e. in the nominative.¹²⁸⁰ For Jonas, the true agent is not the person, but her qualities: *scientia*, *sapientia*, *iudicium*, and *arbitrium*.

Jonas connects the *abbatissa* particularly often to the term *commeatus*, a term that does not appear in any other monastic rule but several times in the *Vita Columbani*.¹²⁸¹ *Commeatus* is probably the softest possible expression for giving orders, and maybe best translated with “provision”, “suggestion”, or “recommendation”. Jonas' abbess provides guidance rather than giving commands, but this guidance carries even more power than clear-cut orders because the nuns have to direct their *mens* to *wanting* what is the right thing to do, rather than just acting in obedience. The term *oboedientia*, which is central to the *Regula Benedicti*, plays therefore a marginal role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. There is no safety net of a clear-cut hierarchy. Benedict's monks have a much easier life since their unconditional *oboedientia* largely places the responsibility of their salvation in the hands of their superior.¹²⁸²

The Rule contains many instances of the abbess delegating her responsibility. Jonas indicates that the day-to-day business of the monastery is to be determined by the *praeposita* rather than by the abbess who should be able to “rest” above her (*super quam abbatissa requiescat*).¹²⁸³ The abbess can appoint someone (*committere*) to hear confession, to distribute utensils, or to interact with those who are excommunicated, even though all these tasks fall in principle into her own responsibility.¹²⁸⁴ Nothing in the monastery, however, should happen without the knowledge (*scientia*), will (*uoluntas*), or assessment (*arbitrium*) of the abbess,¹²⁸⁵

¹²⁸⁰ In the *RcuiV*, *abbatissa* appears ten times the nominative, 28 times the genitive, six times the dative, four times the accusative, and ten times the ablative. In the *Regula Benedicti*, the *abbas* appears sixty times in the nominative, 32 times in the genitive, five times in the dative, eight times in the accusative, and three times in the ablative. In Caesarius' Rule for Nuns *abbatissa* and *mater* appear 15 times in the nominative, five times in the genitive, six times in the dative, once in the accusative, three times in the ablative, and once in the vocative.

¹²⁸¹ *VCol* I, c. 15, p. 178, l. 21; I, c. 17, p. 185, l. 1; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 19.

¹²⁸² See also Felten, ‘Herrschaft des Abtes’, pp. 201-205.

¹²⁸³ *RcuiV*, c. 2.7; c. 22.20-21: Nuns should not approach the abbess directly but go to the *praeposita* first.

¹²⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 7.1: hearing confession; c. 13.4: the abbess appoints (*committere*) someone to distribute tools; c. 19.10: talking to excommunicated.

¹²⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 2.8: The prioress may do nothing that contradicts the *uoluntas abbatissae*; c. 3.11: No one may give and receive anything *sine commeatu abbatissae*; c. 3.19: Working nuns may keep the key of the monastery *per*

who is supposed to make final decisions on numerous aspects of everyday monastic life, including scheduling of meal times, portion sizes for meals, etc.¹²⁸⁶ The abbess' power pertains also to everything happening *inside* of every individual nun.¹²⁸⁷ This aspect of abbatial power and responsibility will be discussed in detail in my commentary to the chapters on confession (c. 6-7). Hearing confession is, as we also know from the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*, one of the most important tasks of the abbess – much more important than the day-to-day business of the monastery.

The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* does not contain an explicit reflection on the function of the abbess, but Jonas gives Burgundofara a role in almost every episode, usually calling her *mater* rather than referring to her by name.¹²⁸⁸ He never calls her *abbatissa*. Burgundofara's function is largely in line with what we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: she does not rule by giving orders, but she prays for her nuns, hears confession, acts as a teacher, protects the community, and imposes mild sanctions.¹²⁸⁹ Most of the day-to-day business,

comeatum abbatissae; c. 3.23: Guests are served *per abbatissae ordinationem*; c. 4.9: The *cellararia* may not do anything *sine commeatu abbatissae*; c. 7.4: No one may hear confession *sine ordinatione abbatissae*; c. 8.11: The hour of the liturgy is determined *iuxta dispensationem abbatissae*; c. 8.7-9: One is allowed to speak only *per abbatissae comeatum* and *ab abbatissa ordinatum*; c. 8.13: Reading at meals *si abbatissae placuerit*; c. 8.17: The nuns may speak during feast days *si ex permissu abbatissae fuerit*; c. 10.7: Rations of wine may be increased *si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit*; c. 12.5: Work has to be done *per abbatissae uel praepositae comeatum*; c. 17.5-8: Nuns may not keep anything *nisi ex abbatissae iussione*; c. 17.10: Nuns may not take or give something *nisi abbatissa ordinante*; c. 19.10: Only someone who has received a *praeeptum ab abbatissa* is allowed to speak with the excommunicated; c. 22.19: Nuns have to await the *commeatus* of the abbess to do their work; c. 22.22-23: Nuns may approach a priest *per abbatissae comeatum* and talk to him *si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa*.

¹²⁸⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 10.1: Serving at the table is to be determined by the *scientia abbatissae*; c. 10.5: The amount of food is to be determined *abbatissae iudicio*; c. 12.6: Whether nuns are allowed to drink more due to harsh work circumstances is to be considered *abbatissae arbitrio*; c. 13.10: Care of the sick is to be performed *iuxta arbitrium abbatissae*; c. 16.1: Punishment of the negligent is to be determined *abbatissae iudicio*; c. 19.3: Transgressions are to be assessed *abbatissae studio*; c. 24.10: When the children have to eat or to sleep is to be determined *abbatissae arbitrio*.

¹²⁸⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: The abbess must make sure that no one avoids confession; c. 7.1: Confession is heard by the abbess, the prior or a nun who is assigned to hear confession; c. 7.5-6: A nun hearing confession or imposing penance without the order of the abbess receives a severe penance because she has attempted to hide vices and transgression from the abbess; c. 16.5-9: Negligent nuns have to confess to the prior or the abbess immediately; c. 19.8: Delinquents receive forgiveness *ab abbatissa uel a senioribus*; c. 22.17: A nun has to confess another nun's transgression to the abbess or prior.

¹²⁸⁸ On the role of the abbot in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* see Helvétius, 'L'image de l'abbé', pp. 263-270.

¹²⁸⁹ *VCol II*, c. 11, p. 259: Sisetrudis calls Burgundofara and implores her and the community to pray for her and says farewell to her and the community; c. 12, pp. 259-261: Burgundofara receives the nun Gibitrudis in the monastery; Gibitrudis prays for the recovery of Burgundofara so that she may die first; c. 13, pp. 262-264: Burgundofara takes such care of Ercantrudis that she does not know the difference between men and women; Burgundofara excludes Ercantrudis from communion; Ercantrudis says farewell to Burgundofara and the

including the “dirty work” of punishment, are delegated, as we will see in the next chapter, to the *praeposita*.

The prior/prioress (chapter 2)

There is, to my knowledge, no systematic study yet on the roles of priors and on the different leadership structures developed in early medieval normative texts, aside from a brief overview by Kassius Hallinger of references to the *praepositus* in the works of Gregory the Great, the *Regula Benedicti*, and other monastic rules, and Michaela Puzicha’s invaluable commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*.¹²⁹⁰ By assigning a crucial role in the monastery to the *praeposita* (prioress) Jonas follows Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns rather than the *Regula Benedicti*. Caesarius repeatedly refers to the *praeposita* and her tasks, but does not dedicate a specific chapter to her, which indicates that for him her role in the monastery was self-evident enough not to deserve much reflection. He mentions the *praeposita* along with other officeholders that share her responsibilities, such as the *formaria* (the novice mistress), the *primiceria* (the choir mistress), the *lanipendia* (the sister in charge of the wool work), or the *posticiaria* (porter).¹²⁹¹ At one point, Caesarius makes a distinction between the abbess whom the nuns should obey (*oboedire*) and the prioress to whom the nuns should “report” (*deferre*), which captures the different levels of authority the abbess and the prioress hold.¹²⁹²

One important task that Caesarius’ prioress shares with the abbess and other officeholders is to control that nothing is received or given without permission.¹²⁹³ The prioress also

community; c. 15, pp. 265-266: Burgundofara rushes to Deurechildis’ death bed to pray with her; c. 16, pp. 267-268: Burgundofara sternly asks two young nuns to keep quiet about a miracle; two dying nuns ask Burgundofara to sing; c. 17, p. 269: a sinful nun reveals her secrets to Burgundofara in confession; c. 18, p. 271: Leudebertana is asked not to deviate from Burgundofara’s teachings; Burgundofara is present at her last rites; c. 19, pp. 272-274: Burgundofara hears confession, tries to extract confession of the two fugitive nuns, decides after their death to have them buried outside the monastery and later opens their grave; c. 21, p. 277: Burgundofara examines a miracle; c. 22, p. 279: the dying Beractrudis asks Burgundofara to come and to hear her confession.

¹²⁹⁰ Hallinger, ‘Papst Gregor der Grosse’, pp. 296-305; Puzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 695-706. Adalbert de Vogüé’s seminal study *Community and the Abbot in the Rule of St Benedict* does not address the role of the *praepositus*.

¹²⁹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, SC 345, p. 192; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 44.2, p. 228. It seems that Caesarius invented these other functions since they do not appear in other sources except for those quoting his Rule.

¹²⁹² *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192: *Matri post Deum omnes oboediant; praepositae deferant.*

¹²⁹³ *CaesRV*, c. 25.2, pp. 202-204; c. 30.5, p. 208; c. 35.10, p. 218; c. 43.3, p. 226.

overseesth e wool work (along with the *lanipendia*) and the distribution of clothing and the care of the sick (along with the *formaria*).¹²⁹⁴ She is, just like the abbess, bound to obey the *regula*.¹²⁹⁵ None of this is made explicit in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but we may assume that Caesarius’s model for a prioress forms the background of Jonas’ provisions for this role. Like Caesarius, Jonas describes the *praeposita* as someone who oversees those holding specific offices in the monastery: the *cellararia*, the nun responsible for waking the other nuns up, and the nun in charge of tools and implements. In this regard, Jonas just fills in what Caesarius omitted.

In Caesarius’ Rule, the expression *praeposita* appears almost exclusively in the singular, implying that there was one nun holding this office. There is one passage that refers to *praepositae* (plural), which paraphrases Augustine’s *Praeceptum*, stating that those who are *praepositae* (*uos, quae praepositae estis*) should not feel compelled to apologize to a nun for having used harsh words when reproaching her.¹²⁹⁶ I would read *praepositae* in this context not as a noun but as a participle: “you, who has been put in charge” and not as a reference to several nuns holding the office of *praepositae* jointly.

Trouble starts once we look at the *Regula Benedicti*. In order to understand how Jonas describes the tasks of the *praeposita*, it is necessary to digress into the role of the *praepositus* in Benedict’s Rule. Its chapter dedicated to this office (c. 65) warns against appointing a single *praepositus* because delegating power to someone who is second in rank may cause conflicts in the community and undermine the authority of the abbot. This is, as Benedict states, especially the case if the *praepositus* is not appointed by the abbot and bound in obedience to him, but both of them are appointed at the same time by bishops or other abbots who are not part of the community. Only if absolutely necessary, the abbot should appoint a *praepositus*, but the chapter recommends that executive tasks are to be performed by various deans (*decani*) instead of one person.¹²⁹⁷

At two other places, however, the *Regula Benedicti* refers to several *praepositi* as a clearly defined group of monks appointed by the abbot. A monk should obey his immediate

¹²⁹⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 27.2-3, pp. 204-206; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 44.2, p. 228.

¹²⁹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 47.1-2, p. 232; c. 64.5, p. 250.

¹²⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 35.1-3, p. 216.

¹²⁹⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 65, SC 182, pp. 654-658. See also c. 21, p. 538 (on the *decani*).

superior, unless a higher order comes from the abbot or one of his appointed *praepositi*.¹²⁹⁸ A priest is required to follow the rule established for *decani* and *praepositi*.¹²⁹⁹ In addition to the term *praepositus*, Benedict also uses the term *prior*. Just like *praepositus*, *prior* appears usually referring to one specific person, but it also appears in plural, as *priores* juxtaposed to *iuniores*.¹³⁰⁰ Benedict does not share the concept of a *prior* with the *Regula Magistri*. There the term *prior* appears exclusively in reference to the designated abbot's predecessor in the chapter that regulates the succession of leadership.¹³⁰¹ The only other monastic rule that uses *prior* in the same way as the *Regula Benedicti* is the *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, where the *prior* (here always in singular) appears numerous times as the one who exercises power and makes decisions.¹³⁰²

This inconsistency in terms and concepts fuels the hypothesis that the *Regula Benedicti* was not written by one author or, at least, not at one moment in time and that it shows traces of various organizational structures. This would explain why the *Regula Benedicti* warns against appointing a *praepositus* at one point while at other places taking his existence for granted.

The *Regula Magistri* is more consistent, referring to *praepositi* (in plural) no less than 140 times, assigning them a crucial role in supervision, maintaining discipline, and, especially, controlling every spoken word.¹³⁰³ Each group of ten monks should have two *praepositi* so that there is one overseer present even if the group splits up.¹³⁰⁴ The Rule draws an analogy between this hierarchical structure and the ecclesiastical hierarchy (with priests and bishops as overseers).¹³⁰⁵ *Praepositi* refers, thus, in the *Regula Magistri* to roughly the same group that Benedict indicates as *decani uel praepositi*. The term *decani* does not appear in the *Regula Magistri*. The *Regula Magistri*, though, expresses similar anxieties as Benedict's Rule about a

¹²⁹⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.3, p. 668: *Praemisso ergo abbatis aut praepositorum qui ab eo constituuntur imperio, cui nun permittimus priuata imperia praeponi, de cetero omnes iuniores prioribus suis omni caritate et sollicitudine oboediant.*

¹²⁹⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 62.7, p. 642.

¹³⁰⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.7, SC 181, pp. 470-472; c. 7.41, p. 482 (deviating from the *Regula Magistri*); c. 13.12, SC 182, p. 518; c. 20.4, pp. 536-538; c. 40.5, p. 580; c. 43.19, p. 590; c. 53.3/8/10, p. 612; c. 63.10-15, pp. 644-646 (in plural, as opposed to *iunior*); c. 68.4, p. 664; c. 71.4-7, p. 668 (in plural, as opposed to *iunior*).

¹³⁰¹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 93, SC 106, pp. 424-440.

¹³⁰² *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 4.1-2, ed. Vilanova, pp. 109-110; c. 5, p. 110; c. 7, pp. 110-111; c. 9.1, p. 112; c. 14.2, p. 113; c. 17.1, p. 115; c. 27.2, p. 118; c. 28-29, p. 119; c. 31, pp. 119-120; c. 35.1, p. 122; c. 36.1, p. 122; c. 39.1, p. 123. The *abbas* appears only in c. 24.3, p. 117: on assigning work, and in c. 29.1, p. 119 in the context of tonsure. The *Regula Pauli et Stephani* does not use the term *praepositus*; the *abbas* plays only a marginal role.

¹³⁰³ See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 11, SC 106, pp. 6-32.

¹³⁰⁴ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.4, p. 8.

¹³⁰⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.6-14, pp. 8-10.

second in command who may accumulate too much power. It recommends that the abbot constantly changes the hierarchical structures in the monastery, but does not refer to a *praepositus* in this context. There is, however, even in the *Regula Magistri* someone who is second in command: the designated successor of the abbot. The Rule addresses extensively the danger that the monk who holds this position may overstep the boundaries of his authority.¹³⁰⁶

There is, thus, even among and within Caesarius' Rule, the *Regula Benedicti*, and the *Regula Magistri* a Babylonian confusion of tongues with regard to the meaning of *praepositus/praeposita* and with regard to identifying the person or people who are second in command or, in modern terms, the "leadership team" of the monastery. This confusion spills over into the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which gives the term *praeposita* at least three different meanings. At several instances Jonas identifies the *praeposita* as the one who is second in command;¹³⁰⁷ at one place he refers to one *praeposita senior* who is supported by various *iuniores praepositae*,¹³⁰⁸ in other places the *praeposita* is the highest in command in specific constellations: at table or in groups of nuns working together.¹³⁰⁹ Either Jonas was not really interested in using the term in a consistent manner, or its diverse use reflects different stages of institutional development: moving from a small community with one representative of the abbess to a larger community that required an entire leadership team to maintain the high level of control and supervision Jonas' Rule required.

It is, in any case, obvious that we have to establish the meaning of *praepositus* and *praeposita* out of its context every time the term appears. This confusion of terms is also a general reminder that the internal structures of monasteries were by no means fixed but constantly *in flux*. We can say that monastic rules slowly move towards a consensus of defining the *praepositus* or *praeposita* as responsible for the community's day-to-day business, but they continue to define his or her tasks differently. Only four of them, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula cuiusdam patris* and the Spanish *Regula communis* contain extensive chapters on the *praepositus* or *praeposita* or (in the case of the *Regula Magistri*) *praepositi*.¹³¹⁰ All other monastic rules refer, like Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, occasionally to the

¹³⁰⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 92-94, SC 106, pp. 410-442.

¹³⁰⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 2.1-14; c. 7.1; c. 12.5; c. 12.9; c. 12.27; c. 16.5; c. 22.17; c. 22.21.

¹³⁰⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 2.19-19.

¹³⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 9.10; c. 11.8; c. 10.17; c. 12.19-21.

¹³¹⁰ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11, SC 106, pp. 11-32; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 65, SC 182, pp. 654-658; *Regula communis*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 191-192.

tasks of the *praepositus* or *praeposita* without much reflection and seemingly taking his/her role for granted. The fact that the *praepositus* and *praeposita* are virtually absent from narrative texts does not make it easier to gain access to the varying internal structures and hierarchies in monastic communities.

Aside from the provisions of the notoriously loquacious *Regula Magistri*, Jonas' chapter on the *praeposita* is the longest and, as we will see, most complicated reflection on the *praeposita* or *praepositus* that we can find in monastic rules. Jonas seems to be less interested in giving a clear definition of her tasks than in using the *praeposita* as a case in point for explaining the specific responsibilities of those playing a leading role in the monastery. He continues the reflection on power and motivation that he started in the previous chapter and uses the *praeposita* to elaborate on various new aspects of his monastic ideal.

Here follows a detailed analysis of Jonas' text:

¹ Praeposita monasterii non aetate saenili sed moribus constituenda est. ² Multas etenim prolixitas annorum attollit, sed decus torpentis uitae ad infantiae in maturitatem tepescendo reducit.

[¹ The prioress of the monastery ought not to be appointed because of her old age but because of her character. ² For indeed, the abundance of years extols many, but it reduces the splendor of life of someone inactive to the immaturity of infancy by becoming tepid.]

Jonas begins with a recommendation against choosing a *praeposita* based on seniority. She needs to be in her prime and may not be weakened by old age. Whether the abbess is old or not, seems to not matter as much because it is the *praeposita* who is responsible for the day-to-day leadership and the abbess may, as Jonas will say, “rest” above her. Jonas sets the tone in this chapter by using three terms related to the semantic field of weakness: *torpere* (to be inactive), *tepescere* (becoming tepid) and *inmaturitas* (immaturity). The theme of strength and weakness runs through the entire chapter.

After describing the physical and mental requirements for acting as a *praeposita*, Jonas adds a list of qualifications, which vaguely echoes the list of qualities Benedict expects from the *cellararius*.¹³¹¹ Jonas provides for every office holder a set of specific qualifications, but none of them is as extensive as the requirements the *praeposita* should fulfill. It contains no less than twenty items:

¹³¹¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1-4, SC 182, p. 556.

³ Constituenda ergo est praeposita moribus grauis, sermone sollers, ingenio fortis, consideratione uigil, cursu inpigra, ⁴ correptione pia, disciplina moderata, actu casta, moribus sobria, dispensatione equa, humilitate ornata, patiens, mitis, non turbulenta, non iracunda, ⁵ non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata, non prodiga, non garrula, sed omni actu religionis ornata, ⁶ quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare.

³ Therefore, a prioress ought to be appointed who is serious in her character, skillful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, indefatigable in service, ⁴ loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behavior, sober in character, equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, ⁵ not defiled by the vice of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous, but adorned with every behavior of piety, ⁶ so that she knows how to assist to those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid.

There is a loose structure in this list of requirements. It begins with pointing out that a *praeposita* is “serious of character” (*moribus grauis*). In the middle of the list Jonas requires that she is “sober of character” (*moribus sober*). At the end, he concludes that a *praeposita* needs to be “adorned with every behavior of piety” (*omni actu religionis ornata*). Between these rather general characterizations, we can vaguely identify three blocks of character traits and qualifications that align with the three main tasks of the *praeposita*. In the first block, she needs to be “skillful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, indefatigable in service.” She needs to be vigorous and highly motivated and should not show any sign of weakness that Jonas associates with old age. The next block describes traits she should display in her disciplining function: “loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behavior.” The third section of the list mostly relates to qualities one should have and the vices one should avoid as a good administrator: “equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, not defiled by the vices of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous.”

After this long list of the prioress’ strength, moral virtues, and skills, Jonas comes to one of the central tasks of the *praeposita*: to assist to those of inert character and to stir up the idleness of the tepid (*languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare*). This is the fourth time that Jonas uses the expression *mores* (character) and with *languens*, *tepscens* and *ignauia* we have another set of terms related to weakness and sluggishness, which frames an extensive list of “energetic” qualities of the *praeposita*.

Now follows a digression which has nothing to do with the previous and the following section. Some of it may have been inserted at a later stage into an already existing text:

7 Super quam abbatissa requiescat, ut in nullo ab eius praeceptis deuiet, 8 sed in omnibus subdita et in iussis senioris detenta nihilque abbatissae uoluntati sit contraria, aut faciat aut ordinet faciendum, sed omnia per eius interrogationem, iuxta illud quod scriptum est: *Interroga patrem tuum et adnuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi.* 9 Interrogandum semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum consilio animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent. 10 Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio. 11 Quae rei qualis dispendii fuerit occasio, Scripturae ueritas adtestatur, qui, omissam dominationem undecim tribuum, uix cum una tribu inter tot praessurarum dispendia, absque mortis crudelitate reliquum uitae peregit.

[7 The abbess should rest above her, so that [the prioress] deviates by no means from her precepts, 8 but she should be subordinate in all regards and be bound by the commands of [her] senior. And she should never do anything that is opposed to the will of the abbess, or assign it to be done, but do all things by asking [the abbess], according to that which has been written: *Ask your father and he will make it known to you; [ask] your elders and they will tell you.* 9 One must always ask, so that the inferior souls by no means differ from the advice of the elders – [that] by no means the sheep turn away from their path without the will of the shepherd. 10 For Roboam dismissed the advices of his elders, following the advice of the younger. 11 The truth of Scripture testifies to what a cause of loss this matter was: [Roboam] spent, after he had lost governance over eleven tribes, with just one tribe in the midst of so many damages of hardship the rest of his life without the cruelty of death.]

This section almost reads like a response to the fears about the second in command expressed in the chapter on the prior in the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 65). The *praeposita* should make it possible that the abbess “rests”, which is an odd term, clashing with the required power and energy of the *praeposita*. Jonas’ use of *requiescere* might also be a direct reply to the *Regula Benedicti* because according to this Rule, the abbot never sleeps.¹³¹² The abbess can “rest” only if the *praeposita* never deviates from the will of the abbess. Yet Jonas avoids the term *oboedientia* and the *praeposita* has to do much more than just fulfilling the abbess’ orders. She needs to act autonomously while still ensuring that she never opposes the abbess’ intentions. What at first sight might look like a less stringent regime is, in fact, more authoritarian, but fully in line with Jonas’ characterization of the abbess: the *praeposita* needs to carry out the orders that the abbess does not even have to give. In the words of the previous chapters, the *praeposita* needs to act in a way that no *iussio* or *ordinatio* is required but a *commeatus* suffices.

¹³¹² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.16, p. 652: *quia numquam requiescat.*

Jonas uses here, probably inspired by Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, the term *interrogare* in a peculiar sense: it is not the superior who “interrogates” the inferior, but the subordinate who “asks” the superior. Both Columbanus and Jonas refer to Deut. 32, 7 and turn the imperative of *interrogatio* into a general principle that replaces the notion of *oboedientia*: any subordinate soul (not just the *praeposita*) has to “ask” any senior to ensure that she does not deviate from the *consilium* (advice) and *uoluntas* (will) of her seniors. Columbanus turns in his *Regula monachorum* the imperative of *interrogare* into the epitome of *mortificatio* (which he understands as “killing one’s own will” rather than bodily neglect).¹³¹³

Jonas explains his concept of *interrogare* with a paraphrase of the story of Roboam (or Rehoboam) in III Kings 12, 6-19 and II Chronicles 10, 5-19. Referring to a failing Old-Testament king seems to be odd at first sight but, in fact, makes perfect sense because it brings us back to the specific role of the *praeposita*. King Roboam fails in his own rule because he does not follow the *consilia* of his *seniores* and loses control over almost all his tribes. In the same way a *praeposita* who deviates from the *consilium* of her abbess loses control over the nuns under her care. Another possible reason for this digression might be that Jonas wants to respond to the chapter of *Regula Benedicti* on the council of the brethren, which explicitly encourages the *iuniores* – those who gave bad advice to Roboam – to participate in the process of decision making.¹³¹⁴

After this subtle but important digression into the nature of obedience (or rather Jonas’ alternative to Benedict’s understanding of a strictly hierarchical *oboedientia*), the Rule returns to the specific tasks of the *praeposita*:

12 Debet namque esse omnium necessitatum tam corporis quam animae prouida, ut et subsidia presentis necessitatis porrigat, et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat. 13 Humiles et propter Christum subiectas honorando in sublime prouehat, sese uero attollentes castigationis flagello ad gradus humilitatis retrahat. 14 Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata, 15 ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.

[12 In fact, [a prioress] ought to be provident to all necessities, both of body and soul, so that she provides the supply of the present needs and incite the hearts of those under her to sing the praise of the Creator, rousing them by persistent admonition. 13 She should in

¹³¹³ Compare Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 138-140, which defines *mortificatio* not as bodily *mortificatio* but as killing one’s own will.

¹³¹⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 3, SC 181, pp. 452-454.

an approving manner raise to the heights the humble and those who are for Christ's [sake] subjected but draw those who exalt themselves back to a state of humility by the scourge of castigation.¹⁴ She has to have such attentive care for the belongings of the monastery – be they vessels or implements – that by no means she be found darkened by the gloom of negligence,¹⁵ so that, when she applies every care of sacred work, she receive from the Almighty the profit of [her] toil.]

Jonas begins this passage with *debet*, not *debet praeposita*, despite the fact that the term *praeposita* had not appeared in the previous five sentences. Technically, *debet* would rather refer back to *Roboam*, but it's clear that this is not what Jonas means. The abrupt *debet namque* possibly indicates that the entire excursus on *Roboam* has been inserted at a later point.

The Rule assigns the *praeposita* four responsibilities that, on the one hand, can be tied to the list of qualifications at the beginning of the chapter and, on the other hand, places her largely in the role of supervision over other office holders who do the actual work. She needs to take care for the necessities of the body, which, in practice, means supervising the *cellararia* and those caring for the sick.¹³¹⁵ She needs to take care of the necessities of the soul, which means acting out what is, as we saw, the primary task of the abbess.¹³¹⁶ She needs to provide supplies for current needs, which means supervising the *cellararia*.¹³¹⁷ She needs to ensure liturgical discipline, a task partly exercised by the nun in charge of awaking the community for nightly prayer.¹³¹⁸ She needs to incite the humble and humble those who are proud, which means, again, acting out a task that falls under the abbess' responsibility.¹³¹⁹ Finally, she needs to supervise the care of objects belonging to the monastery, which implies supervising the *portariae* (gatekeepers) who take care of guests, and the nun responsible for handing out and collecting tools and implements.¹³²⁰

In this chapter, Jonas largely just expands the list of responsibilities of the *praeposita* that he found in Caesarius' Rule. Yet in other parts of the Rule, Jonas adds a couple of other tasks she is to perform in her role as deputy of the abbess: hearing confession,¹³²¹ giving permission to

¹³¹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 4; c. 15.

¹³¹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 1.16.

¹³¹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 4.

¹³¹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 8.11.

¹³¹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.13-15.

¹³²⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 13.

¹³²¹ *RcuiV*, c. 7.1; c. 16.5; c. 22.17.

speak,¹³²² supervising private work and ensuring silence,¹³²³ checking whether those who did kitchen service took good care of their tools,¹³²⁴ and serving as the primary contact person for the nuns' problems.¹³²⁵ The primary task of the *praeposita* seems, however, to incite, but also control, the nuns' motivation, to identify, motivate and, if necessary, punish the tepid.

This section ends, like almost all chapters describing specific office holders, announcing that the *praeposita* may receive a reward (*fructus*) for her care. It is likely that the chapter originally ended at this point and that the last section had been added later – also because Jonas shifts gears. He suddenly talks about more than one *praeposita*: a *senior praeposita* and several supporting *iuniores praepositae*, and he moves from rather general requirements to a very specific assignment:

16 Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur illicite et sine comeatu retentum. 17 Itemque post completam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant. 18 Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. 19 Et eas, quas tarditate uel segnitia culpabiles reppererint, prout culpa uel aetas fuerit, aut increpatione aut flagello corripiant.

[16 Every Saturday after the Ninth Hour of prayer, both the senior and the junior prioresses should visit the beds of all the sisters, and they should do [that] in order to investigate their negligence: whether anything may be found retained illicitly and without permission. 17 Likewise, after Compline, they should visit the beds of all [the sisters] with lanterns, so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters]. 18 This is to be done likewise at all nighttime services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity. 19 And those whom they find guilty of tardiness or sluggishness, they should chastise with exhortation or by the scourge, according to guilt or age.]

The practice of controlling every nun's bed appears to be similar in the *Regula Benedicti* and in the *Regula Fructuosi*.¹³²⁶ The bed was probably the one and only truly private space, which was dedicated to storing objects for private use or clothing. Caesarius explicitly prohibited

¹³²² *RcuiV*, c. 8.9. Compare to *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.20-48, SC 106, pp. 12-18, esp. c. 11.46, p. 18: *Quod si datus fuerit fratri locus loquendi, custodiat eum praepositus, ne satis clamosa uoce loquatur, quod sapientes non decet.*

¹³²³ *RcuiV*, c. 12.5; c. 12.9.

¹³²⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 12.27.

¹³²⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 22.17.

¹³²⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 55.16, SC 181, p. 620; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 156.

the nuns from having private wardrobes; Donatus mitigated this provision by prohibiting them from having wardrobes that could be locked with a key.¹³²⁷

The other provisions apply the care of the *praeposita* for the correct motivation and the fear of *neglegentia*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia* to one specific situation, that of going to sleep and awakening. The fact that lacking the right spirit in this particular context may not only lead to an admonition but also to corporal punishment shows that Jonas took the question of motivation, especially at these two moments, very seriously. This echoes Basil's provision that monks who show anger at those in charge of awakening them, have to face *excommunicatio*.¹³²⁸ Another rule that assigns the *praepositus* the task of supervising the monks' sleep is the *Regula Fructuosi*. According to this Rule, the monks' beds need to be arranged around the bed of the *praepositus*.¹³²⁹

Especially the last section on the prioresses' control of the rising of the nuns for prayer emphasizes the "performative" or even "choreographic" side of monastic discipline that will return at several places in the Rule.¹³³⁰ The prioresses' concern is not only *that* the nuns rise timely and swiftly for nightly prayer,¹³³¹ but *how* the nuns' bodies express their strong motivation (or lack thereof) through the way they rise from their beds. This can be seen in line with the emphasis on the *forma actuum* (the appearance of deeds) and the *uox* (voice) of the abbess in the first chapter. The prioresses have to "listen" to what the nuns tell through their bodies as much as they have to be able to control every spoken word – which is several times expressed in other parts of the Rule.¹³³² Since these provision form part of Jonas' general assessment of sleep, I will analyze them more in-depth in the commentary on the chapter that is dedicated to sleeping arrangements (c. 14).

In conclusion, Jonas combines two main ideas in this chapter. He elaborates on the concept of "a rule without order and obedience" that he developed in the previous chapter.

¹³²⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 9.1-2, *SC* 345, pp. 186-188; *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1-2, *CSEL* 98, p. 153. On hiding objects in one's bed, see also Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CCSL* 148A, p. 181.

¹³²⁸ *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, *CSEL* 86, p. 110.

¹³²⁹ *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 139-141.

¹³³⁰ Another, more discrete, reference to the performative side can be found in the description of the qualities of the prioress, especially *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *sed omni actu religionis ornata*. Just as in chapter 1, the author uses *actus* and not just *opus*.

¹³³¹ Maintaining the discipline of nightly prayer is a matter of particular concern in several monastic texts. See, for example, *Vita Alcuini*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 15, p. 185; *Vita Austrobertae*, c. 16, *AASS* February, vol. 2, p. 423A-C.

¹³³² The prioress' control over spoken words appears in *RcuiV*, c. 7.1; c. 9.9; c. 12.9; c. 16.5; c. 22.17; c. 22.21.

Instead of stating that the *praeposita* needs to follow the abbess' orders, she needs to ensure that the abbess can “rest” above her and instead of emphasizing that the *praeposita* controls how her subordinates perform their tasks, Jonas simply emphasizes her *cura*. Lines of command are replaced by the imperative of *interrogare*.

The second topic of Jonas' chapter on the *praeposita* is that of motivation or the lack thereof. The main task of the *praeposita* is “how to assist those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid.” If the abbess is a coach and a benevolent castigator who brings delinquents back on track,¹³³³ the *praeposita* is supposed to act as an animator dealing with a different but not less serious problem, that of feeble, lukewarm, unmotivated, and negligent nuns. No other monastic rule is as much concerned with the problem of lack of motivation and no other rule assesses the individual member as much according to her internal attitude and state of mind, which needs to be vigorously controlled and fostered both by motivation and by punishment.

Jonas develops throughout this chapter a broad spectrum of positive and negative motivational terms: *torpens uita*, *tepscere*, *languens*, *ignauia tepescentium*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *sensus tepescens*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia* on the one hand, *sollers*, *fortis*, *uigil*, *inpiger*, *excitare*, *excitando erigere*, *in sublime prouehere*, *sensus expergescens*, *feruor* on the other hand. Most of these expressions recur later in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,¹³³⁴ and appear as well in the *Vita Columbani*.¹³³⁵ Only a few of them come from the *Regula Benedicti* whose main concern is obedience and humility rather than sluggishness, lack of motivation and negligence.¹³³⁶

¹³³³ See p. §.

¹³³⁴ The expressions *torpere*, *tepscere*, *ignauia*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *tarditas*, *segnitia*, *sollers*, *uigil*, *excitare*, and *feruor* appear elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; the expressions *languens*, *tepiditas*, *fortis*, *inpiger*, *erigere*, *prouehere*, and *expergisci* appear only in chapter 2.

¹³³⁵ This is the case for *torpens*, *ignauia*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia*, *sollers*, *fortis*, *uigil*, *excitare*, *erigere*, *prouehere*, and *feruor*. Only expressions *tepscere*, *languens*, *inpiger*, *expergisci* do not appear in the *Vita Columbani*.

¹³³⁶ The expressions *tardis*, *tepidus*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *feruor*, *erigere*, and *non piger* appear in the *Regula Benedicti*.

The gatekeepers (chapter 3)

Chapter 3 on the *portariae* is one of the richest and most complicated parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It gives us access to a variety of aspects of everyday monastic life, but also addresses, like the previous ones, some of the central themes of his monastic program. It reinforces points already made in the previous chapters and adds new ones. The *Regula Benedicti* devotes only a very short chapter to the gatekeepers (*portarii*) which had little impact on Jonas' Rule.¹³³⁷ Jonas did, however, mine the rest of the *Regula Benedicti* for material he could use to compose this chapter, using the chapters on the reception of guests, receiving gifts and letters, travelling monks, the *cellarius*, and the weekly reader.¹³³⁸ The result of this loose pastiche forms a highly original reflection on the nature of the boundaries of the monastery and its interactions with the surrounding world, which is particularly relevant for understanding Jonas' concept of the monastic space. Much more than in the *Regula Benedicti* we can see here the origins of the medieval "cloister". I have already addressed Jonas' concept of space in the previous section of this book, but Jonas' chapter on the *portariae* deserves nevertheless a detailed analysis in itself. Every sentence opens a different door to Jonas' monastic world.

The chapter can be divided into seven sections: an introduction on the necessary qualities of the *portaria uel ostiaria* (c. 3.1-6), which is followed by five different sets of regulations: how to interact with outsiders (c. 3.7-9); on the tasks of the *portaria*, which includes the care for the poor, strangers, and guests, and processing gifts the monastery received from outsiders (c. 3.10-12); on the strict prohibition of the *portariae* to lend their ears to *fabulae* told outside the monastery and to transmit them into the community (c. 3.13-16); on the abbess holding control of the monastery's keys (c. 3.17-20); and on the care for guests (c. 3.21-24). The chapter concludes with an exhortation that the *ostiariae* may expect their reward (*merces*) for their efforts if they act with all zeal in keeping the wording of the Rule (*tenor regulae*) (c. 3.25).

We find this division between a general reflection and examples of its practical implementation in several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The chapter on the *portariae* is similar to these other chapters in that it is not a comprehensive set of norms on a

¹³³⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1-5, SC 182, pp. 658-660.

¹³³⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.10, p. 558: on the sacredness of vessels; c. 38.10-11, p. 576: on the weekly reader; c. 53.15, p. 614: on the care for guests and strangers; c. 54.1-2, p. 616: prohibition against receiving gifts without permission of the abbot; c. 67.5-6, p. 662: on bringing gossip into the monastery.

certain topic but a sequence of provisions on various, only loosely related topics. Most of them address specific roles of the gatekeepers and provide different perspectives on the space in which they operate. A few more references to gatekeepers and to the interaction between the nuns and outsiders appear in other chapters.¹³³⁹ Jonas works, as we already saw, with a web of cross references. The introductory remarks at the beginning of chapter 3 unfold themselves thus not only in the chapter itself but throughout the entire Rule.

The limits of contact between nuns and the outside world and the boundaries of monastic space are addressed in detail in Caesarius' Rule, which allows Jonas to pick and choose topics that either mitigate what Caesarius required or stress the programmatic points Jonas wants to make. Thus, Jonas' scattered remarks on the gatekeepers and on the spatial organization of the monastery constitute neither a comprehensive task description nor a complete description of the monastic space and its boundaries. It's just a tip of the iceberg. Most of it remains invisible to us – aside from the provisions we find in the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius.

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does not refer to a *portaria*, because no nun is allowed to operate outside the enclosure or to take care of guests.¹³⁴⁰ The economic affairs of the monastery were carried out by a *provisor* (administrator).¹³⁴¹ Donatus collected some of Caesarius' references to the *provisor* and created a separate chapter on this office. It is therefore possible that Faremoutiers and other female (and maybe even male) communities had a *provisor* as well and that Jonas simply did not see the need to add anything new to Caesarius' provisions.¹³⁴²

Another office mentioned several times in Caesarius' Rule but not by Jonas is that of the *posticiaria* who controls which goods, gifts, and letters enter or leave the monastery. The term *posticiaria* appears exclusively in Caesarius' Rule for nuns and in texts using this Rule.¹³⁴³ Jonas

¹³³⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 9.12; c. 4.10; c. 22.22-23.

¹³⁴⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 39-40, SC 345, pp. 220-222; c. 53, p. 240.

¹³⁴¹ *CaesRV*, c. 23.6, p. 200; c. 36.1-5, p. 218; c. 39.2, p. 222; c. 42.6-7, p. 224; Caesarius, *Testament* 18-20, SC 345, p. 386.

¹³⁴² *Regula Donati*, c. 55, CSEL 98, pp. 174-175; c. 50, p. 171; c. 58, p. 176. Aurelianus' *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 44, p. 262; c. 48, p. 253; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, p. 30 show that not only female communities delegated economic matters to a *provisor*. It is possible that the monks Waldebert and Chagnoald, who according to the *Vita Columbani* were involved in the foundation of Faremoutiers and acted as the nuns' supervisors, also fulfilled the role of *provisor*. See *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243.

¹³⁴³ *CaesRV*, c. 25.4-6, SC 345, p. 202; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 30.4-6, pp. 208-210; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 43.2-4, p. 226. *Regula Donati*, c. 53.9-10, CSEL 98, p. 174; c. 60.4-5, p. 177; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, MGH SRM 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8, p. 383.

probably decided against using this neologism and may have considered Caesarius' *posticiariae* simply belonging to the group of gatekeepers.

Jonas' very extensive reflection on the *portariae* may have been motivated by the fact that the spatial organization of Faremoutiers turned out to be different from that of Caesarius' monastery but also from the monastery envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti*. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns describes a monastery that consists of a completely enclosed space which overlaps with the outside world only at one place, the *salutatorium*.¹³⁴⁴ This *salutatorium* is not just as an audience chamber but a sort of safety lock between the monastery and the outside world that serves different purposes.¹³⁴⁵ It allows the nuns to meet visitors, but it is also the space where novices had to stay until admitted to the community and where excommunicated nuns were to be confined.¹³⁴⁶ All other public places belonging to Caesarius' monastery, the basilica, and its estates, are off-limits for the nuns.¹³⁴⁷

The monastery for which the *Regula Benedicti* was written had an inner part in which the monks ate and slept, but the Rule gives little indication of a strict separation between the monastery at large where monks and laypeople could mingle and the space in which the monks live. The *Regula Benedicti* does not assign the gatekeepers a very important role. Their work can be done by two old men since it mostly consists of opening and closing the gate, welcoming visitors and tending to the poor.¹³⁴⁸ It is therefore no wonder that Benedict's chapter on the gatekeepers was of little use for Jonas.

The monastery envisioned by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* might be best understood as a hybrid of Benedict's and Caesarius' models. It consists, like Benedict's monastery, of an inner section reserved for members of the community, but this section is, like Caesarius'

¹³⁴⁴ The only other rules that refer to a monastic *salutatorium* are Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240; c. 14, p. 245; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 1, PL 68, col. 399D; c. 14, col. 401D.

¹³⁴⁵ The term *salutatorium* appears rarely in classical and medieval Latin. It usually refers to an audience chamber. It is used as such in *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 16, SC 536, p. 266.

¹³⁴⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 38.1, SC 345, p. 220; c. 43.3, p. 226; c. 58.1, p. 242; c. 65.1-2, pp. 250-252. On spatial separation as punishment, see Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149-166.

¹³⁴⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 2.3, p. 180; c. 50, p. 236; c. 59.1, p. 242; c. 70.4, p. 268. References to the property of Caesarius' monastery can be found *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 48, SC 536, pp. 214-216; II, c. 11, p. 258.

¹³⁴⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1-5, SC 182, pp. 658-660. For a detailed analysis of this chapter, see Scheiba, Manuela, 'Der Dienst an der Klosterpforte. Beobachtungen zur Gestalt der Klosterpfortner in RB und RM', in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 63-86.

enclosure, strictly inaccessible for outsiders. Jonas calls this part of the monastery the *septa*, the *septa monasterii*, or (in the *Vita Columbani*) the *septa secretiora*. Jonas' *portariae* and *ostiariae* worked within the *monasterium* but outside the *septa*. They guarded the gate, interacted with outsiders, controlled which goods left or entered the monastery, cared for the poor, and hosted guests and pilgrims.

The *Vita Columbani* indicates that Luxeuil itself was organized with such a double structure of an inaccessible *septa* within an accessible *monasterium*. Jonas admits that this spatial organization was an innovation deviating from local customs – the *mores comprouinciales*, as he calls them.¹³⁴⁹ King Theuderic II made a claim on these *mores comprouinciales* when demanding access to the *septa* of Luxeuil; Columbanus refused to allow him to enter, calling Theuderic's intentions a violation of the *regula*. That the king violated the *septa* and broke the *regula* of Luxeuil by entering its refectory was a transgression serious enough to cause not only his own downfall but also that of the entire branch of the Merovingian family headed by Theuderic's grandmother Brunichildis.¹³⁵⁰ In the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* Jonas tells about another equally fatal violation of the monastic space by the evil courtier Aega.¹³⁵¹ Jonas' episode on the fugitive nuns (which I have discussed in Chapter 1) indicates that the *septa* of the Faremoutiers were surrounded by a wall that could be crossed only with considerable effort.¹³⁵² Crossing the boundary illicitly in any direction may be fatal.

It is widely assumed that Faremoutiers and other seventh-century female foundations were – or at least became – “double monasteries” (a modern term) that consisted of an enclosed female community that is served by a community of monks of lower social standing who were responsible for sustaining the monastery and interacting with the outside world.¹³⁵³ Based on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* we can cautiously infer that Faremoutiers was, at least at the point

¹³⁴⁹ *VCoI* I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 7. This expression can be found only once in *VCoI* and in a paraphrase of the respective passage in Fredegar's Chronicle IV, c. 36, ed. John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1960, p. 26.

¹³⁵⁰ *VCoI* I, c. 19, pp. 198-191, analyzed in Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521-559, at pp. 531-538.

¹³⁵¹ *VCoI* II, c. 17, p. 269. See p. §.

¹³⁵² *VCoI* II, c. 19, p. 272.

¹³⁵³ On double monasteries, see Beach Alison and Andrea Juganaru, 'The Double Monastery as an Historiographical Problem', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Western Monasticism*, vol. 2, forthcoming; Hilpisch, Stephanus, *Die Doppelköster. Entstehung und Organisation*, Münster: Aschendorff 1928, pp. 25-44; Peyroux, Catherine, *Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West*, Ph.D. thesis Princeton University 1991.

when the Rule was written down, probably not such a double monastery yet. The fact that supervising male members of the community did not belong to the purview of the abbess and that the *portariae* took up the task of attending to the poor, strangers, and guests, speaks against the presence of monks in the community, though it is possible that there were male servants who operated outside of the *septa monasterii*. The same applies to the monastery addressed by the *Regula Donati*. Donatus does also not give any indication of a community of monks present at his mother's foundation. The *Vita* of Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, is full of allusions to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* while at the same time indicating that Chelles was indeed a female monastery that housed monks as well.¹³⁵⁴

Although the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is ambiguous on which of these spatial structures it was intended for, the first section on the gatekeepers' qualifications provides a distinctive expression of a monastic ideal and its theological ramifications:

¹ Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, *quibus mundus...*, si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent, ² sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: *Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* (Ps. 72/73, 28) ³ Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt? ⁴ Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae, ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant: *Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos.* (Ps. 118/119, 37)

[¹ A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought be of the sort who build up reward for all the nuns together: [sisters] who are old in age, to whom the world [is crucified] if they desire nothing of the present pomp any more, ² but let all say, clinging with all affection of the heart to the Creator: *It is good for me to adhere to God, to place my hope in the Lord God.* ³ For what do they desire from present vanities? For they have begun to love Christ after they have despised superficial things. They have understood through contemplation of the mind that the highest good remains in Christ. ⁴ Therefore, [porters] should be very steadfast in the state of their mind, so that they may say to the Lord in prayer with the Prophet: *Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way.*]

In the previous chapter Jonas emphasizes that old age might disqualify a nun from serving as a *praeposita* because it may lead to inactivity and weakness. A *portaria uel ostiaria*, quite differently, is allowed – or rather expected – to be old (*aetate senili*), which is about the

¹³⁵⁴ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, AASS, Nov., vol. 3, p. 93A refers to the *familia monasterii*.

only thing she shares with Benedict's *portarius*.¹³⁵⁵ Unlike the abbess, a gatekeeper does not have to be *sapiens* because she is not supposed to make her own decisions.¹³⁵⁶

Jonas uses both *portaria* and *ostiaria* to describe the function of the gatekeepers. The term *portarius* appears in the *Regula Benedicti*;¹³⁵⁷ in his *Vita Columbani* Jonas uses *ostiarius*, as does the *Regula Magistri*.¹³⁵⁸ Oddly, Jonas does not use both terms in the plural even though he later refers to several *portariae* and *ostiariae*. He may have addressed a community that used both terms interchangeably, but it is, as we will see, more likely that *portaria* and *ostiaria* refer to different roles, one related to the *ostia*, the doors of the *septa monasterii*, the other to the *porta*, the gate that forms the border between the monastery and the outside world. This does not preclude, however, that one nun could fulfill both roles if she operates in the space between the *ostia* and the *porta*. Yet it is consistent that Jonas in his chapter on silence (c. 9) gives the *portaria* a special permission to speak with outsiders, but not the *ostiaria*.¹³⁵⁹

The gatekeepers are supposed to “build up” or accumulate profit (*merces*) for the entire community. *Merces* is, primarily, to be understood spiritually, and we find the idea that the individual nun is responsible for a collective *merces* at several points throughout the Rule. The responsibility of the individual for the community is one of the central aspects of Jonas' program. *Merces* could, however, at this place also have a material meaning since it is the task of the *portariae* to receive gifts from outsiders and carry them into the monastery.

The central qualification of the gatekeepers is, on the one hand, the complete detachment from all desire (*desiderium*) of worldly pomp (*pompa*), vanities (*faleramenta*) and superficialities (*perfunctoria*) and, on the other hand, the full and unconditional love (*affectus, amor*) of the creator and dedication of their mind (*mens*) to Christ. In describing the gatekeepers, Jonas uses a number of key terms that appear throughout his Rule. The most important term is *mens*. Jonas' entire program of monastic discipline targets the *mens* and its focus on God rather than the

¹³⁵⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1, SC 182, p. 658.

¹³⁵⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.11.

¹³⁵⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.2, SC 182, pp. 658-660; c. 66.5, p. 660. Benedict uses *ostiarius* in the title of his chapter, but not in the text.

¹³⁵⁸ *VCol* I, c. 20, p. 204, l. 8 and l. 16; *Regula Magistri*, c. 30, SC 106, pp. 162-168; c. 53, pp. 242-256; c. 95, pp. 442-448. Another example of Jonas changing Benedict's language can be found in *RcuiV*, c. 13: *De utensilibus uel suppellectilibus*, which closely paraphrases *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32, SC 182, p. 560: *De ferramentis uel rebus monasterii*. The otherwise very rare term *suppellectiles* appears in *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 23; I, c. 23, p. 205, l. 20 and p. 206, l. 1/7. The term *usitalia* appears in the *Regula Magistri*, c. 26.57, p. 82; c. 18.3, p. 88; c. 79.3, p. 322, but not in the *Regula Benedicti*.

¹³⁵⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 9.12.

world. It is consistent that only those whose *mens* appears to be steadfast, should be allowed to interact with the world.¹³⁶⁰ The other two key terms, which are closely related to concern about the *mens*, are *desiderium* and *amare*. Both appear throughout the Rule with positive and negative connotations: one can love and desire the right or the wrong object, and it is Jonas' primary concern to channel *desiderium* and *amor* in the right direction.¹³⁶¹ Jonas devotes one entire chapter (c. 5) to the question how the nuns should (and should not) love.

Jonas develops the programmatic part of this chapter along the line of three biblical quotations – and we will find a similar technique of shaping a theological argument along a chain of biblical words at several places in the Rule, most prominently in chapters 5 and 6 and in *De accedendo ad Deum*.¹³⁶² Another technique that will re-appear is that of phrasing ideas in the form of rhetorical questions. We will encounter seven more throughout the Rule, and all of them address the question of why a nun who has already left the world would want to return – not necessarily physically but mentally.¹³⁶³

We could hear in these rhetorical questions an echo of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns that describes monastic entry as a triumphant escape from the jaws of the spiritual wolves. No nun who has reached that point would willingly throw herself to the wolves again.¹³⁶⁴ The main difference is that Caesarius understands this abandonment of the world primarily as a matter of space and impenetrable boundaries while Jonas focusses on a mental detachment from the world. Once this has been achieved and the *status mentis* has been most thoroughly fortified, the nun may leave the monastic enclosure. We may understand this short introductory section also as a response to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure and an explanation why total enclosure is both insufficient and not necessary.

Jonas develops his theological ramification through a series of biblical references. Of the first one, Gal. 6, 14, Jonas only gives two words, *quibus mundus...* (through which the world...). The audience has to fill in the rest: "...has been crucified to me, and I to the world"). The gap

¹³⁶⁰ On the *mens*, see also p. §.

¹³⁶¹ Good *desiderium/desiderare*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.6; c. 9.6; evil *desiderium/desiderare*: c. 3.1; c. 3.3; c. 14.8; c. 17.3; good *amor/amare*: c. 3.3; c. 5.9; c. 5.26; c. 23.6; c. 23.9; c. 24.5; evil *amor/amare*: c. 5.9.

¹³⁶² On the use of the Bible in Jonas' hagiographic works, see O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 155-184.

¹³⁶³ *RcuiV*, c. 9.2-6: on idle speech; c. 17.1/2/6: on renunciation of property, desiring worldly things, and giving up one's own will; c. 23.1/4/5: on giving up one's own soul, giving up one's own will, and non defending a family member.

¹³⁶⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 2.2, SC 345, p. 180.

may be a text loss, but neither Benedict of Aniane nor Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel saw a need to fill it. More complete paraphrases of Gal. 6, 14 appear later in the Rule, again in the context of a rhetorical question about renunciation of the world.¹³⁶⁵ The image of “being crucified to the world” is common in monastic rules, appearing in the *Regula Basilii*, Aurelianus’ Rule, the *Regula Magistri*, Columbanus’ *Regula monachorum*, and the *Regula communis* (though not in the *Regula Benedicti*).¹³⁶⁶ The second biblical verse, Ps. 72/73, 28, emphasizes the attachment to God; the third one, Ps. 118/119, 37, links turning one’s gaze away from the vanities of the world with being on the life-giving path to salvation.¹³⁶⁷ None of these Psalm verses are used in other monastic rules. Jonas implements Ps. 118/119, 37 later literally by requiring that the *portariae* cast down their eyes whenever talking to strangers.¹³⁶⁸

It is noteworthy that neither in the context of the *portariae* nor anywhere else in his Rule (or his *Vita Columbani*) does Jonas refer to a nun’s chastity as condition for interacting with outsiders. Caesarius’ letter *Vereor* and other earlier exhortations to virgins (e.g. by Jerome or Evagrius Ponticus) were full of warnings that interactions with outsiders may endanger a sacred woman’s chastity – or have a negative impact on these outsiders.¹³⁶⁹ Jonas does not address this topic. Maybe he considered Caesarius’ provision on the *custodia oculorum* (control of one’s eyes)¹³⁷⁰ and his own requirement not to speak to strangers without a third nun as witness as sufficient. The absence of chastity and sexual temptation from monastic discourse is nevertheless striking.¹³⁷¹

There is a lot going on in these first three sentences of the *portaria* chapter because Jonas’ scope at this point is much wider than just discussing the role of the gatekeepers. In the

¹³⁶⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 17.1; c. 23.2-5.

¹³⁶⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 4, CSEL 86, pp. 32-34; c. 82, pp. 116-117; *Regula Magistri*, c. 91, SC 106, pp. 398-410; Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 52.7, SC 345, p. 240; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, ed. Schmidt, pp. 239-241; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, prologue, PL 68, col. 400A; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 126; *Regula communis*, c. 1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 174. See also *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 24.

¹³⁶⁷ *Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos* (Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way).

¹³⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.8.

¹³⁶⁹ Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 60-61 and pp. 168-173.

¹³⁷⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 23, SC 345, pp. 198-200.

¹³⁷¹ Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 249-252. Only the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 18, ed. Villegas, p. 25 refers explicitly to monks committing sexual transgressions and restricting contacts between male and female communities as a means of prevention.

next section, however, he zooms in on their specific tasks and their interaction with the outside world:

5 Tale semper superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur, iuxta quod Dominus ait: *Sic luceat lux uestra coram omnibus hominibus, ut uideant opera uestra bona et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est.* (Matth. 5, 16) 6 Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.

[5 They should always show such an example to those who arrive, that also outside [the monastery] the name of the Lord be glorified by strangers, according to what the Lord says: *So should your light shine before all men, that they see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.* (Matth. 5, 16) 6 And inside [the monastery] let them acquire the profits of reward from their fellow sisters while they take in their turn care of all outside.]

Jonas shows here that the *pompa*, *faleramenta*, and *perfunctoria* do not stand for the outside world *per se*. There are people out there who, following the example of the *portariae*, glorify the name of the Lord, which makes it possible – or even necessary – that nuns of a *status mentis firmissima* interact with visitors from the outside world. The nuns’ good works need to be seen by the world, as Jonas corroborates by quoting Matth. 5, 16, a section of the Sermon of the Mount in which Jesus addresses all of his followers, not just his apostles.

This has wider implications than we might think. Jonas’ nuns act in service for those outside the monastery, not only through their prayer (which will be addressed below) but also by living an exemplary life that should inspire the world outside. The *portariae* execute what is, as we already know from chapter 1, the ultimate responsibility of the abbess.¹³⁷²

The second sentence of this section is somewhat confusing. We might expect *consodalibus* (dative) instead of *a consodalibus* (ablative): the ones who operate in the intermediate space between the *septa monasterii* and the outside world prepare the “profits of reward” (*lucra mercedis*) for their fellow sisters while taking care of all outside. That would make sense as an exemplification of the very first sentence of the chapter (*que omnium simul mercedem aedificent*), but a *lectio difficilior* could make sense too: the *portariae*, as it were, collect the good work and exemplary behavior from those inside of the enclosure, carry it outside by means of their own performance, and use it as an act of *cura* for those outside. In the next section Jonas explains how this might work in practice:

¹³⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 1.7-8.

7 Sic caetae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant. 8 Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. 9 Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.

[7 They should be so secure in character with humility – the mistress of the virtues – that they show the favors of all patience in their friendly conversation. 8 They should never speak alone or in pairs without a third as a witness. 9 They should never look attentively at lay persons or clerics by lifting up their eyes, but should speak what is necessary with a face lowered through humility and eyes cast down.]

The expression *conloquium/conloqui* is in the light of the previous sentences remarkable, because it implies that the *portariae* do indeed have serious conversations with outsiders beyond just saying the absolute necessary: friendly conversations that express their *humilitas* and *patientia*, presumably, in order to convey the nuns' virtues to those with whom they interact. It might even imply that the nuns fulfill a pastoral function towards the outside world. By casting down their eyes they express the necessary modesty and chastity in line with Ps. 118/119, 37: a performative act that is expected among the nuns within the enclosure as well.¹³⁷³ The *conloquium affabile* is also performative. It could be tied to various references to communicate not only with one's words but with one's restrained and friendly voice.¹³⁷⁴

This *conloquium* with outsiders, which Jonas explicitly permits in his chapter on silence,¹³⁷⁵ sets the *portariae* apart from the rest of the nuns who even among themselves should reduce conversations to a minimum and restrict them to special occasions such as meals at feast days.¹³⁷⁶ Both inside and outside the *septa*, *conloquia* are supposed to take place only with a third person as witness and, as Jonas adds later in the chapter, the nuns may by no means carry information they heard in conversations with outsiders into the monastery.¹³⁷⁷ It is their exceptional *mores* (character) that allow the *portariae* to have these conversations. Jonas talks in various passages of his Rule about those who qualify themselves through their *mores*.¹³⁷⁸ He might refer here back to the *status mentis firmissimae* mentioned in the beginning of this

¹³⁷³ *RcuiV*, c. 10.12.

¹³⁷⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 1.4-6; c. 2.11; c. 2.19; c. 2.22; c. 9.18; c. 10.14-15; c. 22.22.

¹³⁷⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 9.12.

¹³⁷⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 9.7-21; c. 12.18-19; c. 14.5-9; c. 19.9-11; c. 22.23.

¹³⁷⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13-16.

¹³⁷⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 1.14-16; c. 2.1-6; c. 2.6; c. 21.1.

chapters. The definition of *humilitas* as *magistra uirtutum* is one of numerous allusions to John Cassian's work which Jonas obviously studied thoroughly.¹³⁷⁹

¹⁰ Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitem curam inter omnia habentes, quia in his Christus recipitur, sicut ipse ait: *Quaecumque his minimis fecistis, mihi fecistis.* (cfr Matth. 25, 40)

¹¹ Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine comiteu abbatissae facere praesumant.

[¹⁰ Above all things they are to take care of the poor, strangers, and guests, because in them Christ is received, just as He himself says: *Whatever you have done for the least of these, you have done for me.* (cfr Matth. 25, 40) ¹¹ They should by no means dare to give anything to the outside [world], to serve anyone, or to receive anything from outside without the permission of the abbess.]

Almost every word in this section deserves attention. The expression *inter omnia* (above all) might give us an important clue about what happens outside the enclosure.¹³⁸⁰ It implies that the nuns do *not only* exercise *cura* for guests, *peregrini*, and the poor. By identifying this as *the most important* task of the *portariae*, Jonas implies that there were other (albeit less important) people who enjoy their *cura* as well, possibly those in service of the monastic community who remain otherwise invisible. The *Vita Eligii* describes the foundation of the community of Solignac as a process of recruiting a hundred *uernaculi* (servants) and fifty monks; the *Vita Bertilae* describes Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, as exercising pastoral care for the *familia* of the monastery and hearing confession of those outside the community.¹³⁸¹ They might deserve *cura* as well, though the only possible reference in Jonas' Rule to a community at large can be found in chapter 22 where he speaks of serving the male and female servants of Christ.¹³⁸²

The trio of *pauperes*, *peregrini*, and *hospites* appears outside of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* only once, in a Ps-Augustinian *Sermo*.¹³⁸³ It may have developed as a variant of the much more common requirement of caring for the poor and treating strangers *as if* they were

¹³⁷⁹ Cassian, *Collationes* XV, c. 7, SC 54, p. 217.

¹³⁸⁰ Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a tight Community shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, provides evidence of the use of the space outside the enclosure in high medieval monasteries. See also Gaillard, Michèle, 'L'accueil des laïcs dans les monastères (V^e -IX^e siècle), d'après les règles monastiques', in: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre, Hors-série* 8 (2015), pp. 1-13.

¹³⁸¹ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, AASS, Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A.

¹³⁸² *RcuiV*, c. 22.6: *Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi, ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant, quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum.*

¹³⁸³ Ps-Augustine, *Sermo* 64, PL 40, col. 1349.

guests. Who were the poor, who were the *perigrini* and who were the guests that require the care of the abbess and the *portariae* according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*?

Jonas may have referred to an organized and planned support of the poor in analogy to the bishop's responsibility for the matriculated poor;¹³⁸⁴ he may have had people in mind who were in acute need and faced starvation, but also religious people who had submitted to voluntary poverty – the “holy poor” as Peter Brown calls them.¹³⁸⁵ All three forms of support of the poor can be found in the *Vita Columbani* and in Jonas' *Vita Iohannis*. The community of Luxeuil received support from an already existing monastic community and from a local bishop when they themselves were at the verge of starvation. At one point, Columbanus' monks were robbed of a treasure of gold coins that was allocated to the support of the poor. Jonas also tells how Columbanus and John of Réoméé depleted their resources to support the poor. They were later miraculously refilled (which is a common hagiographic motive).¹³⁸⁶

Many monastic rules contain provisions for the care of the poor, with one noteworthy exception: Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Caesarius recommends that nuns entering his monastery should *not* distribute their possessions among the poor because this could trigger pride. He determines that the nuns in his foundation should not give alms aside from leaving goods and clothing to the poor they do not need any more. The *prouisor* is responsible for their distribution.¹³⁸⁷ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* describes the monastery not only as supporter of the poor but also as beneficiary of *elemosina* (alms), which implies that the nuns considered themselves as a community of the poor just as worthy of receiving alms as the rest of the poor.¹³⁸⁸ The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (the other anonymous rule that was inspired by

¹³⁸⁴ Boshof, Egon, 'Armenfürsorge im Frühmittelalter: Xenodocium, matricula, hospitale pauperum', in: *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 71 (1984), pp. 153-174; see also Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*, pp. 31-33 and pp. 164-171.

¹³⁸⁵ Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016.

¹³⁸⁶ *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165: Columbanus' community receives help from a monk named Carantoc sent through the *cellarius* Marculfus; I, c. 22, pp. 202-203: Thieves have stolen gold coins that were allocated to be distributed among the poor; I, c. 22, p. 204: Columbanus orders that the last remaining supply of flour should be given to a beggar; I, c. 27, p. 215: The monks in Bregenz receive grain support from local bishops; *Vloh*, c. 13, pp. 336-337: During a famine John orders that all resources of the monastery are to be given to starving people who flock to the monastery. Jonas calls this food relief “doing his usual work” (*adsuetum opus impendens*).

¹³⁸⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 21.5, SC 345, p. 196; c. 42.6-7, p. 224; c. 43.7, p. 228.

¹³⁸⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.12. Three other monastic rules describe the monastery as *recipient* of alms rather than as those who give alms: *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11.2, ed. Villegas, p. 30; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 59.4, SC 182, p. 634; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130, l. 21-22: prayer for those who give alms.

Columbanus) describes a radical counter model, which implies a strong criticism of the practice of receiving gifts and just distributing surplus as alms. Its author requires that the monks work in order to support the poor and that they may retain from their gains the bare minimum, just sufficient for simple clothing and their daily bread. This charitable work seems for the author of the *Regula cuiusdam patris* even more important than prayer.¹³⁸⁹

The term *peregrinus* may have had three different meanings. It simply could mean “stranger” or “traveler” – and it is likely what the authors of older monastic rules had in mind when they referred to *peregrini* who deserved to be hosted. There is, however, also the possibility that Jonas and his audience understood *peregrini* in an “insular” way as referring to those monks who left their homeland for good and undertook a *peregrinatio* for various reasons, sometimes as a particularly strict form of asceticism.¹³⁹⁰ A third possibility is that *peregrini* refers to pilgrims either on the way to a shrine or to the monastery itself. Radegund of Poitiers had turned her monastery into a place of veneration of the Holy Cross, and there are later examples of female communities owning prestigious and powerful relics which may have attracted pilgrims,¹³⁹¹ but there is no indication that Faremoutiers, at least in its early history, was interested in establishing a cult of saints. Columbanus’ foundations and those made in the first generations after his death did, at least if we can believe Jonas, not revolve around a saints’ shrine. They were usually dedicated to Peter, Paul, or Mary.¹³⁹²

The term *hospites* also deserves some reflection. If *peregrini* means “strangers”, *hospites* would mean guests known to the community, such as local bishops, the nuns’ relatives, or members of other monasteries. We know that Waldebert, Burgundofaro, and Jonas himself visited Faremoutiers, and that Waldebert visited Sadalberga’s monastery in Laon, which caused

¹³⁸⁹ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12, ed. Villeags, p. 30; see also Diem, ‘Disputing Columbanus’s Heritage’, pp. 281-282.

¹³⁹⁰ On Irish perigrinatio, see Leclercq, Jean, ‘Mönchtum und Peregrinatio im Frühmittelalter’, in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 55 (1960), pp. 212-225; Angenendt, Arnold, ‘Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800’, in: Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1982, pp. 52-79; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., ‘The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio’, in: *Celtica* 11 (1976), pp. 43-59; Johnston, Elva, ‘Exiles from the edge? The Irish contexts of peregrinatio’, in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Europe in the Middle Ages: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 38-52.

¹³⁹¹ Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, ‘Women’s monasteries and sacred space: the promotion of saints’ cults and miracles’, in: Lisa Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008, pp. 68-86 and pp. 117-122.

¹³⁹² On the absence of a cult of relics in Luxeuil and its affiliations, see Diem, ‘Monks, kings’, pp. 547-549; O’Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 231-235; Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*.

considerable problems because the beer to be served to him was about to turn sour.¹³⁹³ Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refers briefly to priests visiting the monastery.¹³⁹⁴ Eusthasius, Waldebert, and Jonas were, as we can infer from the *Vita Columbani*, constantly *en route*, visiting other monasteries. This raises the question of whether *hospites* refers to “special” guests only and whether the task of the *portariae* to serve guests meals (and to guard the monastery’s vessels), as it is described later in this chapter, only applied to these special *hospites*.

The second task of the gatekeepers is to supervise the transport of goods and services into and out of the monastery. They are absolutely not (*nullatenus*) allowed to give things away, to serve anyone (*ministrare*) or to receive anything (*aliquid*) for the monastery without the permission (*commeatus*) of the abbess. The expression *nullatenus* (by no means/absolutely not) is a marker of urgency. It appears no less than six times throughout this chapter and at various more occasions throughout the Rule. A chapter that primarily addresses space and boundaries expresses, as we might expect, deep concern that there are no loopholes. *Commeatus* is, as already discussed, a typical Jonas term. It does not imply a direct order of the abbess, but rather the requirement to act in her spirit. It is not clear what he means with *ministrare*. It may refer to services to be rendered to outsiders – Caesarius’ explicitly forbids cleaning, repairing, and storing vestments¹³⁹⁵ – but it could also just refer to serving guests. Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns regulated the exchanges of individual gifts and letters and prohibited nuns from buying goods privately outside the monastery.¹³⁹⁶ Jonas expands this to “anything” (*aliquid*), which probably includes the supply of food and other necessities coming into the monastery. It may also include what the nuns produced in the monastery.

The next provision addresses the life-basis of the community. Columbanus prescribes in his *Regula monachorum* in broad terms that his monks have to pray, among other, for those who give alms to the monastery.¹³⁹⁷ The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only monastic rule that describes in detail how this exchange of gifts and intercessory prayer ought to take place:

¹³⁹³ VCol II, c. 21, p. 277; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, MGH SRM 5, p. 61.

¹³⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 22.22.

¹³⁹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 46, SC 345, p. 232.

¹³⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 25, p. 202; c. 30.4-7, pp. 208-210; c. 53, p. 240.

¹³⁹⁷ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130, l. 19-22. The monks have to pray *pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo christiano, deinde pro sacerdotibus et reliquis Deo consecratis sacrae plebis gradibus, postremo pro elemosinas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, nouissime pro inimicis...*

¹² Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.

[¹² And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented it.]

Every nun (*omnis simul congregatio*) is, as Jonas emphasize, responsible for praying for donors and gifts may absolutely not (again: *nullatenus*) just go to the supply room (*cellarium*). Jonas describes in similar words in his *Vita Columbani* how the *ostiarius* of Luxeuil receives the gifts of a lady named Pocula and how Columbanus orders his monks to come together so that all of them together (*simul*) pray for the donor before the gifts are received and give thanks to the Creator.¹³⁹⁸ We find two more references to receiving gifts in the *Regula Donati*, though without mentioning prayer.¹³⁹⁹

There is one remarkable detail that might give us some clue about the spatial organization of the monastery addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. All gifts must be placed in front of the church (*ante oratorium*) where all the nuns are supposed to pray for the donor. I assume that the *oratorium* is placed within the *septa* of the monastery while the place *ante oratorium* where gifts are placed, is situated outside the *septa*. This would give donors the opportunity to see their gifts while hearing the nuns' intercessory prayer, but it also implies that there needs to be both a physical proximity between the gift and the intercessory prayer and some sort of boundary between the praying nuns and the riches that are about to enter the monastery.¹⁴⁰⁰

Jonas addresses to the topic of what should never enter the monastery – news of the outside world:

¹³ Fabulis, quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant. ¹⁴ Si horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, regulari paenitentia castigentur. ¹⁵ Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur. ¹⁶ Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit, et modum paenitentiae augebit.

¹³⁹⁸ VCol I, c. 22, p. 204, l. 17-23: *Quod ostiarius celeri cursu patri indicanda properat; ait ille: "Sine", inquit, "se scire, fratrumque coetum adunare, ut simul positi pro largitricem Dominum precarentur simulque grates referant conditori, qui suos solare non desinet in omnibus famulos necessitatibus, et post munus oblatum recipiant."* See also VCol I, c. 14, p. 176.

¹³⁹⁹ *Regula Donati*, c. 56.3-5, CSEL 98, p. 175; c. 58.4-5, p. 176.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See also p. §.

[¹³ They should by no means lend their ears to the stories they hear at the gate from worldly people or from anyone. And if they hear or notice something against their will, they by no means should repeat it to their fellow [nuns]. ¹⁴ If they transgress in anything which we have spoken, they should be castigated with penance according to the rule. ¹⁵ If they reveal [their transgressions] with humble recompense, the guilt of the offender should be determined in as much as one can observe the humility of the [sister] who confesses. ¹⁶ But if she commits the crime of obstinacy, she will also increase the measure of penance.]

Jonas' phrasing *uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet* indicates, again, that the nuns do not only interact with worldly visitors but also with other people outside the enclosure that do not fall in this category, possible male servants of the community, priests, or monks. The Rule imposes here an "enclosure of information" that could be aligned with various measures of enclosure that can be found in Caesarius' Rule. Caesarius was not as concerned with a flow of information into the monastery because interactions with outsiders were reduced to a minimum anyway. Jonas does, as we saw, allow *colloquia* with outsiders, but as we will see at several points in his Rule, he is deeply concerned about establishing a "mental enclosure", i.e. closing off the mind from all harmful impressions.¹⁴⁰¹ In this passage, he uses words from the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* that prohibits travelling monks to "smuggle" any kind of information into the monastery.¹⁴⁰²

Jonas' concern of *fabulae* entering the monastery through ears and mouths of the gatekeepers ties into several recurring themes of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. More than any other monastic regulator, Jonas is concerned with suppressing uncontrolled speech that may harm the monastery. Any pollution of the monastic space and community, be it from outside the monastery or from inside the individual nun, needs to be prevented by a system of enclosure that manifests itself just as well at the monastery's gate and at the "gates" of the individual nuns, i.e. their eyes, ears, and mouth.¹⁴⁰³ Jonas is in this regard even stricter than Columbanus in his *Regula coenobialis*. According to him, monks who tell idle tales (*fabula otiosa*) may expect forgiveness if they correct themselves immediately, otherwise they may receive a penance of silence or fifty lashes.¹⁴⁰⁴

¹⁴⁰¹ On the "mental enclosure" see p. §.

¹⁴⁰² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 67.5-6, SC 182, p. 662.

¹⁴⁰³ See *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.2-5; c. 9.12; c. 9.21; c. 12.9-12; c. 14.5-8. See also p. §.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 24-27.

For Jonas, the “enclosure of information” is so important that it deserves the term *nullatenus* twice. Moreover, he unleashes on those who are breaking this enclosure the entire disciplinary apparatus available in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which gives us a first taste of the meaning of *disciplina* and *paenitentia* and the importance of confession. We learn here that *paenitentia* is considered a *castigatio* (punishment) and that this transgression is supposed to be confessed. The internal attitude, the *humilitas*, determines the severity of guilt. A *paenitentia* is supposed to break obstinacy. All of this returns in the chapter on confession (c. 6) and in the chapters on punishment and excommunication (c. 18-20).

Jonas now shifts from his stern and nervous rebuke to a different, very practical topic: the control of the abbess over the keys of the monastery and the question of when the gate should be opened. Spatial loopholes deserve the verdict *nullatenus* just as much as loopholes of information.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹⁷ Claves ostiorum uel portae nullatenus penes se nocte retineant, sed ad abbatissam nocte deferentes praesentent et mane post secundam recipiant. ¹⁸ Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocae implere studeant, ut ab occasu solis uel cum fuerit opus necessitatis perfectum, usque ad secundam abbatissa claves retineat, ¹⁹ nisi necessitas euenerit, ut per comeatum abbatissae nocte retineantur et post secundam denuo tribuantur. ²⁰ A signo uespertino usque ad secundam impletam nullatenus portarum fores aperiantur, neque ullus a foris introitus patefiat, sed si necessitas talis aduenerit, ut post uesperam sit deliberandum, per fenestram, quae in eadem porta fuerit, totum deliberetur.

[¹⁷ They may under absolutely no circumstances retain the keys to the doors or to the gate at night, but they should deliver [the keys] to the abbess and present them, and receive them back in the morning after the Second Hour. ¹⁸ The cellarers, the bakers, and the cooks should strive to follow the same [rule], so that after dusk, or when the necessary work is completed, the abbess keeps the keys until the Second Hour, unless the necessity occurs that they are kept overnight with the permission the abbess and are handed out again after the Second Hour. ²⁰ From the sign for Vespers until the completion of the Second Hour the doors should by no means be opened to the outside, nor should any entrance from outside be open. But if such necessity occurs that consultation must be held after Vespers, everything should be consulted through the window that is to be in the same gate.]

The gatekeepers may by no means retain the key overnight. In principle, the abbess holds all keys at night and hands them out in the morning after the *Secunda*, which is also the liturgical

¹⁴⁰⁵ See also Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994, pp. 343-346.

Hour when all nuns have to give a full confession.¹⁴⁰⁶ This section gives access to various details of the life on Faremoutiers. Jonas talks about *claves ostiorum uel portae* which indicates that the monastery had only one gate (*porta*) but several doors (*ostia*) that could be locked with a key, such as the doors of the store room, the kitchen, and the bakery. It is not clear whether these places were placed inside the *septa* of the monastery or just inside of the gate of the monastery.¹⁴⁰⁷

The technology of keys and locks was thus available in Faremoutiers and presumably in other early medieval monasteries.¹⁴⁰⁸ Caesarius refers to wardrobes with keys¹⁴⁰⁹ and states that the abbess needs to keep the keys of the port of the monastery at night and during meal times.¹⁴¹⁰ He also mentions that those who are in charge of the store room, clothes, books, the gate, or the wool work should *receive* the keys *super euangelium* (above the Gospel book).¹⁴¹¹ Both aspects are not mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – another instance in which Jonas expands upon what we already find in Caesarius' Rule.

The closure of the gates between Vespers and *Secunda* implies that no stranger may stay inside the monastery at night, which applies not only to the *septa monasterii* but to the monastery at large. Jonas repeats but also expands upon what he found in Caesarius' Rule which determines that the *salutatorium* should be closed after Vespers and during the midday.¹⁴¹² He probably returned to this topic for two reasons. First, the outer parts of his monastery are different from Caesarius' *salutatorium*, which forced him to emphasize that nobody may enter the non-enclosed part of the monastery. Moreover, he introduces a device not mentioned in Caesarius' Rule, which still exists today in enclosed monasteries: the window in the gate that allows the gatekeepers to interact with visitors without allowing them to enter the monastery.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 6.20. The *Secunda* is a liturgical Hour mentioned only in the rules of Columbanus, Donatus, and Jonas. See Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 117-120.

¹⁴⁰⁷ See also Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life', forthcoming.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1-2, *CSEL* 98, p. 153. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38, at p. 7; Hirschmann, Rolf and Volker Pingel, 'Schloß, Schlüssel', in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 11, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2001, col. 186-189. Brunner, Jean-Josef, *Der Schlüssel im Wandel der Zeit*, Bern/Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt 1988, pp. 80-86 provides various photographs of early medieval keys.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 28.4, *SC* 345, p. 208.

¹⁴¹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 59.2, p. 242. See also Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 21, ed. Schmidt, p. 247; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 17, *PL* 68, col. 402D; *Regula Donati*, c. 62.4-7, *CSEL* 98, p. 178.

¹⁴¹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 32.4, p. 212.

¹⁴¹² *CaesRV*, c. 59.1-2, p. 242.

²¹ Si talis necessitas hospitem uel peregrinorum aduenerit, ut hora refectionis cum sororibus esse non possint, post cum cocis uel ministris, uel cum reficiendi spacium habuerint, reficiant. ²² Vasa uel reliqua utensilia, quae ad opus hospitem baiulant, ac si sacrata Deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant, cuius res deripiendo non reseruant. ²³ Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per abbatissae ordinationem ministrent. ²⁴ Intus uero tantummodo, quae sacram Deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.

[²¹ If such needs of guests and pilgrims arise that [the porters] cannot be with the sisters at the hour of the meal, they should eat afterwards with the cooks or servants or whenever they have the time to eat. ²² They should administer and guard the vessels or other tools which they bring for the service of the guests as if they were consecrated to God, lest through their carelessness they do not receive the reward of Him, whose belongings they do not preserve from being snatched away. ²³ Within the confines and doors of the monastery they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] outside in the guesthouse, just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. ²⁴ But we determine that only those may eat and drink inside who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.]

The last sections of this chapter deal with the gatekeeper's task to take care of the needs of guests and pilgrims – or at least to supervise their care. It is remarkable that Jonas does not determine *that* the gatekeepers take care of guests and strangers – he takes this for granted – but *how* they are supposed to do this. He singles out three aspects of this work that are particularly important to him. All of them have little to do with the care for the guests itself but point to topics addressed in other chapters of the rule.

His first concern is the question when the gatekeepers are supposed to have their meals if they are occupied at the regular meal times of the community. The second concern is how they guard the tools and vessels they use when serving guests. The third concern is who is allowed to eat within the *septa monasterii*. Jonas' practical provisions can be tied to the chapters on meal times and how to serve meals (c. 10-11), the chapters on the care for objects (c. 13 and 16), and the chapter that deals with those crossing the *septa monasterii* (c. 23).

The problem that *portariae* may not have the opportunity to eat with the rest of the community was important enough for Jonas to be addressed: nuns who cannot join the community at meal times miss out on more than just a dinner. On the one hand, almost all monastic rules strictly forbid eating outside the designated meal times – and Jonas mentions in

the Faremoutiers section that a nun almost incurred eternal damnation because of violating this rule.¹⁴¹³ This might be one reason why Jonas explicitly gives the *portariae* permission to eat at another time. The *Regula Benedicti* addresses in detail when the person who is assigned to read at table is supposed to eat his own meal. Jonas uses and re-contextualizes Benedict's words on this topic.¹⁴¹⁴ On the other hand, common meals are an essential element of developing a sense of community. They are rituals that include prayers and the blessing of food.¹⁴¹⁵ Being excluded from shared meals belongs to the key elements of excommunication.¹⁴¹⁶

Jonas' response that *portariae* who cannot join the community should eat with nuns who for other reasons were not able to join the common meal – or whenever they have time – sounds in this context rather pragmatic but it nevertheless indicates that this is an issue to be addressed. We find the same pragmatic approach at the very end of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Jonas determines that the abbess may decide at which times children in the monastery take their meal and go to sleep.¹⁴¹⁷

The second topic addressed in the context of serving guests does not, however, receive a pragmatic approach: the *portariae* have to ensure that the vessels and utensils used for serving guests have to be handled and guarded *ac si sacrata Deo* (as if they were consecrated to God). Negligence in preventing that objects belonging to God are snatched away (*deripiendo*) might destroy the porter's reward (*merces*). Later Jonas devotes two entire chapters to *neglegentia* in handling tools and implements, implying that damage to anything belonging to the monastery has to be considered a sacrilege.¹⁴¹⁸ Every object belonging to the monastery is, as I will address in my commentary to chapter 13, sacred as part of the sacred space. *Neglegentia*, the key danger that may hit the monastery, becomes nowhere as manifest as in negligent care of sacred objects.

The last topic Jonas addresses in chapter 3 is the strict prohibition to eat and drink in the monastery. Exceptions are to be made only for those living under the same *regula*. Instead of *nullatenus* Jonas uses here the similar term *nullum omnino* (absolutely no one), which expresses

¹⁴¹³ VCol II, c. 22, pp. 277-279.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.10-11, SC 182, p. 576.

¹⁴¹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 10.13-16. Jonas' provision might be inspired by *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, CSEL 86, pp. 134-135 on the question whether those in service may incur harm if they are absent from the liturgical Hours.

¹⁴¹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 19.4; c. 19.7; *Regula Magistri*, c. 13-14, SC 106, pp. 34-62.

¹⁴¹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 24.10.

¹⁴¹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 13 and c. 17. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51-67.

the same level of concern. Unlike Caesarius' Rule, which allows only sacred virgins in some exceptional cases to eat with the community, Jonas' provision is not gender specific. We can assume that Jonas, Waldebert, and Burgundofaro were allowed to eat with the nuns when they visited Faremoutiers. Yet Jonas' provision emphasizes the importance of the *septa monasterii* as impenetrable space and the communal meal of the nuns as sacred moment in which the community constitutes itself. Other monastic rules, the *Regula Benedicti* in particular, allow guests to eat with the monks or imply that the abbot may have his meal outside of the monastery with guests.¹⁴¹⁹

Jonas concludes this chapter with a short but dense statement that summarizes some of the key ideas of his monastic ideal:

25 Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum Dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.

[25 The doorkeepers should always act in such a way that they preserve the wording of the rule and have the zeal of God in all things, so that they receive an uncorrupted reward for the work of their eagerness and care.]

Jonas expresses here again that motivation is as important as the act itself. I will return to that when I discuss Jonas' concept of *oboedientia*.¹⁴²⁰ The phrase *regula tenorem conseruent* poses some challenges. *Tenor regulae* appears also in the first chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the context of special provisions for weak and old nuns.¹⁴²¹ Elsewhere he uses *tenor paenitentiae*.¹⁴²² *Tenor regulae* and *tenor regularis* belong to Jonas' specific monastic language. Jonas uses them three times in his *Vita Columbani* and twice in his *Vita Iohannis*.¹⁴²³ There is only one older witness of *tenor regulae*, an exhortatory letter directed to Caesarius' community ascribed to Caesarius' nephew Teridius.¹⁴²⁴

¹⁴¹⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 56, SC 182, p. 622. See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 24.20-25, SC 106, pp. 126-128; c. 78, pp. 316-320. On the care for guests in the monastery, see Fortin, John R, 'The reaffirmation of monastic hospitality', in: *Downside Review* 121:423 (2003), pp. 105-118.

¹⁴²⁰ See p. §.

¹⁴²¹ *RcuiV*, c. 15.10-12: *Decrepita uero aetate fessis talis sit cura, quatenus nulla in eis neglegentia, 11 sed iuxta arbitrium abbatis prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur. 12 Non enim hae possunt regulae tenori subiacere, sed potius piaetatis in eas inpendendus est affectus.*

¹⁴²² *RcuiV*, c. 20.9-11: *Quod si nec sic corripit uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus preter custodibus segregata, 10 tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat, 11 quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur.*

¹⁴²³ *VCol* II, c. 2, p. 231, l. 6; II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 17-18: *tenor regularis*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l.1-2: *tenor regulae*; *Vloh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 11: *tenor regulae*; c. 5, p. 332, l. 8: *tenor regularis*.

¹⁴²⁴ *Epistola hortatoria ad uirginem Deo dicatam*, SC 345, pp. 418-438, here c. 3, p. 426.

I suggest that the seemingly obvious translation “tenor of the Rule” (Alexander O’Hara and Ian Wood) or “teneur de la règle” (Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau), is erroneous. At this moment, Jonas does not refer to the “intention” or “spirit” of the Rule but – very much in line with Caesarius’ concerns about his Rule – to keeping the Rule to its precise content. Teridius uses the term *custodire* in the context of the *tenor regulae*; Jonas uses the expressions *agere*, *custodire*, *gradi*, and *subiacere*. The expression *conseruare* (to preserve), which he uses in this chapter only, goes further than just following a rule (*custodire, secundum regulam uiuere*). Jonas makes the preservation of the *tenor regulae* a matter of receiving the uncorrupted reward (*merces incorrupta*, which is also an expression only appearing here). It seems that Jonas considers the question of monastic boundaries and enclosure a minefield, as his frequent use of *nullatenus* underlines. Since Jonas factually breaks the most important part of Caesarius’ Rule – his strict enclosure – he at least wants to make sure that his nuns preserve his alteration, as if he were to say, “this far and no further.”

The chapter on the gatekeepers addresses, despite its short and rather narrow title (*De monasterii portaria*), a wide range of topics, which, if we contextualize them, reveal countless details about monastic life in Jonas’ world, that are otherwise hardly visible: ranging from the potential role of monasteries as places of pastoral care, how intercessory prayer functions, to the fact that the monastery has various doors but only one gate. It is, however, despite its diversity, composed as a unified monastic program that elaborates on ideas expressed in previous chapters but also adds new aspects that will be addressed more in-depth in subsequent chapters, such as the practice of confession, the role of penance, the impenetrability of the *septa*, the enclosure of the mouth, the imperative of mutual love. The entire chapter is built around the notion of *merces*, which marks both the beginning and at the end of the Rule. Jonas describes here the purpose of a nun’s (especially an office holder’s) work as building up *merces* (reward), but it is important that this *merces* is not primarily meant to be an individual benefit, but that each nun works for the benefit of the entire community and avoids causing damage to the entire community by losing her *merces*. In this regard, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is of all monastic rules the most coenobitic because it emphasizes both the individual nun’s responsibility for the entire community (such as the *portariae* acting on behalf of the entire community) and the agency of the community itself towards the salvation of each individual. The porters have to gain *merces* for all the nuns together (*omnium simul*); they fulfill their task *omnium uice*; the entire

community has to pray together (*omnis simul*). Throughout the Rule, we have no less than 41 instances in which Jonas emphasizes that his rule addresses the *entire* community and all the nuns together.¹⁴²⁵

This chapter is also a response to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure. Jonas both mitigates and elaborates Caesarius' enclosure and he does this with some nervousness that expresses itself in the repeated use of *nullatenus*. His mitigation of Caesarius' enclosure is justified by the idea that true enclosure happens not only in space but also – and more importantly – in the mind.

A closer look at the structure of the chapter reveals that Jonas skillfully inscribed into the text the idea that the *regula* itself creates and fortifies the physical and mental enclosure. Jonas' text is full of – often redundant – word repetitions, which make it difficult to translate the text consistently while not violating modern stylistic expectations. Almost all key terms, not just nouns, but also verbs and adjectives, appear either in pairs or several times – despite the fact that Jonas appears in other passages of the Rule as a master of creating vast semantic fields and endless lists of synonyms. His constant word repetition in chapter three weaves its different sections together despite their diversity and create an unbroken chain in which every word-pair encloses a term that forms a new word-pair. The term *merces* stands at the beginning and at the end of the chapter and holds the chain together.¹⁴²⁶ Chapter 3 does not only a form of enclosure but it *is* in itself an enclosure. We find a similar chain structure, albeit not as consistent, in

¹⁴²⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 1.7; c. 1.16; c. 1.17; c. 1.18; c. 2.12; c. 2.17; c. 2.17; c. 2.18; c. 3.6; c. 3.7; c. 4.1; c. 4.5; c. 4.7; c. 4.8; c. 5.11; c. 7.1; c. 8.8; c. 8.11; c. 8.15; c. 10.1; c. 10.3; c. 10.5; c. 10.14; c. 12.24; c. 12.26; c. 14.11; c. 14.13; c. 17.5; c. 17.8; c. 17.9; c. 20.7; c. 20.9; c. 20.10; c. 22.21; c. 23.23; c. 23.7; c. 24.11. *Omnis simul* appears in *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; c. 3.12; c. 11.6; c. 18.3.

¹⁴²⁶ The chain is built as follows: *ex praesentibus...ex praesentibus* encloses *bonum*. *Bonum...bonum* encloses *Domino*. *Domino...Domini* encloses *uideant*. *Videant...uideant* encloses *ostendant*. *Ostendant...ostendant* encloses *Domini*. *Domini...Dominus* encloses *glorificetur*. *Glorificetur...glorificent* encloses *uideant*. *Videant...uideant* encloses *omnibus*. *Omnibus...omnis* encloses *foris*. *Foris...foras* encloses *curam*. *Curam...curam* encloses *humilitate*. *Humilitate...humilitate* encloses *conloquio*. *Conloquio...conloquantur* encloses *humilitate*. *Humilitate...humilitate* encloses *omnis*. *Omnis...omnis* encloses *foras*. *Foras...foris* encloses *accipere*. *Accipere...accipiunt* encloses *nullatenus*. *Nullatenus...nullatenus* encloses *portam*. *Portam...portae* encloses *claves*. *Claves...claves* encloses *nocte*. *Nocte...nocte* encloses *retineant*. *Retineant...retineat* encloses *abbatissam*. *Abbatissam...abbatissa* encloses *post secundam*. *Post secundam... post secundam* encloses *implere*. *Implere...impletam* encloses *as secundam*. *Ad Secundam... secundam* encloses *retineat*. *Retineat...retineantur* encloses *necessitas*. *Necessitas... necessitas* encloses *uespertino*. *Vespertino...uesperam* encloses *aduenerit*. *Aduenerit... aduenerit* encloses *hospitum*. *Hospitum... hospitum* encloses *ministris*. *Ministris...ministrent* encloses *sacrata*. *Sacrata...sacram* encloses *edere uel bibere*. *Edere uel bibere... encloses regula*. *Regula... regulae* encloses *ostiaria*. *Ostiaria...ostiaria* encloses *mercedem*. *Mercedem...mercedem* encloses *tales*. *Tales...tale* encloses *ex praesentibus*.

chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the one on the community as being protected by an *ambitus uirtutum* a (circumference of virtues).¹⁴²⁷

The supply keeper (chapter 4)

Almost all early medieval monastic rules contain provisions on the *cellararius* or *cellararia* (supply keeper) who play a vital role both for the economy of the monastery and for the functioning of the community. They administer the monastery's property and determine, as it were, the extent of individual poverty by deciding which objects of everyday use should be handed out to the members of the community.¹⁴²⁸ Their work is therefore especially prone to contention caused by perceived stinginess or favoritism. Caesarius of Arles, for example, failed as *cellararius* of Lérins because he imposed his own ascetic standards upon others. He reacted to his deposition with excessive fasting and was eventually sent away from the monastery, allegedly in order to restore his health. He never returned to Lérins.¹⁴²⁹ The young and radical Benedict of Aniane ran into similar problems.¹⁴³⁰

Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* addresses the person responsible for the *cellarium* (storage room) only in passing: The abbess has to elect someone who does not fulfill the wishes of some

¹⁴²⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 22.3.

¹⁴²⁸ See especially *Regula Basilii*, c. 111-113, *CSEL* 86, pp. 137-139; Augustine, *Praeceptum* V.9, ed. Verheijen, p. 432; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.23-25, *SC* 297, pp. 196-198; *Regula orientalis*, c. 25, *SC* 298, p. 480; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 25-26, ed. Vilanova, p. 118; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 10.6-8, ed. Villegas, pp. 29-30; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16, *SC* 106, pp. 72-84; c. 21, pp. 102-106; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 152, l. 26-33; *Regula Isidori*, c. 21.2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 121-122; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183; *Regula Donati*, c. 61, *CSEL* 98, pp. 177-178.

¹⁴²⁹ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 6, *SC* 536, pp. 154-156. See Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 23-33.

¹⁴³⁰ Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 202. References to the *cellararius* and the *cellarium* in narrative texts are scarce. Exceptions are *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 68, *SC* 142, p. 314: on the *cellararius/oeconomus* administering the last remaining supplies of the monastery that would be given to the poor; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 10, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 384: on the *cellararia* Felicitas handing out goods by the order of the abbess; *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165: on the abbot of Saulx, ordering his *cellararius* to send supplies to Columbanus' monastery that save his monks from starvation; I, c. 16, pp. 179-180: a miracle saving a negligent *cellararius* from being punished; II, c. 11, p. 258 mentioning that the nun Sisetrudis holds the office of *cellararia*; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 61: on the *cellararia* responsible for the brewing of beer; *Vita Filiberti*, c. 37, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 602: the *cellarius* informs the abbot that the monastery ran out of oil for the lamps of the church; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 21, p. 209: the *cellararii* report that Benedict only drinks water.

but consider the needs of all.¹⁴³¹ Jonas devotes a long chapter to the qualifications, role and responsibility of the *cellararia*, which is composed in a different way than the previous chapters. In the chapters on the abbess, prioress and gatekeepers Jonas uses and re-contextualizes fragments from the *Regula Benedicti* and integrated them into a text that was essentially his own, both in its content and in its phrasing. His chapter on the *cellaria* paraphrases Benedict's chapter on the *cellararius* (c. 31). Jonas follows the structure of his model and uses much of its content and vocabulary, albeit expanded with his own terminology as we find in in the rest of the Rule and in the *Vita Columbani*: expressions such as *affectus* (love), *commeatus* (advice), *cor* (heart), *diligere* (to love), *dulcere* (to sweeten), *lenis* (gentle), *merces* (reward), *pietas* (love), and *uox* (voice).

More than in the previous chapters, we see Jonas' critical engagement with the *Regula Benedicti*. He goes through Benedict's text sentence by sentence, carefully removes or adds new aspects, and rephrases the text in order to make it congruent with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In doing so, he expands Benedict's text from 255 to 372 words. Most of his expansions appear in the first few sentences. The *Regula Benedicti* begins with this clear-cut provision:

Cellararius monasterii elegatur de congregatione...

[The monastery cellarer should be chosen from the community, sapiens...]¹⁴³²

Jonas chapter turns this into a long reflection on the necessary qualifications of the *cellararia*:

¹ Monasterii cellararia sapiens et religiosa ex omni congregatione eligenda est, quae non sibi, nec suis uoluntatibus, ² sed toti congregationi aequanimiter et piaae placeat dispensando, ³ nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat. ⁴ Id est, ut nihil extra debitam mensuram pro qualibet familiaritate pro gratia meriti dispensando distribuat, sciens, *quia iustus Dominus iustitiam a saeculo dilexit aequitatem uidit uultus eius*. (Ps. 10/11, 7, LXX)

[¹ A wise and pious cellarer of the monastery ought to be chosen from the entire congregation ² – one who pleases not herself or her own will but the entire congregation by managing in an even-tempered and loving manner. ³ And she therefore should not

¹⁴³¹ *CaesRV*, c. 30.1, SC 345, p. 208: *Ad cellarium et ad posticum uel lanipendium tales a seniore eligantur, non quae uoluntates aliquarum, sed necessitates omnium cum timore dei considerent*. See also c. 32.4, p. 212 on the supply keeper receiving her keys from the abbess.

¹⁴³² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1, SC 182, p. 556; transl. Bruce Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict. Edition and Translation*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press 2011, p. 117.

strive to please since she would, on the one hand, lead herself into the destruction of sin and, on the other hand, the others as well through the offence of transgression by agreeing with her. ⁴ That is [to say], that she should distribute nothing above the appropriate share by giving out for the sake of friendship or for the sake of doing a favor, knowing this word: *Because the Lord is just and has loved justice in the world, his face sees equity.* (Ps. 10/11, 7, LXX)]

Jonas describes the work of the *cellararia* first and foremost as a service to the entire *congregatio* and as an act of love. This love does not, however, only consist of dispensing justly, but also by protecting the nuns from the harm that she could cause to them – and not only to herself – by giving favors and leading them into the destruction of sin. With this insertion, Jonas ties the work of the *cellararia* to the idea that good and evil deeds affect not only the individual who performs them but also everyone else involved. Consequently, every good service (*ministrare*) done to others is to be understood as an act of love (*pietas, affectus*). He will elaborate on this imperative of love throughout the entire chapter. We see this in the next section which follows the wording of the *Regula Benedicti*:

⁵ Sit ergo omnibus iusta dispensatione grata; ⁶ sit moribus matura; sit sobria, non edax, non elata, non turbulenta, non iniuriosa, non tarda uel pigra, sed in omnibus actibus bene composita, ⁷ quae congregationi omni, id est tam senioribus quam etiam iunioribus, pro affectu et materno ordine debeat ministrare.

⁵ Therefore, she should be favorable to all in just provision; ⁶ she should be of mature character; she should be sober, not gluttonous, not haughty, not disordered, not unjust, not slow or lazy, but in all [her] behavior well disposed, ⁷ so that she should serve the entire congregation – that is, both the elders and the juniors – in keeping with affection and maternal order.

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

... maturis moribus, sobrius, non multum edax, non elatus, non turbulentus, non iniuriosus, non tardus, non prodigus, ² sed timens Deum; qui omni congregationi sit sicut pater.

[... a wise man of mature conduct, moderate, not a glutton, or arrogant, agitated, unjust, sluggish, or wasteful, ² but a God-fearing man who should be like a father to the entire community. The monastery cellarer should be chosen from the community.]¹⁴³³

Jonas uses Benedict's list of qualifications and virtues of the *cellararius* but adds three details: she should be favorable to all; she should be well disposed in behavior; and she should

¹⁴³³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1-2, SC 182, p. 556; transl. Venarde, p. 117.

serve with motherly affection. Jonas does, thus, not only add love to the list of virtues but emphasizes, again, the performative side: all her deeds should be *bene composita* (well disposed). It does not only matter *what* the *cellararia* does, but also *how* she does it.

8 Curam de omnibus sibi commissis rebus habeat. 9 Nihil tamen sine comateu abbatissae facere praesumat. 10 Sorores tam seniores aetate quam iuniores nullatenus conturbet.

[8 She should take care of all things entrusted to her. 9 Yet she should not dare to do anything without the permission of the abbess. 10 She should by no means disquiet the sisters – neither those of older age nor the younger.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

3 Curam gerat de omnibus; 4 sine iussione abbatis nihil faciat. 5 Quae iubentur custodiat; 6 fratres non contristet.

[3 He should take care in all matters 4 and do nothing without the abbot's command. 5 The cellarer should stick to doing what is ordered 6 and not upset the brothers.]¹⁴³⁴

Jonas deviates here from the *Regula Benedicti* by adding two details: Benedict simply states that the *cellararia* should provide care *de omnibus* (in all matters). Jonas specifies this: *omnis sibi commissis rebus*, thus to all *things* entrusted to her. We have already seen in the previous two chapters that Jonas is deeply concerned about the care of all physical objects belonging to the monastery, and he dedicates two entire chapters of his Rule to this topic alone.¹⁴³⁵ Jonas could allow himself to rephrase *omnibus* as *omnibus rebus* because he had in his previous sentence already emphasized that the *cellararia*'s care pertains to *everyone*, the *entire* community, that is both the seniors and the juniors. More important than this material turn is that Jonas replaces Benedict's stern *iussio abbatissae* (order of the abbess) with his favorite term *comatus abbatissae* (advice, suggestion, permission of the abbess). This is in line with the three previous chapters.¹⁴³⁶ Jonas continues:

11 Et si aliqua sororum ab ea inrationabiliter aliquid poposcerit, leni responsione cum uoce humilitatis contra rationem petenti deneget.

[11 And if any sister unreasonably demands something from her, she should deny [it] in a gentle response with a voice of humility to the one who requests against reason.]

¹⁴³⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.3-6, SC 182, p. 556; transl. Venarde, p. 117.

¹⁴³⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 13; c. 16.

¹⁴³⁶ Jonas uses almost exactly the same words as in *RcuiV*, c. 3.11: *Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine comateu abbatissae facere praesumant.*

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

⁷ Si quis frater ab eo forte aliqua inrationabiliter postulat, non spernendo eum contristet, sed rationabiliter cum humilitate male petenti deneget. ⁸ Animam suam custodiat, memor semper illud apostolicum quia *qui bene ministraverit gradum bonum sibi acquirit*. (I Tim. 4, 13)

[⁷ If any brother happens to ask him for something unreasonable, he should not upset him with a curt refusal, but turn down the brother asking something out of turn reasonably and with humility. ⁸ He must keep watch over his own soul, always mindful of the apostolic dictum that *he who ministers well earns himself good standing*. (I Tim. 4, 13)]¹⁴³⁷

Here Jonas largely follows the *Regula Benedicti*, but he makes two small changes. First, he adds a reference to the *cellararia's uox* (voice), as he did in the chapter on the abbess and on the gatekeepers. Benedict's *cellararius* should respond to irrational requests rationally and with humility; Jonas' *cellararia* should respond with a gentle voice (which may have been implied by Benedict but not said explicitly). Secondly, Jonas omits a sentence from the *Regula Benedicti* in which Benedict claims that the *cellararius*, in fulfilling his task, takes care of his own soul (*animam suam*) and acquires for himself a good standing (*gradum bonum sibi acquirit*). Jonas is concerned about *merces* for everyone and, as we just saw, about the effect the *cellararius* may have on the salvation or damnation of *others*. His *cellararia* has to do good work for the others' sake; Benedict's *cellararius* is primarily motivated by caring for his own soul. Jonas does not appreciate Benedict's use of *sua* and of *sibi*.

¹² In infirmitate positus sororibus diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu ministret. ¹³ Similiter pauperum curam gerat, ¹⁴ in omnibus timorem Domini praeponens et sciens se illi exinde rationem reddituram, si non pro eius preceptis implendis haec omnia faciat, memor semper illius qui dixit: *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur*. (Ioh. 12, 26) ¹⁵ Omni ergo operi bono quod facimus Domini timorem iungamus. ¹⁶ Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat.

[¹² She should serve the sisters who are in a state of sickness with loving care and the most ready affection. ¹³ Likewise, she should perform the care of the poor, ¹⁴ placing above all the fear of the Lord, and knowing that she thereafter will have to give account to him, if she does not do all of this for the sake of fulfilling his commands, keeping always him in mind who says: *Who serves me, may follow me*. (Ioh. 12, 26) ¹⁵ For let us attach the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do. ¹⁶ In such a way should [the cellarer] take care of all things that in no regard she incurs the harm of negligence.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

¹⁴³⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.7-8, SC 182, pp. 556-558; transl. Venarde, p. 117.

9 Infirmorum, infantum, hospitem pauperumque cum omni sollicitudine curam gerat, sciens sine dubio quia pro his omnibus in die iudicii rationem redditurus est. 10 Omnia uasa monasterii cunctamque substantiam ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. 11 Nihil ducat neglegendum.

[9 He should attend to the sick, young children, guests, and the poor with the utmost care, knowing without doubt that he will render an account for all of them on the Day of Judgment. 10 He should look after all the monastery's utensils and property as if they were sacred altar vessels. 11 He should consider nothing negligible.]¹⁴³⁸

Jonas' alterations are subtle but important. He adds that the *cellararia's* work is an act of love (*diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu*). Benedict assigns to the *cellarius* the care not only of the sick and the poor but also of children and guests. Later in his chapter he determines that the *cellarius* may receive helpers if the community has grown too large.¹⁴³⁹ Jonas' community seems to have reached this size. The care for guests is therefore delegated to the gatekeepers and the care for children to suitable senior nuns.¹⁴⁴⁰

Jonas and Benedict agree that the supply keeper has to give account for his or her work (*rationem reddere*) but they disagree on the question of *what* he/she needs to give account for. In the case of Benedict, it is simple: the *cellarius* gives account for the well-being of those entrusted to him. The responsibility of Jonas' *cellararia* is much heavier. She needs to give account for whether she has fulfilled the *praecepta Domini* (mandates of the Lord) and whether she has served *him* properly by serving those entrusted to her. She has to operate in constant fear – and we will encounter this *timor Domini* (fear of the Lord) several more times in this Rule. Therefore, she needs to take care of everything (*in omnibus*), which probably includes objects *and* people. Otherwise she creates *damnum* (harm) because of her negligence. Jonas weaves here a couple of words of the *Regula Basilii* into the text.¹⁴⁴¹ Just as the previous chapter was saturated with the term *nullatenus* (absolutely not), this chapter contains the term *omnis* no less than eleven times. For the *cellararia* (but eventually not only for her) *everything* is at stake.

17 Auaritiae et cupiditatis pestem omnino fugiat. Similiter sicut non auara, sic non sit prodiga, 18 id est, sicut dona omnipotentis Dei sub auaritiae uitio occultando subtrahere non debet, sic sine iusta dispensatione nimis fenerando commune substantiam non debet diripere, sed omnia per discretionem temperando pensare.

¹⁴³⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.9-11, pp. 556-558; transl. Venarde, pp. 117-118.

¹⁴³⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.17, pp. 558-560.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 24.4-5.

¹⁴⁴¹ *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, CSEL 86, pp. 134-135.

¹⁷ She should altogether flee the pestilence of greed and avarice. Just as she should not be greedy, she also should not be lavish, ¹⁸ that is to say, just as she must not hold back the gifts of the almighty God by hiding them out of the vice of greed, she also must not destroy the common resources by squandering too much without just provision. But she must weigh everything out by being moderate through [her] discretion.

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

¹⁰ Omnia vasa monasterii cunctamque substantiam ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. ¹¹ Nihil ducat neglegendum. ¹² Neque auaritia studeat, neque prodigus sit et stirpator substantiae monasterii, sed omnia mensurate faciat et secundum iussionem abbatis.

[¹⁰ He should look after all the monastery's utensils and property as if they were sacred altar vessels. ¹¹ He should consider nothing negligible, ¹² nor be avidly greedy or wasteful and a squanderer of the monastery's property, but instead do everything with due measure and according to the abbot's orders]¹⁴⁴²

Jonas expands on Benedict's provision by emphasizing the *discretio* of the *cellararia*. Following the *commeatus* of the abbess she has to consider every need on the basis of her own discretion, while Benedict's *cellararius* simply follows the abbot's orders.¹⁴⁴³ Moreover, Jonas adds to Benedict's text another level of urgency, depicting the *cellararia*'s task of keeping the balance between stinginess and wastefulness as a battle between virtues and vices and reminding his nuns that monastic property has to be understood and treated as a gift from God.

In the final section, Jonas returns to the theme of interaction between *cellararia* and the other nuns and the problem of how to maintain the right motivation in the community:

¹⁹ Et si non habeat, quod ab ea quaeritur, quod tribuat, sermone leni sine ulla asperitate in responsione procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat, ²⁰ iuxta quod scriptum est: *Fauum mellis sermones boni.* (Ioh. 12, 26) Et illud: *Sermo bonus super datum bonum.* (Eccli. 18, 17) ²¹ Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si omnia cum humilitate ac pietate studuerit agere. ²² Et quamuis quod petitur, non sit unde tribuatur, nullatenus respondeat se non habere, sed dicat fideli uoce: *Dominus dabit.* (cfr II Tim. 2, 7; Iob 1, 21) ²³ Ea uero quae danda sunt, sine mora tribuantur, ne scandali occasio aut offensionis casus ex ipsa tarditate generetur. ²⁴ Memor semper praeceptorum Domini, qui ne minimum suorum patitur scandalizari.

[¹⁹ And if she does not have what is asked of her, what she gives out should come forward with gentle words without any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response, ²⁰ according to that which is written: *Good words are like a honeycomb.* (Ioh. 12, 26) And this word: *Speaking well is above a good gift.* (Eccli. 18, 17) ²¹ If she strives to do everything with humility and love, she will

¹⁴⁴² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.10-12, SC 182, p. 558; transl. Venarde, pp. 117-118.

¹⁴⁴³ See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.32-37, SC 106, p. 78.

know that the work entrusted affects in this way the reward. ²² And although there is nothing from which can be handed out what is requested, she should by no means answer that she has not got it, but she should say with a sincere voice: *The Lord will give.* (cfr II Tim. 2, 7; Job 1, 21) ²³ These things that are to be given, should be given out without delay, lest out of tardiness itself the occasion of scandal or the opportunity of a complaint arises. ²⁴ [She should] always be mindful of the precepts of the Lord, who does not endure that the least of his people be scandalized.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

¹³ Humilitatem ante omnia habeat, et cui substantia non est quod tribuatur, sermo responsionis porrigatur bonus, ¹⁴ ut scriptum est: *Sermo bonus super datum optimum.* (Eccli. 18, 17) ¹⁵ Omnia quae ei iniunxerit abbas, ipsa habeat sub cura sua; a quibus eum prohibuerit, non praesumat. ¹⁶ Fratribus constitutam annonam sine aliquo typho uel mora offerat, ut non scandalizentur, memor diuini eloquii quid mereatur *qui scandalizauerit unum de pusillis.* (Matth. 18, 6) ¹⁷ Si congregatio maior fuerit, solacia ei dentur, a quibus adiutus et ipse aequo animo impleat officium sibi commissum. ¹⁸ Horis competentibus dentur quae danda sunt et petantur quae petenda sunt, ¹⁹ ut nemo perturbetur neque contristetur in domo Dei.

[¹³ Above all, let him be humble and offer a kind word of reply to a brother when there is nothing to give him, ¹⁴ as it is written, *A good word is better than the best gift.* (Eccli. 18, 17) ¹⁵ Everything the abbot delegates to him he should keep under his own supervision and he should take no interest in matters the abbot has barred to him. ¹⁶ He should give the brothers their allotted ration of food without haughtiness or delay, lest they be given occasion to sin, mindful of the divine saying about what he *who leads one of the little ones astray* (Matth. 18, 6) deserves. ¹⁷ If the community is large, he should have helpers so that with their support he may calmly fulfill the duties assigned to him. ¹⁸ Things that are to be given should be given and appropriate requests made at suitable hours ¹⁹ so that nobody in God's house may be troubled or upset.]¹⁴⁴⁴

Jonas imposes here almost exactly the same alterations as in the previous sections. He adds the aspect of the *uox* that should express gentleness instead of harshness; he emphasizes that the *cellararia* should produce *merces* through her work (again: *merces* in general, not just for herself); he emphasizes, in line with chapter 2 that the *cellararia* should not create scandal out of tardiness; and, finally, he makes the mandates of the Lord the guideline for the *cellararia*. Consequently, he removes Benedict's reminder that the *cellararia* should only do what the abbot imposes on the *cellararius* and that he should not dare to do what the abbot has forbidden him to do. All of this is implied in Jonas' use of *commeatus* which encompasses much more than just fulfilling orders. Her true lord is the Lord and she has to give account to him.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.13-19, SC 182, pp. 558-560; transl. Venarde, p. 118.

Aside from changing, as it were, the line of command and increasing the responsibility of the *cellararia* to fearfully follow the *praecepta Domini* according to her own *discretio* instead of just carrying out orders, the most striking modification Jonas imposed on Benedict's text is introducing an overall imperative of love (*pietas, affectus, diligere, lenitas*), a love that expresses itself both through friendliness in deeds and voice and in a *cura* (care) that prevents the nuns from harm (*damnum*) and creates reward (*merces*) for everyone. The next chapter will elaborate on this imperative of mutual love.

Love (chapter 5)

This chapter is very different from the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It does not contain any straightforward prescriptions and sanctions but is phrased like a sermon. Jonas addresses the nuns directly in the first-person plural. It ends with the word *amen*. Aside from two short fragments, it is the only part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that does not appear in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum*.¹⁴⁴⁵ It is possible that Benedict of Aniane decided against using this chapter because he considered its central idea theologically too problematic.¹⁴⁴⁶ The structure and tone of chapter 5 shows striking similarities with the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which is one of the reasons why I argue that both texts were written by the same author.¹⁴⁴⁷

At first sight, this chapter looks like a chain of biblical quotations and paraphrases tied together by Jonas' short explanations. A close reading will show that it is, in fact, a very dense and highly original theological treatise that explains how the individual nuns by loving and forgiving each other can attain salvation despite their imperfection. The text shows how the loving community becomes a powerful "third party" in the interaction between God and the individual. We have already seen several references both to the imperative of love and to the idea of mutual responsibility and collectively gained reward in previous chapters of the Rule and this theme occurs many more times in the subsequent chapters. This chapter ties all of these

¹⁴⁴⁵ Benedict of Aniane also omitted *RcuiV*, c. 11 and c. 14.1-10.

¹⁴⁴⁶ If Benedict of Aniane had wanted to quote *RcuiV*, c. 5, he probably would have grouped it together with *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71, *SC* 182, p. 668: *Ut oboedientes sibi sint inuicem*.

¹⁴⁴⁷ See p. §.

references together and explains how the nuns can develop an agency collectively that an individual nun would never be able to attain.¹⁴⁴⁸

The chapter shows how Jonas disagreed with the *Regula Benedicti* at one central point. Benedict places *oboedientia* at the center of monastic existence; Jonas replaces *oboedientia* with love.¹⁴⁴⁹ The title of Jonas' chapter (*De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*) is modelled after – and probably a response to – the title of chapter 71 of the *Regula Benedicti* (*Vt oboedientes sibi sint inuicem*). Benedict develops here a guideline how monks should interact with each other. Aside from the title, Jonas did not use a single word of it:

Regula Benedicti, c. 71: Vt oboedientes sibi sint inuicem

¹ Oboedientiae bonum non solum abbati exhibendum est ab omnibus, sed etiam sibi inuicem ita oboediant fratres, ² scientes per hanc oboedientiae uiam se ituros ad Deum. ³ Praemisso ergo abbatis aut praepositorum qui ab eo constituuntur imperio, cui non permittimus priuata imperia praeponi, ⁴ de cetero omnes iuniores prioribus suis omni caritate et sollicitudine oboediant. ⁵ Quod si quis contentiosus reperitur, corripiatur.

[They should be obedient to one another

¹ The goodness of obedience is to be shown by all, not just to the abbot, but the brothers should similarly obey each other, ² knowing that they will approach God by this path of obedience. ³ Excepting the command of the abbot or the priors he has appointed, which we permit no private commands to supersede, ⁴ for the rest all juniors should obey their seniors with all love (*caritas*) and attentiveness. ⁵ If someone is discovered to be resisting, he should be rebuked.]¹⁴⁵⁰

The title of Jonas' chapter pairs *oboedire* with *diligere* (to love) but the term *oboedientia* does not return at all in the chapter's text. It is, in fact, almost completely absent in the rest of the Rule and in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.¹⁴⁵¹ Instead, Jonas' chapter revolves around the vocabulary of mutual love. *Dilectio/diligere, amor, pietas, caritas, and affectus*

¹⁴⁴⁸ This analysis expands upon Diem, Albrecht, 'Das Ende des monastischen Experiments. Liebe, Beichte und Schweigen in der *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (mit einer Übersetzung im Anhang)', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011, pp. 81-136.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Aside from emphasizing in various contexts that monks have to obey their superiors, Benedict devotes four lengthy sections on the imperative of *oboedientia*. *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1-3, SC 181, p. 412; c. 5, pp. 464-468; c. 7.34-43, pp. 480-484; c. 71, SC 182, p. 668.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.1-5, p. 668; transl. Venarde, p. 225.

¹⁴⁵¹ There is only one exception: In *RcuiV*, c. 3.24 Jonas refers to the unity of *oboedientia* among those who are bound by one rule. It is, thus, not an obedience towards a person.

appear 31 times.¹⁴⁵² The expressions *inuicem* (each other) and *mutua* (mutual) appear eleven times. Spread over the entire rule we find Jonas' vocabulary of love almost ninety times; *inuicem* and *mutua/mutuatim* appear 21 times. The imperative of mutual love becomes the guiding principle of Jonas' monastic program. Not even the *Regula Magistri*, which is more than seven times as long as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, refers as often to love as Jonas' Rule.¹⁴⁵³

Before exploring Jonas' regime of mutual love, I will give a short overview on regulations on mutual love that we find in the monastic normative texts that Jonas knew and may have used. Jonas develops, as I already have shown, his program largely in dialogue with existing traditions, particularly the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the works of Columbanus, and the *Regula Basilii*. One of Jonas' trademarks, however, is never to quote his sources verbatim. Instead of just reproducing their content he uses and processes them in order to create new and largely original ideas.

First, what does the *Regula Benedicti* say about mutual love – aside from identifying mutual love with mutual obedience? The abbot is supposed to love everyone equally with fatherly love and every monk is supposed to love the abbot.¹⁴⁵⁴ Seniors are supposed to love juniors.¹⁴⁵⁵ Juniors are supposed to “obey their seniors with all love and attentiveness.”¹⁴⁵⁶ The abbot should show *cura* for those who are excommunicated and those who are sick.¹⁴⁵⁷ The *cellararius* exercises *cura*.¹⁴⁵⁸ Kitchen service is an act of *caritas*.¹⁴⁵⁹ Mutuality is replaced by “outdoing each other in demonstrating honor.”¹⁴⁶⁰ The most explicit statement about love can be found at the end of Benedict's rule: “brothers should devote themselves to the charity of fraternity in chastity, fear God in love, and love their abbot with sincere and humble charity.”¹⁴⁶¹ For Benedict, love is embedded in hierarchy; there is no praying for each other. Mutual love does not play a role in the pursuit of salvation.

¹⁴⁵² The expressions *diligere* or *dilectio* appear 23 times; *amor* and *pietas* three times; *caritas* and *affectus* once.

¹⁴⁵³ The *Regula Magistri* uses *amor*, *amare*, *diligere*, *dilectio*, *affectus* and *pietas* all in all 87 times; *inuicem* and *mutuus* appear 17 times.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.16-25, SC 181, pp. 444-446; c. 64.22, SC 182, p. 650; c. 72.10, p. 670.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.71, p. 462; c. 63.10, SC 182, pp. 644-646.

¹⁴⁵⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.4, p. 668.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 27, pp. 548-550; c. 36, pp. 570-572.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31, pp. 556-560.

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.2-6, p. 556.

¹⁴⁶⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 72.4, p. 670.

¹⁴⁶¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 72.3-10, p. 670: *...caritatem fraternitatis caste inpendant, amore Deum, timeant, abbatem suum sincera et humili caritate diligant.*

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns says a lot about the author's twisted love for his community; it describes how the nuns are supposed to interact with each other but never refers to mutual love as a guiding principle.¹⁴⁶² Caesarius' does, however, define punishment as *caritas*,¹⁴⁶³ and refers to the *cura* for the sick and the *cura* of the abbess.¹⁴⁶⁴ What comes closest as a source for Jonas' chapter on love is Caesarius' *Regula ad monachos* which otherwise left no traces in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Caesarius' chapter on *iracundia* (anger) emphasizes the necessity of mutual forgiveness, citing, like Jonas, Matth. 6, 15 and John 13, 35.¹⁴⁶⁵ These parallels could, however, also be coincidental.

Columbanus' Rules say little about love either. He starts his *Regula monachorum* with the precept to love one's neighbor as oneself.¹⁴⁶⁶ In his third *Instructio*, he explicitly condemns all forms of *amor* aside divine love.¹⁴⁶⁷ One entire *Instructio*, however, is devoted to loving one's neighbor and here we find material that Jonas may have used for his chapter on love. Columbanus states there that since man is created in God's image, mutual love comes forth from unconditional love of God and restores the love of God.¹⁴⁶⁸

The *Regula Basilii* is not a very prolific source either. Similarly to Columbanus, Basil states right at the beginning of his rule that loving one's neighbor is a direct consequence of loving God.¹⁴⁶⁹ He emphasizes the love of the abbot for his subjects and identifies punishment as an act of love.¹⁴⁷⁰ Basil requires unconditional love among the brothers citing John 15, 12-13, which is also used by Jonas,¹⁴⁷¹ and states that love means returning favors that are given in love but not returning evil for evil.¹⁴⁷² He explains that loving one's brother means grieving when he is harmed and striving that he does well.¹⁴⁷³ The last two precepts vaguely resonate with Jonas' chapter.

¹⁴⁶² See p. §.

¹⁴⁶³ *CaesRV*, c. 35.1-3, SC 345, p. 216; c. 65.5, p. 252.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 32, pp. 210-212; c. 35.3-4, p. 216, c. 42, p. 224.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 13, SC 398, pp. 210-212.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum, Incipit*, ed. Walker, p. 122.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Columbanus, *Instructio* 3, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 74. Similar in *Epistula* 4, c. 4, p. 28, where he warns Athala that being loved may be just as destructive as being hated.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Columbanus, *Instructio* 11, c. 1, p. 106.

¹⁴⁶⁹ *Regula Basilii*, c. 1, CSEL 86, pp. 8-9, elaborated in c. 2.61-69, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Regula Basilii*, c. 15, pp. 64-65; c. 17, pp. 66-67; c. 23-25, pp. 72-74.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Regula Basilii*, c. 38, p. 83.

¹⁴⁷² *Regula Basilii*, c. 39, pp. 83-84.

¹⁴⁷³ *Regula Basilii*, c. 155, pp. 178-179.

The *Regula Magistri* begins with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, which includes a short reflection on Matth. 6, 12: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* (Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors), which plays a crucial role in Jonas' argument. The reflection mainly revolves around the hope for forgiveness and the danger of making judgments or relying on one's good works but treats the act of forgiveness rather as an afterthought.¹⁴⁷⁴ Aside from that, the *Regula Magistri* shows little difference with the *Regula Benedicti* with regard to love and, in this case, no closer proximity to Jonas' Rule. The *Regula Magistri* requires that the abbot loves everyone equally like a mother and a father love their children.¹⁴⁷⁵ Those divided by swearing, anger, and hate need to reconcile.¹⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, the text identifies punishment as a form of love.¹⁴⁷⁷

Some of the thoughts expressed in these texts return in Jonas' chapter on love, but his two central ideas – the salvific effect of mutual love and mutual forgiveness, and the replacement of the imperative of obedience by the imperative of mutual love – set him apart from all the other monastic rules he used. Most importantly, Jonas does not just proclaim that love is important; he wants to *explain* how mutual love plays a crucial role in the pursuit of salvation.

¹ Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura debeant, per euangelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, ² cum dicit: *Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* (Ioh. 15, 12-13) ³ Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis.* (Ioh. 13, 35)

[¹ The Lord shows through the Gospel of John with how much care the nuns in the monastery should love each other in Christ, ² when he says: *It is my precept that you love each other. No one has a greater love (dilectionem) than to lay down the soul for one's friends.* (Ioh. 15, 12-13) ³ And this [word]: *In this everyone will recognize that you are my disciples: if you love each other.* (Ioh. 13, 35)]

Jonas begins with a reference to the Apostolic requirement of love as it is expressed in John 15, 12-13 and John 13, 35, which conforms to the monastic tradition,¹⁴⁷⁸ but already in the next sentence he leaves the safe monastic consensus and comes to the matter at stake:

¹⁴⁷⁴ *Regula Magistri*, *Thema*.57-66, SC 105, pp. 312-314.

¹⁴⁷⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 2.16-22, SC 105, pp. 354-356; c. 2.26-31, pp. 356-358.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.66-74, SC 106, p. 22.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.20-24, SC 106, p. 66.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See, for example, *Liber Orsiesij*, c. 23, ed. Boon, pp. 124-125; *Regula Basilii*, c. 39, CSEL 86, pp. 83-85.

⁴ Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit, ⁵ iuxta Apocalipsin: *Et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo.* (Apoc. 1, 5)

[⁴ We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate him through mutual love (*dilectio*) who has loved us, ⁵ according to the Apocalypse: *And he washed us from our sins in his blood.* (Apoc. 1, 5)]

This is new – at least within the context of monastic life: mutual love is meant to be an act of mutual salvation. Loving each other allows the nuns to play an active role in pursuing this goal. It is not just God who absolves, but the nuns can do it for each other. This absolving love functions through *imitating* God's absolving love.¹⁴⁷⁹ *Amor, caritas, dilectio*, and *pietas* are here not – as in the *Regula Benedicti* – directed towards God or coming from God.¹⁴⁸⁰ It is all about them loving each other *like* God loves them.

⁶ Sic ergo soror sororem propter Christum diligit, ut Christum a se per temporalem dilectionem non repellat, ⁷ quae uera et secundum christum dilectio est *proximae malum non operatur.* (Rom. 13, 10) ⁸ Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu, sed pietatis ministerio. ⁹ Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum, sed secundum Deum maneat amor. ¹⁰ Sic enim a Domino praecipitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* (Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14) ¹¹ Si soror sororem diligit sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet.

[⁶ A sister should therefore love a sister for Christ's sake in such a way that she do not cast Christ away from herself through worldly love (*dilectionem*). ⁷ That love (*dilectio*) which is true and according to Christ *does not do evil to one's fellow.* (Rom. 13, 10) ⁸ Therefore, a fellow [sister] is to be loved not with affection of the flesh, but with the service of love (*pietas*). ⁹ She is to be loved with purity, is to be loved with piety, is to be loved with mildness, and is to be loved with love (*caritas*), so that in every love (*amore*) Christ is always found. Love (*amor*) should not remain in favor of the world but in favor of God. ¹⁰ In such a way it is prescribed by the Lord: *Love your neighbor as yourself.* (Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14) ¹¹ If a sister should love a sister as herself, she will never incur the stain of sin, but adorned by the practice of love (*pietatis*) and love (*dilectionis*) she will receive eternal reward.]

¹⁴⁷⁹ The motif of imitation and analogous acting appears also in *RcuiV*, c. 1.3-6: imitating the abbess; c. 15.4: treating the sick as if they were Christ; c. 20.7: love and prayer creates divine mercy; c. 23.1: nuns imitate the crucified Christ.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.21, SC 181, pp. 456-468; c. 4.72, p. 462; c. 7.34, p. 480; c. 63.13, SC 182, p. 646; c. 72.9, p. 670.

At this point Jonas defines this love that qualifies as an imitation of God's love: it is no temporal or worldly love, it is neither a permissive love, nor a carnal love, but a love performed through serving each other (*ministerium*) – just as it is exemplified in numerous chapters of the Rule. *Ministerium*, *ministra*, and *ministrare* are also among Jonas' favorite terms.¹⁴⁸¹ This love does not express itself in emotions, but in purity, piety, moderation, and care. Every act and every expression needs to be an expression of this love and, consequently, every act has an effect on salvation – not only on that of the acting person but also on the salvation of all the other nuns. This includes also acts of reprimand and punishment.

The community becomes, next to God and the individual, an agent for the eternal fate of the individual. As such, it is not (as in the monastic theologies of John Cassian and the *Regula Benedicti*) just a suitable milieu for the individual's pursuit of salvation.¹⁴⁸² Coenobitism as a means to itself receives here a deep theological grounding. As a next step, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses what leads us away from salvation: the devil and the Fall of Adam:

¹² Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, ¹³ sicut scriptum est: *Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24) ¹⁴ Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat, ¹⁵ sicut Iohannes Apostolus testatus est, dicens: *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est.* (I Ioh. 3, 15) ¹⁶ Diligatur proxima, ne per aliqua discordiae fomenta retenta proprii facinoris uinculo non soluatur,...

[¹² Love (*dilectio*), therefore, should always remain within the heart, so that it extinguishes the poison of the ancient enemy's malice, through which he opened the entrance of death in the beginning by deceiving the Protoplast [Adam], ¹³ as it is written: *But through the envy of the devil death will enter into the world.* (Sap. 2, 24) ¹⁴ A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she incurs the crime of bloodshed through the stain of hatred, ¹⁵ as the Apostle John has testified, saying: *He who hates his brother is a murderer.* (I Ioh. 3, 15) ¹⁶ A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she not be freed from the bond of her own misdeed, because some sparks of discord have been retained,...]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* identifies three sins as a direct effect of the Fall of Adam, and all of them can be overcome by love: envy (*inuidia*), hate (*odium*), and discord (*discordia*). All of them may be particularly relevant within in closed communities.¹⁴⁸³ From

¹⁴⁸¹ *Ministerium*, *ministrare* and *ministra* appear twenty times in *RcuiV*, c. 2; c. 3; c. 10; c. 11; c. 15; c. 22; c. 24 and twenty times in the *VCol* but only nine times in the *Regula Benedicti*.

¹⁴⁸² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.1-5, SC 181, pp. 436-438; c. 73, SC 182, pp. 672-674. On Cassian's view on coenobitic monasticism, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 33-61.

¹⁴⁸³ It is possible that Jonas is, at this place, inspired by John Cassian, *Collationes VIII*, c. 10, SC 54, pp. 18-19.

there, the author moves back to the concept of imitation and explains how this imitating mutual love needs to take shape, finding a strong biblical basis in the Lord's Prayer:

¹⁷ ...sicut Dominus in euangelio testatus est, dicens: *Si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater uester caelestis dimittet uobis peccata uestra.* (Matth. 6, 15)¹⁸
Remittamus proximis, ut ab omnipotente remittatur nobis. ¹⁹ *Date, inquit, et dabitur uobis.* (Luc. 6, 38)

[¹⁷ ...as the Lord has testified in the Gospel, saying: *If you do not forgive men their sins, your heavenly father will not forgive you your sins either.* (Matth. 6, 15) ¹⁸ Let us forgive our fellow [sisters], so that we may be forgiven by the Almighty. ¹⁹ *Give, he says, and it shall be given to you.* (Luc. 6, 38)]

Forgiving each other's sins both imitates God's willingness to forgive and creates this willingness – and this act of forgiving is elaborated in the following chapter on confession. The author concludes with a praise of this effectual imitation and exchange between the nuns' mutual interactions and the interaction between God and the nuns:

²⁰ O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse, ²¹ si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur! ²² Sic et Apostolus ortatur dicens: *Estote inuicem benigni misericordes, donantes inuicem, sicut et Deus in Christo donauit uobis.* (Eph. 4, 32) ²³ Nihil aliud dare precipimur, nisi quod nobis dare petimus. ²⁴ Sic et orando dicimus: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* (Matth. 6, 12) ²⁵ Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a debito. ²⁶ Soluamus ergo per dilectionem et amorem proximos, ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus. AMEN.

[²⁰ Oh, what a just exchange! Oh, what a loving compassion to have received in giving and to have given in receiving, ²¹ if no growth and no nourishment of contention is retained! ²² In such a way the Apostle also encourages us, saying: *Be kind and merciful to each other, giving to each other, just as God in Christ has given to you.* (Eph. 4, 32) ²³ We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us. ²⁴ In such a way we also say when we pray: *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.* (Matth. 6, 12) ²⁵ By forgiving our debtors we ourselves are relived from debt. ²⁶ Let us therefore release our fellow [sisters] by love (*dilectionem*) and love (*amorem*), so that God releases us from our crimes through love (*pietate*) and mercy. Amen.]

The idea of inciting God's forgiveness by imitating it is not new: Caesarius of Arles expressed it in a similar manner (also using Matth. 6, 15 and 6, 12) in one of his sermons to monks.¹⁴⁸⁴ The absolving power of the community manifests itself throughout the Rule in two forms. On the one hand, Jonas turns every interaction between nuns (horizontally but also

¹⁴⁸⁴ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo 235 ad monachos*, c. 3, CCSL 104, p. 937.

between superiors and inferiors) into a performance of love. This applies, as we already saw, to the abbess,¹⁴⁸⁵ the *praeposita*,¹⁴⁸⁶ the gatekeepers,¹⁴⁸⁷ and the *cellararia*.¹⁴⁸⁸ But it also applies to the entire community dealing with penitents,¹⁴⁸⁹ to those tending to the sick,¹⁴⁹⁰ those inflicting punishment,¹⁴⁹¹ the community dealing with nuns who want to return to the monastery,¹⁴⁹² the community in general,¹⁴⁹³ and those dealing with children in the monastery.¹⁴⁹⁴ Jonas establishes

¹⁴⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 1.7-8: *Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda. 8 Erga peregrinorum et hospitem sollicitudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta. c. 1.17: Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat.*

¹⁴⁸⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 2.3-4: *Constituenda ergo est praeposita (...) 4 correptione pia, (...) patiens, mitis, non turbulenta, non iracunda...*

¹⁴⁸⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.7: *Sic caetae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant.*

¹⁴⁸⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 4.1-3: *Monasterii cellararia sapiens et religiosa ex omni congregatione eligenda est, quae non sibi, nec suis uoluntatibus, 2 sed toti congregationi aequanimiter et pia placeat dispensando, 3 nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat; c. 2.4-7: Id est, ut nihil extra debitam mensuram pro qualibet familiaritate pro gratia meriti dispensando distribuatur, sciens, quia iustus Dominus iustitiam a saeculo dilexit aequitatem uidit uultus eius. (Ps. 10/11, 7, LXX) 5 Sit ergo omnibus iusta dispensatione grata; 6 sit moribus matura; sit sobria, non edax, non elata, non turbulenta, non iniuriosa, non tarda uel pigra, sed in omnibus actibus bene composita, 7 quae congregationi omni, id est tam senioribus quam etiam iunioribus, pro affectu et materno ordine debeat ministrare. c. 2.12: In infirmitate positae sororibus diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu ministret. c. 2.21: Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si omnia cum humilitate ac pietate studuerit agere.*

¹⁴⁸⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 6.29-30: *In oratione posita semper penitens dicat: Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele (Ps. 50/51, 11, LXX), 30 ut ira arguentis iudicis et in proximo uindictam reddentis per pia mentis affectum ac humili oratione sedetur.*

¹⁴⁹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 15.10-12: *Decrepita uero aetate fessis talis sit cura, quatenus nulla in eis neglegentia, 11 sed (...) consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur. 12 Non enim hae possunt regulae tenori subiacere, sed potius piaetatis in eas inpendendus est affectus.*

¹⁴⁹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 20.5: *Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur; c. 20.7-8: Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur, 8 ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur; c. 23.9: Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.*

¹⁴⁹² *RcuiV*, c. 21.3-4: *Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur, 4 sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.*

¹⁴⁹³ *RcuiV*, c. 22.1: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt; c. 22.7-9: Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas. 8 Arripiamus ergo instruere fundamentum, ut ad culmen perueniamus uirtutum. 9 Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur; c. 23.6: Sit ergo ei aequus amor tam in consanguinea quam in cetera sorore, quae ei sanguinis adfinitate non iungitur; c. 23.7-8: Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, 8 ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.*

¹⁴⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 24.2-5: *Debent enim nutrirum cum omni pietatis affectu et disciplinae ministerio, 3 ne desidiae uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripi. 4 Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, 5 sed semper ab eis disciplinae retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis.*

as ultimate form of mutual purification the connection between the ritual of confession and mutual intercessory prayer. Jonas dedicates the next two chapters of the Rule to this process of communal purification.

Numerous alterations of the *Regula Benedicti* that we have already encountered, and many of those in the following chapters, can be related to the monastic ideal as it is expressed in this chapter, in which Jonas replaces Benedict's framework obedience, submission, and hierarchy by a new framework of love and mutuality. One could say that in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, Jonas turned Benedict's ideal ninety degrees – from vertical to horizontal.

Jonas' Rule is a Rule of Love and a Rule of Confession, phrased once, in the Faremoutiers episodes, as a narrative, and a second time as a normative text that responds to the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁴⁹⁵ Jonas' notion of *amor*, *dilectio*, *caritas*, and *pietas* is, however, far removed from what we today might understand as human or divine love. It forms the basis for a system of control, responsibility, and discipline of any movement, expression, spoken word, sound, or gesture. *Everything* a nun does has to express and incite love. Compared to that, Benedict's regime of obedience is a piece of cake.

Confession (chapters 6-7)

Jonas' regime of mutual love, mutual prayer, perpetual attention, and collectively attained *merces* (reward) has one disadvantage: it does not work. The nuns are, due to human fallibility, permanently at the brink of inflicting harm (*damnum*) upon their fellow sisters or incurring *damnatio* themselves. The Faremoutiers section gives, as I have shown, ample evidence for the disastrous effects of human weakness and negligence, but it also provides a radical solution: a never ceasing practice of confession that, on the one hand, wipes out any stain of sinfulness as soon as it occurs and, on the other hand, brings to light the destructive mechanisms hiding within each individual. *Confessio* is Jonas' life insurance, or rather, his all-healing *medicina*.

Embedded in his anecdotes about the dying nuns of Faremoutiers, Jonas describes, as I have shown in Chapter 2, various forms of confession (at monastic entry; three times per day, immediately after having committed a transgression, at deathbed) and develops, in his usual manner, an exhaustive list of what needs to be confessed: thoughts, emotions, memories, dreams,

¹⁴⁹⁵ On love in the Faremoutiers miracles, see, for example, *VCoI* II, c. 13, p. 262.

wishes, intentions, motivations, everything seen or heard, and overt or secret deeds and transgressions.¹⁴⁹⁶ Chapters 6 and 7 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* provide the normative counterpart to Jonas’ “narrated Rule” of confession. At the same time, they contain one of the most sophisticated theological reflections on the practice of confession that we can find in a late antique or early medieval text. Like the previous chapter on love, chapters 6 and 7 “branch out” into different segments of the Rule, which apply the imperative of confession in specific contexts.¹⁴⁹⁷

For church historians, historians of pastoral practice, and historians of monasticism, these two chapters are probably the most important part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹⁴⁹⁸ They provide a unique source for the still enigmatic history of confession in the Middle Ages. This history is marked by various disjointed pockets of evidence that, on the one hand, can hardly be forged into a narrative and, on the other hand, clearly disprove that confession was anything like a stable historical entity.¹⁴⁹⁹ My analysis of Jonas’ chapters on confession is therefore more extensive than those of other chapters. I begin with the history of *confessio* (which does not necessarily mean the same thing as confession) and references to confession in monastic rules in general, then focus on references to confession in texts ascribed to Columbanus (the *Regula coenobialis* and the *Paenitentiale*) that formed the main source of inspiration for confessional practices developed in the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself begins with a short overview of the vocabulary of

¹⁴⁹⁶ See p. 5.

¹⁴⁹⁷ See *RcuIV*, c. 3.15; c. 5.5; c. 16.5-10; c. 21.4; c. 22.17-18.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *De accedendo*, discussed in the last section of this book, is of similar significance.

¹⁴⁹⁹ The two most important surveys on the history of confession in the middle ages are Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols, Philadelphia, PA: Lea Brothers 1896 and Watkins, Oscar Daniel, *A history of penance: being a study of the authorities (A) For the whole Church to A.D. 450 (B) For the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215*, New York: Franklin 1920, which reproduces extracts of the most relevant sources. Also relevant, though focusing on penance rather than confession: Poschmann, Bernhard, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, Munich: Josef Kösel & Friedrich Pustet 1928; *idem*, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im frühen Mittelalter*, Breslau: Müller & Seiffert 1930. Shorter surveys that do not entirely do justice to the complexity of the issue, include Tentler, Thomas N., *Sin and Confession at the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1977, pp. 1-28; Murray, Alexander, ‘Confession before 1215’, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 3 (1993), pp. 51-81; Frank, Isnard W., ‘Beichte (Mittelalter)’, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 5, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1980, pp. 414-421; Asmussen, Jes Peter, ‘Beichte (religionsgeschichtlich)’, *ibid.*, pp. 411-414; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 222-263. On post-medieval concepts of confession and penance, see Vorgrimler, Herbert, *Sacramental Theology*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1992, pp. 207-222; Arendt, Hans-Peter, *Bußsakrament und Einzelbeichte. Die tridentinischen Lehraussagen über das Sündenbekenntnis und ihre Verbindlichkeit für die Reform des Bußsakramentes*, Freiburg: Herder 1981.

confession that Jonas uses in chapters 6-7 and then works through the text sentence by sentence in order to show how Jonas first develops a sophisticated theological argument to prove that confession is an effective means to attain salvation and subsequently imposes a rigorous procedure of confession for his nuns. I conclude with documenting the impact of Jonas' confessional program.

Confessio and Confession

Things start to get complicated already before *confessio* became confession. One of the earliest monastic sources on practicing something that could be identified as confession in a monastic context is Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*. According to Athanasius, Antony recommends his students to write down their sins on a wax tablet as a means of self-examination and to incite shame. Antony encourages his disciples to document their sins *as if* someone else would read them. The first, anonymous, translation of the *Vita Antonii* follows Athanasius, while Evagrius of Antioch's second translation, the one that became widely disseminated in the Latin world, leaves out the *as if*. Here, the monks are supposed to let others read their notes in order to be exposed to shame.¹⁵⁰⁰ Neither the anonymous translator nor Evagrius, uses the term *confessio* in this context.¹⁵⁰¹

The expressions *confiteri* and *confessio* have various meanings in biblical, patristic, and early medieval texts. They may refer, in the broadest sense, to professing one's faith, which may include professing one's own sinful state, or making a monastic profession. Augustine's *Confessiones* should certainly be read as a profession of faith rather than being reduced to a written confession of sins. The same applies to the so-called *Confessio* of Patrick.¹⁵⁰² Gregory of Tours still calls those who were willing to suffer for their faith but didn't endure martyrdom

¹⁵⁰⁰ *Vita Antonii*, c. 55.4-13, SC 400, pp. 282-286; first Latin translation, c. 55, ed. Lous Gandt, CCL 170, Turnhout: Brepols 2018, p. 150; translation of Evagrius of Antioch, c. 28, ed. Pascal Bertrand, *ibid.*, p. 150. See also pp. 275-276 for a synoptic presentation of all three versions. A similar idea is expressed in Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II, c. 7.1, PL 59, col. 451A-B. On confession as form of self-confrontation, see Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, pp. 204-247.

¹⁵⁰¹ On confessional practices in desert father texts, especially in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see Dörries, Hermann, 'Die Beichte im alten Mönchtum', in: *idem, Wort und Stunde. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966, pp. 225-250. Dörries describes practices of revealing sins in the works of the desert fathers. None of them point, however, to a directly salvific effect from confession.

¹⁵⁰² *Confession of Patrick*, ed. Richard P. C. Hanson, SC 249, pp. 70-132.

confessores.¹⁵⁰³ The German expression *Konfession* retains the notion of confession of faith. It has nothing to do with confession of sins (which is *Beichte*) but refers to allegiance to a Christian denomination, as in the *Confessio Augustana*, the Augsburginan, Lutheran confession of faith or the *Confessio Helvetica*, the Swiss, i.e. Calvinist confession of faith.

Confessio in the sense of confession of sins was originally expressed through qualifiers such as *confiteri peccata* (confessing sins), *confessio malorum* (confession of evils), *confiteri que fecisti* (confessing what you have done).¹⁵⁰⁴ One can confess various things; confessing sins or confessing sinful thoughts are just two options. The *Regula Basilii*, for example, refers to *confessio* as profession of faith and monastic profession,¹⁵⁰⁵ but also to a *confessio* of sins (*peccata, delicta*). Basil prescribes that a monk who wants to confess his sins should not reveal them to the community but to a spiritual elder,¹⁵⁰⁶ and that a nun who has confessed to a presbyter, should receive her penance through her spiritual mother.¹⁵⁰⁷

The *Regula Basilii*, which might be the oldest monastic text referring to a *confessio peccatorum* as part of monastic practice, is primarily concerned with deeds. John Cassian addresses *confessio* extensively in Book 2 of his *Confessiones* and briefly in his *Institutiones*, but is interested in the *confessio* of thoughts (*cogitationes*) rather than deeds and he does not use a qualifier any more: *confessio* is, for him, an act of disclosure, not an act of profession. Abba Moses, the protagonist of the first two books of the *Collationes* recommends a *confessio* to a spiritual guide as a means of overcoming the loss of *discretio*, which is a result of original sin. *Confessio* and spiritual guidance allow a monk to realize whether a thought arising within oneself is instilled by God, the Devil or oneself. Verbalizing a thought does, as an act in itself, often reveal whether it is evil or good.¹⁵⁰⁸ Michel Foucault regarded Cassian's notion of confession, introspection, and spiritual guidance to be a paradigm shift which deviated both from older Christian practices and from stoic ideals of introspection and shaped a new and lasting notion of subjectivity.¹⁵⁰⁹

¹⁵⁰³ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, MGH SRM 1.2, pp. 294-370.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Biblical and patristic examples are collected in Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII, CCSL 117, pp. 34-38.

¹⁵⁰⁵ See, for example, *Regula Basilii*, c. 4.4, CSEL 86, p. 32; c. 7.14, p. 40; c. 109, p. 136.

¹⁵⁰⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 21, pp. 69-70; c. 200, pp. 217-218.

¹⁵⁰⁷ *Regula Basilii*, c. 199, pp. 216-217.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 37, SC 109, p. 178; *Collationes* II, c. 11-13, SC 42, pp. 121-130.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Foucault, Michel, *On the Government of the Living. Lectures at the College de France 1979-1980*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 303-313; *idem, Die Geständnisse des Fleisches. Sexualität und Wahrheit* vol. 4, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 2019, pp. 186-201.

Cassian’s imperative of a *confessio* of thoughts certainly contributed to making *confessio* (in the narrower sense of confession) part of monastic language, especially of the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, and Columbanus’ *Regula coenobialis*, but it is important to notice that Cassian does *not* speak of a ritual of confession, of a required regular and formal confession, of the confession of sinful deeds (and not just thoughts), of confession linked to penance, confession as an act that leads to the remission of sins, or of a priestly monopoly on confession. All of these aspects of confession emerge later, and for some of them the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the first witness.

With the exception of the *Regula coenobialis*, the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* no early medieval monastic rule describes a ritual of *confessio* or *confessionem dare* (giving confession), though some of them include provisions on revealing one’s sinful deeds or sinful intentions. Augustine and Caesarius, for example, state that a monk or nun who confesses to have received something illicitly will receive forgiveness and prayer.¹⁵¹⁰ The *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* set a different tone, probably inspired by John Cassian. Both define humble confession to the abbot as the fifth step of humility:

⁴⁴ The fifth step of humility is that in humble confession one reveals to his abbot any wicked thoughts entering into his heart and any wickedness done in secret. ⁴⁵ Scripture exhorts us in this matter, saying, *Show the Lord your path and hope in him.* [Ps. 36/37, 5] ⁴⁶ And again, *Confess to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy is forever.* [Ps. 105/106, 1] ⁴⁷ And again the prophet: *I made my sin known to you and I did not conceal my unjust deeds.* ⁴⁸ *I said, I will accuse myself of my unjust deeds before the Lord and you forgave the sin of my heart.* [Ps. 31/32, 5]¹⁵¹¹

In Benedict’s List of Instruments of Good Works, we find two recommendations: “When wicked thoughts come into your heart, quickly smash them against Christ and reveal them to a spiritual elder” and “Confess past sins to God in prayer daily, with tears and sighing.”¹⁵¹² The

¹⁵¹⁰ Augustine, *Praeceptum* IV.11, ed Verheijen, p. 428; *CaesRV*, c. 25.1, SC 345, p. 202.

¹⁵¹¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.44-48, SC 181, p. 484: *Quintus humilitatis gradus est si omnes cogitationes malas cordi suo aduenientes uel mala a se absconse commissa per humilem confessionem abbatem non celauerit suum.* ⁴⁵ *Hortans nos de hac re scriptura dicens: Reuela ad Dominum uiam tuam et spera in eum.* (Ps. 105/106, 1) ⁴⁶ *Et item dicit: Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.* ⁴⁷ *Et item propheta: Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci et iniustitias meas non operui.* ⁴⁸ *Dixi: Pronuntiabo aduersum me iniustias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei.* (Ps. 31/32, 5) Transl. Venarde, p. 51. See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 10.63-65, SC 105, p. 432.

¹⁵¹² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.50, SC 181, p. 460: *Cogitationes malas cordi suo aduenientes mox ad Christum allidere et seniori spiritali patefacere;* c. 4.57, p. 460: *Mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis uel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo*

Regula Magistri, curiously, uses the same wording as Benedict but does not require the wicked thoughts to be revealed to a spiritual elder. It mentions, however, that monks suffering from a nocturnal pollution should confess this to the abbot who has to inquire whether this pollution is the result of impure thoughts.¹⁵¹³ Benedict states in his chapter on accidents (c. 46): “If it is a matter of sin lying hidden in the soul, he should reveal it only to the abbot or his spiritual elders, who know how to care for their own wounds and others’ without revealing and making them public.”¹⁵¹⁴ Even though neither the *Regula Magistri* nor the *Regula Benedicti* envision a formal and regular ritual of confession, they could certainly have been used for legitimating such a ritual once it had been established.

Among the Spanish monastic rules, only the *Regula communis* establishes a ritual that may include an element of confession. Once a week the entire community gathers and the abbot interrogates everyone about his sins.¹⁵¹⁵ Isidore requires, like the *Regula Magistri*, that nocturnal pollutions be revealed to a superior,¹⁵¹⁶ and states that whoever voluntarily reveals his sins, will receive prayer and gain forgiveness.¹⁵¹⁷ The *Regula Fructuosi* requires a monk to disclose all deeds, thoughts, revelations, illusions, and negligences to a spiritual father in order to be assessed.¹⁵¹⁸ This is about as much as we find in Latin monastic rules other than those written by or after Columbanus.

Confessio in the works of Columbanus and his successors

confiteri. Transl. Venarde, p. 35. The *Regula Magistri* does not contain the requirement to reveal all evil thoughts to a spiritual superior. Cfr *Regula Magistri*, c. 3.56 and c. 3.63, SC 105, pp. 368-370.

¹⁵¹³ *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.1-6, SC 106, p. 328.

¹⁵¹⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.5-6, SC 182, p. 596: *Si animae uero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, e qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non detegere et publicare*. Transl. Venarde, p. 157.

¹⁵¹⁵ *Regula communis*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 196-198.

¹⁵¹⁶ *Regula Isidori*, c. 13.3-5, p. 111.

¹⁵¹⁷ *Regula Isidori*, c. 16.2, p. 113.

¹⁵¹⁸ *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 12, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 151: *Omnes actus siue occasionum necessitudines suo semper necesse est ut monachus referat patri et ex illius cognoscat discretione uel iudicio quod adtendat; cogitationes, reuelationes, inlusiones et neglegentias proprias seniori nullus obcelet uerecundia uel incuria faciente uel contumacia perurgente, sed semper huiuscemodi uitia cum lacrimis et compunctione cordis adque humilitate uerissima abbati, praeposito siue probatis senioribus reuelanda sunt, et consolationes orationes et castigationes, siue etiam exorationes eis operis castigandum*.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* shed light on two major turning points in the development of confession within – and eventually also outside – a monastic context. They describe confession as a procedure embedded in a daily monastic routine and, more importantly, they envision confession as a practice that has a direct impact on the ultimate goal of the monastic endeavor, i.e. receiving forgiveness for one’s sins and attaining eternal salvation. This is a practical turning point that changed the way monastic life was organized, and a theological turning point that re-defined the monastic pursuit of salvation. A third turning point is not reflected in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself but needs to be kept in mind nevertheless: the moment in which confession crossed the boundaries of the monastic sphere and turned from an ascetic and monastic practice into an instrument of pastoral care. The concept of confession as it was proposed by Columbanus and Jonas probably played a crucial role in this transition, which became pivotal for the development of a cultural practice that, if we believe Michel Foucault, defined the Western individual as a “confessing animal.”¹⁵¹⁹ The “confessing animal” may have been born in the monastic world of Columbanus and his successors.

Jonas was not, however, the first monastic thinker who described confession as a salvific ritual that needed to be repeated regularly. The first references to a confession ritual, which form the basis for Jonas’ elaboration, are ascribed to Columbanus himself and appear in the *Regula coenobialis* and in his *Paenitentiale*. The problem is that these statements do not fit into their textual contexts and are hardly compatible with each other and there are good reasons to doubt their authenticity. In order to understand what is happening in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it is necessary to look closer into these inconsistencies. I cannot spare you the details.

The *Regula coenobialis*’s that the monks undergo a ritual of confession twice a day. This key passage comes in two different versions.¹⁵²⁰ The longer version, which G. S. M. Walker assumes to be a later expansion, appears in Benedict of Aniane’s *Codex Regularum* but also in another late eight-century manuscript. The shorter version, which Walker considers original,

¹⁵¹⁹ Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, New York: Pantheon Books 1978, pp. 58-65. On the development of Foucault’s ideas on confession, see Taylor, Cloë, *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault*, New York: Routledge 2010, esp. pp. 1-12.

¹⁵²⁰ On the different versions of the *Regula coenobialis*, see Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., ‘The monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus’, in: Bully, Sébastien, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 295-304.

appears for the first time in a tenth century manuscript from St. Gallen and – if we can believe Walker’s problematic edition – in most later manuscripts.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 89rb-va; Paris, BnF lat., 4333B, fol. 57-57v

Diuersitas culparum diuersitatis paenitentiae medicamento sanari debet.

Itaque, fratres karissimi, statutum est a sanctis patribus ut demus confessionem de omnibus, non solum capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis, quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberat.

Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione neglegenda peccata quia, ut scriptum est, qui paruam negelegit paulatim defluit, ut detur confessio ante mensam, ante introitum lectulorum uel quandocumque fuerit facile dare.

Igitur qui non custodierit benedictionem at mensam...

[*The diversity of faults needs to be healed with the remedy of a diversity of penances.*

Therefore, beloved brothers, it has been ordained by the holy fathers that we give confession of *all transgressions, not only of the mortal ones, but also of minor acts of negligence*, because confession and penance frees from death.

Therefore, these small sins should not be neglected at confession, because, as it is written, “who neglects a small thing will soon perish”, so that confession should be given before meal, before going to beds and whenever it is easy.

Therefore, who does not observe the blessing at table *etc.*]

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 915, p. 173 and most other manuscripts

Statutum est, fratres karissimi, a sanctis patribus ut demus confessionem ante mensam, siue ante lectorum introitum, aut quandocumque fuerit facile,

quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant.

Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt negligenda peccata quia, ut scriptum est, qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit.

Ergo qui non custodierit ad mensam benedictionem...

[It has been ordained, beloved brothers, by the holy fathers that we give confession before meals, before going to bed and whenever it is easy, because confession and penance free from death.

Therefore, these small sins are not be neglected at confession, because, as it is written, “who neglects a small thing will soon perish.”

Therefore, who does not observe the blessing at table *etc.*]

There are various confusing details in these two different versions. The opening statement of the longer version (*Diuersitas culparum etc.*) appears in similar words, though

without mentioning remedy and healing, in the second part of Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*.¹⁵²¹ It contains an important – and explosive – theological argument: penance heals, and this penance needs to be adjusted according to the nature of the transgression. The longer version immediately moves to a different topic, that of *confessio*, making an even bolder statement: confession and penance *frees* from death, i.e. it has a direct salvific effect.

The longer version uses the singular *liberat*, while the shorter version uses the plural *liberant*. The nuance is important. The longer version makes the point that the combination of confession *and* penance frees from death, while the longer version simply states that both confession and penance have a salvific effect. Only the longer version explains that *everything*, i.e. not only active transgression but also acts of negligence, has to be confessed. Both agree that confession has to be, on the one hand, integrated into the daily routine but, on the other hand, can happen whenever it is needed – which points to two different practices of confession, a regular and a “reactive” one. We find both forms in the Faremoutiers miracles.

The most puzzling aspect about the description of confession in the *Regula coenobialis* is, however, that this bold theological statement about the salvific effect of *confessio et paenitentia* does not at all resonate in almost the entire rest of Columbanus's work (his sermons and letters).¹⁵²² In the rest of the *Regula coenobialis* we don't find more than just a handful of remarks indicating that a tariffed penance may be lower if a transgression has been confessed or higher if it is not confessed.¹⁵²³ Columbanus even states that a brother who is hit by melancholy should not confess until he feels better.¹⁵²⁴ Moreover, the first provision of the *Regula coenobialis*, which imposes six lashes on someone who does not respond *amen* to the blessing of food, has nothing whatsoever to do with the previous statement about giving confession before meals and going to bed, despite the fact that it starts with *igitur* (therefore). Columbanus' rather mundane provision on prayer at table would, however, fit well with the opening statement that the diversity of transgressions requires a diversity of penances.¹⁵²⁵

¹⁵²¹ Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* B, ed. Walker, p. 170: *Diuersitas culparum diuersitatem facit paenitentiarum*.

¹⁵²² Columbanus, *Instructio* 1, c. 1-2, p. 60 refers to a *confessio* required by all Christian, but describes it subsequently as a confession of faith and orthodoxy.

¹⁵²³ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, p. 148, l. 3-7; c. 11, p. 160, l. 13-15; c. 14, p. 162, l. 13-15.

¹⁵²⁴ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 7, p. 152, l. 2-5.

¹⁵²⁵ Without the reference to confession, the text would read as follows: Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, pp. 144-146: *Diuersitatis culparum diuersitas paenitentiae medicamento sanari debet. Ergo qui non custodierit ad mensam benedictionem et non responderit Amen, sex percussioibus emendare statuitur*.

These observations lead to two conclusions. First, it is likely that the longer version of the opening of the *Regula coenobialis* is older than the shorter version. Secondly (and more importantly), it is likely that the section on confession as salvific ritual has been inserted into the *Regula coenobialis* at a later point. Since Columbanus does not address confession anywhere else in his work (except for his *Poenitentiale* which will be discussed below), it is likely that this – fundamental – alteration happened after his death in an attempt to merge two different sets of practices, of confession and of *paenitentia*. This marriage of *confessio* and *paenitentia* became decisive – to an extent that modern scholarship often treats them as if they were synonymous.¹⁵²⁶

As an insertion in an existing text, which was revised in a second step and made more fitting, the short section on confession indicates that both the place of confession within the daily routine and its salvific effect were no matter of consensus. There is another marker of potential dissent, the vague invocation of the *sancti patres* (*Statutum est a sanctis patribus...*) which often enough appears if a proposition needs more patristic support than there is available. There are indeed a handful biblical words and statements of church fathers on the salvific effects of revealing one's sins – which are, for example, listed in the seventh-century *Liber Scintillarum* – but none of them envisions a regular procedure, a combination of *confessio* and *paenitentia* and an almost mechanical effect of being freed from death.¹⁵²⁷ The opening passage of the *Regula coenobialis* expresses a fundamentally new idea – regardless whether it was indeed Columbanus' idea or not.

Another bold statement on confession can be found in Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*, which is the oldest preserved penitential handbook that addresses monks, clerics and laypeople alike. Confession appears at the very end of this work, as a required preparation for taking the Eucharist – and there is something fishy about this passage too:

Confessiones autem dari diligentius praecipitur, maxime de commotionibus animi antequam ad missam eatur, ne forte quis accedat indignus ad altare, id est si cor mundum non habuerit. Melius est enim expectare donec cor sanum fuerit et alienum a scandalo ac invidia fuerit, quam accedere audacter ad iudicium tribunalis. Tribunal enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine iudicat indignos accedentes. Sicut ergo a peccatis capitalibus et carnalibus cauendum est antequam communicandum sit, ita etiam

¹⁵²⁶ See, for example, Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Biller, Peter and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, York: York Medieval Press 1998. Several contributions in this volume carry the word “confession” in the title but focus almost completely on penance.

¹⁵²⁷ Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII, CCL 117, pp. 34-38.

ab interioribus uitii et morbis languentis animae abstinendum est ac abstergendum ante uerae pacis coniunctionem et aeternae salutis compaginem.

[It is ordained that confessions be made carefully, especially of mental disturbances, before going to Mass lest perhaps any should approach the altar unworthily, that is if he does not have a clean heart. For it is better to wait until the heart is healed, and becomes a stranger to offence and envy, than rashly to approach the judgement of the throne. For Christ's throne is the altar, and His Body there with the Blood judges those who approach unworthily. Therefore, just as we must beware of mortal and fleshly sins before we communicate, so we must refrain and cleanse ourselves from interior vices and the sicknesses of a drooping spirit before the covenant of true peace and the bond of eternal salvation.]¹⁵²⁸

Like the provision on confession in the *Regula coenobialis*, this statement is also somewhat out of place. It immediately follows a remarkably mundane exhortation that everyone has to gather to hear the sermon on Sunday except for the cook and the porter who nevertheless should try to be present.¹⁵²⁹ Moreover, Columbanus' penitential handbook would end with a statement on a topic that has nothing to do with tariffed penance: how to approach the Eucharist. The Eucharist comes out of nowhere.

Both statements on confession received their authority by being ascribed to Columbanus, both may have been written into the text at a later stage in a rather clumsy manner and, moreover, both make a completely different theological and practical point. The second one talks about *confessio* of all mental disturbances once a week before attending Mass as an act of assessment and purification in order to ensure that one does not approach the Eucharist in an unworthy state. Obvious transgressions may have already excluded someone from taking communion,¹⁵³⁰ but to prevent a monk from receiving Communion when mental and invisible transgressions render him unfit, confession is needed. If *confessio* indeed frees from death, then only indirectly by ensuring that monks can safely take the Eucharist which is the only way to be saved. The final passage of the *Paenitentiale* invokes, like the opening of the *Regula coenobialis*, older authorities, albeit less explicitly: "It is ordained that..." (*praecipitur*), but it is not clear by whom. The provision on confession in the *Paenitentiale* has no resonance at all in the *Regula*

¹⁵²⁸ Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* II, c. 30, ed./transl. Walker, pp. 180-181.

¹⁵²⁹ Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* II, c. 29, p. 180: *Ante praedicationem uero die dominica toti, exceptis certis necessitatibus, simul sint conglobati, ut nullus desit numero praeceptum audientium, excepto coco ac portario, qui et ipsi, si possint satis agant ut adsint, quando tonitruum euangelii auditur.*

¹⁵³⁰ *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263 describes this in the story of Ercantrudis who was excluded from communion for violating the *tenor regulae*.

cuiusdam ad uirgines, but shows some parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which also identifies the Eucharist, if taken in a worthy state, as the only remedy of one's sins.¹⁵³¹

I draw three general conclusions from my observations on confession in the *Regula coenobialis* and the *Paenitentiale*: First, at least one – and maybe both – statements on confession and its rituals have been inserted into their texts in an attempt to re-frame the penitential provisions made in both texts. Secondly, a ritually embedded confession was a new phenomenon that was not yet fully established and theologically justified. Thirdly, there was disagreement on the meaning and shape of this ritual of confession – when it should happen, which effect it should have, to what other practices it should be related. Two different texts with two possible insertions (one of which exists in two versions) might add up to no less than five different viewpoints on the nature and practice of confession – and we have not yet considered the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Confession can certainly be added to the long list of topics of contention arising in the aftermath of Columbanus's death.¹⁵³²

Let us now look at the *Regula Donati*, which provides more evidence both for the novelty of monastic confession and for disagreements on what shape it should take. Donatus quotes the opening of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* (in its shorter version) but places it after another provision, which belongs to the handful of sections of his Rule that he did not copy from his sources but wrote himself. We hear, for a change, Donatus' own voice. Moreover, he makes a discreet but important infringement into the text of the *Regula coenobialis*. Here is chapter 22 of the *Regula Donati*:

Qualiter ad confessionem omnibus diebus ueniant

Inter ceteras regulae obseruantias hoc magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniores monemus sorores, ut assidue et indesinenti studio tam de cogitate quam etiam de uerbo inutili uel opere seu aliqua commotione animi confessio omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momentis semper donetur et matri spiritali nihil occultetur, quia statutum est hoc a sanctis patribus, ut detur confessio ante mensam siue ante lectulorum introitum aut quandocumque fuerit facile, quia confessio paenitentiae de morte liberat. Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda cogitata, quia scriptum est: Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit.

[How they should come to confession at every day

¹⁵³¹ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 32, ed. Villegas, p. 35.

¹⁵³² Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 275-277.

Among other provisions of the Rule we especially above everything admonish both the junior and the senior sisters that they always give confession of any thought, useless word and deed, or any commotion of the mind with persistent and unceasing zeal all day, at all hours, and at all moments and that they do not conceal anything from the spiritual mother, because this is stated by the holy fathers, that confession is to be given before table and before going to bed and whenever it is easy to do, because confession and penance free from death. Therefore, even small thoughts should not be withheld from confession because it is written “Who neglects the small, will perish soon.”¹⁵³³

Donatus adds another reference to confession, inserted into a chapter on silence – and this is again Donatus speaking himself and not just quoting other rules:

XVIII Qualiter silentium studere debeant sorores

Omni tempore omnique loco silentium studere debent ancillae Christi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis. Et ideo exeuntes a completoriis nulla sit licentia denuo loqui cuiquam aliquid usque mane post secundam celebratam in conuentu. Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te. Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad senioem: Da comneatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri.

[The handmaids of Christ must strive to keep silent at all times and all places, but especially during the hours of the night. And therefore no one is allowed to speak again to anyone after they have left Compline until morning after *Secunda* has been celebrated in the gathering. At this place they ask for forgiveness, each of them giving confession for their carnal thoughts and shameful or nightly visions. Afterwards they say together in prayer: Oh Lord, may your mercy be bestowed upon us, as far as we believe in you. Then also each of them says to the senior: Give me permission to change the vestment and may happen what is necessary to happen.]¹⁵³⁴

The *Regula Donati* emphasizes that the imperative of confession is more important than any other aspect of the Rule, that confession has to be given by *every* sister with greatest effort, and that this confession extends not only to thoughts and deeds but also to any idle word and commotion of the mind (*commotio animi*). Donatus marks this shift from act (or act of negligence) to thought by changing the *parua* (small things) of the *Regula coenobialis* into *parua cogitata* (small thoughts). The second provision is only a logical consequence of the shift from acts towards thoughts and commotions of the mind. Since thoughts and commotions of the mind

¹⁵³³ *Regula Donati*, c. 23, CSEL 98, pp. 159-160.

¹⁵³⁴ *Regula Donati*, c. 19, p. 157.

especially arise during sleep, a third round of confession of carnal thoughts and nocturnal vision is added after the first morning prayer.¹⁵³⁵

Not only the triple confession itself but almost all the details that Donatus adds to his Rule can be found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well, which indicates that Donatus and Jonas describe a similar procedure, albeit in different words. Moreover, Donatus is, whenever he speaks himself, inflamed by the same sense of urgency as Jonas: *magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniors...assidue et indesinenti studio...omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momenti semper. Omni tempore, omnique loco...maxime tamen ...nulla sit licentia...*

Confessio, and especially the confession of thoughts, is a matter of life and death, for Donatus and Jonas alike (as we also know from the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*). Both of them intensify and expand the original statement on the nature of confession in the *Regula Columbani*. The main difference between the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is, as we will see, that Jonas describes the procedure of confession in greater detail. Moreover, he feels the need to support it with an extensive theological rationale and to make it an integral part of his overall monastic program. Donatus' two discussions of confession remain foreign matter inserted into the fabric of his Rule; Jonas' chapters of confession resonate at various points with the rest of his Rule. His reflection on *confessio* undoubtedly belongs to the most sophisticated but also most dense, parts Jonas' work – as I will show now.

Confession in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

Chapter 6 consists of three parts. The first section (c. 6.1-18) develops a theological argument about the effectiveness of confession, which is, like chapter 5, presented as a speech directed to the nuns. The second section (c. 6.19-23) describes the ritual of confession. The last section (c. 6.24-30) lays out how to deal with nuns who have committed serious misdeeds leading to their exclusion from the prayer of the community. Chapter 7 ostensibly prohibits any non-authorized person from hearing confession and imposing penance but combines this prohibition with a reiteration of the salvific effect of confession and giving instructions *how* confession should be heard with moderation and dignity. As we will see, for Jonas, *confessio* is primarily paired with love and with prayer, while *paenitentia* plays only a subordinate role. We

¹⁵³⁵ See p. §.

find it mentioned occasionally throughout the Rule, but never really in direct conjunction with *confessio*.¹⁵³⁶ For Jonas, *confessio* and *paenitentia* were certainly not just two sides of the same coin.

Chapter 6 and 7 revolve (just like the previous chapters, especially chapter 2, 5, and, as we will see, *De accedendo*) around a specific set of terms. Jonas develops his argument by applying different expressions with slightly overlapping meanings; he uses them to reach a maximum of precision, to cover every perceivable situation, but also to increase intensity. This enables him to be exact and exhaustive at the same time. The first word field is that of sin (the *object* of confession), the second that of disclosure (the *practice* of confession); the third one of redemption (the *effect* of confession).

The *object* of confession includes: the *ueterescens mentis status* (aging state of mind); the *peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatus rudis* (rod darkened by the gloom of sin through the daily allurements), and, more specifically, *impietas* (guilt), *delictum* (offence), *iniustitia* (fault), *peccatum* (sin), *facinus* (misdeed), *crimen* (crime), *culpa* (guilt), *acta erumnosa* (wretched acts), *uulnus* (wound), *macula* (stain), *iniquitas* (injustice), *delinquere* (to commit), *tepescendo delinquere* (to commit out of tepidity), *uitium* (vice). These fifteen expressions cover a continuum ranging from the general state of sinfulness, sinful motivations and their manifestations in specific sinful acts.

The vocabulary of disclosing and confessing sins is just as broad as that of sins and sinful acts. It includes *confessionem dare* (to make confession), *cognitum facere* (to make known), *non operiri* (not to conceal), *confiteri* (to confess), *pura et non tarda confessio* (pure and immediate confession), *crimina patefacere* (to reveal one's crimes) and *reuelatio/reuelare* (revelation/to reveal). A confession addresses four different parties: oneself, the confessor, the community, and God. It can be performed secretly, in the form of a prayer, or within a strictly laid-out ritual.

The third vocabulary, the positive effects of confession, includes twenty-eight expressions, some of which refer to the one who confesses, others to the one who hears it: *remittere* (to relieve), *inpetratio* (gratification), *remissionem recipere* (to receive redemption), *spem redintegrare* (to restore hope), *fidutia spei* (the assurance of hope), *propiciatio* (atonement), *misericordia* (mercy), *medicina* (remedy), *dimittere peccata* (to forgive sins), *pietas*

¹⁵³⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.7; c. 3.14; c. 3.16; c. 9.20; c. 16.8; c. 19.7; c. 19.11; c. 20.9; c. 21.2. A more extensive discussion on the nature of *paenitentia* can be found in chapter on p. § and p. §.

diffundere (to pour love), *soluere* (to dissolve), *solacium dare* (to grant comfort), *praesidium* (protection), *copia fructuum* (abundance of fruit), *salus adquirere* (to achieve healing), *animam nutrire* (to nurture the soul), *cotidiana uulnera sanare* (to heal the daily wounds), *cotidiana delicta abluere* (to wash away daily offences), *expiari* (to be atoned), *purgari* (to be cleansed), *grauia commissa contritione delere cordis* (to erase serious deeds through contrition of the heart), *cor contritum et humiliatum non spernere* (not to dismiss a contrite and humbled heart), *iniquitates delere* (to erase injustice), *iram sedetur* (the anger is calmed), *crimina lauare* (to wash away crimes), *salutem redintegrare* (to restore health), *mederi* (to heal), *uulneri medicinam infundere* (to pour remedy into a wound). There are different levels of redemption and forgiveness, ranging from gaining absolution for specific acts to overcoming the sinful human state and acquiring salvation.

Jonas' catalogue of redemption is, however, by no means an attempt to convince his audience by making the same point through an endless repetition of different words. He develops first an argument about the effects of confession and then moves from theory to practice and turns the imperative of confession into an elaborate communal procedure.

¹ Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrat.

[¹ The tradition of many fathers has shown in accordance with a series of scriptures how frequently and with what accurate care confession is to be given.]

The invocation of the *sancti patres* is a safe – yet suspicious – place to start. Both Columbanus and Jonas felt the need to legitimate what comes with an amorphous reference to past authorities. To get an impression which texts Jonas might have had in mind, one could look at the *Liber Scintillarum*, a theological *florilegium* from the seventh century that contains a section on *confessio* with a number of biblical and patristic references to revealing one's sins, none of which come in any way close to the program of confession developed here.¹⁵³⁷ Jonas begins his chapter by distancing himself from an early Christian practice, the *paenitentia publica*, the public penance that a baptized Christian who committed a severe transgression could perform only once.¹⁵³⁸ *Confessio* is not just repeatable; it needs to be given frequently (*creber*).

¹⁵³⁷ Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII, ed. Henricus M. Rochais, CCSL 117, pp. 34-38.

¹⁵³⁸ Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, pp. 57-68 and pp. 97-104 ; Meens, *History of Penance*, pp. 12-25; De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuws und Janet L. Nelson, *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp.

² Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscum rudem semper custodiat, ³ sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prov. 4, 23)

[² Therefore, confession is to be given at all times, so that at all times it guards the state of the mind which is growing old and is rough, darkened by the gloom of sins through daily allurements, ³ just as Scripture taught when it said: *Guard your heart with all vigilance, for out of it comes life.* (Prov. 4, 23)]

Already in the next sentence *creber* turns into *semper* (at all times). Jonas plunges into a sea of metaphors that can't be traced anywhere else. He describes two levels of sinfulness: On the one hand, the *mens* is aged and weary through the Fall of Adam (an allusion to Ps. 48/49, 15 and Ps. 101/102, 27). This has, on the other hand, the effect that the damage only increases through daily acts. Since we are already aged and weakened after the Fall, we permanently attract new sins – which is the reason that confession needs to be repeated and that we need to be constantly on guard. The weakness (*fragilitas, imbecilitas* etc.) of the *mens* as the origin of all evil can be found throughout Jonas' Rule. We already saw a bit of it in the chapter on the *praepostia* (c. 2). Confession is at this point a form of *custodia* over a mind that is weakened by old age. For Jonas, it is not only the individual who performs *custodia* over him/herself. *Custodia* is entrusted to the community, and particularly to the abbess or the prior who reports to the abbess. She needs to know everything that happens within the monastery, which includes everything that happens within the nun, and it is therefore her task to hear confession.¹⁵³⁹ The *custodia* of the abbess and other superiors is a recurring theme in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹⁵⁴⁰

But we are not yet at the point where Jonas implements the imperative of *custodia*. What follows now is a long digression on King David, in which Jonas switches to the masculine grammatical form. It is the second digression into the Old Testament after Jonas' use of King Roboam in the chapter on the *praeposita* (c. 2). The audience probably had the very specific misdeed in mind that David had committed, for which he had done penance, and which

185-224; De Jong, Mayke, 'What was public about public penance? *Paenitentia Publica* and justice in the Carolingian world', in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secolo IX-XI)*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo 1997, pp. 863-904, at pp. 867-887 provides an overview of the changing penitential practices in the early medieval period.

¹⁵³⁹ See commentary to *RcuiV*, c. 1.

¹⁵⁴⁰ For example *RcuiV*, c. 1.9-14; c. 2.16-19; c. 9.3; c. 12.20; c. 14.4; c. 17-20; c. 24.1.

eventually was forgiven: the abduction of Bathseba and the murder of her husband Uriah. (II Sam. 11, 1-12/24)

⁴ Sic quippe beatus Daudid orando Domino dicebat: *Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non operui. Dixi: confitebor aduersum me iniustitiam meam, et tu remisisti impiaetatem peccati mei* (Ps. 31/32, 5).

[⁴ In such a way, indeed, did blessed David say in prayer to the Lord: “*I made my offence known to you, my faults I did not cover.*” I said, “*I will confess my fault before me, and you have relieved me from the ungodliness of my sin.*”]

Jonas moves from the confession as technique of self-confrontation towards confessing one’s evil deeds (*delicta*) and one’s violation of rules (*iniustitia*) to God (*tibi*) and expecting forgiveness for the guilt (*impietas*) of one’s sins (*peccata*). Based on this biblical word, Jonas comes to the following optimistic conclusion:

⁵ Quantum ualet pura et non tarda confessio, ut sic secreta eam subsequatur inpetratio!

[⁵ So strong is a plain and timely confession that it is followed by sure gratification!]

Confessio (to God), as long as it is sincere and spontaneous, surely has effect. Jonas uses here a rather neutral term, *inpetratio* (gratification). What *inpetratio* means will be explained in the following sentence. But there is another important thought expressed here. The *confessio pura et non tarda* leaves its mark on several places in the *Regula cuiusdam*: Confession must not only be sincere but also immediate. The more spontaneously a transgression or an act of negligence is confessed, the lesser the damage and the lower the penance.¹⁵⁴¹ Confession cannot wait. Therefore, it is, as we will see, necessary to do it at least three times a day so that nothing can be hidden inside for more than a couple of hours. But now back to the meaning of *inpetratio*:

⁶ Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo. ⁷ Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrait spem.

[⁶ Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, [David] lamented through confession and glorified his redemption through receiving it. ⁷ He revealed his crime in grief and by giving [confession] he restored [his] hope.]

Confession against oneself (*se aduersum*) is the same as confessing to God. It relieves from the burden of misdeeds (*facinus*) and leads to receiving redemption (*remissio*). The

¹⁵⁴¹ See *RcuiV*, c. 16.5; c. 16.8; c. 16.9; c. 22.5.

question is, how abstract we have to understand *facinus*. Jonas does not use *delictum*, which probably refers to a very specific act. I place *facinus* somewhere on a spectrum between *uitium* (vice) or *peccatum* (sin) and *delictum*: the result of a *uitium*, but still more abstract than a *delictum*. To reveal (*patefacere*) one's crime (*crimen*) brings David back to a state of hope.

Patefacere goes a step further than *confiteri* since it implies an audience and disclosing what is not known. Revealing one's evil deeds to others is a painful process, but it is, as the biblical text tells us, the only way to have at least a chance to save oneself. Jonas moves discretely from *inpetratio* (gratification) to *remissio* (relief) and *spes* (hope). There is still no security, but we will get there:

⁸ Non enim precessit spei fidutiam, quia meminerat se olim per spiritum sanctum Domino inluminatus dixisse: *Quia apud te est propiciatio, et propter legem tuam sustinui te Domine* (Ps. 129/130, 4). ⁹ Et iterum: *Quia apud Dominum misericordia est et copiosa apud eum redemptio* (Ps. 129/130, 7). ¹⁰ Apud quem misericordiam perhennem agnoscit, apud eum copiosam et redemptionem.

[⁸ For he did not pass over the assurance of hope, because he recalled that once, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, he has said to the Lord: *For with you is atonement, and on account of your law I expected you, Lord.* ⁹ And again: *For with the Lord is mercy, and with him is plentiful redemption.* ¹⁰ [David] recognizes that with the one who has endless mercy there is also plentiful redemption.

We are at this point still with David who reminds himself that God *can* be merciful towards the remorseful sinner. There is always hope. Sinfulness and sinful acts do not necessarily lead to damnation. There is *misericordia* (mercy) and *redemptio* (redemption). The only question is how to access it.

To address this issue, Jonas leaves David and returns to his audience, the community, by changing to the first-person plural:

¹¹ Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam.

[¹¹ Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption.]

There is *redemptio* and the only way to get it is *asking* for it, which means prayer. Jonas does not explain here how one can ask or pray because he devotes another complete chapter to this question specifically, the chapter *De accedendo ad Deum*.

¹² Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpae inueniatur medicina. ¹³ Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata.

[¹² Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. ¹³ Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgive us our sins.]

Here Jonas picks up another key term from the passage on David: *dolor* (pain). He implicitly returns from prayer to confession: *Confessio* needs to be painful if it should work as a remedy (*medicina*) for guilt. The pill must be bitter in order to heal, as we know from David. This bitterness is created by making one's sin public (*patefacere*). Self-confrontation (as we saw in the Greek *Vita Anonii*) alone is not bitter enough and prayer works only if it is combined with the *dolor* of confession. This is a decisive step, though a logical consequence of what has been stated previously: in order to be released from our sins (*peccata*) by God, we need to confess to each other (*inuicem*, a term ubiquitous in chapter 5). Just confessing to God or confronting ourselves with our sins does not cause sufficient pain to serve as an effective remedy. Yet, as we learn later in the rule (c. 7), confessing to each other does not imply to make one's sins known to the *entire* community. There has to be a balance between the necessary pain of the individual and the potentially polluting or staining effects of confession of misdeeds. For the community, it is sufficient to know that there are *peccata* and *uitia*, without getting knowledge about the precise nature of the *facinora*, *delicta* and *crimina*.

The next sentence finally connects individual confession with mutual prayer:

¹⁴ Sic nos scriptura dicendo oratur: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16)

[¹⁴ In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another and pray for each other.*]

Here Jonas stretches a little bit. The biblical verse (Iac. 5, 16), does indeed link praying for each other with confessing to each other, but it does not connect this statement with any direct expectation of forgiveness of sins. This biblical word does, however, not only specify *confessio* as *mutual* confession but also assigns the community a key role. For receiving forgiveness, one needs the other, the praying community. One cannot do it alone.

In the following sentences Jonas discretely moves from the hope and possibility of forgiveness of sins to full protection:

¹⁵ Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur! ¹⁶ Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.

[¹⁵ It is known how much love of the mild judge has been poured upon us, so that the misdeed contracted through wretched acts is dissolved by mutual prayer. ¹⁶ The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, protection is obtained.]

What previously was called *miser cordia* is now *pietas* (God’s love) and what previously had been *redemptio* is now *pietas diffundere* (pouring love upon us) and this process is set in motion through mutual prayer. *Soluere* means something like “detach” or “remove”, and the thing that is removed (from us) through mutual prayer, is the *facinus* (misdeed) resulting from the *acta erum nosa* (wretched deeds). In this case, I would understand *facinus* as something like a stain or a wound (both *macula* and *uulnus* are used below), which is attached on to us through our wretched deeds. Jonas speaks here of *contrahere* (below it is *attra here*). It sounds almost like an infection of a body with an immune system weakened by old age. The stain can be cleaned away (*lauare* and *purgare* appear below in the text) or the wound can be healed through mutual prayer (*mederi* is also used below).

One more word about the expression *praesidium* (protection): it appears also in the chapter on the abbess (c.1), referring to her responsibility to build up a *presidium* (and the abbess is generally the one who hears confession). The idea of the community establishing protection is expressed as well in the chapter addressing how nuns have to interact with each other (c. 22), where the community is described as building a protective circle of virtues, an *ambitus uirtutum*.¹⁵⁴² We could visualize this *praesidium* here as a layer of wax protecting a floor from getting scratches or, maybe better, as a fancy skin-nurturing face cream that protects the aging skin from wrinkles and wounds.¹⁵⁴³ Just as a floor needs to be re-waxed on a regular basis and a face cream needs to be applied daily (or even twice daily, the day cream and the night cream), the protective prayer-layer has to be renewed permanently. It does not last for more than a couple of hours and therefore prayer and confession need to be repeated regularly.

The next sentence contains an expression that makes every good Protestant shiver: *salus adquiriri*:

¹⁷ Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus adquiritur.

¹⁵⁴² *RcuiV*, c. 22.3: *Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

¹⁵⁴³ The metaphor of ointment appears in *RcuiV*, c. 20.4-5.

[¹⁷ For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences.]

We are now where we want to be, having moved from *inpetratio*, *spes*, and *redemptio* to *salus*. This *salus* – which can be understood as healing but also as salvation – can be acquired by the revelation of one’s misdeeds. Jonas does not use *confessio* here, probably in order to imply that the specific ritual of *confessio* (which is described in the next section) is merely putting into practice a more abstract concept. We have jumped from prayer to confession again, but that does not matter because both cannot be separated from each other anyway. Since the next section elaborates mainly on confession, it is logical to focus on this part of the arrangement.

Jonas completes his reflection on the nature of confession with the following words:

Reuela, inquit psalmista, Domino uiam tuam, et ipse te enutriet (Ps. 36/37, 5 and Ps. 54/55, 23). ¹⁸ Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur.

[The Psalmist says: *Reveal to the Lord your way, and He will feed you.* ¹⁸ If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy.]

Before getting into the details of organizing confession, Jonas summarizes the line of his argument in a general statement, based on another Psalm. He then zooms in towards confession and arrives at the community as the main negotiator of salvation through confession. Since (in general) regular revelation of sins feeds the soul, the nuns (as a community) have to be eager that their wounds are healed through the daily application of this remedy of confession.¹⁵⁴⁴

Now we are ready to implement the ritual of confession. This happens the second section of chapter 6:

¹⁹ Sed quibus horis congruentibus cotidiana delicta sunt abluenda, a nobis inserendum est.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *Reuela, inquit psalmista, Domino uiam tuam, et ipse te enutriet* is a hybrid of Ps. 36/37, 5 (*Reuela Domino uiam tuam et spera in eum et ipse faciet*) and Ps. 54/55, 23 (*iacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te enutriet non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem iusto*). Jonas could have used the “correct” verse as it appears in the *Regula Benedicti* 7.45, SC 181, p. 485. It is not clear to me whether he accidentally mixed up both Psalms (they are very similar), or whether he did it on purpose. The only other witness for this hybrid is an eleventh-century handbook of penance, the *Poenitentiale Vallicellianum*. It is possible that both texts were linked through a textual tradition now lost, but it is also possible that this “error” had been committed twice independently from each other. See *Penitentiale Vallicellianum*, ed. Adriaan Gaastra, *Between liturgy and canon law: a study of books of confession and penance in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy*, Ph.D. thesis University of Utrecht 2007, p. 264.

[¹⁹ But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences.]

What follows shows clear parallels in phrasing with the *Vita Columbani* and Jonas agrees with Donatus that confession needs to be performed three times a day (in the morning, after the meal and at Vespers), not only twice as it is required in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*. A morning confession is necessary because confession is *not*, as implied in the *Regula coenobialis*, just about acts at daytime but also activities during sleep. I will therefore return to the following segment in the commentary on Jonas' chapter on sleep (c. 14):

²⁰ Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari.

[²⁰ Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour.]

The *delicta* that need to be washed away (*abluere*) through confession and prayer are not only deeds. Both the mind and the flesh can commit offenses at night because of their frailty, and those offenses need to be confessed and healed. Jonas agrees with Donatus that confession must cover not only acts but also thoughts, dreams, and visions. The wounds, wrinkles, and frailties of the aging state of mind manifest themselves not only in outward acts but also in thoughts and desires hidden within the nun. They come to surface especially when the nuns lose control over their minds and their body during their sleep.¹⁵⁴⁵ The first thing a nun needs in the morning is a treatment of the wrinkles of her sinfulness with the moisturizing ointment of confession and prayer.¹⁵⁴⁶ The notion of spontaneous bodily reactions as symptom for *fragilitas* is expressed otherwise mainly in a male context – spontaneous erections and nocturnal emissions – but it is never identified as exclusively male. According to the *Regula Donati*, women also have polluting dreams that need to be confessed.¹⁵⁴⁷

The sins to be confessed during the daytime are slightly different:

²¹ Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut purgetur, censendum est. ²² Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est.

¹⁵⁴⁵ See also *RcuiV*, c. 14.1-4.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Jonas uses the term *unguenta* in c. 20.5.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1-4, CSEL 98, p. 164, based on Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 26-28.

[²¹ But whatever it [the mind] has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought at daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. ²² But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

The *fragilitas* of the night turns into the *tepiditas* of the day, and here it is again clear that the *delinquere/delictum* does not refer exclusively to deeds. It is also what penetrates the nun because of her weakness and incapacity to build up her own *praesidium* through the eyes and ears, but also what happens inside in her thoughts. Therefore, the bodily orifices that connect the inner state of the nuns with the outer world, eyes, ears, and the mouth, are objects of concern, control, and discipline throughout the Rule (an aspect that is discussed at length in the commentary to chapter 8 on liturgical discipline). Jonas' notion of what needs to be confessed is much broader than that deployed in the *Regula coenobialis*. It may even include acts, thoughts, and impressions that were not necessarily sinful but still should be revealed to the abbess. After all, the abbess needs to know everything:

²³ Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante completorium faciendum est.

[²³ The abbess, however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given. Likewise, this ought to be done after the Ninth [Hour] and before Compline.]

The system of complete access to every nun's deeds, thoughts, and experiences and the control of everything that enters and leaves a nun and crosses her bodily boundaries needs to be absolutely watertight, and this idea of total control runs throughout the entire rule. Just as in the chapter on the physical space and its boundaries (c. 3) Jonas consistently uses expressions such as *nullatenus*, *semper*, *omnino*, *ante omnia*, emphasizing that there may be no escape. The path away from confession leads straight to hell, as illustrated by the fugitive nuns of Faremoutiers.¹⁵⁴⁸

The last section of chapter 6 addresses what to do when guilt places a nun in a state of *paenitentia*. Here we see some parallels with the final section of Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*.

²⁴ Hae uero sorores, quae pro grauibus culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.

¹⁵⁴⁸ See p. §.

[²⁴ But these sisters who are bound in penance on account of serious guilt, should not stand in the church with the others who take Communion, but should sing the service separated [from the rest] in another church.]

Even though the *Regula Benedicti* does not handle the notion of a state of penance Jonas could still apply one of Benedict's disciplinary measures.¹⁵⁴⁹ Just like those who were excommunicated according to the *Regula Benedicti*, the penitents of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may not join the praying community. They have to perform a different liturgy in another church, probably because they were not regarded as fit to perform intercessory prayer on behalf of others.

²⁵ Et expleto cursu egredientes ante fores ecclesiae, in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur. ²⁶ Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, ²⁷ meminentes illud: *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.* (Ps. 50/51, 19) ²⁸ Et: *In humilitate nostra memor fuit nostri Dominus* (Ps. 135/136, 23). ²⁹ In oratione posita semper penitens dicat: *Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele* (Ps. 50/51, 11), ³⁰ ut ira arguentis iudicis et in proximo uindictam reddentis per piae mentis affectum ac humili oratione sedetur.

[²⁵ And when [their] service has been completed and they leave, let them be instructed to stand outside of the church in which those who are receiving Communion complete the service. ²⁶ And when the congregation leaves, [the penitents] should ask, while prostrated on the ground, that [the congregation] implore the Lord on their behalf in order that the serious deeds be erased through contrition of the heart, ²⁷ recalling this: *God does not dismiss a contrite and humbled heart.* ²⁸ And: *The Lord was mindful of us in our humility.* ²⁹ In the position of prayer the penitent should say at all times: *Turn away your face from my sins, and erase all my injustice,* ³⁰ so that the anger of the judge who accuses and imposes punishment to the fellow nun, is calmed through the disposition (*affectus*) of the loving mind and with humble prayer.]

Again, the practice emulates the *Regula Benedicti*, but the terminology and the categories deployed are rooted in the concept of sin and redemption developed throughout the chapter. *Delicta* is now called *grauia comissa*, the *mens* is now *cor*, and *lauare, abluere* etc. is now *delere*. New is the notion of *contritio* and gone is the notion of *confessio*. Here it is the combination between prayer of the others and *contritio*, which is expressed in the movement they perform once they meet the communicating sisters outside their church. They stay and at the moment when the sisters come out, they throw themselves on the ground and pray the Penitential

¹⁵⁴⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 44.1-4, SC 182, p. 592.

Psalms: a carefully choreographed penance – though it is by no means the tariffed *paenitentia* we find in the *Regula coenobialis*.

The chapter ends with a general explanation that brings both aspects together: the *humiliatio* of the praying penitent and the act of love of the other nuns, who collectively sate the anger of God. It is a very special sort of synergy. It is noteworthy that this entire last part of chapter 6 does not address the theme of confession any more. It is about prayer and self-humiliation, making clear that this aspect of prayer is actually more relevant than the aspect of confession.

In chapter 7, Jonas returns to the practice of confession, adding one important aspect: the community, though playing a crucial role in making confession work by means of their prayer, may not be exposed to the content of any nun's confession. Publicly revealing one's sins does not bring any gain for the nun and only harm to the community. Having to say *everything* in the moment of confession does not outweigh the necessity to control speech and to protect the nuns' ears which may not be penetrated. Yet the abbess needs to know everything and is the only one who is allowed to impose penance. Therefore, only she (or one of her representatives) is allowed to hear confession.

¹ Abbatissa uel praeposita uel quaelibet seniorum sororum, cui ab abbatissa fuerit commissum, ut confessiones recipiat, crimina minora uel maxima nullatenus manifestent, nisi solo iusto iudici, qui omnium confitentium crimina lauat. ² Illa etenim, quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est, iustum habens testem Deum, a quo et mederi exspectat. ³ Ea uero senior, quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem. ⁴ Nulla tamen monacharum uel confessionem recipere uel paenitentiam dare sine ordinatione abbatissae praesumat, ⁵ ne uitium commissum abbatissae caeletur, sed omnia per eius noticiam agantur. ⁶ Si uero inuenta fuerit, quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur, graui paenitentiae sententia corripatur, quia delicti fomitem abbatissae uoluit occultare.

[¹ The abbess, prioress or any of the elder sisters to whom it is entrusted by the abbess that she receives confessions, should by no means make lesser crimes or the greatest ones known, except only to the just judge who washes away the crimes of all who confess. ² For she who has confessed her wounds in shame, has confessed not for the purpose of receiving disgrace but for the purpose of restoring health, having God as a just witness from whom she also expects that he heals her. ³ But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendor of her own mind. ⁴ But none of the nuns should dare to receive confession or impose a penance without the

order of the abbess, ⁵ lest a committed vice be concealed from the abbes, but everything is to be done with her knowledge. ⁶ But if [a sister] is found who dares to violate this purpose of the rule, she is to be reproached with a severe sentence of penance, because she wanted to hide the tinder (*fomes*) of an offence from the abbess.]

Jonas describes the content of the nuns' confession with four different terms, two of which already appeared in the previous chapter: *crimina* (crimes), *uulnera* (wounds), *uitia* (vices), and the *fomes delicti* (the spark of an offence). All of them represent different perspectives: *crimina* are the acts; *uulnera* are the damages inflicted upon oneself, *uitia* are the (sinful) habits leading to the deeds; and *fomenta* are the more specific incitements that turn *uitia* into *crimina*.¹⁵⁵⁰ Accordingly, different things happen with those different aspects: The *crimina* have to be confessed in order to be forgiven (or “washed away”, *lauare*), but they have to be kept secretly. The *uulnera* have to be healed (*mederi, medicinam infundere*) in order to regain *salus*, that is: returning to a state of spiritual health/salvation. This has to happen in a way that does not break the nun's motivation, her *status mentis*. Both the *uitia* and the *fomes*, the (bad) state of mind, and the actual motivation may by no means be hidden from the abbess (*celere, occultare*). It is not so much the outward act (the *crimina*) the abbess has to know about, but rather the state of mind of each nun.

There is one last remarkable aspect to chapter 7, which I will discuss more in detail in the commentary to Jonas' chapter on silence (c. 9). The nun in charge has to hear confession *cum grauitate et moderatione* (with dignity and moderation). This dignity is probably an essential element of the secrecy of confession. Jonas' concern is not so much that a confessor reveals the content of a confession but that she expresses the severity of a transgression through the movements of her body that is not restrained by *grauitas* and *moderatio*.

Jonas' confessional ritual completely redefines the nature of monastic life and turns the monastery into a machine of a constant confession that is not so much lined up with permanent *paenitentia* but rather with unceasing mutual prayer of a community that plays an active role in the individual pursuit of salvation. *Confessio* and prayer are the only effective response to the inherent weakness of a mind prone to cause damnation for oneself and for the other at any moment. It is hardly imaginable that this ideal of the monastery as an effectively salvific

¹⁵⁵⁰ This is a rather unusual term; it appears in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with both positive and negative connotations *RcuiV*, c. 1.10: *fomenta facinorum*; c. 5.16: *fomenta discordiae*; c. 10.1-2: *fomes religionis*; c. 20.5: *fomenta castigationum et piaetatis*; c. 20.7: *fomes piaetatis*.

confessional machine was implemented for a long period of time, though the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* indicates that the nuns at least tried to live a life of permanent confession, and the *Regula Donati* shows that Jonas was not alone with his idea to turn a – female – monastic community into a total institution that is based on the idea of permanent introspection and disclosure of all motions of the mind.

But even if Jonas’ experiment of opening, closing, and controlling the floodgates between the inner self and the outer world was only short-term, we can find indications in several hagiographic texts that a procedure of *confessio* became part of monastic life but also took roots outside of the monastery. Hagiographic texts related monasteries founded in the seventh century orbit mention *confessio* – not very often, but with an understanding that it was commonly practiced. Amatus, the founder of Remiremont makes confession and receives a *paenitentia legitima* before he dies.¹⁵⁵¹ Adelphus, the abbot of Remiremont, rushes to Luxeuil to confess his sins there.¹⁵⁵² Wandregisl urges a fellow monk to rush to confession.¹⁵⁵³ Filibertus hears a deathbed confession of a monk.¹⁵⁵⁴ The *Vita* of Balthild, the founder of Chelles (a monastery in which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was present),¹⁵⁵⁵ also praises her for the purity of her confessions.¹⁵⁵⁶ Bertila, the abbess of Chelles was “walking with a heart perfected by the purity of confession.”¹⁵⁵⁷ Bertila also encouraged the neighbors of the monastery, “to do the penance given for their sins in confession,”¹⁵⁵⁸ which might be one of the earliest pieces of evidence of monasteries performing pastoral care to outsiders that includes the practice of confession. Bishop Praeiectus requires from his clergy a *confessio* after the disappearance of a silver vessel.¹⁵⁵⁹ Eligius is praised for confessing his youthful sins to a priest¹⁵⁶⁰ and for healing those who were

¹⁵⁵¹ *Vita Amati*, c. 11, MGH SRM 4, p. 219.

¹⁵⁵² *Vita Adelphi*, c. 2, MGH SRM 4, p. 226.

¹⁵⁵³ *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 17, MGH SRM 5, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Vita Filiberti*, c. 14, MGH SRM 5, p. 593.

¹⁵⁵⁵ See p. §.

¹⁵⁵⁶ *Vita Balthildis*, c. 16, MGH SRM 2, p. 503.

¹⁵⁵⁷ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, AASS, Nov., vol. 3, col. 91A; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, p. 281.

¹⁵⁵⁸ *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, col. 93A; transl. McNamara *et al.*, p. 285.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 19, MGH SRM 5, p. 237.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Vita Eligii I*, c. 7, PL 87, col. 484A.

wounded by the arrows of the Enemy and came to him for confession,¹⁵⁶¹ and urges an aberrant priest make a confession.¹⁵⁶²

Moreover, there are two supposedly Carolingian sources that describe a confessional ritual that is embedded in daily routines. Both are from the period before the Aachen Reforms of 816/817, and none of the texts directly related to these reforms addresses confession, which either means that regular monastic confession was at that point so self-evident that it became invisible – which is rather unlikely – or that the requirement of a daily confession of all thoughts and deeds performed by the entire community did not survive the Aachen Reforms.

The first source is the already mentioned *Memoriale qualiter*, which shows various similarities with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in phrasing, practical provisions, and ideals.¹⁵⁶³ Both works express that whoever belongs to a monastic community is permanently “on duty,” that everything they do and speak has to be carefully choreographed, and that the *mens* is primary object of discipline. These parallels may indicate that the *Memoriale qualiter* was written for a community that followed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* or at least adopted some of its main principles. The *Memoriale qualiter* does, however, also show parallels with the *Regula Benedicti* that are not channeled through the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which indicates that critical engagement with the *Regula Benedicti* continued beyond the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

According to the *Memoriale qualiter*, every monk (or nun) has to make the sign of the cross and pray the *Deus in adiutorium me intende* immediately after waking up, which is precisely what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* prescribes in its chapter on sleep.¹⁵⁶⁴ Then, after having prayed the Nocturns, everyone has to confess their sins silently to God and ask for forgiveness.¹⁵⁶⁵ After Prime, everyone has to confess a second time, this time not to God but to

¹⁵⁶¹ *Vita Eligii* II, c. 8, col. 518D-519A.

¹⁵⁶² *Vita Eligii* II, c. 25, col. 556D-557A. See also *Sermo Eligii*, c. 13-14, MGH SRM 4, pp. 757-758.

¹⁵⁶³ *Memoriale qualiter*, ed. Claudio Morgand, CCM 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 177-289 (text on pp. 229-289); transl. of the version for monks by Matthew Mattingly, ‘The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary’, in: *American Benedictine Review* 60:1 (2009), pp. 62-75. See also Diem, ‘Choreographing monastic life’, forthcoming. See also p. 5.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks I, c. 1, p. 230/ version for nuns I, c. 1, p. 266: *In primis, nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum de lectulo surrexerit frater/soror, primum signum sibi sanctae crucis imprimat per inuocationem sanctae trinitatis; deinde dicat uersum Domine labia mea aperies* (Ps. 50/51, 17); *inde psalmum Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, (Ps. 69/70) *totum cum Gloria*.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks I, c. 2, p. 233/version for nuns I, c. 2, pp. 268-269: *Post expletionem uero Nocturnae in ipso interuallo summum silentium fiat tam in uoce quam et in actu uel incessu seu sono alicuius rei, ut*

each other, asking each other for prayer.¹⁵⁶⁶ Both texts, share, thus, the notion of combining confession with mutual intercessory prayer. One small difference is that the *Memoriale qualiter* places the first confession after Prime instead of the *Secunda*. It is possible that the *Secunda* as liturgical Hour had already been falled out of use when the *Memoriale qualiter* was written.¹⁵⁶⁷

At another place, the *Memoriale qualiter* gives an outline of the procedure of confession which is very similar to that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: those who are considered guilty have to ask for forgiveness, receive their judgment according to their guilt, and confess their guilt. If they fail to do so they should be considered in a permanent state of guilt. Subsequently the author explains that all thoughts, words, and deeds need to be judged in order to cleanse in one's present life in order not to be found guilty in the afterlife, which indeed implies that confession has a salvific effect.¹⁵⁶⁸ For that reason, confession, especially of all impure thoughts needs to be made all the time because the devil cannot harm monks or nuns if they always make his evil known.¹⁵⁶⁹

Before Compline all members of the community have to make another confession.¹⁵⁷⁰ The *Memoriale qualiter* deviates, thus, from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* by imposing only two fixed rounds of confession, after Prime and before Compline while adding one “silent” confession at the moment of awakening and requiring that all thoughts, deeds and words need, in

liceat unicuique absque alterius inquietudine peccata sua cum gemitu et suspirio et lacrimis Domino confiteri et ueniam uel remissionem pro ipsis ab omnipotente Domino flendo postulare.

¹⁵⁶⁶ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks II, c. 5, p. 234: *Iterum conuenientes ad Primam, dum percompletur ipsud officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum donent confessiones suas uicissim puriter supplici corde certatim pro se orantes.* Version for nuns II, c. 5, p. 269: *Deinde incipiant Primam cum septem psalmis et letania. Quod dum completur officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum, donent uicissim puriter confessiones suas supplici corde certatim pro se orantes.*

¹⁵⁶⁷ On the *Secunda*, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 117-120.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks II, c. 7, p. 237/version for nuns, II, c. 7, p. 271: *Post haec, qui/ quae culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater/soror ad domnum abbatem aut prepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus/domnam abbatissam uel prepositam siue priorem aliquam, cum ille senior/illa dixerit Ouae est causa, frater/soror? Ille/illa qui/quae ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondeat Mea culpa, domne/domna; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit, iudicetur exinde culpabilis.*

¹⁵⁶⁹ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks IV, p. 249: *Pro immundis uero et nociuis cogitationibus uel ineptis locutionibus semper ad confessionem recurrant: melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, quia si semper manifestamus iniquam eius suggestionem, minus nos nocere poterit.* Version for nuns IV, p. 280: *Pro immundis et nociuis cogitationibus semper ad confessionem recurrant: melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, quia si semper manifestamus iniquas eius suggestiones, minus nos nocere poterit.*

¹⁵⁷⁰ *Memoriale qualiter*, version for monks VI, c. 17, p. 259: *Recepto silentio, cum reuerentia intrent ad Completam, orent cum intentione mentis, dent confessiones suas alternatim, incipiant Completam.* Version for nuns VIII, p. 282: *Recepto silentio cum reuerentia intrent in oratorium, factaque oratione dent confessiones suas alternatim, et incipient Completorium.*

principle, to be confessed immediately. The overall idea of making introspection and confession an integral part of one's daily routine, and the idea that confession has a salvific effect, is the same.

The second early Carolingian source that indicates that the confessional practice outlined by Columbanus survived into the Carolingian period comes from Montecasino, of all places. A letter of Montecasino's abbot Theodemar (778-797) to the aristocrat Theodoric describes the customs of his monastery, particularly its liturgical practices. He writes about confession:

Bis in die, mane scilicet et uesperi, confessionem ad inuicem facimus: mane confitentis, si quid noctu cogitatione uel illusionem deliquimus, uesperi autem, si quid uerbo, corde uel opere excedimus.

[We give confession to each other twice every day, in the morning and at Vespers. In the morning we confess if we committed a fault by thought or dream or at night; but in the evening if we have trespassed through word, in our heart or in our deeds.]¹⁵⁷¹

Does *confessio* as a procedure tied to *paenitentia* have Insular roots? Irish penitentials show a number of references to *confessio* that simply imply admitting one's sins.¹⁵⁷² Aside from Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*, only two penitential handbooks mention *confessio* in the context of receiving Communion;¹⁵⁷³ four of them refer to confession to a priest.¹⁵⁷⁴ Only one explicitly links confession to penance.¹⁵⁷⁵ The *Paenitentiale Cummeani* is the only penitential handbook in Ludwig Bieler's collection that makes a theological statement about *confessio* listing it the fifth remedy of the soul (after baptism, charity, alms, and tears).¹⁵⁷⁶ This does not necessarily mean that confession was not at all practiced since it is always possible that it was too self-evident to be mentioned, but it does at least indicate that none of the penitentials follows Jonas' trail of considering *confessio* an act that needs to be performed regularly and that has an immediate salvific effect.

¹⁵⁷¹ Theodemar of Montecassino, *Epistula ad Theodoricum gloriosum*, ed. Jacob Winandy and Kassius Hallinger, *CCM 1*, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 127-136, at p. 134.

¹⁵⁷² *Praefatio Gildae de Poenitentia*, c. 18, ed. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1983, p. 62; c. 27, p. 64; *Sinodus Aquionalis Britaniae*, c. 7, p. 66; *Paenitentiale Vinniani*, c. 5, pp. 74-76; *Paenitentiale Cummeani* IV, c. 16, p. 120; VIII, c. 13, p. 123; *Paenitentiale Bigotianum* IV, c. 5.3, p. 226.

¹⁵⁷³ Confession before taking communion: *Paenitentiale Cummeani* X, c. 6, ed. Bieler, p. 128; *Paenitentiale Bigotianum* IV, c. 7, pp. 230-232.

¹⁵⁷⁴ *Paenitentiale Columbani* B, c. 23, ed. Bieler, p. 104; *Paenitentiale Cummeani* III, c. 17, p. 119; *Paenitentiale Wallici* A, c. 34, p. 142; *Canones Wallici*, c. 46, p. 156; *Canones Hibernenses* II, c. 3-4, p. 164.

¹⁵⁷⁵ *Sinodus Aquionalis Britaniae*, c. 1, ed. Bieler, p. 66.

¹⁵⁷⁶ *Poenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue, ed. Bieler, p. 108.

The monastic rules and guidelines written in Old-Irish are another important collection of early references to confession, even though none of them are as old as the Rules of Columbanus and Jonas. The *Rule of Ailbe*, which was written after 750, contains the most explicit reference to a ritual of confession with salvific effect, though without mentioning the confession of thoughts:

Let each confess his sins before the cross and in the presence of the abbot, with humility and without excusing himself, that so the demons may not have cause for rejoicing.¹⁵⁷⁷

The *Rule of Ciaran* (possibly ninth century) ends with the admonishing to make full confession of one's sins.¹⁵⁷⁸ The *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin* (early tenth century) defines the practice of confession as a characteristic of monastic life.¹⁵⁷⁹ The *Rule of Carthage* (probably ninth century) assigns to a priest the task to hear confession from penitents and to confess himself before Mass.¹⁵⁸⁰ The *Rule of the Céli Dé* (possibly ninth century) recommends to not accept a confession if the confessant refuses to carry out the imposed penance.¹⁵⁸¹ The *Rule of Tallaght* (possibly originating in the late eighth century) recommends that minor transgressions should be confessed immediately and not just on Sundays as well as reminds the monk that confession without penance has no effect and that penance is useless if sins are committed repeatedly.¹⁵⁸² This evidence indicates that at least some Irish monastic communities integrated confession into their monastic routines in forms that were similar to those outlined by Columbanus and Jonas. None of them, though, reflects as thoroughly as Jonas about the salvific effect of confession.

The question how and when confession crossed the boundary of the monastic confines and turned into a ritual that would be a cornerstone of pastoral care, cannot be answered at this point. Unless pastoral confession was indeed older than monastic confession, we have to assume that such a transition must have happened and the few references to priestly confession in, for example, the *Vita Eligii* indicate that it may have been part of the pervasion of monastic and non-

¹⁵⁷⁷ *Rule of Ailbe*, c. 10; transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996, p. 20; c. 29, p. 24.

¹⁵⁷⁸ *Rule of Ciarán*, c. 16, p. 47.

¹⁵⁷⁹ *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin*, c. 6, pp. 55-56. See also *Testimony to the monastery of Sinchell the Younger*, p. 135; *Alphabet of Devotion* 1, p. 161.

¹⁵⁸⁰ *Rule of Carthage*, c. 2, p. 67; c. 8, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸¹ *Rule of the Céli Dé*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁵⁸² *Rule of Tallaght*, c. 20-27, pp. 105-106; c. 74, p. 121.

monastic ideals of a Christian life that were typical for seventh-century monasticism. But that needs to be investigated more thoroughly in a separate project.

Liturgical discipline (chapter 8)

Almost every monastic rule contains a chapter on punctuality at prayer, which shows that this aspect of liturgical discipline was of great concern.¹⁵⁸³ Maintaining the motivation for regularly interrupting daily activities and sleep in order to rush to the church was probably a major challenge for every monastic community and one of the main occasions where *neglegentia* could manifest itself. Caesarius addresses the theme briefly in his Rule, requiring that a nun is to be reprimanded if she arrives late at prayer. If this happens more than once, she needs to be excommunicated and excluded from meals – a sanction he imposes rarely otherwise.¹⁵⁸⁴ Jonas addresses the topic in much greater detail, making use of parts of two chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* on punctuality at prayer and on the monk who calls for prayer.¹⁵⁸⁵

The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* agree on the following: Everyone needs to proceed to the daily and nightly liturgical Hours with dignity and immediately cease from any work once the sign for prayer is given. Those arriving after the first Psalm may not take their place but have to pray at a special place reserved for the negligent to be exposed to

¹⁵⁸³ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 3-11, ed. Boon, pp. 14-16; c. 121, pp. 45-46; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 17, SC 109, p. 88; III, c. 7, pp. 108-110; IV, c. 12, pp. 134-136; IV, c. 16.2, p. 142; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 16-17, ed. Henry Ledoyen, ‘La “Regula Cassiani” du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l’Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), p. 164; c. 39.2, p. 178; c. 39.2, p. 186; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 6.31-39, SC 297, pp. 280-282; *Regula orientalis*, c. 12, SC 298 p. 468; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 6, p. 536; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 11.2-3, SC 398, p. 210; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 30, ed. Schmidt, p. 249; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 24, PL 68, col. 402C; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 5.1, ed. Villegas, p. 21; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 13, ed. Desprez, p. 132; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 4, ed. Vilanova, pp. 109-110; *Regula Magistri*, c. 32-33, SC 106, pp. 172-186; c. 54-55, pp. 256-262; c. 73, pp. 306-312; *Regula Isidori*, c. 6.1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 100; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 14, ed. Walker, p. 162; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 31, ed. Villegas, pp. 34-35; *Regula Donati*, c. 13-14, CSEL 98, p. 155.

¹⁵⁸⁴ *CaesRV*, c. 12, SC 345, p. 188: *Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus Dei uel ad opera uenerit, increpationi, ut dignum est, subiacebit. Quod si secundo aut tertio ammonita emendare noluerit, a communione uel a conuiuio separetur.* *CaesRV*, c. 13, p. 190 and c. 65.1-3, pp. 250-252 impose the same sanction for active disobedience; c. 34, p. 214 for the unwillingness to reconcile after a conflict.

¹⁵⁸⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.1-12, SC 182, pp. 586-590; c. 47.1, p. 596. Jonas does not use *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.13-19, p. 590 on punctuality at the table and c. 47.2-4, pp. 596-598 on the abbot’s authority to determine who is qualified to sing Psalms and Antiphons.

shame.¹⁵⁸⁶ Afterwards they have to ask the community for forgiveness. No one may, however, remain outside the oratory. The abbot/abbess appoints a member of the community to announce the liturgical Hours. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* states:

¹ Quandocumque uel diurnis uel nocturnis horis ad opus diuinum signum insonuerit, mox cum summa festinatione surgendum est, ac si praeco regis insonet, omni opere, quod in manibus habebatur, postposito, ² ut nihil operi Dei praeponatur, sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi Dei innixa ³ cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina currat.

[¹ Whenever the sign for the divine work at the Hours of the day or the night resounds, one ought to rise directly with the greatest hurry, as if the announcer of the King resounds. And they should lay aside all work that was held in their hands, ² in order that nothing is set before the work of God. But the mind, which is attentive to the sound of the announcer and inclined to the work of God, ³ should move swiftly with all dignity and gentleness to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love.]

Jonas uses almost all the material available in the *Regula Benedicti*. He only omits Benedict's provision that at Vigils Psalm 94 needs to be sung especially slowly (*morose*) in order to give the monks some more time.¹⁵⁸⁷ It is possible that Jonas ignores these provisions because Psalm 94 did not form part of the nightly prayers, or simply because he considered, in line with chapter 2.17-19 of his Rule, the vigor of the nuns rising to nightly prayer so important that he did not want to give them any opportunity to dawdle.

Jonas also adds various details that do not appear in Benedict's provisions. His nuns do not just have to arrive on time for prayer, but they have to proceed to the oratory *cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine* (with all dignity and moderation), and certainly not *morose et segniter* (slowly and sluggishly). Benedict already used the expression *cum grauitate*; Jonas adds the rest and emphasizes again that the nuns have to express their inner attitude by their bodily movements.

For Jonas, however, it is not just the body that moves to prayer but the mind, the *mens intenta et operi Dei innixa* (the mind that is attentive and inclined to the work of God). This

¹⁵⁸⁶ Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline', pp. 151-154 provides numerous examples from rules and customaries of using spatial separation as form of punishment.

¹⁵⁸⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.1-6, pp. 586-588: *Ad horam diuini officii, mox auditus fuerit signus, relictis omnibus quaelibet fuerint in manibus, summa cum festinatione curratur, ² cum grauitate tamen, ut non scurrilitas inueniat fomitem. ³ Ergo nihil operi Dei praeponatur. ⁴ Quod si quis in nocturnis uigiliis post gloriam psalmi nonagesimi quarti, quem propter hoc omnino subtrahendo et morose uolumus dici, occurrerit, non stet in ordine suo in choro, ⁵ sed ultimus omnium stet aut in loco quem talibus neglegentibus seorsum constituerit abbas, ut uideantur ab ipso uel ab omnibus, ⁶ usque dum completo opere Dei publica satisfactione paeniteat.*

reflects, on the one hand, Jonas' repeated concern about disciplining the *mens*, but it also implies that the *opus Dei* encompasses more than just singing prayers. It begins at the moment when the *praeco regis* (the Herald of the Lord) sounds – or, as we have seen in the chapter on the *praeposita*, at the moment when a nun awakens. *Praeco regis* might be a metaphor, but it might also refer to a specific bell used to call for prayer.

Another of Jonas' insertions is a short description of what the *opus Dei* actually entails, which connects this chapter to the previous chapters: *ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas* (to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love). Prayer means to give thanks to God for his love as part of the endeavor of mutual intercession laid out in the chapters on love and confession (c. 5-7). Jonas continues:

4 Quod si morose et segniter ueniens post primi psalmi, qui in cursu canitur, finem, nouerit se a suo ordine, dum cursus expletur, reuocari, 5 ut in loco ultimo posita, id est in eo loco, qui talibus neglegentibus fuerit deputatus adstare et ibi cum uerecundiae metu expectare, 6 et post inpletum cursum proluxa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium satisfacere.

[4 But if someone comes slowly and sluggishly after the end of the first Psalm that is sung in the service, she should know that she is recalled from her rank until the service is completed. 5 Put in the most distant place, that is in that place which is assigned to such negligent nuns, she should stay there and wait with the fear of shame. 6 After the completion of the service she should give satisfaction through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave.]

Where Benedict simply states that late-comers have to give satisfaction, Jonas refers to a form of satisfaction he had already described in the chapter on confession: nuns who do not arrive in time need to ask for forgiveness when their sisters leave the church: *proluxa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium* (through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave).¹⁵⁸⁸

7 Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio. 8 Intus etenim posita nec totum perdit, quod coeperat, et uerecundia ac metu frangitur, dum ab omnibus uidetur.

[7 For they should by no means be set apart outside, lest they sleep because they were kept from sleep, or an opportunity is given to the enemy to approach them with something malign. 8 Because the one who is placed inside does not lose the entirety of what she had begun, and she is crushed by shame and fear, while she is being watched by everyone]

¹⁵⁸⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 6.26-27.

To Benedict's provision that late-comers may not remain outside the church,¹⁵⁸⁹ Jonas adds another detail that also resonates with the rest of his Rule. Nuns may not stay outside in order that the devil has no opportunity to approach them (*hosti adeundi detur occasio*). The devil is, as we already have seen, much more present in Jonas' Rule than in the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁵⁹⁰ The role of the dichotomy of inside and outside (*intus – foris*) is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this study.

9 Et quando caeterae expleto officio foras egrediuntur, illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita duodecim psalmos supra cursus seriem cantet. 10 Si uero ex toto cursum suum perdiderit, praecipuae nocturnis horis, in quibus nullum aliud opus inpedit, superpositione damnetur.

[9 And when the others go outside after completing the service, she who is placed in the church because of her tardiness, should sing twelve Psalms on top of the series of the service. 10 But if she misses her service entirely, especially during the Hours of the night, at which nothing else constrains the work [of God], she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.]

This set of sanctions shows no parallels with the *Regula Benedicti*. It is one of the few passages in which Jonas imposes a tariffed penance following to the model of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, which requires singing additional Psalms for various, usually smaller, transgressions.¹⁵⁹¹

We cannot know for sure what Jonas means with *superpositio*. The expression appears exclusively in Columbanus' *Poenitentiale* and his *Regula coenobialis*, in quotations from this Rule in the *Regula Donati*, and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Scholars have proposed various translations, reaching from "imposition" and "supposition" to "special fast", or "imposing charges."¹⁵⁹² At a number of points, Columbanus specifies *superpositio* as

¹⁵⁸⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.7-9, SC 182, p. 588: *Ideo autem eos in ultimo aut seorsum iudicauimus debere stare ut, uisi ab omnibus, uel pro ipsa uerecundia sua emendent; 8 nam, si foris oratorium remaneant, erit forte talis qui se aut recollocet et dormit, aut certe sedit sibi foris uel fabulis uacat, et datur occasio maligno; 9 sed ingrediantur intus, ut nec totum perdant et de reliquo emendent.*

¹⁵⁹⁰ See p. §.

¹⁵⁹¹ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 154, l. 26-156, l. 2: *paenitentia psalmodum* for nocturnal emissions; c. 10, p. 160, l. 3: for slandering; c. 11, l. 8: for talking to a lay person, etc. Arriving late at prayer, though, is not punished with extra prayer but with fifty lashes: Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 14, p. 162.

¹⁵⁹² De Vogüé, 'La règle de Donat', p. 253, no. 8 follows Walker, *Columbani Opera*, p. 149, n. 2, assuming that *superpositio* means an "intensified or prolonged form of the penance involved." Walker translates *superpositio* in his translation of Columbanus' work with "imposition"; McNamara in her translation of the *Regula Donati* with "supposition"; McNeil and Gamer in their translation of medieval handbooks of penance with "special fast";

superpositio silentii,¹⁵⁹³ at other points he states that a monk can receive more than one *superpositio*.¹⁵⁹⁴ Since Columbanus does not use the term *excommunicatio*, it is likely that *superpositio* refers to an equivalent to monastic *excommunicatio*, which is also, as I will discuss in the commentary to chapter Jonas' provisions on *excommunicatio* (c. 18-20), a term that is equally difficult to pin down.

The reminder of chapter 8 paraphrases the first sentence of chapter 47 of the *Regula Benedicti* on how to announce the liturgical Hours:¹⁵⁹⁵

¹¹ Horas uero ad cursum procurare iuxta dispensationem abbatissae debet cuicumque ordinatum fuerit, id est quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit ad hoc opus idonea inuenta, ut opus Dei non tardetur. ¹² Si uero qualibet occasione a iusto ordine deuiatum fuerit, ut non secundum suum ordinem horae custodiantur, superpositione damnetur.

[¹¹ A nun who has been appointed by the arrangement of the abbess, that is, who has been found suitable for this work because of her passionate and energetic mind, must make provisions for the Hours of the service, so that the work of God is not delayed. ¹² But if for whatever reason a digression from the just order occurs, so that the Hours are not kept according to their order, she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.]

Again, Jonas inserts a reference to the necessary inner disposition and motivation of the person to whom this task is assigned: *quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit* (who is passionate and has an energetic mind) and imposes the same strict yet obscure punishment of *superpositio* if the person in charge deviates from the right order. The reference to the *mens sollicita* can be linked to three other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both the waking nun and the *portaria* are qualified by the state of their *mens*.¹⁵⁹⁶ According to Jonas' chapter on confession, it is the *mens* that commits faults during the night.¹⁵⁹⁷ It should always be prepared but fails to be

Niermeyer, Jan Frederick, C. van de Kieft, G. S. M. N. Lake-Schoonebeek, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002, p. 1006 with "imposing charges."

¹⁵⁹³ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 26: as punishment for idle talk; c. 5, p. 150, l. 4, l. 6 and l. 21: for shouting, criticizing, and reproaching the porter.

¹⁵⁹⁴ For example, Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 7, p. 150, l. 25, l. 27, l. 29 and p. 152, l. 1: three *superpositiones* for slander, talking back on a reproach, chiding, and withholding a transgression from a superior.

¹⁵⁹⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 47.1, SC 182, p. 596: *Nuntianda hora operis Dei dies noctesque sit cura abbatis: aut ipse nuntiare aut tali sollicito fratri iniungat hanc curam, ut omnia horis competentibus compleantur.*

¹⁵⁹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.4: *Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae...*

¹⁵⁹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 6.20: *Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit...*

so at night.¹⁵⁹⁸ It is only logical that Jonas emphasizes that the nun who awakens the others should be *mente sollicita*.

Chapter 8 is, in sum, another example of Jonas inscribing several central themes of his Rule into his revision of Benedict's text: the idea that *opus Dei* encompasses much more than prayer; the choreography of bodily movements, the concern about the *mens* (both of the nuns proceeding to prayer and the person qualified to announce the Hours), the matter of urgency expressed in the devil preying on nuns outside the oratory, and a ritual of satisfaction in front of the entire community. Furthermore, Jonas expands Benedict's Rule with sanctions taken from Columbanus' Rule: additional prayer and *superpositio* – whatever that may be.

There are three roughly contemporary hagiographic works that address themes discussed in chapter 8. Book 2 of Gregory's *Dialogi* contains an episode of a monk who gets possessed by a demon while wandering around outside during the time of prayer, which might have inspired Jonas to give the devil an appearance in his chapter on liturgical discipline.¹⁵⁹⁹ In the *Vita Iohannis*, Jonas himself tells about a monk who, while watching the harvest at night, gets anxious whether his fellow monks would arise in time for nightly prayer. Suddenly he sees a golden globe illuminating the entire world and right at this moment the community entered the church to perform their nightly prayers. With the slightest delay the monks would have detached their prayer from this global magic moment.¹⁶⁰⁰ The *Vita* of Austroberta, abbess of Pavilly (another seventh-century monastic foundation), tells a story with a similar message: a nun almost failed to awaken the community for their nightly prayers. At the moment the nuns gathered in the church, the dormitory collapsed and only due to their timely arrival no nun was harmed.¹⁶⁰¹ Liturgical discipline is a matter of life and death.

¹⁵⁹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 14.1-2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, 2 ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat...*

¹⁵⁹⁹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 4, SC 260, pp. 150-152.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *Vloh*, c. 16, p. 339.

¹⁶⁰¹ *Vita Austrobertae*, c. 16, AASS February, vol. 2, p. 422.

Silence and speaking (chapter 9)

There is a consensus among authors of monastic rules that silence is an essential part of monastic life.¹⁶⁰² Almost every monastic rule addresses *silentium* and *taciturnitas* in one way or another. Many of them use one specific biblical verse, Matthew 12, 36, as point of reference:¹⁶⁰³

Dico autem uobis: Omne uerbum otiosum, quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii.

[But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.]

Silentium and *taciturnitas* have, however, various spiritual meanings and are based on different theological rationales. Consequently, they are implemented in different ways and the extent of required silence differs in each rule. As soon as we differentiate the various monastic “silences” rather than synthesizing them into one amorphous imperative, the history of restraining and disciplining communication becomes an essential part of the history of monasticism. Ambrose Wathen has shown this in an exemplary manner in his study on silence in the *Regula Benedicti* and its sources.¹⁶⁰⁴

¹⁶⁰² Bruce, Scott G., ‘The tongue is a fire: the discipline of silence in early medieval monasticism (400-1100)’, in: Edwin D. Craun (ed.), *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 2007, pp. 3-32 provides a comprehensive overview of sources on different manifestations of silence in normative and narrative texts. Furthermore, Bruce describes how in the Carolingian and Cluniac periods different restrictions of the spoken word were inscribed in monastic space and time.

¹⁶⁰³ On the use of Matth. 12, 36 in monastic rules, see Diem, Albrecht, ‘The Emergence of Monastic Schools. The Role of Alcuin’, in: Luuk A. J. R. Houwen and Alasdair A. McDonald (eds.), *Alcuin of York. Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, Groningen: Forsten 1998, pp. 27-44. For an overview of references to silence in the work of John Cassian and in monastic rules written before the *Regula Benedicti*, see Wathen, Ambrose, *Silence in the Rule of St Benedict*, Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications 1973, pp. 119-157.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Wathen, *Silence*. See also Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 120-122; Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 334-336 (on silence in monastic rules); Miquel, Pierre, ‘Silence: De l’Antiquité au moyen âge’, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 14, Paris: Beauchesne 1990, col. 829-842, at col. 837-840; Schürer, Markus, ‘Das Reden und Schweigen der Mönche. Zur Wertigkeit des silentium im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum’, in: Werner Röcke and Julia Weitbrecht (eds.), *Askese und Identität in Spätantike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2010, pp. 107-129.

Silence appears, for example, as an ascetic achievement,¹⁶⁰⁵ as a means for avoiding sins of the mouth and idle talk,¹⁶⁰⁶ as an act of humility,¹⁶⁰⁷ as a way of escaping the world,¹⁶⁰⁸ as a tool for avoiding quarrels and discontent,¹⁶⁰⁹ as a marker of hierarchy,¹⁶¹⁰ as an element of liturgical discipline,¹⁶¹¹ as a means to increase focus on different communal activities, especially work,¹⁶¹² reading,¹⁶¹³ and meals,¹⁶¹⁴ as a meditative practice and way of internalizing the solitude

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 4.1, SC 109, p. 194. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 124-127.

¹⁶⁰⁶ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta et instituta*, c. 18, ed. Boon, p. 59; *Regula Basilii*, c. 40, CSEL 86, pp. 85-86; c. 136, pp. 165-166; Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 47, ed. Leclercq, p. 207; c. 94, p. 211; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.2-6, SC 297, pp. 202-204; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 2.11-12, SC 297, p. 276; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 29, ed. Desprez, pp. 139-140; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 37, ed. Vilanova, pp. 122-123; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.27-51, SC 105, pp. 412-416; c. 11.29-34, p. 14; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6, SC 181, pp. 470-472; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 8.1, ed. Villegas, p. 16; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 23, SC 206, pp. 204-210. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 161-165.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 27, SC 109, pp. 488-492; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.58-61, SC 181, pp. 486-488; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.1-26, SC 105, pp. 406-412; c. 10.75-79, pp. 434-436.

¹⁶⁰⁸ For example, Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* II, c. 3, PL 73, col. 858A-B. See also Gehl, Paul F., 'Competens silentium: Varieties of monastic silence in the Medieval West', in: *Viator* 18 (1987), pp. 125-160, at pp. 134-138. Various episcopal privileges for monasteries grant rights that should ensure the *quies* of a monastic community. See, for example, Privilege of Rebas, PL 87, col. 1136A-B: *Et si ab eis illic pontifex postulatus pro lucranda oratione vel eorum utilitate accesserit, celebrato ac peracto divino ministerio, statim absque ullo requisito dono studeat habere regressum, quatenus monachi qui solitarii nuncupantur, de perfecta quiete valeant, duce Domino, per tempora exultare, et sub ipsa sancta regula viventes et beatissimorum Patrum vitam sectantes, pro statu Ecclesiae et salute regis et patriae valeant plenius Deum exorare.*

¹⁶⁰⁹ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 10, ed. Boon, p. 67; *Regula Basilii*, c. 130, CSEL 86, p. 160; *CaesRV*, c. 9.3, SC 345, p. 188; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 37, ed. Vilanova, pp. 122-123; *Regula Leandri*, c. 8, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 45-46; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.3, p. 93; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 6., 146. For more sources: Bruce, 'The Tongue is a Fire', p. 6.

¹⁶¹⁰ *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 2.12, SC 297, p. 276; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 29, ed. Desprez, pp. 139-140; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.1-26, SC 106, pp. 406-412; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.57-59, SC 181, p. 486; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 146. On silence and hierarchy, see also Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia, PA/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011, pp. 69-97.

¹⁶¹¹ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta* 8, ed. Boon, p. 15; *Regula Basilii*, c. 137, CSEL 86, pp. 166-167; Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 47, ed. Leclercq, p. 207; *CaesRV*, c. 10, SC 345, p. 188; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 8, SC 398, p. 208; *Regula Magistri*, c. 47, SC 106, pp. 212-216; c. 68, p. 296; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 52.1, SC 182, p. 610; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 16.1, ed. Villegas, p. 23. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 123-124.

¹⁶¹² *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 60, ed. Boon, p. 32; c. 116, p. 44; *Regula orientalis*, c. 5, SC 298, p. 466; *CaesRV*, c. 19.2-5, SC 345, pp. 192-194; c. 20.1, p. 194; *Regula Magistri*, c. 50.19-26, SC 106, pp. 226-228. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 172.

¹⁶¹³ *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 6.39, SC 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 15.7-8, p. 378; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 8.10, ed. Villegas, p. 25; c. 9.5, p. 27; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, SC 182, p. 600.

¹⁶¹⁴ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 33-34, ed. Boon, p. 21; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, SC 109, pp. 142-144; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 7.46, SC 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 18, p. 380; *Regula orientalis*, c. 36, SC 298, p. 490; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 7, p. 536; *CaesRV*, c. 18.2-6, SC 345, p. 192; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 9, SC 398, p. 208; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 49, ed. Schmidt, p. 254; *Regula Tarnatensis*, ed. Villegas, c. 8.8, p. 25; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.5-7, SC 182, p. 574; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9.2, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 16.1, ed. Villegas, p. 23. See also Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, p. 66. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 171-172.

of the desert,¹⁶¹⁵ as a requirement for nightly hours,¹⁶¹⁶ as a measure to maintain purity,¹⁶¹⁷ as a penance and punishment,¹⁶¹⁸ or as a practice of self-control, especially the avoidance of laughter,¹⁶¹⁹ and as an exercise in listening and learning.¹⁶²⁰ It entails not communicating with outsiders,¹⁶²¹ avoiding heresy,¹⁶²² preventing sexual transgressions,¹⁶²³ and preventing the spread of gossip from the outside world.¹⁶²⁴ Practically, silence could refer to not speaking at all, not speaking at certain times, especially at night, not speaking out of one's own initiative, repressing what one would like to say, speaking low and restraining one's voice, avoiding any kind of noise, or not expressing emotions with one's voice, words, or bodily movements. Next to suppressing or controlling the individually spoken word, silencing could also consist of the requirement to speak unison, or scripting what is to be spoken in specific situations.¹⁶²⁵

Monastic rules operate within the structural tension between the ideal and imperative of silence and the necessity to communicate in order to keep the community functioning, to integrate it into the outside world, and to share and transmit knowledge. This tension increases when monasteries become places of learning and teaching which could privilege a part of the community and silence the rest.¹⁶²⁶ Imposing silence therefore often includes defining exceptions, *allowing* to speak under certain conditions and, as we will see in the *Regula*

¹⁶¹⁵ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 59, ed. Boon, pp. 31-32; *Regula orientalis*, c. 5, SC 298, p. 466; *CaesRV*, c. 18.3, SC 345, p. 192; c. 20.3, p. 194; Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* II, c. 5, PL 73, col. 858C-D. See also Holze, Heinrich, 'Schweigen und Gotteserfahrung bei den ägyptischen Mönchsvätern', in: *Erbe und Auftrag* 69 (1993), pp. 314-321.

¹⁶¹⁶ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39, c. 94, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, SC 298, p. 494; *Regula Magistri*, c. 30, SC 106, pp. 162-168; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42, SC 182, pp. 584-586; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 140. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 175.

¹⁶¹⁷ Cassian, *Institutiones* X, c. 3, SC 109, pp. 388-390.

¹⁶¹⁸ *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.2-3, SC 297, p. 202, see also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 176 and my commentary on the chapters on *excommunicatio*, p. §.

¹⁶¹⁹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.49-62, SC 106, pp. 18-20; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.59-61, SC 181, pp. 486-488. On laughter, Bruce, 'The Tongue is Fire', pp. 6-7; LeGoff, Jaques, 'Le rire dans les règles monastiques du Haut Moyen Âge', in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen-Âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, La Garenne-Colombes 1990, pp. 93-103, at pp. 97-100; Resnick, Irven M., 'Risus monasticus. Laughter and Medieval Monastic Culture', in: *Revue bénédictine* 97 (1987), pp. 90-100.

¹⁶²⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.6, SC 181, p. 470. On this aspect, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 165-169.

¹⁶²¹ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 59, ed. Boon, pp. 31-32. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 175.

¹⁶²² *Regula Basilii*, c. 12, CSEL 86, pp. 58-60; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 4.13, SC 297, p. 200.

¹⁶²³ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39; c. 94, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, SC 298, p. 494; *CaesRV*, c. 51.3, SC 345, p. 238; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 35, ed. Schmidt, p. 250; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13.2-3, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 140.

¹⁶²⁴ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 86, ed. Boon, p. 38; c. 143, p. 52; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.4, ed. Villegas, p. 219.

¹⁶²⁵ The last aspect plays a particularly important role in the *Regula Magistri* which consists to a large extent of texts to be spoken at various occasions. See Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 229-235.

¹⁶²⁶ Diem, 'The emergence of monastic schools'; Gehl, 'Competens silentium', pp. 138-143.

cuiusdam ad uirgines, even *forcing* to speak in designated situations. Silence is rarely absolute and usually tied into the organization of time and space. Many rules imply that members of a monastic community have a natural desire to speak and communicate that needs to be controlled and restrained by a “hydraulic” system of opening and closing the mouth.

Donatus and Jonas are deeply concerned about silence. Donatus reproduces almost everything he found on this topic from the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns and Columbanus’ Rules. As a result, no less than twenty-one chapters of his Rule address various aspects of silence.¹⁶²⁷ While Donatus creates importance through abundance, Jonas is more sophisticated and turns silence (or rather the restraint of speech) into a key element of his concept of monastic discipline. Only two monastic rules, the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, reflect extensively on the purpose and effect of restrained speech – and both rules come to strikingly similar conclusions.¹⁶²⁸

Before digging into Jonas’ control of the spoken word, it is necessary to provide an overview of the provisions on silence in Caesarius of Arles’ Rule for Nuns, assuming that they were already in place in the community that would follow Jonas’ Rule. Caesarius addresses silence at various places but without giving it a central role in his monastic program. It seems that for him the enclosure of the space made the “enclosure of the mouth” less relevant. Silence appears primarily in the context of liturgical discipline, reading, and work, and avoiding conflicts within the community. His nuns are not allowed to express discontent or shout at each other.¹⁶²⁹

¹⁶²⁷ *Regula Donati*, c. 3.51-54, CSEL 98, p. 148 (from *Regula Benedicti*): avoiding loquacity and laughter as one of the *instrumenta bonorum operum*; c. 4.1, p. 148 (from *CaesRV*): *murmuratio*; c. 16.4, p. 156 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no noise in the oratory; c. 17.8, p. 261: no chatter during prayer; c. 17.10, p. 157 (from *CaesRV*): no laughter during the offices; c. 18.3, p. 157 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no loquacity in prayer; c. 19.1-2, p. 157 (from *Regula Benedicti*): silence at all places and at all times; c. 20.2-6/11/16, pp. 158-159 (from *CaesRV*), no chatter and no *murmuratio* during work; c. 21.6-7, p. 159 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no *murmuratio* about received goods; c. 25.3, p. 160 (from *Regula coenobialis*): no speaking during meals; c. 28, pp. 161-162 (from *Regula coenobialis*): no idle chatter; c. 32, p. 163 (from *Regula coenobialis*): times at which young nuns may not speak to each other; c. 33, p. 164 (from *CaesRV*): silence at table; c. 35, p. 165 (from *CaesRV* and *Regula coenobialis*): no swearing; c. 37.17, p. 167 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no *murmuratio*; c. 45, p. 169 (from *Regula Benedicti*): silence as ninth *gradus humilitatis*; c. 46, p. 169 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no laughter as tenth *gradus humilitatis*; c. 49, p. 170 (from *Regula Benedicti* and *Regula coenobialis*): on silence in general; c. 52, pp. 172-173 (from *CaesRV*): on arguments; c. 71, p. 183 (from *Regula Benedicti*): speaking with excommunicated nuns; c. 75.14-16, p. 186 (from Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*): silence during prayer. On the role of silence in monastic discipline, see also Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 334-336; *idem*, ‘Das Ende des monastischen Experiments’, pp. 98-105; *idem*, ‘New ideas expressed in old words’, pp. 31-32.

¹⁶²⁸ See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 8-9, SC 106, pp. 398-416. On silence in the *Regula Magistri*, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 79-93.

¹⁶²⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 9.2, SC 345, p. 188.

He imposes silence during liturgical Hours, meals, and collaborative work, implying that silence increases the focus on prayer and attentiveness to the *lectio* that takes place during work hours.¹⁶³⁰ Moreover, the nuns are not allowed to speak to visitors without a witness.¹⁶³¹ Jonas elaborates on the prohibition from communicating with outsiders in order to adjust it to the different circumstances in his monastery, but does not address any of Caesarius' other provisions on silence, which supports the assumption that Jonas wrote his Rule as extension of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

The *Regula Benedicti* devotes two complete chapters to silence (using both *taciturnitas/tacere* and *silentium/silere*) and returns to the topic several times in other parts of the Rule. Chapter 6, which is part of the theological core of the *Regula Benedicti*, describes silence (*taciturnitas*) as a form of *custodia* that prevents sinning through the mouth. He recommends that monks should abstain even from good speech for the sake of silence and speak as little as possible. Benedict states, moreover, that it is the task of the master to speak and to teach and the task of the disciple to be silent and to listen: speaking and silence becomes a marker of hierarchy. Only in this particular context does Benedict use the term *clausura* – as “enclosure” of the mouth.¹⁶³² A monk should address his prior with all humility and reverence of submission and to avoid *scurrilitates* (buffoonery), *uerba otiosa* (idle talk) and laughter. Silence appears, moreover, as the ninth and tenth grade of humility: avoiding loquaciousness, not opening one's mouth until one is asked to speak, and avoiding laughter.¹⁶³³ Chapter 42 of the *Regula Benedicti* demands that the monks keep silence at all times, especially after Compline, unless the arrival of guests requires them to speak. Benedict also demands strict silence and the avoidance of any sound

¹⁶³⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 10, p. 188; c. 18.2-6, p. 192; c. 19.2-20.3, pp. 192-194.

¹⁶³¹ *CaesRV*, c. 51.3, p. 238.

¹⁶³² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6, SC 181, pp. 470-472: *Faciamus quod ait propheta: Dixi: Custodiam uias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea. Posui ori meo custodiam. Obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis. (Ps. 38/39 2-3)* ² *Hic ostendit propheta, si a bonis eloquiis interdum propter taciturnita tem debet taceri, quanto magis a malis uerbis propter poenam peccati debet cessari.* ³ *Ergo, quamuis de bonis et sanctis et aedificationum eloquiis, perfectis discipulis propter taciturnitatis grauitatem rara loquendi concedatur licentia,* ⁴ *quia scriptum est: In multiloquio non effugies peccatum,* ⁵ *et alibi: Mors et uita in manibus linguae. (Prou 10 19)* ⁶ *Nam loqui et docere magistrum condecet, tacere et audire discipulum conuenit.* ⁷ *Et ideo, si qua requirenda sunt a priore, cum omni humilitate et subiectione reuerentiae requirantur.* ⁸ *Scurrilitates uero uel uerba otiosa et risum mouentia aeterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aper ire os non permittimus.* On chapter 6 of the *Regula Benedicti*, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 25-38.

¹⁶³³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.56-58, SC 181, p. 486: *Nonus humilitatis gradus est si linguam ad loquendum prohibeat monachus et, taciturnitatem habens, usque ad interrogationem non loquatur,* ⁵⁷ *monstrante scriptura quia in multiloquio non effugitur peccatum, (Prou 10, 19)* ⁵⁸ *et quia uir linguosus non dirigitur super terram. (Ps. 139/140 12).*

during lectures at table and requires that the monks at table communicate in a special sign language.¹⁶³⁴ They also have to stay silent during the afternoon hours dedicated to rest and reading.¹⁶³⁵ After prayer, they need to leave the church in full silence.¹⁶³⁶

Thus, the *Regula Benedicti* produces various rationales and practices of silence: to avoid idle talks and loquaciousness, as a form of *humilitas*, as pedagogical tool, as implementation of hierarchy, as a part of liturgy and other rituals, particularly meals, to keep nights restful, and to avoid unrest within the monastery. The Rule integrates silence in the organization of space and time and defines it as a practice that should, in principle, be followed consistently. Nevertheless, silence has, for Benedict, no direct impact on the pursuit of salvation. Jonas picks up on some of Benedict's practical provisions, leaves out others and eventually turns the control of speech, as we will see, into something much more crucial to monastic life than Benedict's silence.

Silence in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

There is something surprising about the title of Jonas' chapter: *Qualiter in monasterio silentii regulam uel diurno opere uel ad mensam debeant custodire*. (How they should guard the rule of silence in the monastery both in daily work and at table, and how reading should be done at table).¹⁶³⁷ We would expect a chapter on silence but what we get is a chapter on speaking.¹⁶³⁸ The expressions *loqui* and *conloquium* appear eleven times throughout the chapter; *silentium* appears only thrice, *tacere* just once. The key is the term *qualiter*. It is a given that silence is essential, but Jonas explains *how* silence should be implemented through the correct way of speaking. Chapter 9 belongs (possibly along with the chapter on the prioress) to the few sections of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that is influenced by Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*. It appears to be a pastiche of allusions to Columbanus' short chapter on silence and Benedict's two chapters on this topic. Jonas, however, reproduces, in his usual manner, words and phrases from

¹⁶³⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.6, SC 182, p. 570. On monastic sign language, see Bruce, Scott G., *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁶³⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, p. 600.

¹⁶³⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 52.2, p. 610.

¹⁶³⁷ For an alternative analysis of chapter 9, see Kardong, Terrence, 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395-412.

¹⁶³⁸ Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 179-223 documents all references to speaking in the *Regula Benedicti*.

his sources in order to say something new. What he says expands more on Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* than on the *Regula Benedicti*, though Benedict addresses the question of how to speak and use one's voice as well.¹⁶³⁹ Both Columbanus and Jonas make the point that *taciturnitas/silentium* means avoiding false speech, but also entails saying what is rightfully to be said.¹⁶⁴⁰

The chapter consists of two main parts, a general reflection about the purpose of avoiding wrong forms of speaking, which is built around three biblical quotations (c. 9.1-6), followed by a number of somewhat disjointed specific regulations. We find a similar structure (reflection followed by practical implementations) in chapter 3, 6, 14 and 22 and in *De accedendo ad Deum*. Like the other programmatic chapters, chapter 9 "radiates" into various other parts of the Rule that address the control of speech in their respective contexts.

Let us first look at Jonas' general reflection, which he might have phrased as an alternative to Benedict's rather simple theological remarks that define silence as a means of avoiding sinning with one's tongue.

¹ Regulam silentii omni tempore seruandam sanctarum Scripturarum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *Cultus iustitiae silentium et pax.* (cfr Is. 32, 17) ² Tacendum namque est ab otiosis et friuolis et scurrilibus et prauis et malitiosis fabulis, ³ de quibus Propheta orabat, dicens: *Pone Domine custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala.* (Ps. 140/141, 3-4 [LXX]) ⁴ Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat, ⁵ quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de otioso iuxta Domini praeceptum rationem sumus reddituri.

[¹ A series of Holy Scriptures has demonstrated that the rule of silence ought to be kept at all times, as it is said through the Prophet: *The service of justice is silence and peace.* ² For one ought to refrain from idle, silly, ludicrous, improper and malicious stories, ³ about which the Prophet used to say in prayer: *O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words.* ⁴ Indeed, one has to cease from superfluous stories, lest the soul catches the fruit of

¹⁶³⁹ For an overview on references to speaking correctly in the *Regula Benedicti*, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 204-222.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 124: *Silentii regula diligenter custodienda decernitur, quia scriptum est: Cultus autem iustitiae silentium et pax.* (cfr Is. 32, 17) *Et ideo ne reatus de uerbositate conquiratur, exceptis utilitatibus ac necessariis opus est ut taceatur, quia iuxta scripturam in multiloquio non deerit peccatum.* (Prou. 10, 19) *Idcirco saluator ait: Ex uerbis tuis iustificaberis et ex uerbis tuis condemnaberis.* (Matth. 12, 37) *Iuste damnabuntur qui iusta dicere noluerunt cum potuerunt, sed mala iniusta impia inania iniuriosa incerta falsa contentiosa contumeliosa turpia fabulosa blasphema aspera ac flexuosa loqui garrula uerbositate maluerunt. Tacendum igitur est de his et talibus et cum cautela et ratione loquendum est ne aut detractiones aut tumidae contradictiones in loquacitate uitiosa prorumpant.*

damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind, ⁵ since we are to give account not only of ludicrous or unjust but also of idle talk, according to the precept of the Lord.]

The center of this section is a paraphrase of the already mentioned verse Matthew 12, 36. One needs to refrain from *otiosis et friuolis et scurrilibus et prauis et malitiosis fabulis* (idle and silly and ludicrous and improper and malicious stories). In his usual fashion, Jonas makes sure that he covers any ground and leaves no space for exceptions. Improper speech has to be avoided *ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat* (lest the soul catches the fruit of damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind).

Every word in this half-sentence belongs to the set of key terms Jonas uses throughout his Rule, and the sentence itself expresses, as it were, the Rule in a nutshell: Jonas's primary object of concern is the *anima*, which is striving for salvation but is always at the brink of *damnatio* or, at least, of incurring *damnum*. It is the *mens* that might cause the soul's damnation by suffering weakness, and this weakness is caused by being unrestrained. Throughout the Rule, sin is regularly addressed in terms of weakness: *imbecilitas* (weakness), *fragilitas* (weakness), *segnitia* (slowness), *tepscere* (to grow lukewarm), *tepiditas* (lukewarmness), *topor* (idleness), *fessa* (feeble), *languens* (weak), *lasciuus* (wanton), *morosus* (slow), and especially as *neglegentia*.¹⁶⁴¹

The notion of weakness and the imperative of restraint could (and does) apply to various contexts, but restraint of speech is particularly important – an idea that the *Regula Magistri* expresses in a strikingly similar way at the beginning of its main chapter on silence.¹⁶⁴² Silence has therefore to be observed *omni tempore* (at all times), which is just one of numerous references to ubiquitousness that appear throughout the Rule. *Omnis* is, as we already know, one of Jonas' favorite terms.

Jonas does not specify whether it is the *anima* of the speaker or of the listener that might suffer harm through an unrestrained mind. Most likely he means both – in line with his idea of mutual responsibility that gives each nun a role in her fellow nuns' salvation and damnation. Speaking wrongly may destroy the speaker just as much as the listener, which means that Jonas

¹⁶⁴¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 2.16; c. 8.5; c. 12.29; c. 13.5; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.1; c. 16.2; c. 16.4.

¹⁶⁴² *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.1-11, SC 106, pp. 398-400.

needs to take special precautions for the listener as well,¹⁶⁴³ particularly the requirement that nuns have to purge through confession what they have heard.¹⁶⁴⁴

The potential harm of wrong speech explains why Jonas begins his chapter with a paraphrase of Isaiah 32, 17: *Cultus iustitiae silentium et pax*. (The service of justice is silence and peace). Jonas takes this biblical verse from the chapter on silence of Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, which develops a similar argument, though with less emphasis on the potential harm idle talk might cause to others.¹⁶⁴⁵ The other biblical quotation Jonas inserts in this chapter comes from Psalm 140/141, 3-4: *Pone Domine custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala*. (O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words.). The *Regula Benedicti* uses a similar biblical quotation, from Psalm 38/39, 3-4: *Dixi: Custodiam uias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea. Posui ori meo custodiam. Obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis*. (I said, I will keep watch on my ways so that I do not offend with my tongue. I have set a guard over my mouth. I became mute, was humbled, and silently refrained from good words). Jonas probably decided to deviate from Benedict's text because of two thoughts we only find in Psalm 140/141: the concern about the *cor* (heart), which Jonas uses largely interchangeably with *mens*, and the stronger emphasis on the "enclosure of the mouth", the *ostium circumstantiae labiis meis*.

The guard over one's mouth blocks the dangerous connection between one's heart and the outside world.¹⁶⁴⁶ It is therefore essential to Jonas' vision of a "triple enclosure."¹⁶⁴⁷ Chapter 9 serves, as it were, as a counterpart to chapters 6-7. Jonas operates on the assumption that the mind (*mens*) inevitably attracts stain and filth. The only way of dealing with it, is closing the gate of one's mouth at all time (*omni tempore*), but rigorously opening it in the safe setting of *confessio* to the privileged, discreet ears of those qualified to hear confession.

¹⁶⁴³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13-14 on not listening to gossip and not carrying it into the monastery; *RcuiV*, c. 14.7-9 on protecting the ears of the nun at night.

¹⁶⁴⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 6.21: *Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu, ut purgetur, censendum est*.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 124. See note §.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Compare this to *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.21-23, SC 106, p. 402.

¹⁶⁴⁷ See p. §.

We see here another instance of proximity between Jonas' Rule and the *Regula Magistri*, which quotes Psalm 140/141 twice in similar contexts.¹⁶⁴⁸ Like Jonas' Rule, the *Regula Magistri* considers uncontrolled speech as particularly dangerous and a potential act of pollution of the community.¹⁶⁴⁹

Jonas completes his general reflection about the imperative of silence with a rhetorical question similar to those we find in chapter 3 on the gatekeepers' renunciation of the world, chapter 17 on renouncing property, and chapter 23 on renouncing family ties:¹⁶⁵⁰

6 Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?

[6 What else should a nun strive for, other than to devote herself, both with the speech of the mouth and the desire of the soul, only to God, to whom she once and for all directed her desire?]

With this rhetorical question Jonas develops a new thought which is, again, in line with the overall purpose of the Rule. As we have already seen, for Jonas the *opus Dei* is by no means limited to liturgical Hours. Since everything is *opus Dei*, every word is, as it were, liturgical and needs to be spoken in his praise and strictly guarded. In a setting in which there is no differentiation of time and of space, speech cannot be a matter of time and space either. In so far, it is only logical that Jonas does not show interest in Benedict's reflections on silence and hierarchy or on silence as act of humility, aside from assigning to the abbess the monopoly to speak and to allow or require another to speak – a prerogative that is implemented throughout the Rule.¹⁶⁵¹

Let us now analyze the practical implementation of Jonas' reflections on silence, as we find them in this chapter but also at other places in the Rule. Some of them are inspired by the

¹⁶⁴⁸ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.44, SC 106, p. 16; c. 30.12, p. 164.

¹⁶⁴⁹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 8, SC 105, pp. 398-406; c. 11.40-62, SC 106, pp. 16-20; c. 30, pp. 162-168. Only one other monastic rule, the *Regula Ferrioli*, quotes Psalm 140/141, though in the context of slander. See *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 22.2, ed. Desprez, p. 135.

¹⁶⁵⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; c. 17.2-5; c. 17.8; c. 23.2-5.

¹⁶⁵¹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1-6: the abbess speaks to her nuns; c. 6:23: the abbess controls confession; c. 7.1-4: the abbess or prioress hear confession; c. 9.7-13: the abbess or prioress order and allow to speak; c. 10.15: the abbess speaks prayer at meals; c. 12.9: the abbess or prioress enforce the prohibition to chat at work; c. 16.5-9: the abbess or prioress hear confession of accidents; c. 19.10: the abbess decides who may speak with those who are excommunicated; c. 22.17: the abbess or prioress hear confession; c. 22.19: nuns have to ask the abbess for permission to speak; c. 22.20: nuns should speak to the prioress first; c. 22.23: the abbess decides who may speak with priests.

Regula Benedicti, others not. It is important to notice that many of the key terms and concepts of the introductory part of chapter 9 resurface in the second part. *Anima* and *omnis* appear in both parts; the *fabulae* return as *confabulatio*; the *mens* as *animus*; *damnatio* returns as *damnum*, *gratia* and *frui* as *laetitia*; *sermo* as *conloquium scripturarum*, *scurrilis* as *garrulus*, and *fructus* as *lucrum*. We should, thus, read chapter 9 as a kind of diptych that juxtaposes theory and practice.

7 Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad completam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae com meatum loquendum est. 8 Ab hora uero completionis, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, nulla omnino loqui praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit. 9 Cui ab abbatissa fuerit ordinatum, loqui studeat, uel etiam a praeposita quae curam aliorum portat.

[7 Therefore, during all the daily hours, from the Second Hour until Compline, except at the table, whatever the usefulness for the sacred rule demands should be said by permission of the abbess. 8 But from the hour of Compline, when prayer is given in order to obtain sleep, no one should dare to speak at all, unless a major need of the monastery demands it. 9 Whoever is ordered by the abbess – or also by the prioress, who takes care of the others – should be eager to speak.]

Jonas takes the provision of speaking only with permission of the abbess and the requirement of complete silence after Compline from chapter 42 of the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁶⁵² Elsewhere, however, Benedict states that a monk should speak rarely, avoid even edifying conversations, that he should speak only when addressed, and that the nuns should *strive* for silence all the time. These provisions somewhat mitigate his imperative of silence.¹⁶⁵³ Benedict's call to strive for silence has, therefore, few practical consequences, while Jonas' imperative of controlling speech is implemented throughout the Rule. Work has to be organized in a way that there is always a third person present as a witness. Those working overnight, for example, need to have a prioress among them who is authorized to speak. Nuns have to sleep in a way that prevents them from speaking to each other and breaking silence after compline. Nuns are not allowed to speak to visiting priests unless the abbess tells them to do so.¹⁶⁵⁴

The next set of practical implementations is structured in an odd way, possibly because a copyist has tampered with the original text. There is a lengthy coherent section on silence,

¹⁶⁵² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42.1, SC 182, p. 584: *Omni tempore silentium debent studere monachi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis.*

¹⁶⁵³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.3-7, SC 181, pp. 470-472; c. 7.56-58, p. 486.

¹⁶⁵⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 12.18-19; c. 14.6; c. 22.23.

reading, and conversation at table, which is interrupted by a regulation that exempts the *portaria* from asking the abbess for permission to speak with outsiders (c. 9.12). It would make much more sense to place the reference to the *portaria* towards the end of chapter 9 after the prescription that no one may have a conversation without at least one witness present.

This is Jonas' provision on silence at the table (omitting the reference to the *portaria*):

¹⁰ Ad mensam uero nulla penitus praeter abbatissam uel cui abbatissa praeceperit pro communi necessitate sororum loqui praesumat, ¹¹ sed omnes intento animo gratias reddentes creatori in cordibus suis, cibi ac potus solidae mensurae largitione fruuntur. (...) ¹³ Ante mensam uero semper capitulus regulae unus aut amplius, si abbatissae placuerit, legatur, ¹⁴ ut, cum cibus carnem reficit, lectio animam satiet. ¹⁵ Haec omnia cum grauitate animi et moderatione leni fiant, quatenus in his omnibus Dominus delectetur.

[¹⁰ But at table no one should dare to speak at all except the abbess, or one whom the abbess orders to speak on behalf of the common necessity of the sisters, ¹¹ but with attentive mind all should give thanks to the Creator in their hearts and enjoy the dispensation of a substantial quantity of food and drink. (...) ¹³ But let one chapter of the rule always be read before the table, or more if it pleases the abbess, ¹⁴ so that reading may satiate the soul while food feeds the flesh. ¹⁵ All this should happen with a dignity of mind and gentle moderation, to the extent that in everything the Lord may be pleased.]

Here Jonas moves away from the topic of speech and focuses on the rituals pertaining to meals. It seems that the table is the designated place of controlled and permitted communication about necessary matters. Aside from that, the nuns should direct their mind (*animus*) towards thanking God and enjoying their meal which may be copious. Food turns thus, from a concession to human weakness to a deliberately joyful activity – as I will discuss in the commentary on the next two chapters of Jonas' Rule.

One important practical difference between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule applies to the *lectio* at the table. Jonas' retains the idea of the *lectio* as spiritual nourishment accompanying the bodily nourishment but only refers to reading a chapter of the Rule *before* meal times, as if it were spiritual appetizer. Benedict also requires the *Regula* to be read at the table but uses meals also for much more extensive readings (for example from Cassian's *Collationes*) performed by a specially appointed weekly reader whose tasks are described in detail.¹⁶⁵⁵ Jonas does not refer to a weekly reader and it is possible that Jonas' nuns did not listen to readings during meals at all.

¹⁶⁵⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38, SC 182, pp. 572-576. On the weekly reader: Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, pp. 69-97.

The last point in this section ties into the performative aspect of Jonas' monastic discipline. Everything (*omnia*, again), thus probably both speaking at table and reading the Rule, has to happen with dignity and moderation, so that in everything (*omnia*, for the sixth time in this chapter) the Lord may be pleased. Jonas takes the terms *grauitas* and *moderatio* from the *Regula Benedicti*, where it appears in a different context,¹⁶⁵⁶ but he gives it a much broader spiritual meaning, pleasing God, and he adds two important qualifiers: it is the *grauitas animi* (dignity of the mind) and the *moderatio lenis* (gentle moderation). Jonas uses *animus* largely interchangeably with *mens*,¹⁶⁵⁷ which brings us back to the *ineffrenatae mentis ignauia* (idleness of an unbridled mind) mentioned at the beginning of chapter 9. *Moderatio lenis* echoes various places referring to the soft and friendly voice, throughout the Rule.¹⁶⁵⁸ Jonas picks up this idea in the next section which notes the exception of certain feast days:

16 Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollemnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda, 17 si ex permissio abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus, 18 sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur. 19 Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio Scripturarum, quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum.

[16 But on the feast days of the Lord, that is at the day of the birth of the Lord, the feast of Easter and of Epiphany and at Pentecost, or if there are any other special sacred feasts of the Lord or of holy martyrs are to be celebrated, 17 we do not forbid to speak at table if it happens by permission of the abbess, 18 but in such a way, that they speak with a lowered voice and not with an unrestrained one, lest that for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged. 19 And it should be such a conversation on the basis of a discussion of the Scriptures that it creates profit and not harm to the soul.]

There are various remarkable aspects to this provision. Jonas assumes that having the possibility to speak is considered something like a special treat. Jonas gives leeway here to the abbess to determine to what extent the nuns may receive this favor under the condition that it benefits the soul and causes no damage. The main concern is, again, the *anima* – not that of an individual nun, but of everyone. Jonas returns, thus, to the concern about potential damage to the

¹⁶⁵⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42.9-11, p. 586: ...quod si inuentus fuerit quisquam praeuaricare hanc taciturnitatis regulam, graui uindictae subiaceat –, ¹⁰ excepto si necessitas hospitum superuenerit aut forte abbas alicui aliquid iusserit, ¹¹ quod tamen et ipsud cum summa grauitate et moderatione honestissima fiat.

¹⁶⁵⁷ See *RcuiV*, c. 1.16; c. 9.11; c. 9.15; c. 13.2; c. 16.10; c. 22.4.

¹⁶⁵⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 1.12: *inrepatio lenis*; c. 3.7: *ut omnis patientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant*; c. 2.11: *responsio lenis*; c. 2.19: *sermo lenis*; c. 20.4: punishment as *unguenta lenitatis*.

soul he expressed in the programmatic section of this chapter. One could have expected that the feast days and saints' days were especially "ritualized" and that meals were occasions to read from the *Vitae* of the respective saints and martyrs, but this was not the case. The nuns were allowed to converse – albeit on scriptural matters.

Jonas emphasizes here that voice and sound matters just as much as the words and that restraint applies even more to sound than to content – which is a theme addressed throughout the Rule: on the voice of the abbess,¹⁶⁵⁹ the friendly voice of the cellararia,¹⁶⁶⁰ the silent voice of the nuns addressing visiting priests,¹⁶⁶¹ greeting each other with *sermo effabilis*,¹⁶⁶² avoiding clatter while serving,¹⁶⁶³ and several references to acting, moving and speaking with *dignitas*, *grauitas* and *moderatio*.¹⁶⁶⁴

Three other chapters (c. 1, 3, 14) end with a reference to the reward nuns may expect (*lucrum* and *merces*). It is therefore possible that the chapter in an earlier version ended here, leading up to chapters 10-11 which return to the theme of food. The rest of the chapter on silence may have been an afterthought that was inserted later. The next statement has, in any case, nothing to do with the previous, though it picks up the term *fructus* that is used in the opposite sense at the beginning of chapter 9:

²⁰ Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis studeant custodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere.

[²⁰ Those who receive silence as a penance should altogether be eager to keep it, so that they deserve to obtain the fruit through genuine mortification.]

It is, at first sight, strange that within a chapter on the imperative of silence and controlled conversation *silentium* suddenly appears as a form of penance. This can only be explained if Jonas has in this context a different kind of silence in mind: not the prohibition to speak but the punishment of being excluded from any kind of interaction with others as it is described in the chapters on excommunication (c. 17-19).¹⁶⁶⁵ The same appears in the chapter on manual labor (c.

¹⁶⁵⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1-6.

¹⁶⁶⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 4.19/22; c. 10.14-15; c. 22.22.

¹⁶⁶¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.22.

¹⁶⁶² *RcuiV*, c. 22.5.

¹⁶⁶³ *RcuiV*, c. 11.5.

¹⁶⁶⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 7.3; c. 8.3.

¹⁶⁶⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 17.9-10: *Excommunicata uero soror, quae culpae grauioribus existentibus, aut cellula recluditur, aut a consortio congregationis separatur, a nullo paenitus aut conloquia aut uisitationis munus fruatur, nisi tantummodo, cui praeceptum ab abbatissa fuerit.*

12) which sanctions gossip with the punishment of silence.¹⁶⁶⁶ Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* refers to a *superpositio silentii* as punishment for idle talk, shouting, talking back and scolding the gatekeeper.¹⁶⁶⁷ It is likely that the *paenitentia* of silence, the punishment of silence and the *superpositio silentii* refer to the same type of sanction.

At the end of chapter 9, Jonas moves away from the topic of *paenitentia* to another practical topic. I take the liberty to insert here the provision on the *portaria* that seemed to be so out of place in the context of meal regulations:

21 Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae, necessaria conloquantur. 12 Portaria uero, quae pro necessariis causis ad eloquium expetierit, abbatissae loqui permittatur, quia forsitan talis superuenit necessitas, quae moram habere non debeat.

21 But two [sisters] who are placed at whatever place, should by no means dare to speak without a third one as witness, but they should always speak what is necessary when they are put together [in groups of] three. 12 But the porter, who for necessary reasons asks to speak, should be allowed by the abbess to do so, because perhaps such a necessity arises that should have no delay.

Jonas addresses both topics elsewhere in his Rule as well. Tasks are, according to the chapter on manual work, to be organized in a manner that two nuns never work alone, in order to avoid conversations.¹⁶⁶⁸ The chapter on the gatekeepers regulates in detail how a *portaria* has to speak with visitors and guests, possibly even in a pastoral function.¹⁶⁶⁹

In this chapter on silence Jonas places his concern with disciplining and controlling the speech and the voice in the foreground, but in the background remains his aim at disciplining and controlling the mind (*mens, animus*) by way of restraining the word and the voice. The ultimate goal is keeping harm away from the *anima*. With this in mind, we need to add another aspect to speech and silence that is not directly addressed (though somehow implied): speaking non-verbally through one's body, one's *grauitas* and *moderatio*. Verbal and bodily silence beautifully overlap in the chapter on the topic of secrecy of confession (c. 7):

¹⁶⁶⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 12.12: *Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae fabulatione delectetur, silentii poena castigetur.*

¹⁶⁶⁷ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 24-27; c. 5, p. 150, l. 3-4, c. 6, l. 20-22.

¹⁶⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 12.18-20.

¹⁶⁶⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.8-9: *Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. 9 Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.*

Chapter 7: ³ Ea uero senior, quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem.

[³ But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendor of her own mind.]

Jonas implies in this chapter that the nun authorized to hear confession is not only required to keep its content secret, but, also for the sake of her own *mens*, her body may reveal nothing of what she heard. Whatever she hears, she needs to keep enclosed in her own body through *grauitas* and *moderatio*. The penultimate chapter of Jonas' Rule, on not defending kin (c. 23), expresses a similar thought, which could also be seen as part of the imperative of silence and the silent body as a "third enclosure." No nun is allowed to speak in defense of another nun. Instead, she should keep her love enclosed in her heart – in order to prevent herself from causing harm to the other nun:

Chapter. 23: ⁷ Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, ⁸ ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.

[⁷ Let therefore in all nuns the love remain enclosed in the heart, and [this love] should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the guidance of punishment, ⁸ lest she send out the vice of defending to others].

In sum, chapter 9 is not so much a chapter on the rule of silence (*regula silentii*) but rather a chapter that explains how Jonas' Rule manifests itself in the context of silence and speech. Just as much as Jonas is not really interested in fasting (which will be discussed in the next section), he is not really interested in silence as such. Much of the long list of practices of silence that I laid out at the beginning of this chapter, somehow makes it into the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but none of it as end in itself. Jonas' main concern is how to speak, not how to not speak – and he will return to this topic in the chapter on humility and mutual interaction (c. 22). Controlling speech (and controlling the body) is a way of controlling the mind (*mens*) for the purpose of avoiding any form of harm to the *anima* (of oneself and of the other) – and the soul is the only thing Jonas really cares about.

Food (chapters 10-11)

Virtually every monastic rule contains provisions on food and on meal times – for obvious reasons. The physical survival of a community depended entirely on regular food supply; its social survival to a large extent on how food was distributed and meals were organized.¹⁶⁷⁰ Meal times are, along with liturgical Hours, anchors of organizing the day. Shared meals are markers of both equality and hierarchy. Everyone holds his or her own place at table just as much as in church.¹⁶⁷¹ Food supply, cooking, and serving were probably the most important logistical challenges, which required the participation of the entire community.¹⁶⁷² It is symptomatic that several rules determine that the *cellararius* or *cellararia*, the supply keeper of the monastery who presumably takes care of the food storage, may by no means cause discontent and unrest among the members of the community.¹⁶⁷³

Food has also an important spiritual meaning.¹⁶⁷⁴ Excessive fasting and food deprivation as an ascetic practice, as we find it praised in the *Lives* of the desert fathers, is not feasible in permanent monastic institutions.¹⁶⁷⁵ Monastic rules, therefore, redefine fasting as strictly regulated eating at determined times, abstinence from food and drink outside the meal times, and abstinence from meat, and keeping lent.¹⁶⁷⁶ They organize shared meals as community-creating ritual, often with liturgical components¹⁶⁷⁷ and strict regulations of behavior.¹⁶⁷⁸ Arriving late at

¹⁶⁷⁰ See, for example, *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 39.16-23, ed. Villegas, pp. 146-147; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 19-21, ed. Vilanova, p. 116; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 34, SC 182, p. 564; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 105.

¹⁶⁷¹ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 29-31, ed. Boon, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷² For example *Regula Donati*, c. 67, CSEL 98, p. 181.

¹⁶⁷³ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 38, ed. Boon, pp. 22-23; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7.2, ed. Schmidt, p. 243; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, PL 68, col. 400D; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 10.6-8, ed. Villegas, pp. 29-30; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.17-19, SC 182, pp. 558-560; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16, SC 106, pp. 72-84; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183.

¹⁶⁷⁴ For an overview of the history of fasting from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages, see Walker Bynum, Caroline, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: The University of California Press 1987, pp. 31-69.

¹⁶⁷⁵ *Regula Basilii*, c. 88-90, CSEL 86, pp. 122-124; c. 181, pp. 202-203; Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 4-5, SC 109, pp. 194-198; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 126; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 105.

¹⁶⁷⁶ It is noteworthy how Cassian develops this argument in book 5 of the *Institutiones*, SC 109, pp. 190-258. He slowly moves from a praise of individual fasting (without praising excessive behavior) to organized eating.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 36-37, ed. Boon, p. 22; *Regula Basilii*, c. 57, CSEL 86, p. 96; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 16, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 141.

¹⁶⁷⁸ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 30, ed. Boon, p. 21; *Regula orientalis*, c. 36, SC 298, p. 490; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, pp. 141-142.

dinner is a transgression almost as severe as arriving late at prayer.¹⁶⁷⁹ Eating and drinking secretly, outside meal times, or eating forbidden food belongs to the most serious violations of the rule.¹⁶⁸⁰ One of the nuns of Faremoutiers almost received eternal damnation for occasionally eating an apple in secret.¹⁶⁸¹ Eating may be a concession to human weakness,¹⁶⁸² but food is also described as a nourishment that is to be shared and blessed and often accompanied by a spiritual nourishment of listening to readings.¹⁶⁸³ The spiritual meaning of eating together manifests itself also in the fact that monastic *excommunicatio* entails often an exclusion from common meals and from community prayer.¹⁶⁸⁴

Chapters 10-11 address various aspects of common meals in a somewhat haphazard way. They show some vague traces of the chapters in the *Regula Benedicti*, on the measure of food and on meal times (c. 39 and 41). Chapter 40 of the *Regula Benedicti* (on drinks) does not leave traces in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* even though Jonas addresses this topic. The main theme of chapter 10 is the amount and variety of food to be served in different seasons. Chapter 11 deals predominantly with meal times, but Jonas adds to both chapters sections on several other topics, particularly on the question of *how* meals are to be consumed and served.

Since Jonas wrote his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* for a community that already used Caesarius' Rule, Caesarius' provisions on food and meals need to be taken into account as well. Caesarius refers twice to exclusion from meals as a punishment for specific transgressions.¹⁶⁸⁵ The cooks receive an extra glass of wine for their labor and the entire community has to do

¹⁶⁷⁹ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 32, ed. Boon, p. 21; *Regula Basilii*, c. 97, CSEL 86, pp. 128-129; *Regula orientalis*, c. 37, SC 298, p. 490; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 52, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 36, PL 68, col. 403B; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104.

¹⁶⁸⁰ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 35, ed. Boon, pp. 21-22; c. 41, p. 23; c. 54, pp. 29-30; c. 64, p. 33; c. 73-80, pp. 34-36; *Regula Basilii*, c. 91, CSEL 86, pp. 124-125; c. 128, pp. 158-159; Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*, c. 8, ed. Verheijen, p. 151; *Regula Macharii*, c. 29, SC 297, p. 386; *Regula orientalis*, c. 38, SC 298, pp. 490-492; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7, ed. Schmidt, pp. 242-243; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, PL 68, col. 401A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 9.14-15, ed. Villegas, p. 29; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 27, ed. Desprez, p. 138; c. 35, pp. 142-143; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 17, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 51, SC 182, p. 608; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 3-4; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 51; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, pp. 104-105; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, p. 142.

¹⁶⁸¹ VCol II, c. 22, pp. 277-279.

¹⁶⁸² *Regula Basilii*, c. 9.22, CSEL 86, p. 49; Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 7, SC 109, pp. 200-202; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 50-52.

¹⁶⁸³ Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.2, ed. Verheijen, p. 421; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 49.1-3, ed. Schmidt, p. 254; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 8.8-13, ed. Villegas, pp. 25-26; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38, SC 182, pp. 572-576; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶⁸⁴ See p. §.

¹⁶⁸⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 12.2, SC 345, p. 188: lateness; c. 13.2, p. 190: disobedience.

kitchen duties in turns.¹⁶⁸⁶ Caesarius' Rule for Nuns explicitly forbids holding *conuiuia* (festive meals) for outsiders (bishops, abbots, priests, lay men and women, the family of the abbess, religious women, and the monastery's *prouisor*). An exception can be made only for local religious women of highest repute. The nuns are also not allowed to organize *conuiuia* for outsiders.¹⁶⁸⁷ The abbess may not eat outside the monastery.¹⁶⁸⁸

Caesarius very nervously reminds the abbess, the prioress, and the nuns responsible for the care of the sick, the choir leader, and the novice mistress that they should most vigilantly ensure that nuns who were brought up delicately or who suffer from stomach pain and who fast stricter than they should, receive everything they need and that they consume what is provided to them.¹⁶⁸⁹ It is likely that Caesarius expresses here concerns about the manifest danger that nuns starve themselves to death.¹⁶⁹⁰

Moreover, Caesarius dedicates two extensive chapters of his liturgical section to meals. In his chapter on fasting, he provides a rather loose definition of fasting as a form of self-imposed austerity to be determined by the abbess. He also identifies the days of the week that nuns must fast.¹⁶⁹¹ From Pentecost to the beginning of September fasting is determined by the abbess. From the beginning of September to the beginning of November the nuns have to fast on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. From the beginning of September until Christmas, they have to fast daily except Saturday and feast days. Until Epiphany they have to fast daily. From Epiphany to Lent, fasting is limited to Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. In his chapter on the order of the meal (*ordo conuiuii*) Caesarius determines the number of dishes to be served at different meals: three dishes during fasting and two at times when two meals are served. On feast days more dishes and a dessert may be added. He also specifies the amount of warm drinks for

¹⁶⁸⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 14, p. 190. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.1-5, *SC* 182, pp. 564-566.

¹⁶⁸⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220-222. See also *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104. Compare to *Regula Donati*, c. 68, *CSEL* 98, p. 176.

¹⁶⁸⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 56, *SC* 182, p. 622.

¹⁶⁸⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 42, p. 224. See also *Regula Basilii*, c. 88, *CSEL* 86, pp. 122-123; *Regula Leandri*, c. 18, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Caesarius himself was forced to leave the monastery of Lérins after his excessive fasting had caused serious health problems. See *Vita Caesarii I*, c. 7, *SC* 536, pp. 156-158. On the problem of self-starvation, especially in female communities, see Bell, Rudolph M., *Holy Anorexia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1985.

¹⁶⁹¹ *CaesRV*, c. 67, *SC* 345, p. 258. Similar: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 49, *SC* 182, pp. 604-666. Benedict also allows his monks to determine what fasting entails. See also *Regula Donati*, c. 36, *CSEL* 98, p. 165.

different times. Fowl may only be eaten by the sick, while meat is generally forbidden, unless in cases of very serious illness.¹⁶⁹²

Jonas moderates and elaborates Caesarius' provisions and fills in a number of aspects Caesarius did not address. As we already saw in the chapter on the gatekeepers, Jonas waters down the strict prohibition of admitting guests to community meals and serving guests outside the inner space.¹⁶⁹³ Jonas allows, moreover, that the amount of drink and the times of meals may be adjusted if guests arrive, which implies that it was not uncommon that guests were welcomed to the nuns' table.¹⁶⁹⁴ Caesarius determines the week days of fasting during different seasons, without giving a clear definition of what fasting entails. Jonas does not talk about fasting (*ieiunare*) but about eating (*manducare*) and he determines at which hours of the day the nuns are supposed to eat at different seasons.¹⁶⁹⁵ This approach is similar to the previous chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which supposedly addresses silence but, in fact, mainly deals with speaking.

Caesarius regulates how many dishes are to be served at meals; Jonas establishes *what* the nuns have to eat: legumes, vegetables, a dish of dough, and fruit. Caesarius regulates how much wine his nuns are allowed to drink; Jonas focuses on beer. Caesarius is concerned about excessive fasting; Jonas emphasizes that all nuns have to receive equal portions and that no nun is allowed to receive food from a fellow sister or give away her own food.¹⁶⁹⁶

Aside from modifying and expanding what Jonas found in Caesarius' Rule, he adds various aspects that are addressed neither in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns nor in the *Regula Benedicti*. These additions largely circle around three topics that are played throughout his Rule: monastic life is determined by mutual service (*ministrare; administrare*); every aspect of monastic life contributes to the *opus Dei* and needs to be choreographed and liturgized; motivation and the internal attitude play a crucial role and are therefore the primary target of monastic discipline.

¹⁶⁹² *CaesRV*, c. 71, p. 268. On vegetarianism, e.g. Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 38-39, ed. Leclercq, p. 207; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 39.11, SC 182, p. 578; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 51, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 34-35, PL 68, col. 403A-B; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 142.

¹⁶⁹³ *RcuiV*, c. 3.21-24.

¹⁶⁹⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 10.7; c. 11.3. See also *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 15, MGH SRM 5, pp. 58-59; c. 20, p. 61; c. 23, p. 65.

¹⁶⁹⁵ On meal times, see also *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.1-4, SC 297, pp. 192-194; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 106.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Compare *Regula Pachomii. Praecepta*, c. 39, ed. Boon, p. 23; c. 98, p. 40; c. 106, p. 42; *Regula Basilii*, c. 30, CSEL 86, p. 77; c. 105, p. 133; *Regula orientalis*, c. 9, SC 298, p. 468; c. 39, p. 492.

Chapter 10 has, moreover, a theme that is not directly related to the topic of food itself: the authority of the abbess, whose *scientia*, *iudicium*, and *uoluntas* replaces, at least in the context of meals, the strict guidelines of a rule. The abbess appears no less than seven times in chapter 10 but not at all in the chapters discussing meals in the *Regula Benedicti*. Conversely, meals are not only addressed in chapters 10-11 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but appear in various other chapters, most notably in the descriptions of the tasks of the *portariae* who are supposed to serve outside the *septa*, in the context of silence at table,¹⁶⁹⁷ the tasks and responsibilities of the cooks, special food regulations for the sick,¹⁶⁹⁸ excommunication as exclusion from meals, and meal times for children.¹⁶⁹⁹

So much about the place of Jonas' food and meal regulations in the intertextual web of Caesarius' and Benedict's provision. Now let's have a look at the text itself. Chapter 10 begins with emphasizing the importance of equality and soberness of meals:

1 Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobrietate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum, 2 ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, reigionis uigeat fomes. 3 Ministrandum namque est omnibus aequa libratione tam potus quam cibus, prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint.

[1 It should be pondered by the wisdom of the abbess how much uniformity and austerity the organization and the observance of the table should proceed, 2 so that the tinder of piety is strong in all [sisters], as it behooves the servants of God. 3 In fact, all are to be served both drink and food in equal measure, as the season, feast days, [days of] abstinence or the daily practice requires.]

Jonas' use of the term *quanta* (how much) poses some challenges because it implies that the wisdom of the abbess determines the degree to which *aequalitas* and *sobrietas* are to be followed, while one would expect that *aequalitas* and *sobrietas* are absolute goods that allow no "more or less." Reading *quanta* as "how much" works if we understand *aequalitas* simply as "uniformity" rather than "equity" and *sobrietas* as "austerity" rather than "moderation". There

¹⁶⁹⁷ On silence at the table, see also *Regula Pachomii*, c. 33-34, ed. Boon, p. 21; *Regula Donati*, c. 33, CSEL 98, p. 164.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Special food regulations for the sick, see also: *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 40, ed. Boon, p. 23; c. 42-46, pp. 23-25; Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.3-5, ed. Verheijen, pp. 421-422; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 53, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 37, PL 68, col. 403B; *Regula Magistri*, c. 26.14, SC 106, p. 138; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 13, ed. Walker, p. 144; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11.2-3, ed. Villegas, pp. 18-19; *Regula Leandri*, c. 18, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶⁹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.18-19; c. 3.21; c. 3.23-24; c. 9.4; c. 9.10-19; c. 11; c. 12.18-29; c. 15.7; c. 19.4-9; c. 24.7-11.

are, as we will see, instances in which the abbess deviates from uniformity and at which meals can be more festive and less austere. The explanation *ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, reigionis uigeat fomes* (so that the tinder of piety is strong in all, as it behooves the servants of God) would allow for such a reading: it is not uniformity or austerity that matters but the “tinder of piety” kindled by whatever the abbess decides. *In omnibus* is one of the key terms that Jonas uses to express his idea of monastic life as unceasing *opus Dei* that covers all daily activities.

I suggest that Jonas is deliberately ambiguous in his use of *in omnibus*, which could relate either to “all nuns” or “all things.” The expression appears no less than eleven times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In some cases, it clearly refers to things and could best be translated with “in any regard” or “constantly”, in other cases it clearly refers to “all sisters.” At various places, however, Jonas could (and probably does) mean all things *and* all sisters.¹⁷⁰⁰ The statement *prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint* (as the season, feast days, days of abstinence or the daily practice requires) could be read as a reference to Caesarius’ Rule that indeed determines at which days in the week the nuns have to fast. Jonas continues:

4 Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus duo fercula, exceptis pomorum donis, de leguminibus uel de holeribus conferta, seu farinae qualibet consparsione.

[4 Indeed, we decide that on regular days, aside from the gifts of fruit, two dishes suffice, which are filled with legumes or vegetables and some sort of pastry of flour.]

This is one of the instances in which we hear the author’s voice (*decernimus*) with a provision that deviates from Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns. Caesarius states that on ordinary days his nuns may receive three dishes. Jonas decides that two are sufficient. Expanding on Caesarius, he specifies the nuns’ diet, which would make most modern dietitians happy (presuming that Jonas

¹⁷⁰⁰ We find the same ambiguous *in omnibus* in chapter 1.17 (abbess): *Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat.* 3.25 (gate keepers): *Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent.* 4.16 (cellararia): *Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat;* c. 15.2 (care of the sick): *Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum.* 22.23 (interaction with priests): *ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.* 23.7 (punishing): *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus.* 24.11 (children): *ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.* See also VCol II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 4: *ut in omnibus paratam habeat;* II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 26-27: *ut in omnibus sancti Spiritus gratia in ea uideretur flagrare.*

means unbleached whole wheat flour).¹⁷⁰¹ Similar diets appear in several monastic rules and hagiographic texts.¹⁷⁰²

5 Omnibus etenim aequa mensura ministrandum, praeter si aetas infirmior, quae sustinere non ualeat, aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est.

[5 For everyone is to be served with equal measure, unless a weaker age, which does not have the strength to sustain, or a sickness of the body, or the untrained novelty of a recent conversion cannot endure [this]. This has to be considered by the judgement of the abbess.]

Jonas emphasizes here for the second time that the abbess (or, in this case, the *iudicium abbatissae*) is allowed to adjust portions to age, health, and experience. The abbess is allowed to deviate from the ideal of *aequalitas*, if necessary.¹⁷⁰³ 6 Potus uero, si sycerae liquoris, id est ceruisae, mensura solita tribuatur. 7 Si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit, si labor uel festus dies uel hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitauerit, uini potio augenda est. 8 Et si duabus uicibus reficiendum sit, praeter uini potionem similis regula seruetur. 9 Festis uero diebus pro reuerentia sacrae sollemnitate pluribus cibus, id est ternis uel quaternis ferculis, sunt corpora reficienda, 10 sic tamen, ut si pluriore sunt cibaria, numero sint minora, 11 ut corpora necessario cibo reficiantur, non nimia saturitate damnentur.

[6 But drink, if it is of fermented fluid, that is to say beer, should be given according to the accustomed measure. 7 If it is the wish of the abbess, the drink of wine is to be increased if work or a feast day or the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this. 8 And if there must be two meals eaten, the same rule should be observed, aside from the drink of wine. 9 But on feast days the bodies are to be nourished with more food, that is to say, with a third or fourth dish, out of reverence for the sacred feast, 10 but in such a way that if there are more dishes, they should be smaller in size, 11 so that the bodies are fed with necessary food and not condemned by too great a satiety.]

Jonas and his nuns probably knew exactly what his *solita mensura* of beer or Benedict's *hemina* of wine entailed, but unfortunately this knowledge is lost to us.¹⁷⁰⁴ Beer is mentioned in chapter 12 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well as in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Sadalbergae*; it was probably be considered a nutritious and safe alternative to water.¹⁷⁰⁵ The

¹⁷⁰¹ Similarly detailed: Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 124-126; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 105-107; c. 10-11, pp. 107-108; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, p. 142.

¹⁷⁰² See *Regula Pachomii, Praeceptum*, c. 116, ed. Boon, p. 44; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 4, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 366; c. 15, p. 369; c. 21, p. 371; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 62.

¹⁷⁰³ *CaesRV*, c. 42, *SC* 345, p. 224.

¹⁷⁰⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 40.3, *SC* 182, p. 578. See also commentary, p. \$.

¹⁷⁰⁵ See also Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 146; *VCol* I, c. 16, pp. 179-181; I, c. 14, p. 183; I, c. 27, p. 213; II, c. 22, p. 278; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 61. On brewing beer in early medieval

phrase *si (...) hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitauerit* (if the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this) sounds a bit inflated. It remains unclear whether *praecacio* (or *precatio*) is meant in a liturgical sense. Maybe Jonas just seized an opportunity to integrate the ubiquitous imperative of love (*pietas*) into this topic. Jonas allows more dishes than Caesarius at feast days while trying to keep the amount of food the same in order to avoid satiety. The idea that satiety is to be avoided can be found in various monastic rules.¹⁷⁰⁶ Jonas combines it with his preferred term *damnare*. It's a matter of life and death.

The second part of chapter 10 moves to a different topic, the procedure for meals. It belongs to the parts of the Rule in which Jonas provides an outline of the choreography of monastic life:

¹² Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur.

[¹² When the sisters sit at the table, no one should lift up her eyes and look at another when she is eating, nor should she gaze at the share of someone else's food or drink with hostile consideration.]

Here we have the disciplining of the gaze, which we also find in the chapter on the *portaria* who is not allowed to look at those coming to the gate.¹⁷⁰⁷ Both the gaze itself and the attitude are to be disciplined.

¹³ Quando in mensam cibus administratur, nulla prius cibum comedat, quam signum ad benedicendum insonet. ¹⁴ Abbatissa uero uigilet, ut confestim cum cibus ministratus fuerit signum tangere procuret. Et omnes, cum signum audierint, una uoce benedictionem rogent. ¹⁵ Quarum uocem abbatissa subsequatur dicens: Dominus dignetur benedicere. ¹⁶ Hoc ad omnia fercula uel pomorum ac potus administrationem obseruandum est.

[¹³ When food is served at the table, no one should eat food before the sign for the blessing resounds. ¹⁴ But the abbess should be watchful that she goes ahead with striking the sign immediately when the food is served. And all the sisters should ask for the blessing with one voice when they hear the sign. ¹⁵ The abbess should follow their voice with the words: "May the Lord deign to bless." ¹⁶ This is to be observed for all dishes and the serving of fruit and drink.]

monasteries: Unger, Richard W., *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2004, pp. 26-30; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, pp. 128-129, footnotes 192-197.

¹⁷⁰⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 49, CSEL 86, p. 91; Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 97, ed. Leclercq, p. 211; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 39.7-9, SC 182, pp. 576-578; c. 40.6-7, p. 580; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 124; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 51-52; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, p. 105. See also Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 6, SC 109, pp. 198-200; V, c. 9, pp. 202-204.

¹⁷⁰⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.9. On disciplining the gaze at eating, see also Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, SC 109, pp. 142-144; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 39.16-23, ed. Desprez, pp. 146-147.

The blessing of food and the ritualization of the shared meal resonates with various references in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* which imposes penances for omitting blessings.¹⁷⁰⁸ We find this topic also addressed in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* where Eusthadius defends the practice of blessing the cup against Agrestius' accusation of heresy and deviation from common practice.¹⁷⁰⁹ The section presents the abbess in her role as mistress of time and liturgy.

Next Jonas returns to the topic of *aequalitas*: equal portions for everyone unless the abbess decided otherwise:

¹⁷ Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere ab altera praesumat, praeter abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatisa commissum est.

[¹⁷ We decide in particular that no one should dare to give to another from her share or to receive anything from another, except for the abbess or the prioress to whom it is enjoined by the abbess.]

At other places, Jonas prohibits the nuns from exchanging words, transferring objects, and doing favors to a fellow sister, prohibiting any particular ties and private interactions between nuns.¹⁷¹⁰ Here he applies this provision to the moment of eating together. This may also have been a preventive measure against individual excessive fasting. Every nun has to eat what she is served.

¹⁸ Si uero aut nouitate aut temeritate aliqua haec, quae supra diximus, fuerit transgressa, disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia.

[¹⁸ But if anyone, on account of novelty or thoughtlessness, transgresses what we have said above, she should be corrected by the punishment of the rule in keeping with the boldness of having dared to be presumptuous.]

Jonas ends this chapter like some others with a sanction.¹⁷¹¹ At this point Donatus would have identified a tariffed penance; Jonas, instead, imposes a *disciplina regularis*, a term he borrowed from the *Regula Benedicti*. Nuns violating the provisions on food are accused of *temeritas*, a term used only in one other monastic rule, the *Regula Basilii*, but at several places in

¹⁷⁰⁸ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 146, l. 3-8; c. 14, p. 162, l. 10-11; *Regula Donati*, c. 25, CSEL 98, p. 160.

¹⁷⁰⁹ *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250-251. On this passage, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

¹⁷¹⁰ For example, *RcuiV*, c. 3.11; c. 17.7.

¹⁷¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 7.6; c. 8.12; c. 12.29; c. 17.12; c. 18.5; c. 19.11; c. 20.13; c. 21.5; c. 23.9.

the *Vita Columbani*. In classical Latin *temeritas* means something like “thoughtlessness” or “rashness”.¹⁷¹² In his *Vita Columbani* Jonas combines the term with *arrogantiae* or *audacia*. Therefore, I would tentatively translate it with “presumptuousness”, a translation that would also fit *temeritas* in the *Regula Basilii*.¹⁷¹³

Now let’s move to the short chapter 11, which belongs to the few sections of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that do not appear in Benedict of Aniane’s *Codex Regularum*. It is likely that Benedict of Aniane omitted chapter 5 and large parts of chapter 14 because of its content; chapter 11 may have been omitted simply because it does not contribute a lot of new ideas. The chapter consists of two parts that are only vaguely related to each other. The first section (c. 11.1-4) regulates when the nuns should have their meals at different seasons (Lent, the period between Easter and Pentecost and the rest of the year). It is closely modelled after the chapter on meal times of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 41) and covers a topic important to most monastic rules: the organization of time. The second section (c. 11.5-8) gives a detailed description of how to serve meals – which allows us some glimpses into the daily life of the community. Jonas’ concern with rituals of serving distinguishes him from Caesarius and Benedict. His provision on proper serving is the only part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that shows parallels with the Italian *Regula Pauli et Stephani*.¹⁷¹⁴ It either means that Jonas knew this Rule but considered it otherwise not of much use, or that both texts shared the same source.

1 Ab aduentu sacratissimae sollemnitatis, id est ab introitu sanctae paschae, quo immaculati agni resurrectio celebratur, usque ad sacratam sollemnitatem pentecostes, qua Apostolis spiritus sanctus fuit diffusus, id est quinquaginta dierum spatio, ad sextam horam est reficiendum. 2 Similiter et uesperum erit caenandum, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit, ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret. 3 A pentecosten uero, si grauis labor non exigat, aut hospitem non cogat aduentus, usque ad quadragesimae inuocationem ad nonam, id est semel, reficiant, exceptis magnarum sollemnitatum

¹⁷¹² Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *temeritas* suggest “rashness”; “heedlessness”; “thoughtlessness”; “hastiness”; “want of consideration”; “indiscretion”; “foolhardiness”; “temerity”; “a rash”, or “inconsiderate, or unfounded opinion.”

¹⁷¹³ *Regula Basilii*, c. 12.3, CSEL 86, p. 59: ...*quis potest in tantum temeritatis progredi, ut audeat a se quicquam uel loqui uel cogitare?*; c. 136.5, pp. 165-166: *Necessaria uero est taciturnitas usquequo uitia si qua illa sunt linguae uel sermonum temeritas resecentur.*

¹⁷¹⁴ Compare *RcuIV*, c. 11.5: *Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant, et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobrietate ueniant, ut nullum strepitum pedum uel uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent...* to *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18.2, ed. Vilanova, p. 115: *Non cum contentione et murmuratione et indignatione et clamoris uocibus et strepitu pedum et sonu uasorum donum Dei, sed cum caritate et quiete et dulcissimo disciplinae freno sumamus...*

The expression *strepitus pedum* is extremely rare. It appears several times in the work of Boethius but nowhere else.

uentibus, aut si labor grandis exigerit, ut duabus reficiant uicibus. 4 Ab inquoatione quadragesimae usque sacratissimam sollemnitatem pascae exceptis dominicis diebus ad uesperum reficiendum est, ut ante noctis inquoationem cum statione lucis refectionis impleatur hora.

[1 From the arrival of the most sacred feast, that is from the beginning of holy Easter, at which the resurrection of the immaculate lamb is celebrated, until the sacred feast of Pentecost, at which the Holy Spirit has been poured forth on the Apostles, that is to say for the period of fifty days, one has to eat at the Sixth Hour. 2 Likewise one will also have to have a meal [at] Vespers, because the order of the holy season requires that no one who is part of the church should show [signs of] sadness. 3 But if heavy work does not require it, or the arrival of guests compels it, from Pentecost until the beginning of the forty days [of Lent] they should eat at the Ninth Hour, thus only once, except at the end of great feast days, or if heavy labor requires that they eat two times. 4 From the beginning of the forty days until the most sacred feast of Easter they should eat at Vespers except on the days of the Lord – so that the hour of meal is completed before the beginning of the night while there is still light.]

There are some pragmatic variants between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule that can be explained by differences in climate and by the requirements of work (which will be discussed in the next chapter). The *Regula Benedicti* operates on the basis of four seasons: the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost (meals at Sext and Vespers); summer, until Sept. 15 (meals at None on Wednesday and Friday and at Sext on the other days, unless heat or work determines otherwise), winter (meals generally at None) and Lent (meals at Vespers). The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* treats summer and winter equally and does not have specific regulations for Wednesdays and Fridays.

Unlike the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* adds special provisions for presence of a guest – a topic already addressed in chapter 10. Jonas assumes the presence of guests while Caesarius emphasizes that guests are, in general, not allowed to join the meals of the community.¹⁷¹⁵ Jonas' provision may be the result of Faremoutiers being part of a monastic network with considerable mobility between monasteries that had been founded as affiliations of Luxeuil. Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* explicitly states that the strict rules of fasting (one meal which is served late in the day) are not applicable to Sundays and important feast days. Both rules agree that meals should be finished before dusk.

In line with the more explanatory character of Jonas' Rule, the chapter contains descriptions of the meaning of the major Christian holidays, Easter and Pentecost. Jonas also

¹⁷¹⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 36.1-2, SC 345, p. 218.

explains why the nuns in the period between resurrection and assumption are allowed to eat two meals. His concern about the right motivation and the avoidance of *murmuratio* may have been in the back of his mind. *Tristitia* belongs, after all, to John Cassian’s octade of capital vices.¹⁷¹⁶ Jonas writes here *ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret* (that no one who is part of the church should show sadness), using the male instead of the female form (*nulla posita*). There are a few other instances of Jonas using the male form. Here it might either indicate that this chapter originally addressed monks or that Jonas makes here a general statement applying to *anyone* being part of the church.

Here follows the second part:

⁵ Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant, et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobriaetate ueniant, ut nullum strepitum pedum uel uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent. ⁶ Et primum ad seniore[m] mensam simul omnes ministrent. ⁷ Sic demum ad suam mensam, qua sederint, deferant fercula. ⁸ Praeposita mensae gubernet quomodo ex ipsa mensa mutuatim uicibus uel aetate iuniores, si fuerint, debeant ministrare.

[⁵ But when [the meal] is to be served, from each table one [sister] should rise, and they should come to the window of the kitchen with such moderation, that they do not incite any clatter of feet or dishes or any sound whatsoever. ⁶ And all of them together should first serve at the table of the elders. ⁷ Afterwards they should carry the plates to their table where they sit. ⁸ The prioress of the table has to direct how they ought to serve each other in turn at that table, or (whether) the younger, if there are any, ought to serve.

Jonas’ provisions on serving show a concern specific to him (but shared with the *Regula Magistri*): that of proper procedure and the “choreography” of a monastic life as unceasing *opus Dei*. This section provides us some information about the organization of space in the community: the kitchen and the refectory are linked through a window. We read in the next chapter that the weekly shifts of the cooks begin and end with a protective prayer and that the cooks are submitted to stricter disciplinary standards,¹⁷¹⁷ which might indicate that the kitchen was situated outside the protective inner space of the monastery. This could also have been the reason why Jonas, differently from Benedict, did not assign the task of serving to the cooks (who operate outside the *septa monasterii*) but to nuns who sit at the table.

Serving guidelines also reveal the hierarchies in the monastery and how they are to be acted out: There is a table for the senior nuns (which seem to form a defined group). This is the

¹⁷¹⁶ Cassian, *Institutiones* IX, SC 109, pp. 368-380.

¹⁷¹⁷ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 41, ed. Boon, p. 23.

only indication in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that Jonas follows Benedict in using the terms *senior* and *iunior* in an absolute and in a relative sense: there is a group of *seniors* and there are individual nuns that are *senior* to each other, based on age or moment of entry. The same applies to the *praeposita*: there is a person holding the office of prioress, as we know from chapter two, but Jonas uses the term *praeposita* also for superiors in various constellations: at the table and, as we will see in the next chapter, in groups of nuns fulfilling tasks together.¹⁷¹⁸

The most fascinating aspect of chapter 11 is Jonas' description of *how* the nuns are supposed to serve – a detail we find rarely elsewhere. The nuns have to avoid unnecessary noise, in line with several other references to a quiet and restrained voice, and they have to perform their correct attitude through their bodily movements: no stamping with one's feet. A key term, which re-appears several times in Jonas' Rule is *sobrietas* (elsewhere combined with *modestia* or *humilitas*). The *prioress* has to be *moribus sobria*; the *cellararia* has to be *sobria*; the serving at the table has to be with *sobrietas*; the nuns have to speak to visiting priests *cum modestia ac sobrietate* in order to express their *humilitas* and *sobrietas*.¹⁷¹⁹ Jonas shares his concern about *sobrietas* with the *Regula Magistri* but not with the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁷²⁰ His primary concern is, here again, not what his nuns do, but *how* they do it.

Manual work (chapter 12)

The diversity of “monasticisms” in the late antique and early medieval world manifests itself also in a diversity of economic models, ranging from monasticized aristocratic estates, thriving martyr shrines with adjacent monastic communities, urban domestic communities, to humble self-supporting crowds of followers of a charismatic individual settling in the wilderness.¹⁷²¹ Within this diversity we can observe a general shift from models of self-

¹⁷¹⁸ Columbanus also refers to a *praepositus mensae* in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 24; *Regula Donati*, c. 33.7-8, CSEL 98, p. 164.

¹⁷¹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; c. 2.6; c. 10.1; c. 11.5; c. 22.23. See also *VCol I*, c. 5, p. 161, l. 19-22.

¹⁷²⁰ Benedict uses the terms *sober* only twice, in the context of the *cellararius* and of the abbot: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1, SC 182, p. 556 and c. 64.9, p. 650. The *Regula Magistri*, c. 4.7, SC 105, p. 376 lists *sobrietas* as one of the *instrumenta spiritalia*. The Rule requires that the monks take their meals with *temperantia* and *sobrietas*: c. 23.40, SC 106, p. 118. The monks should celebrate feast days with *sobrietas*: c. 27.46, p. 148; they should be *sober* when raising for prayer: c. 29.1, p. 160; c. 33.15, p. 178; c. 50.59, p. 234. *Sobrietas* is also a requirement of abbatial authority: c. 92.16, p. 412; c. 92.81, p. 422.

¹⁷²¹ On early medieval monastic economic models, see, most recently, Kaplan, Michel, 'The economy of Byzantine monasteries', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the*

supporting communities, which depend on agricultural work or the production of tradable goods (rope weaving, producing mats or baskets, copying manuscripts), to communities that sustained themselves through the revenues of their estates, through gifts or through the wealth brought into the monastery by converts.¹⁷²² This was no linear development since ascetic individuals and communities received gifts from their origins onward and we find communities of monks working in the fields throughout the middle ages. Moreover, later monastic reform movements aimed at restoring a perceived ideal of self-supporting monastic communities. In his recent work, Peter Brown traces the transition from late Roman civic engagement to almsgiving and eventually to a support of the “holy poor”, i.e. individuals and communities living an ascetic life in voluntary poverty.¹⁷²³

Monastic rules reflect the diversity of economic models and the shift towards dependence on outside support to a certain extent.¹⁷²⁴ The *Regula Pachomii* refers several times to quasi-industrial work,¹⁷²⁵ the *Regula Benedicti* still assumes that monks work in the fields,¹⁷²⁶ while neither Augustine nor Basil imply in their Rules that their monks were engaged in agricultural or revenue-creating manual work. Ferriolus’ Rule indicates that his monastery owned slaves; Isidore’s Rule assigns important tasks to lay servants,¹⁷²⁷ but the *Regula cuiusdam patris* places

Latin West, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Devroey, Jean-Pierre, ‘Monastic economics in the Carolingian Age’, in: Beach and Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism*, vol. 1, forthcoming.

¹⁷²² Figuinha, Matheus Coutinho, ‘Pro qualitate loci et instantia laboris: Monasteries and their Human and Natural Environments in Late Antique Gaul’, in: *Medieval Worlds* 9 (2019), pp. 82-111 describes this development for Martin’s communities of Martin, Lérins, and the Jura monasteries. See also Hummer, *Visions of Kinship*, pp. 181-185 on the impact of aristocratic patronage on the role of manual labor on monasteries.

¹⁷²³ Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016.

¹⁷²⁴ For an overview of chapters on manual labor in monastic rules, see Bonnerue, Pierre, ‘Opus et labor dans les règles monastiques anciennes’, in: *Studia Monastica* 35 (1993), pp. 265-291. Réal, Isabelle, ‘Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming provides an overview of reference to manual and intellectual work in monastic rules and hagiographic texts and comes to the conclusion that monastic work was largely determined by gender differences.

¹⁷²⁵ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 26-27, ed. Boon, pp. 19-20; c. 58-72, pp. 31-34; *Praecepta ac leges*, c. 1-3, p. 71.

¹⁷²⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 41, SC 182, pp. 580-582: on meal times when the monks have to work in the fields; c. 46.1-4, pp. 594-596: working on the garden; c. 48.7-9 p. 600: Monks should harvest “if the circumstances of the place or poverty demand”; c. 50 p. 608: on monks working outside the monastery; c. 66.6-7, p. 660: on crafts performed within the monastic space.

¹⁷²⁷ *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 36, ed. Desprez, p. 43; *Regula Isidori*, c. 5.7, ed. Campos Ruiz, p. 100. See also c. 20.1, p. 119. On slaves in the monastery, see Diem, Albrecht, ‘Exclusion and the Rhetoric of Accessibility in the Late Antique and

manual labor at the center of monastic life and implies that monks are engaged in various economic activities, which may even include contractual labor, and that monks use all the revenues aside from those that they need to clothe and feed themselves, to support the poor.¹⁷²⁸

More than rules, narrative texts put an emphasis on self-sufficiency and praise suffering the hardship of agricultural work and living in collective poverty as ascetic achievements of pioneering monastic communities. This certainly applies to the corpus or hagiographic texts documenting the lives of the Egyptian desert fathers,¹⁷²⁹ but also can be seen in, for example, the *Vita Martini* or various episodes of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*.¹⁷³⁰

If their scope is wider than just depicting the generation of founders and pioneers, these texts tend to describe the shift towards living from revenues and gifts as sign of divine favor. We see this especially in the *Vita Columbani*,¹⁷³¹ and the *Vita Iohannis*,¹⁷³² but also in the *Vita patrum Iurensium*, whose first two books contain numerous references to manual work. Its third book describes the reforms under abbot Eugendus who turned the Jura communities into a professionally organized monastic network. Manual labor hardly appears in this book any more.¹⁷³³ A somewhat later and particularly striking example of this transition is the *Vita* of Benedict of Aniane, which describes in the form of a diptych the monastery of Aniane first as a community of poor monks living in humble dwellings at the verge of starvation and then as a splendid royal monastery with lavishly adorned churches. Ardo stresses the point that this shift did not change the essence of monastic life in Aniane or the ascetic discipline of Benedict of Aniane himself.¹⁷³⁴

Between the lines we can read a certain unease or at least an urge to explain and legitimate the shift from collective poverty to an individual renunciation of private possession

Early Medieval Monasticism', in: Sylvie Joye, Maria Cristina LaRocca and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *La construction sociale du sujet exclu (IV^e-XI^e siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2019, pp. 123-147, at pp. 129-131.

¹⁷²⁸ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12-14, ed. Villegas, pp. 20-21. See also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 281-282.

¹⁷²⁹ For example, *Vita Antonii*, c. 4, SC 400, pp. 138-140; c. 44, pp. 252-254; c. 50, pp. 268-272; c. 53, pp. 276-278.

¹⁷³⁰ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 7, SC 133, pp. 266-268; c. 10, pp. 272-274; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* I, c. 3, SC 260, pp. 34-36; II, c. 6, pp. 154-156; II, c. 28, pp. 216-218; III, c. 14.6-7, pp. 306-308.

¹⁷³¹ *VCol* I, c. 12-13, pp. 172-174; I, c. 15, pp. 177-179 on manual labor; I, c. 14, pp. 175-177 on receiving gifts.

¹⁷³² *Vloh*, c. 7, p. 333.

¹⁷³³ *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 10, SC 142, pp. 248-250; c. 22-24, pp. 262-264; c. 35-36, pp. 278-280; c. 57-58, pp. 300-302; c. 64, p. 310; c. 68-69, pp. 314-316; c.73, pp. 318-320.

¹⁷³⁴ Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 3; c. 6; c. 17, *MGH Script.* 15, pp. 202-206. See also Diem, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', pp. 255-258.

within a collectively wealthy community. One way of dealing with this tension, which we already observed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, consists of the sacralization of monastic property. Material possessions are integrated in the sacredness of time and space and defined as God's property. Alienating them becomes a sacrilege.¹⁷³⁵

The transition from largely self-sufficiency to reliance on revenues and external support took place as a shift of prevalent models. The diversity of options for establishing and organizing monastic communities shrank, at least in the Latin West, to an increasingly standardized processes of founding stable monastic institutions that were built and endowed by outsiders with no inclination to enter their communities themselves. An early, highly influential, example was Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, which was re-founded in 515 as a royal-episcopal collaborative project to turn a popular Roman martyr shrine into the spiritual center of the Burgundian Kingdom and a place of unceasing intercessory prayer performed by professional monks and clerics loyal to the new barbarian rulers.¹⁷³⁶ Saint-Maurice became the prototype of the royal monastery and it had a deep impact on what would become in the aftermath of Columbanus the model of monastic foundations *ex regula Columbani*: collaborative projects of monks of Luxeuil, local bishops, aristocratic families, and Merovingian kings.¹⁷³⁷

It is possible that female models of monastic life played a crucial role in the shift away from agricultural or other revenue-creating manual work. There is no evidence of religious women working in the fields and, from the beginning, female religious communities relied on external support and legal constructions that protected their property.¹⁷³⁸ A central – and controversial – aspect of Caesarius' project of a monastic community for sacred virgins, was to ensure that his virgins enjoyed perpetual economic support. He built their monastery; he supported it through ecclesiastical property; he installed a *prouisor* to take care of their economic interests; he bequeathed his own property to the monastery; and, maybe most importantly, he tried to ensure economic independence. He did so by obtaining a papal privilege and through his

¹⁷³⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 2.17-19; c. 16; Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove'. See also p. 5.

¹⁷³⁶ Diem, Albrecht, 'Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity', in: Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013, pp. 47-88; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'abbaye d'Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515-814)', in: Bernard Andenmatten and Pierre Alain Mariaux, *L'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515-2015*, vol. 1: *Histoire et archéologie*, Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio 2015, pp. 111-133.

¹⁷³⁷ Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*', pp. 77-89.

¹⁷³⁸ See also Réal, 'Nuns and Monks at Work'.

testament that, on the one hand, aimed at safeguarding economic support by his successors but, on the other hand, prevented future infringement into the economic matters of the monastery.¹⁷³⁹ Founding and sustaining his monastery was for Caesarius a legal and economic transaction and the papal privilege he obtained – with considerable effort – was one of the models for future monastic privileges that guaranteed economic independence and protection of monastic property. It is certainly not accidental that Benedict of Aniane decided to integrate this papal charter as part of Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns into his *Codex Regularum*.¹⁷⁴⁰

According to our extant monastic rules, the shift away from agricultural or revenue-creating manual work did not mean that members of monastic communities ceased to do manual labor – to the contrary, almost all monastic rules gave labor a prominent place in their regulatory system. It meant, however, that the meaning of work changed and diversified. Manual labor was not as much centered on sustaining the community, but rather on the question of organizing the day and finding a balance between prayer, reading and work. It was tied to avoiding the spiritual dangers of *otiositas* (idleness). Manual work turned, at least partly, into a strictly regulated occupational therapy or into a spiritual exercise entangled with liturgical activities

Jonas’ chapter on manual work is an important case in point for this development because it shows specific stages of a redefinition and spiritual re-assessment of manual work. Faremoutiers emerged at the crossroads of economic models that became prevalent after Columbanus and female monastic traditions, and both aspects play a role in the background of Jonas’ provisions on manual labor and his engagement with older normative traditions, particularly the *Regula Benedicti* and Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns.

If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was indeed an expansion of Caesarius’ Rule, we can assume that some variation of Caesarius’ provisions on monastic entry and transfer of property were followed in Faremoutiers. Jonas assigns to the *portariae* the role of receiving gifts from outsiders and ensuring that the nuns provide intercessory prayer in return. Moreover, Jonas “sacralizes” monastic property at several places and legitimates the monastery’s richness by calling it God’s property. He ignores all of Benedict’s references to manual labor outside the

¹⁷³⁹ See *CaesRV*, c. 64.1-3, SC 345, p. 250; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 28, SC 536, p. 184; I, c. 35, pp. 194-196; II, c. 47, pp. 212-214; Caesarius, *Testament*, SC 345, pp. 380-396; Klingshirn, William E., ‘Caesarius’s Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition of the ‘Vita Caesarii’’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 100 (1990), pp. 441-481.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Pope Hormisdas, *Privilege for Caesarius’ monastery*, SC 345, pp. 352-358.

monastery and to the buying and selling goods.¹⁷⁴¹ In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, manual labor was, primarily, domestic labor, though some of it was seasonal. It included spending time for one's individual needs (e.g. repairing clothing) and work for the community. Labor could have a penitential character. It needs to be subordinated to prayer and it is integrated into a broader liturgical framework.

Chapter 12 can be divided into six sections that are not directly related to each other but address manual labor from various perspectives. Jonas decided to integrate the questions of the organization of time with the relationship between *opus*, *opus Dei* and *lectio*, the imperative of manual work, the imperative of silence, the internal organization of the community, the “ritualization” of work, the ascetic and penitential character of labor, the performance of domestic tasks, and, additionally, the particularly perilous role of cooks. As we will see, he embedded all these aspects into his broader theological program.

Of all chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam*, chapter 12 is the most heterogeneous and, more than the other parts of the Rule, it rambles in style and grammar as if the author did not have an opportunity to give it a final round of revisions. Aside from providing a unique synthesis of different monastic traditions, it is similar to the chapter on the gatekeepers in providing access to a wealth of practical information about everyday monastic life. It also raises several questions that cannot be answered definitively.

The first section (c. 12.1-8) determines the times of manual work, reading, and periods of rest during different seasons. It forms a continuation of chapter 11 on meal times and is modeled after chapter 48.1-6 of the *Regula Benedicti*. The second section (c. 12.9-12) deals with silence at work and elaborates on Jonas more extensive chapter on silence. It is vaguely inspired by chapter 48.17-20 of the *Regula Benedicti*. The third section (c. 12.13-15) addresses the tasks of nuns who are in a state of penance, elaborating on references to penance at various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, particularly in the chapter on confession and the chapters on excommunication.¹⁷⁴² The fourth section prescribes which Psalm verses are to be prayed at the beginning and the completion of work (c. 12.16-17). The chapter ends with two sections on specific tasks: the miller and the brewer (c. 12.18-21) and the cooks (c. 12.22-29). Chapter 35 of the *Regula Benedicti* inspired what Jonas had to say about the task of the cooks. Chapter 13 of

¹⁷⁴¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.7-8, SC 182, p. 600 on harvesting.

¹⁷⁴² *RcuiV*, c. 3.14-17; c. 6.24; c. 6.28; c. 7.4-6; c. 9.20; c. 16.7-8; c. 19.5-8; c. 19.11; c. 20.9-11; c. 21.2-4.

Jonas' Rule (on tools and implements) forms a continuation of the final provisions of chapter 12 on cleaning and returning kitchen tools after the weekly shifts as cooks of the community.

Here comes the first provision:

¹ Operandum namque est omni tempore praeter dies festos, ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium. ² Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est, ut lectionis fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps lectioni diuinae uacetur. ³ Operatio manuum ab hora secunda sumat exordium et in horam nonam finem accipiat. ⁴ Ab hora uero nona lectio usitetur.

[¹ One has to work at all seasons except for feast days, in order that enough capacity is obtained from which support can be given for their own need or for someone else's need. ² But in such a way is manual work to be pursued that the profit of the reading is not missed but, as determined by the season, attention is to be given to work and afterwards [time] should be made free for the divine reading. ³ Manual work should have its beginning at the second hour and receive its completion at the ninth hour. ⁴ But after the ninth hour, reading should be practiced.]

This section is notable for its clumsy style that has little to do with Jonas' usual eloquence: a chain of passive constructions, nominal style, and gerundive structures: *habeatur usus; operi insistendum est, fructus non omittatur, intentio detur, lectioni uacetur, operatio sumat exordium, finem accipiat, lectio usitetur; opus faciendum, uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi, comneatum faciat, opus superuenerit, considerandum est, ab opere sit quiescendum, sit operandum.*¹⁷⁴³ This could either point to an incomplete revision or to a later interpolation – or maybe Jonas simply had a bad day.

Jonas' work schedule seems to be stricter than that of Benedict. His nuns are supposed to work all the time (*omni tempore*), while Benedict requires his monks to work at certain times (*certis temporis*). Benedict starts his chapter on work with the statement that *otiositas inimica est animae* (idleness is the enemy of the soul).¹⁷⁴⁴ His monks therefore have to know at all times what they are supposed to do, but that does not mean that they have to work at all times. His work schedule is shorter and more flexible, which may be motivated by the fact that his monks were supposed to do agricultural work, which was seasonal and may have been more exhausting than domestic work within the monastery.

¹⁷⁴³ On Jonas' style in general, see O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 136-154.

¹⁷⁴⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.1, SC 182, p. 598: *Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione diuina.*

Jonas does not explain his requirement to work all the time with the danger of *otiositas* but gives the following explanation: *ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium* (in order that enough is achieved to support their own need or can be given to someone else's need).¹⁷⁴⁵ It is not clear whether *propria necessitas* (one's own needs) refers to the individual nun or to the needs of the entire community and, consequently, whether the *egentes* (those in need) are other sisters within the monastery that need help (such as the sick, the weaker, the old, or children) or people outside of the monastery (for example the poor, strangers, and guests).

The question to what extent Jonas demands permanent work as mutual support within the community or in order to sustain outsiders has important implications. Internal support would imply that manual work largely consists of tasks of mutual service; support of the poor would mean that the nuns were primarily occupied with the production of goods that could be given to the poor or traded for their benefit. Caesarius and Jonas briefly refer to the care of the poor but it seems that this care was primarily funded through the monastery's surplus of revenues rather than the community's manual labor.¹⁷⁴⁶ I would therefore cautiously argue for understanding *suffragium* and the *egentes* more in the context of references to mutual support (*ministrare*) and care (*cura*) within the monastery that can be found elsewhere in the Rule

Both Benedict and Jonas require that time be divided between manual work and *lectio diuina*. From context we can conclude that Benedict understood *lectio* as reading books, particularly biblical texts which are handed out to the members of the community.¹⁷⁴⁷ In Jonas' case, however, it is not clear whether *lectio* indeed referred to individual reading or to listening to texts that are read out to the community, which would be in line with Caesarius' understanding of *lectio*.¹⁷⁴⁸ Jonas talks about the *fructus lectionis*, emphasizing that reading produces its own spiritual reward, not only for the nun herself but possibly also for the entire community. *Fructus* appears regularly throughout the Rule. Everything the nuns do has an effect,

¹⁷⁴⁵ *Suffragium* does probably not have its classical meaning (voting right, voice) but simply means "support". The term appears five times in the *Vita Columbani*. Caesarius uses it once in the prologue of his Rule for Nuns, but it appears in no other monastic rule.

¹⁷⁴⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 21.3-4, SC 345, p. 196: Caesarius discourages nuns from giving their possessions to the poor because this might lead to *superbia*; c. 42.6-7, p. 224: The nuns should not engage in regular care for the poor, but whatever is not needed by the community should be divided among the poor by the *prouisores* (stewards of the monastery).

¹⁷⁴⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.15-16, SC 182, p. 602.

¹⁷⁴⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 15, SC 345, p. 190; c. 18.2-3, p. 192; c. 22.1-2, p. 196; c. 66.3-6, p. 254.

ideally positive, potentially negative.¹⁷⁴⁹ Jonas' phrasing *lectio usitetur* (should be used for *lectio*) echoes the chapter of his Rule on education, which requires that young nuns should have the "habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may accomplish when they are brought up to perfect age."¹⁷⁵⁰ This points, in my view, to *lectio* as performative act rather than simply the ability to read books.¹⁷⁵¹

Instead of just referring to *opus* and *labor* as Benedict does, Jonas uses the expression *operi intentio dare* (directing one's mind to work). His primary interest is not the work itself but the dedication to work. The expression *intentio* is a key term in *De accedendo ad Deum* which explains that approaching God through prayer only works in a state of permanent *intentio*.¹⁷⁵² All in all, we can observe that Jonas, compared to Benedict, puts a stronger emphasis on the spiritual side of both *opus* and *lectio*. He links them to two of his key terms, *fructus* and *intentio*.

The periods in which the nuns should occupy themselves with manual work cover the entire day, from morning to late afternoon, while reading is restricted to the short time span between afternoon and vespers. Benedict gives his monks considerably more time to read: in the summer the monks have to work for three hours (if necessary). They read from the fourth to the sixth hour. Between the sixth and the ninth hour they are allowed to rest or read privately and afterwards they return to work until Vespers. In the winter time, they read from the first to the second hour, work from the second to the ninth hour, have their meal and then read until Vespers. During Lent they read in the morning until the third hour and then work until the tenth hour.¹⁷⁵³ Moreover, for Benedict the entire Sunday is dedicated to reading.¹⁷⁵⁴ There is, however,

¹⁷⁴⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.5: *fructus uocis* (positive); c. 2.15: *fructus laboris* (positive); c. 6.17: *fructus* of the community resulting from confession (positive); c. 9.4: *fructus damnationis* resulting from idle speech (negative); c. 9.20: *fructus* out of *uera mortificatio* (positive); c. 12.23: *fructus murmurii* (negative). See also *VCol* II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 13: *fructus recipere*; *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 22: *laboris fructus reciperet*; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 27, *MGH SRM* 6, p. 65: *fructus laboris*.

¹⁷⁵⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant*.

¹⁷⁵¹ On the different meanings of *lectio* in early medieval monastic rules for nuns, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 92-100; on reading in monastic rules: Mundó, Anscari, 'Las reglas monasticas latinas del siglo VI y la "lectio divina"', in: *Studia Monastica* 9 (1967), pp. 229-255; Frank, Karl Suso, 'Lesen, Schreiben und Bücher im frühen Mönchtum', in: Ursula Schaefer (ed.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1993, pp. 7-18; Illich, Ivan, 'Lectio Divina', *ibid.*, pp. 19-35.

¹⁷⁵² See p. §. The term also appears ten times in *VCol* and three times in *Vloh*.

¹⁷⁵³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.2-12, *SC* 182, pp. 598-602.

¹⁷⁵⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.22, p. 604.

the possibility that Jonas did not mention a first reading hour before the *Secunda* because it is already mentioned in Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns.¹⁷⁵⁵

Benedict's stronger emphasis on reading is reflected in the fact that Jonas omitted the provisions in the *Regula Benedicti* on handing out books during Lent and on the *circatores* who walk around and control monks during their optional reading hours.¹⁷⁵⁶ The absence of *circatores* could also be explained with Jonas' overall system of mutual surveillance. Just having a single person walking around and overseeing the nuns during their breaks would not be sufficient for upholding the total control over any spoken word that Jonas requires in the chapter on silence in his Rule (c.9).

In the next section, Jonas moves to a different topic:

5 Et si aliqua proprium aliquod opus faciendum aut uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi aut quodlibet aliud opus per abbatissae uel praepositae commeatum faciat. 6 Et si forte opus fortius superuenerit, ut maturius arripiant operari, uel propter feruentem aestum, hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est, 7 ut secundum quod tempus exigit aut fortioris laboris pondus uel ad sextam, ut iuste iudicauerit, ab opere sit quiescendum, 8 et post quietem uel refectionem usque ad uesperum sit operandum.

[5 And if [a sister] has to do any work for herself, either that clothes are to be sewn or washed or whatever other work, she may do so with the permission of the abbess or the prioress. 6 And if by chance heavier work comes up, so that they begin to work earlier, or because of the hot summer, the abbess has to consider with judgement 7 that according to what the season or the burden of heavier work requires, as she decides rightfully, one may rest from work until the sixth hour, 8 and after a rest or after meal they should work until Vespers.]

Instead of having a strict schedule for summer, winter, and Lent, Jonas leaves it to the abbess to determine whether the nuns are allowed to have a break due to hard labor or heat. This may respond to a somewhat milder climate. It also expands the range of decisions the abbess could make without having to take a strict provision of the Rule into account. *Maturius operari* (doing heavier work) indicates that the nuns had to do seasonal work nevertheless. The fact that

¹⁷⁵⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 19, SC 345, pp. 192-194.

¹⁷⁵⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.15-21, SC 182, pp. 602-604. On the *circatores*, see Bruce, Scott G., "Lurking with Spiritual Intent": a Note on the Origin and Functions of the Monastic Roundsman (*circator*), in: *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), pp. 75-89; Feiss, Hugh, 'Circatores: From Benedict of Nursia to Humbert of Romans', in: *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), pp. 346-379.

the nuns have to repair and wash their clothes shows that, at least at that point, they did not have servants working for them. Caesarius explicitly forbids having private servants.¹⁷⁵⁷

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns provides some additional information about the nuns' manual work. They perform various activities, which may include artistic or artisanal work (*artificium*) but also, most likely, work with textiles.¹⁷⁵⁸ They have to work together in one room and may only perform the tasks assigned to them. The requirement that the entire group works together would explain why Jonas imposes silence on them but does not refer to the requirement that a third person always needs to be present, which appears in the context of special tasks such as baking and brewing.

Manual work, thus, includes more than just fulfilling domestic tasks. To what extent it contributed to the sustenance of the monastery by producing tradable goods, however, remains unclear. The nuns, are, in any case, required to produce their own clothing,¹⁷⁵⁹ but they are, according to Caesarius' Rule, absolutely not allowed to clean, dye, repair, or store clothing for priests, lay people, or family members – which indicates that their textile work was predominantly for themselves. Caesarius repeats this prohibition twice and refers to the potential scandals arising from them, which indicates that the practice of doing this kind of work for outsiders was not uncommon.¹⁷⁶⁰

The next sections returns to the topic of silence that has already been addressed in chapter 9 and combines with the recurrent theme of the unceasing *opus Dei*:

9 Illud inter omnia uel abbatissa, si praesens fuerit, coerceat, aut praeposita, quae eius uice relinquitur, ut nullam paenitus monacham fabulis otiosis praeter necessariam interrogationem uacare permittat. Sed in ipso opere manuum operis Dei recordatio teneatur, 10 id est, ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, 11 interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat. 12 Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae fabulatione delectetur, silentii poena castigetur.

[9 Above all, the abbess – if she is present – or the prioress, who is left in her place, should enforce that she does not allow any nun to make time for idle conversation aside

¹⁷⁵⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 7.1-2, SC 345, p. 186. See also *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.35, SC 297, pp. 190-192. On monastic servants, see Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a tight Community shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

¹⁷⁵⁸ *CaesRV*, c. 8, SC 345, p. 186; c. 16, p. 190; c. 19, pp. 192-194; c. 29, p. 208; c. 57, p. 242.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *CaesRV*, c. 28.1, p. 206.

¹⁷⁶⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.2, pp. 236-238. See also Tilley, Maureen, 'Caesarius's Rule for unruly nuns: permitted and prohibited textiles in the monastery of St John', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 26:1 (2018), pp. 83-89.

from asking what is necessary. But in manual work the remembrance of the work of God should be kept, ¹⁰ that is to say, that while on the outside the hands are occupied with works according to the opportunity of the season, ¹¹ on the inside the mind becomes sweet through the tongue's meditation of the Psalms and the remembrance of the Scriptures. ¹² For, if a violator of his rule should please [herself] in storytelling, she should be castigated by the punishment of silence.]

This passage provides, beyond just regulating manual labor, a wealth of details about monastic life. *Inter omnia* emphasizes, in the style of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the urgency of the matter of avoiding idle talk. Silence is, as we know from chapter 9, a matter of life and death and a central part of Jonas' system of enclosure. Jonas uses, again, the term *vacare*, which in the previous sentence appears in a positive sense: making time for lecture. Here it is about making time for idle conversation.¹⁷⁶¹ This would be only one of several cases in which Jonas uses important terms with a positive and with a negative connotation, emphasizing the fine line between reward and damnation.¹⁷⁶²

Jonas states explicitly that the *opus Dei* continues in the nuns' *mens* (mind) while their hands are busy with manual work. His main concern here is not so much work itself but the *mens*, which needs to be "sweetened" through prayer and meditation on scripture. Also remarkable is the phrasing *meditatio linguae*: meditation through speaking. It is puzzling that idle talk (thus breaking the requirement of silence) is castigated with the "punishment of silence." This makes sense only if the "punishment of silence" entails more than just being forced to be silent. In his third chapter on excommunication (c. 20) Jonas prohibits any kind of interaction with an excommunicated nun. This is probably what Jonas has in mind when talking here about the "punishment of silence."¹⁷⁶³

The next section may have originally appeared at a different place in this chapter, because afterwards Jonas returns to the topic of the unceasing *opus Dei*. It elaborates on the specific work of penitents:

¹³ Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant. ¹⁴ Similiter ad caput sororum lauandum per singula sabbata uel balnearum usus per festas sollemnitates praeparent, ¹⁵ ut si sunt alia extrema facienda, penitentes faciant, ut dum mente humili et contrito corde haec propter timorem Domini faciunt, ab omnipotentis Dei misericordia celerius a suis delictis lauentur.

¹⁷⁶¹ *Vacare* also appears at least six times in the *Vita Columbani*.

¹⁷⁶² *Amor*, *fructus*, and *desiderium* are also used in a negative and in a positive sense.

¹⁷⁶³ *RcuiV*, c. 20.9-11.

[¹³ However, the penitents – if there are [penitents] – should make the fires in the common room in two pairs throughout the weeks. ¹⁴ Likewise they should prepare to wash the heads of the sisters each Saturday, and for each solemn feast [they should prepare] the use of the baths – ¹⁵ or, if other very mean things are to be done, the penitents should do them, so that while they do this with a humble mind and a contrite heart out of fear of the Lord, they are cleansed more quickly by the mercy of the almighty God from their offences.]

Jonas talks here about *paenitentes*, penitent nuns, which shows that *paenitentia* is not just an act but that it could turn into a status. The fact that *paenitentes* are not necessarily present in the monastery implies, however, that not every imposed *paenitentia* turns nuns into *paenitentes* and that this disciplinary measure is limited to serious transgressions. Jonas gives three examples of dirty work the penitents should do: making fire in the *scola*, washing the nuns' hair, and preparing baths at feast days. It seems that that *scola* may be the only heated room (or, conversely, that all heated rooms are indicated as *scolae*), that even the penitents work in weekly shifts, and that the nuns take a bath before feast days only.

The most important information, however, is hidden in the short rationale Jonas provides for his provision that penitents should do dirty work: doing this with a humble mind (*mens*), a contrite heart (*cor*), and out fear of the Lord (*timor Domini*) will lead to God's mercy (*miser cordia*) cleansing the nuns' offences more quickly (*a suis delictis lauentur*). *Mens* and *cor* are key terms throughout the Rule and the primary target of monastic discipline. Jonas seems to be convinced that work (*opus*) has an impact on the *mens* rather than just *expressing* a certain *status mentis*. *Timor* is the main motivator for discipline. After all, the nuns are permanently on the brink of damnation because of their uncontrolled *mens*. To be saved they fully depend on God's *miser cordia*. As we know from chapter 6, confession is primarily an act of cleansing one's deficits (*lauare*). Jonas explains in *De accedendo ad Deum* in detail how preparing the *mens*, cleansing oneself, and inciting God's *miser cordia* are dependent upon each other. Jonas, thus, concentrated some of his central ideas into this digression on penitents and the way in which performing heavy and dirty work was an act of redemption.

The next section of chapter 12 returns to the topic of *opus* and *opus Dei*.

¹⁶ Quando ad opera eundum est, iste capitulus psallatur: *Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos, et opera manuum nostrarum dirige super nos, et opus manuum nostrarum dirige.* ¹⁷ Quando uero finitur opus, istud dicatur capitulum: *Benedicat nos Dominus Deus noster et benedicat nos Deus, et metuant eum omnes fines terrae.*

[¹⁶ When they go to work, they have to recite this verse of the Psalms: *May the splendor of the Lord God be over us, and guide above us the works of our hands, and guide the work of our hands.* ¹⁷ But when the work is finished, this verse should be said: *May the Lord God bless us and may bless us God, and may all the ends of the earth fear him.*]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain an *ordo psallendi*, an order of the liturgical Hours; this is probably because either Caesarius' Rule had already covered this topic or because Faremoutiers followed the *ordo psallendi* laid out in chapter 7 of Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*.¹⁷⁶⁴ We find in the Rule several references to Psalms to be recited outside the liturgical Hours at different moments during a largely ritualized day: at the moment going to bed and waking up, before and after the meal and at the beginning and end of work.¹⁷⁶⁵ Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule require prayers at the beginning and the end of periods of manual work. We find them, however, in the *Regula Magistri* – another example of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* being closer to the *Regula Magistri* than to the *Regula Benedicti* in content, albeit not in wording.¹⁷⁶⁶ Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* not only requires prayer at the beginning and end of work but imposes a penance of twelve lashes on those who forgot to do these prayers.¹⁷⁶⁷

The next section turns to specific tasks and mentions two tasks within the monastery that do not appear in Caesarius' Rule (or in the *Regula Benedicti*): baking and brewing.

¹⁸ Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem. ¹⁹ Et si necesse fuerit, ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat. ²⁰ Et panem, quem faciunt per uices, senior, quae ex eis est cellarariae representet, ut omni custodia tutae in nullo reprehensibiles repperiantur. ²¹ Similiter et quae in braciatorium ad ceruisiam faciendam inhabitauerint, una ex eis senior sit preposita, quae secundum regulam pistricis omnia custodiat.

[¹⁸ But the bakers should do the common work alternating in turns, in such a way, however, that they are not less than three, because of the necessity to speak. ¹⁹ And if it is necessary that they stay there [in the bakery], they should be no less than four, and one elder among them whose piety should be trustworthy should be the prioress, who has the permission to speak. ²⁰ And the elder among them should present the bread, which they make in turns, to the cellarer, so that they, entirely controlled by vigilance, be found reprehensible in nothing. ²¹ Likewise those who stay in the brewery in order to make

¹⁷⁶⁴ Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 115-120 assumes that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expands upon Columbanus' liturgical *ordo*.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 2.17-20; c. 6.26-30; c. 8.1-2; c. 9.8; c. 14.15; c. 20.7; c. 22.22.

¹⁷⁶⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 50.42-52, SC 106, pp. 230-234. See also *Memoriale qualiter III*, CCM 1, pp. 238-240.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 2-3.

beer, should have a senior among them as prioress, to guard everything according to the rule of the baker.]

The *pistrices* have already been mentioned in chapter 3 on the *portariae*. Under certain circumstances they may keep the key of the bakery overnight, which implies that the bakery is situated outside the enclosure.¹⁷⁶⁸ Jonas repeats here (and below in the section on kitchen duties) the provision he made in the chapter on silence: no nun is allowed to communicate without a third person as witness and therefore all tasks need to be performed in groups of at least three. If they have to stay in the bakery, presumably overnight, they need a reliable fourth person as supervisor who is allowed to speak without having received permission. All of this shows, again, that silence and complete surveillance are by no means trivial matters, and that the entire life of the nuns is organized around the ideal of controlling every single spoken word.

The term *praeposita* does not only refer to the prior who leads the monastery in the name of the abbess but seemingly to any senior nun of a group. Elsewhere Jonas refers to the *praeposita mensae* who keeps control over the table and, presumably, over table conversations.¹⁷⁶⁹ The expression *bracisatorium* exists exclusively in this text (just as *lanipendia* and *posticiaria* exist only in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns). It is probably an orthographic variant of *bracitorium* or *braxatorium*, which occasionally appear in later sources.¹⁷⁷⁰ Jonas saw the need to explain the meaning of the *bracisatorium*, which implies that his readership was not necessarily familiar with this term.

The final section of the chapter covers the weekly kitchen duties by summarizing the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* on the same topic (c. 35):

22 Cocae uero per ebdomas cocinent, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad coquinandum deputentur, 23 ne inpositus sine discretione labor, unde mercedem mercari debuit, inde murmurii fructum reportet. 24 Ingredientes autem pro se orari rogent omnem coetum sororum, 25 orantes in oratione dicant: *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram*, (Ps. 123/124, 8, *LXX*) et *Adiuua nos Deus salutaris noster*. (Ps. 78/79, 9, *LXX*) 26 Exeuntes uero lauent omnium sororum pedes. 27 Et omnia uasa, quae ad necessarium usum habuerunt lauata praepositae repraesentent. 28 Similiter pro se orari rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: *Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me*. 29 Propter singulas negligentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussioibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiiores repperiantur.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.17-19.

¹⁷⁶⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 9.6; c. 11.8.

¹⁷⁷⁰ See *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, col. 1561 (*bracitorium*). Another variant is *bracionarium*.

[²² But the cooks should cook in weekly shifts, so that every week three or, if necessary, more are assigned to kitchen service, ²³ lest work (*labor*) that is imposed without discretion bears the fruit of murmuring where it should earn reward. ²⁴ But those who enter [the kitchen shift] should ask the entire group of sisters to pray for them ²⁵ and reciting the prayer they should say: *Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth, and Help us, our God Savior.* ²⁶ But those who leave [the kitchen shift] should wash the feet of all sisters. ²⁷ And they should present all vessels cleaned to the prioress, which they handled for necessary use. ²⁸ Likewise they should ask that prayer be done for them, and they should say this verse in their prayer: *Because you, Lord, have helped me and you have comforted me.* ²⁹ For each negligence both the cook and the cellarer should be corrected with twenty-five lashes on the palm of the hand on ordinary days, lest those who care little for the smallest offences be found more prone to greater ones.]

In most other cases, Jonas' revision of the *Regula Benedicti* is longer and shows more theological depth than Benedict's text, but here Jonas just summarizes and shortens his source without adding much of his own ideas. Like Benedict, Jonas emphasizes that work should be assigned in a reasonable manner since kitchen duties, like all other work for the community, are supposed to create *merces* (reward), presumably spiritual reward, which would turn into the opposite if it is carried out in discontent. Jonas follows Benedict by requiring that those entering and leaving the weekly service ask the community to pray for them – just as if they are leaving and returning to the monastery.¹⁷⁷¹ For Jonas, this may have been the case if we assume that the kitchen was situated outside of the monastic *septa*.

At the end of the week of kitchen service, the servers have to wash the feet of the entire community as a sign of humility or, maybe, as an act of penance. It is striking that Jonas and Benedict both seem to regard the kitchen as a dangerous space that requires a protective prayer at the beginning and a prayer thanking for protection and help at the end of each cooks' shift. Benedict uses Psalm 69/70, 2 as prayer at the beginning of the weekly shift. Jonas replaces it with Psalm 123/124, 8 and Psalm 78/79, 9, maybe because he uses *Deus in adiutorium intende* in the context of crossing the boundary between sleep and awakening.¹⁷⁷² Aside from assigning different Psalms Jonas makes one substantial change: Benedict requires that the cooks present their tools to the *cellararius*; Jonas orders his nuns to present them in pristine state to the

¹⁷⁷¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.15, SC 182, p. 568. On prayer for monks on a journey, c. 64, pp. 648-652.

¹⁷⁷² *RcuiV*, c. 14.14. See p. §.

praeposita: one level higher in the hierarchy. This emphasizes, in line with the next chapter, the spiritual dimension of handling monastic property with care.

Jonas imposes on cooks and the *cellararia* a punishment of twenty-five lashes on the palms of the hand for every act of *neglegentia*. This is the only instance of a tariffed corporal punishment similar to those listed in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*.¹⁷⁷³ The reason he provides is reminiscent of the beginning of the *Regula coenobialis* that requires the confession of the smallest offences because negligence in small things can lead to stumbling into greater offences.¹⁷⁷⁴ It is a remarkably harsh verdict if we keep in mind that Jonas uses corporal punishment otherwise only as *ultima ratio* in the case of unwillingness to repent.¹⁷⁷⁵ Benedict does not mention specific punishments for negligent cooks, but we find them in the *Regula Magistri*. Here cooks who do not serve punctually are to be excluded from meals. The *Regula Magistri* even uses the strong term *excommunicatio* here.¹⁷⁷⁶

It seems that Jonas' concern about *neglegentia* intersects here with the special role and responsibility of the cooks. They handle some of the most valuable property of the monastery, are in a constant situation of being tempted by gluttony, fulfill a task that has an immediate impact on the well-being of the community and could easily burn down the monastery through carelessness.¹⁷⁷⁷ Additionally, it is possible that the cooks work outside of the enclosure of the monastery, which would place them in a similar position of danger as the *portariae* whose work, as we know from chapter 3, was also under special scrutiny.¹⁷⁷⁸

There are a number of provisions in Benedict's chapter that Jonas omits: Benedict emphasizes that the kitchen service has to be done by everyone except for those who are sick or have another onerous task, which may include the *cellararius* and that those who are weak should get help (but nevertheless do their service).¹⁷⁷⁹ Jonas emphasizes at several places that only those who are suitable and trustworthy are to be assigned certain tasks, which might also apply to the cooks. Another possibility is that Jonas omitted this part of the *Regula Benedicti*

¹⁷⁷³ Cfr Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 148; c. 10, pp. 158-160.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, pp. 144-146: *Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata, quia ut scriptum est, Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit.* (Sir. 19, 1).

¹⁷⁷⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 18.5; c. 20.6-13. On corporal punishment, see Flint, 'Space and Discipline', pp. 155-158.

¹⁷⁷⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.13-17, SC 106, p. 94.

¹⁷⁷⁷ See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 10, SC 260, pp. 170-172.

¹⁷⁷⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13-16.

¹⁷⁷⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.1-6, SC 182, pp. 564-566.

because Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains a similar provision, requiring that all domestic work, including cooking, should be done by everyone, and that only the abbess and prioress are exempt from it.¹⁷⁸⁰ Benedict requires that the *cellararius* keeps track of all tools assigned to cooks. Jonas replaces this by the provisions made in the next chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Lastly, Benedict prescribes that the cooks should receive their meals before the rest of the community in order to avoid discontent and allow them to serve the others.¹⁷⁸¹ It is possible that Jonas omitted this provision because the duty of serving at the table is not assigned to the cooks but to the youngest nuns at each table.¹⁷⁸²

All in all, chapter 12 shows how consistently Jonas applied his monastic ideals, particularly the requirement of silence and mutual control, his concern for motivation and inner attitude, and the unceasing *opus Dei* to every aspect of monastic life. The question to what extent manual work included the production of tradable goods or simply domestic tasks has to remain open. Narrative sources (such as the *Vita Columbani* or other hagiography written in the aftermath of Columbanus) do not give much information on this matter either. Jonas used parts of chapter on manual labor of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 48) but placed them in framework that was probably different from Benedict's original intentions of organizing a community that sustained itself through manual, particularly agricultural, work. Jonas is rather interested in the spiritual dimension of manual work – which could serve as an act of penance – and on the relation between *opus* and *opus Dei*.

The distribution of tools (chapter 13)

The short chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is remarkable for two reasons. On the one hand, it gives us some insights in how a community deals with the logistical challenges posed by the ideal of “holding everything in common” (Acts 4, 32); on the other hand, it shows us, again, how Jonas ingeniously integrates central aspects of his monastic ideal into his revision of the *Regula Benedicti* – even in a chapter that consists only of four sentences:

XIII. DE VTENSILIBVS VEL SVPELLECTILIBVS

¹⁷⁸⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 14, SC 345, p. 190.

¹⁷⁸¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35, SC 182, pp. 564-568.

¹⁷⁸² *RcuiV*, c. 11.5-8.

¹ Utensilia monasterii et quaeque sunt ad commune opus necessaria abbatissae cura disponantur. ² Et tales in congregatione quaerantur, quarum et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata. ³ Et ipsis cura committatur, ut cuique necessaria fuerint, oportunitate exigente tribuantur. ⁴ Et sic ipsa utensilia, seu quaecumque eis ab abbatissa commissa fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent, ⁵ ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, ⁶ anteposcentes illud mentis oculis: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter.* (Ier. 48, 10)

[XIII. ON THE TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

¹ The tools of the monastery and whatever is necessary for communal work should be administered under the care of the abbess. ² And among the congregation such [sisters] should be looked for whose care of the soul is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved. ³ And the care should be entrusted to them, so that everyone is given out what is necessary, just as convenience requires. ⁴ And they should manage these tools or whatever is entrusted to them by the abbess with such anxious zeal of fear, ⁵ that they receive the reward for the care entrusted [to them] and not incur the judgment of damnation, ⁶ holding this [word] before the eyes of their mind: *Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God.*]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

Substantia monasterii in ferramentis uel uestibus seu quibuslibet rebus praeuideat abbas fratres de quorum uita et moribus securus sit, ² et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda. ³ Ex quibus abbas breuem teneat, ut dum sibi in ipsa assignata fratres uicissim succedunt, sciat quid dat aut quid recipit. ⁴ Si quis autem sordide aut negligenter res monasterii tractauerit, corripiatur; ⁵ si non emendauerit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat.

[The abbot should entrust monastery property – tools, clothing, and anything else – to brothers whose life and conduct he can rely on ² and he should allocate to each of them, as he thinks best, individual articles to be cared for and returned. ³ The abbot should keep a list of items so that when brothers succeed each other in their assignments, he knows what he is giving out and what he is getting back. ⁴ If someone fails to keep monastery property clean or is careless with it, he should be rebuked; ⁵ if he does not mend his ways, he should undergo the discipline of the Rule.]¹⁷⁸³

Chapter 13 is a logical continuation of the previous one on manual work since it addresses the distribution of the tools that are needed to perform work for the community. It is related to chapter 16 on domestic accidents and chapter 17 on individual poverty and not claiming anything for oneself, but also to various references to treating objects belonging to the monastery with care throughout the Rule.¹⁷⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32, SC 298, p. 560; transl. Venarde, p. 121.

¹⁷⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14-15; c. 3.22; c. 2.8; c. 11.5; c. 12.17.

Other monastic rules indicate that the question how to organize the individual use of collectively owned property formed a logistical and disciplinary challenge, especially for larger and economically powerful communities. There was on the one hand the problem of dealing with collective property negligently (because it is owned by no one individually) and, on the other hand, the danger that individual members of the community may claim control or even ownerships of the objects they use. Everyone who ever shared an apartment with strangers knows the problem all too well. Monastic rules show that communities dealt with these challenges in different ways. In general, monasteries assigned to the task of overseeing, distributing, and recollecting objects of everyday use to specific officeholders and separated the distribution and oversight of tools from its use. This separation between distributor or overseer and user seems to have been most effective for preventing lack of care and claims of possession.

Some monastic rules assign the task of overseer and distributor of tools and other objects of everyday use to the *cellarius* (or *equonomus*),¹⁷⁸⁵ the majority, however, appoint a different member of the community (or several members) to perform this task. The *Regula Pachomii* assigns it to the *praepositi domorum* (supervisors of the houses).¹⁷⁸⁶ The *Regula Pauli et Stephani* prescribes that different monks have to take care of different kinds of objects.¹⁷⁸⁷ It calls the one responsible for tools *custos ferramentorum*.¹⁷⁸⁸ The *Regula Isidori* provides the most detailed list of different tasks within the monastery which includes a *custos sacrarii*, who is also responsible for books, a *uestiarius*, responsible for clothing, a *ianitor* responsible for the guests, a *cellarius* responsible for storage, *ebdomadarii* who take care of cooking and the care of the sick, the flocks, and the pigs, a *hortulanus* for the garden, and a *custos* for the *instrumenta* and *ferramenta*.¹⁷⁸⁹ Caesarius invents terms for two offices of overseers, the *posticaria*, who is responsible for goods entering or leaving the monastery, and the *lanipendia* responsible for textiles.¹⁷⁹⁰ In his chapter on tools (c. 32), Benedict assigns the abbot the task of selecting different monks to oversee and collect different kinds of objects without giving their tasks a

¹⁷⁸⁵ *Regula Basilii*, c. 111, CSEL 86, pp. 137-138; *Regula orientalis*, c. 25.1-4, SC 298, p. 480.

¹⁷⁸⁶ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 81, ed. Boon p. 37; c. 105, p. 42.

¹⁷⁸⁷ *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 24-25, ed. Vilanova, pp. 117-118.

¹⁷⁸⁸ *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 35, p. 122.

¹⁷⁸⁹ *Regula Isidori*, c. 8.1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 103; c. 21, pp. 120-122.

¹⁷⁹⁰ *CaesRV*, c. 28; c. 30; c. 32, SC 345, pp. 206-212.

specific title.¹⁷⁹¹ All of these rules indicate that the *custodes* (or however they were called) played an important role in the community.

Chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is based on chapter 32 of the *Regula Benedicti*, though the overlap in wording is, compared to other chapters, scant. The content of both chapters is similar only at first sight. First and foremost, both of them refer to a different set of objects: *ferramenta* and *res* (iron tools and everything else) in the case of Benedict, *utensilia* and *supellectiles* (tools and implements) in the case of Jonas. The *Regula Benedicti* specifies that *res* also includes clothing (*uestes*). The terms *ferramenta* and *utensilia* are fairly common in monastic rules;¹⁷⁹² *supellectiles* is rare, though it appears in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* and five times in the *Vita Columbani*.¹⁷⁹³ I deliberately translate *supellectiles* with the vague term “implements” because it can refer to anything from household goods to furniture.¹⁷⁹⁴

Jonas decision to omit *res* (and *uestes*) can be explained easily. He is specifically interested in the nuns responsible for handing out working tools and not just any object because handing out other objects is covered by chapter 4 on the *cellararia*.¹⁷⁹⁵ Handing out clothing and shoes is addressed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.¹⁷⁹⁶ Jonas may, however, not only have cared about iron tools (as valuable they may have been)¹⁷⁹⁷ but tools in general, which made him replace *ferramenta* with more general expressions: *utensilia* and *supellectiles*. But these are just details.

The main difference between Benedict's and Jonas' Rule is where both authors place their emphasis. The *Regula Benedicti* prescribes that the abbot appoints trustworthy monks to oversee, distribute, and collect different objects and that he keeps track of the lists of all property of the monastery. Jonas follows Benedict by placing the distributors under the control

¹⁷⁹¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32.2, SC 182, p. 560: ...et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda.

¹⁷⁹² *Ferramenta* appear in the *Regula Pachomii*, *Regula Basilli*, *Regula quattuor patrum*, *Regula orientalis*, *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, *Regula Magistri*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula Isidori*, *Regula Fuctuosi*, and *Regula Donati*. *Utensilia* in the *Regula Pachomii*, *Regula Basillii*, Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, *Regula Fructuosi*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula orientalis*, *Regula Magistri*, and *CaesRV*.

¹⁷⁹³ *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, ed. Walker, p. 164, l. 34; *VCol I*, c. 4, p. 159, l. 23 (in the sense of “booty”): I, c. 23, p. 205, l. 20; p. 206, l. 1/7 (in the sense of “belongings”); II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 8 (tools). Otherwise, *supellectiles* appears in *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 81, ed. Boon, p. 37; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 28.1, ed. Villegas, p. 31; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 110.

¹⁷⁹⁴ See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *supellex*.

¹⁷⁹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 4.8.

¹⁷⁹⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 27.1-3, SC 345, pp. 204-206; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 44.2, p. 228.

¹⁷⁹⁷ See, for example, *Vloh*, c. 7, p. 333 on stolen sickles.

of the abbess but does not mention any lists she should keep, which is in line with the general idea that the abbess does not engage with the day-to-day business of the monastery. Benedict's main interest is, however, that every monk treats the objects he receives carefully and returns them clean. Monks who fail to do so have to be reproached and, if they do not improve, punished according to the Rule.¹⁷⁹⁸ The distributors just have to ensure proper care of the objects by their users and, presumably, report acts of negligence to the abbot.

Jonas does not address the punishment of nuns who treat the *res* of the monastery negligently or leave them soiled. This omission does not mean that he is not concerned about it – to the contrary: how the nuns deal with any object entrusted to them is addressed at various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in their specific contexts and thus well taken care of: in the chapter on the *praeposita*,¹⁷⁹⁹ the chapter on the objects used for the care of guests,¹⁸⁰⁰ in the chapter on the *cellararia*,¹⁸⁰¹ in the chapter on kitchen duties,¹⁸⁰² in the chapter on manual labor,¹⁸⁰³ and, more generally, in the chapter on domestic accidents.¹⁸⁰⁴ Caesarius addresses negligent care of objects as well.¹⁸⁰⁵

The title of Jonas' chapter, *De utensilibus uel suppellectilibus*, is somewhat misleading because he is not so much interested in the users of tools and implements but primarily in the nuns who fulfill the task of overseeing and distributing them.¹⁸⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that Jonas shares this emphasis on those who distribute rather than those who receive with the *Regula*

¹⁷⁹⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32, SC 182, p. 560: *Substantia monasterii in ferramentis uel uestibus seu quibuslibet rebus praeuideat abbas fratres de quorum uita et moribus securus sit, et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda. Ex quibus abbas breuem teneat, ut dum sibi in ipsa assignata fratres uicissim succedunt, sciat quid dat aut quid recipit. Si quis autem sordide aut negligenter res monasterii tractauerit, corripiatur; si non emendauerit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat.*

¹⁷⁹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14-15: *Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo negligentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata, ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.*

¹⁸⁰⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22: *Uasa uel reliqua utensilia, quae ad opus hospitum baiulant, ac si sacra Deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant, cuius res deripiendo non reseruant.*

¹⁸⁰¹ *RcuiV*, c. 4.8: *Curam de omnibus sibi commissis rebus habeat. c. 4.17-18: Auaritiae et cupiditatis pestem omnino fugiat. Similiter sicut non auara, sic non sit prodiga, id est, sicut dona omnipotentis dei sub auaritiae uitio occultando subtrahere non debet, sic sine iusta dispensatione nimis fenerando commune substantiam non debet diripere, sed omnia per discretionem temperando pensare.*

¹⁸⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 11.5: *...ut nullum strepitum pedum uel uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent.*

¹⁸⁰³ *RcuiV*, c. 12.17: *Et omnia uasa, quae ad necessarium usum habuerunt lauata praepositae repraesentent.*

¹⁸⁰⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 16.

¹⁸⁰⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 32.4-5, SC 345, p. 212.

¹⁸⁰⁶ On chapter 32 and its parallels in early monastic traditions, see Puzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 308-310.

Magistri but not with the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁸⁰⁷ This is just another instance where the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stands closer to the *Regula Magistri* while using words from the *Regula Benedicti*.

One of the key words of chapter 13 is *cura* (care), both the *cura* of the abbess and the *cura* of the distributors. Another one is *sollicitudo/sollicitus* (care/anxious). It seems that Jonas just uses the issue of distribution of tools as an example for explaining the absolute necessity to perform one's assigned tasks with utmost zeal and care: a case study on *cura* and *negligentia* – two topics addressed throughout the Rule.

Like in the previous chapters on office holders, Jonas provides a detailed description of the necessary qualifications of those responsible for the distribution of tools. Only nuns whose “care of the soul is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved” (*quarum et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata*) should fulfill this task. They need to care for the goods under their responsibility “with anxious zeal of fear” (*cum sollicito timoris studio*). Whether they do their work well is a matter of reward (*merces*) or the judgment of damnation (*iudicium damnationis*). Using the drastic biblical verse Ier. 48, 10: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter* (Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God.) Jonas reminds the nuns to keep always in front of the eyes of their mind (*anteponentes illud mentis oculis*) that performing this task negligently may be fatal. What Benedict considers a matter of discipline is for Jonas a matter of life and death. He returns to this idea later when he explains how every nun should deal with monastic property *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina* (as if she is a guardian of someone else's things but not as the mistress of her own things).¹⁸⁰⁸

The concern with the inner attitude appears repeatedly in various parts of the Rule.¹⁸⁰⁹ Jonas operates, again, with the dichotomy of *merces* and *damnum*,¹⁸¹⁰ contrasts *sollicitudo* and *negligentia*,¹⁸¹¹ requires that the nuns have to act under constant *timor* of failure,¹⁸¹² and emphasizes that this task is also a part of the *opus Dei* which goes beyond liturgical duties and encompasses the whole of monastic life.¹⁸¹³ As such, chapter 13 applies the essence of the Rule

¹⁸⁰⁷ *Regula Magistri*, c. 17, SC 106, pp. 84-88.

¹⁸⁰⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 17.5-6.

¹⁸⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 8.11; c. 14.4; etc.

¹⁸¹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 1.18; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 2.16; c. 2.21; c. 9.4; c. 9.19; c. 14.4; c. 16.9.

¹⁸¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.13-14.

¹⁸¹² *RcuiV*, c. 4.14-15; c. 8.5; c. 8.7; c. 12.15; c. 12.17; c. 20.7; c. 21,1; c. 24.5; c. 24.9.

¹⁸¹³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.4-6; c. 3.5; c. 2.15-16; c. 9.t; c. 12.9.

consistently on one specific task in the monastery. One could almost compare the different chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam* to cells in a body that fulfill different functions but share the same DNA.

There is a reason why Jonas comes back to the problem of negligence in dealing with *res monasterii* several times instead of just addressing it once with a simple threat of reproach and punishment according to the Rule (as Benedict does). As we know from the chapter on the gatekeepers, just as everything is *opus Dei*, every object that is part of the monastery is *sacrata Dei*, belongs to God, and therefore treating objects negligently or fulfilling one's task negligently is a sacrilege, something that jeopardizes salvation and needs to be confessed immediately.¹⁸¹⁴

Sleep (chapter 14)¹⁸¹⁵

For Jonas, sleep is not the brother of death. The dying nuns of Faremoutiers do not “fall asleep” (*requiescere*) at the end of their lives. Jonas neither uses death metaphors when talking about sleep, nor sleep metaphors when talking about death. If there is one thing his nuns cannot expect on the other side, it is *quies* – as we already know. Heaven and hell are noisy and busy. The absence of *quies*, however, may be one of the few things sleep and death share in Jonas' thinking.

The imperative of being *semper parata* (always prepared), the idea that the *opus Dei* should never end, and the objective that his nuns need to be *sub custodia* (under surveillance) at any moment, implies that sleep is the most serious challenge to Jonas' disciplinary system. It is the moment when the nuns are neither prepared nor under surveillance. Of the many flaws that may hinder the nuns' pursuit of salvation, sleep is therefore probably the most serious one. Neither their own body nor the community has any power over a mind (*mens*) that is completely out of control while the nuns' limbs are paralyzed by sleep.¹⁸¹⁶

¹⁸¹⁴ The idea is made most explicit in *Regula Basilii*, c. 103-104, *CSEL* 86, pp. 132-133, which emphasizes that objects belonging to the monastery are consecrated to God. The *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.28-30, *SC* 297, p. 198 also states that negligence is sacrilegious. See also Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 75, ed. Leclercq, p. 209; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 20, *SC* 109, pp. 148-150; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 28, ed. Villegas, p. 31; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.11-12, *SC* 106, p. 74.

¹⁸¹⁵ I would like to thank Isabel Moreira and Karina von Tippelskirch for their feedback on this specific chapter.

¹⁸¹⁶ On the experience of sleep paralysis in medieval texts, see Gordon, Stephen, 'Medical condition, demon or undead corpse? Sleep paralysis and the nightmare in medieval Europe', in: *Social History of Medicine* 28:3 (2015),

Like many of his other concepts, Jonas' notion of sleep engages with various existing ideas but is nevertheless new and distinct from those in his sources. To grasp Jonas' ingenuity, it is necessary to place him in a broader context of late antique and early medieval sleep theories. Sleep is unlike dreams,¹⁸¹⁷ a relatively unexplored terrain, aside from the recent work of Leslie Dossey, which elaborates on previous studies of Heinrich Bacht, Charles Metteer, and Jean Verdon.¹⁸¹⁸

Along with fasting and prayer, vigils, or the avoidance of sleep form the classical triad of ascetic life. Various hagiographic narratives praise monks and nuns for performing these forms of asceticism excessively and to a superhuman level. Protracted sleep deprivation or deliberately uncomfortable and painful sleeping arrangements are recurring themes in early monastic hagiographic texts.¹⁸¹⁹ Sleep deprivation is usually described as an ascetic achievement of

pp. 425-444. The idea that the soul (*anima*) remains active while the body is asleep is expressed, for example, in Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 43, ed. Jan Hendrik Waszink, *CCSL* 2, Turnhout: Brepols 1954, p. §: *Superest, si forte, cum stoicis resolutionem sensualis uigoris somnum determinemus, quia corporis solius quietem procuret, non et animae. Animam enim ut semper mobilem et semper exercitam numquam succidere quieti, alienae scilicet astatu immortalitatis; nihil enim immortale finem operis sui admittit, somnus autem finis est operis*; c. 45, p. §: *Tenemur hic de somniis quoque christianam sententiam expromere, ut de accidentibus somni et non modicis iactationibus animae, quam ediximus negotiosam et exercitam semper ex perpetuitate motationis, quod diuinitatis et immortalitatis est ratio. Igitur cum quies corporibus euenit, quorum solacium proprium est, uacans illa a solacio alieno non quiescit et, si caret opera membrorum corporalium, suis utitur.*

¹⁸¹⁷ On dreams, see, for example, Cox Miller, Patricia, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1994; Kesikaho, Jesse, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015; *idem*, 'The handling and interpretation of dreams and visions in late sixth-to eighth-century Gallic and Anglo-Latin hagiography and histories', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), pp. 227-248; Kruger, Steven F., *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992; Moira, Isabel, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2000.

¹⁸¹⁸ Bacht, Heinrich, 'Agrypnia. Die Motive des Schlafentzugs im frühen Mönchtum', in: Günther Pflug, Brita Eckert, and Heinz Friesenhahn (eds.), *Bibliothek, Buch, Geschichte: Kurt Köster zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1977, pp. 353-369; Dossey, Leslie, 'Watchful Greeks and Lazy Romans: Disciplining Sleep in Late Antiquity', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21:2 (2013), pp. 209-239, at pp. 222-226; Metteer, Charles J., 'Distraction or spiritual discipline: the role of sleep in early Egyptian monasticism', in: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 52:1 (2008), pp. 5-43; Verdon, Jean, *Night in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2002, pp. 208-212; *idem*, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 72:4 (1994), pp. 749-759. See also Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2006, pp. 86-87; Schulenburg, Jane Tibbets, *Forgetful of their Sex*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1998, pp. 387-389, and, as a fascinating attempt to write a pre-modern history of the night, Ekirch, Roger A., *At Day's Close. Night in Times Past*, New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company 2005.

¹⁸¹⁹ On sleep deprivation, see, for example, Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 4.1, *SC* 400, p. 140; c. 7.6, pp. 150-152; c. 30.2, p. 21; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 2.3 (Dorotheus), ed. Wellhausen, p. 497; c. 18.4, p. 537 (Macharius of Alexandria); c. 19.11, p. 555 (Moses the Robber), c. 32.4, p. 592 (Pachomius); Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*, c. 12; transl. David Bell, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1983, pp. 45-46; *Vita Pachomii* (Bohairic version), c. 191, transl. Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, p. 233; *Vita Pachomii* (first Greek version), c. 14, pp. 306-307;

overcoming the weakness of the body, as an opportunity to increase the time dedicated to meditation and prayer or as a protective measure against demons who could seize control of a person through dreams and visions.

One important aspect of regulating coenobitic life consists of domesticizing excessive forms of ascetic practice. A community may admire their founding saints who lived in a remote past for their awe inspiring ascetic achievements, but living a proper monastic life does by no means require emulation of them in acts no normal human being would be able to achieve.¹⁸²⁰ To the contrary, competitive asceticism had, as we can infer from various monastic rules, a potential of disrupting a community.¹⁸²¹ Monastic rules usually require that everyone does the same thing, and overachieving needed the permission of a superior. Fasting, thus, turns from self-starvation into regularized eating in moderation, keeping Lent and abstaining from food and drink outside of the designated meal times. Unceasing prayer turns into observing the Hours, regulated by various forms of liturgical discipline, punctuality, and mental presence. It required an astute awareness that the *opus Dei* remains at the center of monastic life.¹⁸²² Sleep deprivation turns into going to bed at the same time, rising for nightly prayer in a disciplined manner and beginning the day together. The *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* explicitly discourage sleep deprivation as an ascetic practice. Both rules allow afternoon naps; the *Regula Magistri* warns, in line with ancient medical theories on the digestive role of sleep, against the bodily effects of having to get up before one's meals are fully digested.¹⁸²³

Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, prologue, SC 90, p. 126; c. 32, p. 188; *Vita patrum Iuvenium*, c. 64-65, SC 142, pp. 310-312; c. 127, p. 376; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 22, MGH SRM 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8-9, MGH SRM 2, pp. 383-384; *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 87-88, ed. Boon, pp. 38-39; Cassian, *Collationes XII*, c. 15.2, SC 54, p. 144.

¹⁸²⁰ See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings'. The transformation from the individual radical asceticism of a monastic founder to a moderate monastic discipline of his followers and the community established around him, is a theme addressed in the *Vita Columbani* but also in numerous other hagiographic texts, for example, the *Lives* of Antony, Pachomius, Martin, the Jura Fathers, Benedict, Caesarius, Radegund, or Benedict of Aniane.

¹⁸²¹ See, for example, Cassian, *Collationes II*, c. 16-17, SC 42, pp. 131-132; IV, c. 20, pp. 185-186; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, ed. Walker, p. 166, l. 23-24.

¹⁸²² See, for example, Cassian, *Institutiones II*, SC 109, pp. 56-88; Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline', pp. 31-33.

¹⁸²³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, SC 182, p. 600; *Regula Magistri*, c. 33.19-24, SC 106, p. 180; c. 50.56-61, p. 234. On afternoon naps, see also *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 11, ed. Vilanova, p. 112. Athanasius criticizes excessive sleep deprivation. See Athanasius, *On Sickness and Health*, c. 6, transl. David Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995, p. 312; See also *ibid.*, p. 90. Cassian also criticizes excessive sleep deprivation in *Collationes II*, c. 16-17, SC 42, pp. 131-132. On sleep and digestion, see Gordon, 'Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?', p. 429. See also Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', pp. 232-233.

A part of this process of “domesticating” radical asceticism and redefining fasting, vigils and ceaseless prayer is turning acts that might undercut ascetic ambitions and could be considered a defeat and a concession to human weakness into activities essential to constituting a community. The shared meal becomes one of the most important, highly ritualized communal activities.¹⁸²⁴ The unceasing individual dialogue with God and the perpetual weeping about Christ’s passion and one’s own sinfulness is now confined to specific moments of the day and becomes the unified, collective praise of God performed by the entire community, which, as an act of intercession, turns into the *raison d’être* for monastic life. Sleeping becomes, next to eating and praying, the third moment in which all monks or nuns come together and constitutes themselves as community.¹⁸²⁵ At meals, in the choir and in the dormitory everyone holds his or her fixed place.¹⁸²⁶ The exclusion from table, the oratory, or the dormitory is perceived as a severe punishment.

One of the silent but fundamental turning points in the history of coenobitical monasticism was the introduction of the dormitory, the shared dwelling where all members of the community were supposed to sleep – usually in single, private beds, under surveillance, and with a candle burning all night.¹⁸²⁷ There are three Latin sources that describe the introduction of the dormitory as a deliberate act of reform. The *Vita patrum Iurensium* tells how Eugendus, the third abbot of the Jura monasteries, took a fire in the monastery of Condat as an opportunity to abandon the practice of the “eastern archimandrites” by turning the monastery into a single architectural unit with a common dormitory instead of private cells.¹⁸²⁸ This must have happened around the turn of the sixth century.

¹⁸²⁴ See, for example, *RcuiV*, c. 8.16-19.

¹⁸²⁵ See, for example, *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 46, SC 142, p. 290: *Et oratione cum reliqua sollemnitate percepta, uescuntur simul, una manent pariterque consurgunt...*

¹⁸²⁶ For example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.7, SC 182, p. 542; *Regula Magistri*, c. 29.2-3, SC 106, p. 161. Other examples: *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 46, SC 142, p. 290; *Vita Caesarii I*, c. 6, SC 536, pp. 154-156.

¹⁸²⁷ On the dormitory, see De Vogüé, Adalbert, “Comment les moines dormirent”. *Commentaire d’un chapitre de la Règle de Saint Benoît*, in: *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 25-62; De Vogüé, Adalbert, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, vol. 5, SC 185, pp. 664-697; Diem, Albrecht, ‘Organisierte Keuschheit. Sexualprävention im Mönchtum der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters’, in: *Invertito. Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 3 (2001), pp. 8-37, at pp. 13-15; Bauer, Nancy, ‘Monasticism after dark: from dormitory to cell’, in: *American Benedictine Review* 38:1 (1987), pp. 95-114; Verdon, ‘Dormir au Moyen Âge’, pp. 755-756; *idem*, *Night in the Middle Ages*, pp. 146-150.

¹⁸²⁸ *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 170, SC 142, p. 422: *Iste etiam, refutato archimandritarum orientalium instari, utilius omnes uniuert in medium. Distructis namque mansionum aediculis, uno cunctos secum xenodochio quiescere fecit, ut quos causa unitae refectiois una claudebat aedicula, discretis quoque lectulis una ambiret et mansio; cui tamen lumen olei, sicut in oratorio, indeficiens noctibus praebebatur.*

The requirement to establish dormitories as measure to protect the reputation and chastity of monks appears no less than three times in Justinian's *Nouellae* (in 535, 539 and 546).¹⁸²⁹ In the year 567 a regional council at Tours decided, among a number of other provisions for improving the moral standards of monks, nuns, clerics, and lay people, that monasteries have to build dormitories in which all monks sleep in their own beds. The acts of this council do not leave much doubt that this was a measure to prevent sexual transgressions:

And to prevent any chance that rumor damages honesty, which might happen because there are some lay people who are committing many sorts of adultery and conclude that what they know about themselves, other people would commit as well, (...) just to knock the bottom out of such assumptions, no priest or monk may share his bed with another person. And it is forbidden for monks to share a cell with another monk, where they could deposit property. All monks have to build at common expense a *scola* where everybody sleeps in the presence of the abbot or prior. Two or three monks have to stay awake and read alternately, to ensure not only custody of the bodies but also by their assiduous lecture a continuous improvement of the souls.¹⁸³⁰

Demonstrative chastity may, however, not have been the only reason for introducing dormitories. Charles Metteer developed in his study on sleep deprivation the thought-provoking thesis that one of the reasons for suppressing sleep in early monasticism was the idea that sleep is essentially an anti-social activity that withdraws the individual monk from the community.¹⁸³¹ Making sleep a common activity that brings the entire community together in one room resolves this problem and contributes to making sleep deprivation obsolete – at least in this regard.

It is likely that the introduction of the dormitory also formed part of a broader development towards organizing the monastery as an architectural unit with clear boundaries and no private spaces, replacing older settings: monastic villages, cities, or inhabited islands that consisted of communal buildings and more or less private cells.¹⁸³² None of the fourth- and fifth-

¹⁸²⁹ Justinian, *Nouella* 5.3 (535); ed. ed. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin: Weidmann 1895, pp. 31-32; *Novella* 123.6 (539), p. 619; *Novella* 133.1 (546), pp. 666-667.

¹⁸³⁰ Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CCSL* 148A, p. 181: *Et ne occasio famam laceret honestatis, quia aliqui laici, dum diuersa perpetrunt adulteria, hoc, quod de se sciunt, in aliis suspicantur, sicut ait Seneca: Pessimum in eum uitium esse, qui in id quod insanit, ceteros putat fuere, ut et ipsi putantibus aut certe estimantibus locus amputetur, nullus sacerdotum ac monachorum colligere alium in lecto suo praesumat nec liceat monachis cellas habere communis, ubi aut bini maneant aut peculiare reponi possint, sed scola laborem communi construatur, ubi omnes iaceant aut abbate aut praeposito inminentem, ut, dum duo uel tres uicissim et legunt et excubant, alii consolentur, ut non solum sit custodia corporum, sed et surgat pro lectione assidua profectus animarum.*

¹⁸³¹ Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline', pp. 36-40.

¹⁸³² Evidence for monks living in cells, for example: Jerome, *Ep.* 22, c. 34, *CSEL* 54, p. 197; *Regula Pachomii*, c. 88-89, ed. Boon, p. 39, c. 112, p. 43; *Regula orientalis*, c. 7-8, *SC* 298, pp. 466-468; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 12.3, *SC* 109, p. 80; c. 15.1, p. 84; IV, c. 16.2, p. 142; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 13.1, ed. Wellhausen, p. 521

century monastic rules refers to common sleeping rooms. The move towards the monastic dormitory runs against a general development towards private sleeping places in Roman villas, which Dossey interprets as a symptom of an increasing desire for privacy.¹⁸³³

The assumption that the dormitory was an innovation is underlined by the fact that there was, certainly until the eighth century, no standard expression to describe shared sleeping quarters. The expression *dormitorium* appears for the first time in the *Regula Ferrioli* which was written around the middle of the sixth century, but it rarely appears elsewhere (though Jonas uses it).¹⁸³⁴ Our sources use various terms, some of which are just generic expression for common room, others usually refer to various types of rooms: *atrium*, *cella*, *cellula*, *domus*, *locus*, *mansio*, *mansorium*, *scola*, *triclinium*, *xenodochium*.

The first monastic rule that explicitly required a common dormitory was Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.¹⁸³⁵ All nuns have to sleep in their own bed in a shared sleeping room (*cellula*, *scola*). Being allowed to sleep in the dormitory is the definitive step to being admitted into the community.¹⁸³⁶ Later, we find references to sleeping rooms – and to single beds – in Caesarius' Rule for Monks, in Aurelianus' Rules, the *Regula Ferrioli*, the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Donati*, and most of the Visigothic Rules.¹⁸³⁷ Columbanus' *Regula*

(Apollonius); c. 32.3, p. 592; c. 32.11, p. 595 (Pachomius); c. 43.4, p. 637 (Adolius); Dionysius Exiguus, *Vita Pachomii*, c. 22, ed. Cranenburgh, p. 126; *Vita Hilarii*, c. 15, PL 50, col. 1236. See also De Vogüé, SC 185, pp. 664-697; *idem*, 'Comment les moines dormiront', pp. 39-46.

¹⁸³³ Dossey, Leslie, 'Sleeping arrangements and private space: a cultural approach to subdivision of late antique homes', in: David Brakke, Deborah Deliyannis, and Edward Watts (eds.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Farnham: Ashgate 2012, pp. 181-197, at pp. 186-193. On sleeping arrangements, see also Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', pp. 753-754.

¹⁸³⁴ *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 33.9, ed. Desprez, p. 142. Jonas uses it once in *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272 and in *RcuiV*, c. 16.2. The only other monastic rule that uses *dormitorium* is *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 139. Chrodegang of Metz uses *dormitorium* in his *Regula canonicorum*, c. 3, ed. Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 30-31. Later we find it regularly in monastic texts.

¹⁸³⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 9.1-2, SC 345, pp. 186-188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem, nec habebit cubiculum uel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiarius claudi possit; sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula. 2 Quae uero senes sunt et infirmas, ita illis conuenit obtemperari uel ordinari, ut non singulae singulas cellas habeant, sed in una recipiantur omnes, ubi et maneant.* See also c. 51.1, p. 236.

¹⁸³⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 4.3-4, SC 345, p. 182: *De ipso tamen habitu mutando uel lecto in scola habendo, sit in potestate prioris, 4 et quomodo personam uel conpunctionem uiderit, ita uel celerius uel tardius studeat temperare.*

¹⁸³⁷ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 3, SC 398, p. 206: *Cellam peculiarem aut armariolum uel quamlibet clausuram nullus habeat; in una scola omnes maneant;* Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 8, ed. Schmidt, p. 243: *Nulli liceat cellam aut armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi quod peculiarius claudi possit, habere.* c. 33, p. 250: *Omnes diuisis maneant lectulis.* c. 35, p. 250: *Hoc specialius coram Deo monemus custodiri, ut nulli liceat cum alio secretius loqui aut sedere, praecipue uespertinis et nocturnis horis. 2 Si secreta inuenti fuerint, tamquam si crimen admiserint, seuerissime dstringantur, 3 absque illis qui probati sunt aetate et sanctitate.* See also Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 6, PL 68, col. 401A. Chapter 33 and 35 of Aurelianus' Rule for monks do not appear in the female

coenobialis, however, still states that two monks share a cell and refers to various separate buildings within the monastery, which makes it likely that Columbanus' first foundations distinguished themselves from most continental monasteries by their spatial organization, their use of cells and the absence of a dormitory.¹⁸³⁸ There are no references to common sleeping rooms in later Irish monastic rules either. We can therefore cautiously assume that Columbanus organized his first communities according to models he found in Ireland.¹⁸³⁹

Jonas of Bobbio however, recounts that Athala rebuilt the monastery of Bobbio towards the end of his tenure, making the *septa monasterii* “more dense”, renewing the roofs and “strengthening everything.”¹⁸⁴⁰ It is possible that this act of rebuilding and “bringing everyone under one roof” in a more dense spatial setting was based on similar intentions as Eugendus' rebuilding of Condat and also included building shared sleeping quarters. The dormitory may have belonged to the contentious elements of reform and adjustment to local practice that took

version; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 16.1, ed. Desprez, p. 133: *Cellam singularem, praeter abbatem, neque ad manendum, neque ad alium quemcumque usum, ulli habere liceat monachum.* c. 32.1-2/8-9, pp. 141-142: *Vt duo, quamlibet proximi uel amici, propter secretam orationem, quae melius ad Deum nullo teste dirigitur, ut animo et uno lectulo non teneantur; 2 ut maiorem licentiam orandi credit sibi mens conpuncta concessam, dum neminem uigiliae suae aut testem pertimescit, aut iudicem. (...)* 8 *Hoc ergo ut deuotus quisque uacatione concessa utilius possit implere, strati sui, ut supra diximus, erit solus ipse possessor, 9 habens secum meliori commutatione pro dormitorio fratrem Dominum uigilantem.* *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109/121, SC 106, pp. 30-32: *Singulos praecipimus non binos per lectum dormire. (...)* *Lectis eorum lectos habeant praepositi prope propter aliquam, ut diximus, uitiorum culpam in eis emendandam et ut reuerentius praesente maiore dormiant.* c. 29.1-6, SC 106, pp. 160-162: *Aestiuo tempore, dicta sexta, aut in ieiunio aut post refectionem omnes repaudent, ut noctibus ipsis breuibus sobrii a somno fratres diuino operi et orationi leues consurgant. 2 Nam in uno atrio uelut triclinio lecta in ordine circuitu ordinentur. 3 In quo circuitu lectum abbas in medio habeat, 4 ut omnium taciturnitatem uel reuerentiam in circuitu considerans, omnium ouium suarum gregem intra unum ouile collectum quasi diligens uel sollicitus pastor adtendat. 5 In quo atrio pendeat cicendelus, qui cottidie a cellarario factus ab eudomadariis ad seram ante completorios incendatur, ut uideant diuersi quomodo se collocent. 6 Qui postquam se omnes percollocauerint, a supradictis tutetur, si forte indigentia olei in monasterio sentiatur;* *Regula Donati*, c. 11, CSEL 98, p. 153; c. 65, pp. 179-180; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 110; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, p. 155. The *Regula Tarnatensis* is the only sixth-century monastic rule that is not clear on this matter. It both prohibits monks from having their own dwellings and prohibits monks from entering their fellow monk's cells without permission (which implies that they had cells). See *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18 (based on *CaesRV*, c. 9, SC 345, pp. 186-188); c. 7.4-5 (based on *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 89, ed. Boon, p. 39).

¹⁸³⁸ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 146-148, l. 30-1: *Qui egrediens domum ad orationem poscendam non se humiliauerit et post acceptam benedictionem non se signauerit, crucem non adierit, XII percussioneibus emendare statuitur;* c. 15, p. 166, l. 16-17: *Si cum illo qui cellae suae cohabitator non est confabulari quantulumcumque praesumpserit, superpositione.* Another reference to a private cell can be found in the *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 12, MGH SRM 5, p. 18. In this case, however, the author may be referring to a cell for guests.

¹⁸³⁹ Ó Maidín, Uinseann, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996. References to cells: *Rule of Ailbe*, c. 26, p. 23; c. 49, p. 27; *Rule of Carthage*, c. 27, p. 72.

¹⁸⁴⁰ *VCol II*, c. 5, p. 237, l. 5-6: *Septa monastirii densat, tegumenta renouat, omnia roborat, ut, si abeat, nihil inbecille dimittat.*

place in in the generations after Columbanus’ death. A generation after Jonas, Wandregisel visited Bobbio with the purpose of inspecting its dwellings (*habitaciones*), possibly in order to imitate them in his own foundation of Saint-Wandrille.¹⁸⁴¹

Jonas shows, however, that Faremoutiers had a dormitory. When two nuns tried to escape from the monastery, a sudden flash lit up the *dormitorium* or *domus* and awakened all the nuns.¹⁸⁴² In his Rule, Jonas uses both *dormitorium* and *scola*, a term which he may have picked up from Caesarius. It is not clear whether he considered *scola* a technical term for dormitory or just a generic term for a shared room. According to the chapter on confession, the nuns gather in the *scola* after the Second Hour in order to give confession.¹⁸⁴³ Moreover, the *scola* seems to have been a place (maybe the only place) that was heated – a task assigned to penitents.¹⁸⁴⁴ Either the nuns did return to their dormitory after the Second Hour or any common room could be called a *scola* and the dormitory was just the *scola* dedicated to sleeping.

Chapter 14 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is titled “How (*qualiter*) the nuns should sleep in the (or: in a) *scola*.” The expression *qualiter* is important: Jonas does not impose *that* the nuns have to sleep in a shared room, which is a given, if we assume that Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns was already present; he explains *how* they should do so. His provision deviates from most other monastic rules: Instead of requiring that all members of the community sleep in their own, single beds, as other monastic rules explicitly do, Jonas prescribes that two nuns share one bed. This is also one of the few points where Jonas clearly disagrees with Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns, and it is probably not by accident that we hear his own voice here: *Proinde ergo decernimus* (therefore *we* decide; later in the chapter he uses *censemus*, *we* determine).¹⁸⁴⁵ Outside of monasteries, in the early medieval west shared beds were more common than private beds.¹⁸⁴⁶ The author of the *Regula Magistri*, Isidore and Fructuosus explicitly require that only one monk

¹⁸⁴¹ *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 9, MGH SRM 5, p. 18. On Wandregisel’s visit to Bobbio: O’Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, p. 240.

¹⁸⁴² VCol II, c. 19, p. 272.

¹⁸⁴³ RcuIV, c. 6.23: *Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio.*

¹⁸⁴⁴ RcuIV, c. 12.13: *Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant.*

¹⁸⁴⁵ See p. §.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Dossey, ‘Sleeping arrangements’, pp. 184-185.

– *and not two monks* – sleep in a bed,¹⁸⁴⁷ which implies that other monasteries did not necessarily require single beds.

A dangerously simple interpretation of Jonas' shared beds-rule would be that he considered his community of nuns less prone to committing sexual transgressions than communities of monks. Such a reading could be supported by the fact that the Rule of Aurelianus of Arles contains the prohibition against sharing beds only in its version for monks, but omits it in its female version.¹⁸⁴⁸ However, not only Aurelianus' Rule for Nuns but also the *Regula Tarnatensis*, which addresses a community of monks, omits the requirement that all monks sleep in their own bed when quoting from Caesarius' Rule.¹⁸⁴⁹ Donatus, on the other hand, requires single beds for his nuns.¹⁸⁵⁰ Gender may thus not have been the decisive criterium for requiring or prohibiting shared beds.

There is no doubt that single beds, safe distances between beds and individuals, and prohibitions against communicating at night were motivated by concerns about the reputation of the community, about sexual transgressions, or about various acts that may *include* sexual transgressions.¹⁸⁵¹ The bed is a dangerous place, and the anxiety about beds as places of potential impurity manifests itself in a different way in hagiographic texts that describe the bed – of the saint – as a special place of power.¹⁸⁵²

¹⁸⁴⁷ *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109, SC 106, p. 30: *Singulos praecipimus, non binos per lectum dormire; Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Capos/Rocca, p. 11: *Duobus in uno lecto iacere non liceat; Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, p. 155: *Duo in uno lecto non iaceant*.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 33, ed. Schmidt, p. 250: *Omnes diuisis maneant lectulis*, omitted in his *Regula ad uirgines*. Another potential references to the danger of same-sex activities in chapter 35, p. 250 is also omitted in the female version of Aurelianus' Rule.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Compare *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18 to *CaesRV*, c. 9, SC 345, pp. 186-188.

¹⁸⁵⁰ *Regula Donati*, c. 65, CSEL 98, pp. 179-180.

¹⁸⁵¹ *Regula Pachomii*, c. 95, ed. Boon, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, SC 298, p. 494. *Vita Pacomii*, c. 153-154, ed. Diem/Müller, p. 269; *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.118-121, SC 106, pp. 30-32; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 35, p. 250; *Regula Isidori*, c. 17, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 116; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, pp. 155-156. The *Regula Ferrioli*, explains that monks who share a bed might disturb each other in their prayer: *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 32, ed. Desprez, pp. 141-142. See also Diem, 'Organisierte Keuschheit', pp. 9-15.

¹⁸⁵² Power of the bed, for example: *Vita patrum Iulensium*, c. 78, SC 142, p. 324: healing miracle; *Vita Caesarii I*, c. 30, SC 536, p. 186, I, c. 50, p. 218: punishing miracles for abusing the bed Caesarius slept in; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, c. 84, MGH SRM 1, p. 352: healing miracle; Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus Martini*, III, c. 42, MGH SRM 1, p. 192: a monk burns a defiled bed after a warning vision; *Vita Eligii II*, c. 76, MGH SRM 4, p. 738: a man punished for having sex in a monk's bed. See also Keskiaho, *Dreams and visions*, p. 235; Van Dam, Raymond, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press 1985, p. 192.

Both the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* make clear that anxiety about same-sex desire existed in female communities as well.¹⁸⁵³ But sexual desire was by no means the only issue related to sleeping arrangements. Another issue – maybe just as serious – was that the bed remained the only truly private space in the monastery, which also served as the place where monks or nuns stored objects for their personal use and, potentially, hid illicit objects or food. Various monastic rules address this problem.¹⁸⁵⁴ The requirement to share a bed as we find it in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could have been motivated by the dangers of abusing the bed as hiding place. Sharing a bed means making it much less of a private space, ensuring mutual control and, possibly, taking away the luxury of sleeping alone (if this was indeed considered a luxury). For that reason, Jonas may have weighed the potential dangers of sharing a bed against the potential advantages of de-privatizing the bed. Chapter 14 is devoted to keeping these potential dangers under control.

Jonas' sleep anxiety

For Jonas, the most perilous aspect of sleeping arrangements is not the potential abuse of darkness, physical proximity or uncontrolled communication. It is sleep itself – and here Jonas distinguishes himself from Benedict, Caesarius, Columbanus, the *Regula Magistri* and almost all other monastic rules in which sleeping arrangements are a matter of organization and of prevention of forbidden acts that could be committed in bed while being awake. In the light of what nuns could commit while being asleep the pragmatic question whether they have to sleep

¹⁸⁵³ *Regula Donati*, c. 32, CSEL 98, p. 163 (on *iuuenculae* not being allowed to speak to each other at certain times, not holding hands and on keeping physical distance between nuns): *Prohibetur, ne pro dilectione aliqua nulla alterius teneat manum, siue steterit siue ambulauerit siue sederit. 2 Quod si fecerit, duodecim percussionibus emendetur. 3 Iuuenculae quibus inponitur terminus, ut non se appellent inuicem, si transgressae fuerint, quadraginta percussionibus paeniteant.* This is the only passage of the rule where the author uses a section from *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 95, ed. Boon, p. 40, which addresses the prevention of same-sex sexuality. On friendship and sexual desire among women, see Sautman, Francesca Canadé and Pamela Sheingorn (eds). *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, New York: Palgrave 2001, pp. 85-99; Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, pp. 348-363; Wilfong, Terry G., 'Friendship and Physical Desire. The Discourse of Female Homoeroticism in Fifth-Century CE Egypt', in: Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (eds.), *From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press 2002, pp. 304-329.

¹⁸⁵⁴ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39; *Regula orientalis*, c. 7, SC 298, p. 466; Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 30.2, SC 345, p. 208; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 22, SC 398, p. 220; Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7.1, ed. Schmidt, p. 242; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, PL 68, col. 401A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 11; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 139; c. 16, p. 156.

alone or share their beds with a fellow sister becomes rather trivial. Sleep could, as Jonas mentions once, give access to demons – an idea we find only in a handful of other monastic rules.¹⁸⁵⁵

The problem of demonic intervention is usually discussed in the context of erotic dreams and nocturnal emissions. Various monastic texts, discuss how to assess whether nocturnal pollutions were the result of sinful thoughts and dreams or of overindulgence in food, or just natural occurrences and healthy reminders of human imperfection. Depending on the reasons behind a nocturnal pollution, which should be brought to light through introspection and confession to a superior, a monk could face anything from a temporary exclusion from prayer (as a concession to the imperatives of ritual purity) to excommunication.¹⁸⁵⁶ In contrast to Columbanus, who briefly addresses nocturnal pollutions in his *Regula coenobialis*,¹⁸⁵⁷ Jonas does not explicitly deal with this theme, though it may have been in the back of his mind. The fact that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written for a community of women is not necessarily a reason for not mentioning nocturnal pollutions. Donatus and the female *Regula Columbani* assume that they could happen to women as well.¹⁸⁵⁸

One important question in ancient medical, philosophical and theological theories of sleep was whether sleep puts both body and mind to rest or whether the mind, the soul or parts of the soul remain active while the body is asleep.¹⁸⁵⁹ The assumption that the mind is – or could be

¹⁸⁵⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 8.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio. Liber Orsiesii*, c. 6, ed. Boon, pp. 111-112; Evagrius Ponticus, *Praktikos*, c. 54-56, SC 170, pp. 624-632; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 13, SC 109, p. 82; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 156. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 5, SC 265, pp. 172-176. Bacht, 'Agrypnia', pp. 363-364 and Brakke, *Demons*, pp. 86-87 provide more source references.

¹⁸⁵⁶ The most extensive discussion on nocturnal pollutions can be found in Cassian's *Collatio* XXII, SC 64, pp. 114-135. Studies on nocturnal emissions include Brakke, David, 'The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995), pp. 419-460; Elliott, Dyan, 'Pollution, illusion, and masculine disarray: nocturnal emissions and the sexuality of the clergy', in: Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schulz (eds.), *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 1997, pp. 1-23; Leyser, 'Masculinity in Flux'; Murray, Jacqueline, 'Men's Bodies, Men's Minds: Seminal Emissions and Sexual Anxiety in the Middle Ages', in: *Annual Review of Sex Research* 8 (1997), pp. 1-26. For references to nocturnal emissions in penitentials, see Moreira, Isabelle, 'Dreams and Divination in Early Medieval Canonical and Narrative Sources: The Question of Clerical Control', in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 89 (2003), pp. 621-642, at p. 629, n. 22.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 154-156.

¹⁸⁵⁸ *Regula Donati*, c. 34.2, CSEL 98, p. 164; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, female version, 4-8, p. 235.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Dosey, 'Disciplining sleep', pp. 212-222 argues that Greek scientific and theological traditions largely assume that the rational mind is not active during sleep so that the lower, irrational parts of the soul could take over power. Therefore one should aim at retaining control over the rational parts of the soul by disciplining sleep through diet, contemplation, and abstinence from sleep. See also footnote § (Tertullian).

– active during sleep has serious consequences. It determines the way dreams are to be assessed. It requires, especially in Platonic traditions, a discipline of sleep that consists of dietary precautions, the avoidance of harmful impressions during the day that could impact sleep,¹⁸⁶⁰ the conscious evasion of disturbing or indulging thoughts before falling asleep, limiting sleep time and avoiding deep sleep. Sleep should be carefully prepared for and the moment of falling asleep is a particular matter of concern. The uncontrolled but active mind could fall prey to demonic intervention or receive contact with the divine.¹⁸⁶¹

Athanasius of Alexandria attributes alertness of the mind during sleep to saints,¹⁸⁶² and we find this motive repeated in various hagiographical texts. Caesarius of Arles, who required his clergy to sleep with him in the same room, meditated while sleeping and preached during his sleep – which must have been very annoying for the members of his episcopal household.¹⁸⁶³ Radegund required that her nuns read to her while she was asleep and reproached them whenever they stopped. Radegund, Rusticula, and Leoba sing Psalms while being asleep.¹⁸⁶⁴ All of their *Vitae* refer to Cant. 5, 2: *Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat* (I sleep, and my heart keeps watch) – a verse we will encounter in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well. It is unclear whether Jonas was directly influenced by the idea of the (potentially) active mind as we find it in various patristic texts. The sources of which we know for sure to have been available to him do not operate on the basis of the idea of the mind being active during sleep and, in general, contributed little to his understanding of sleep.

Among monastic rules, only the *Regula Basilii* theorizes on the nature of sleep, although without elaborating on the question of the active mind. Basil recommends coenobitical life because a community will ensure that a monk won't fall prey to the traps of the devil and fall asleep “in a slumber that leads to death.”¹⁸⁶⁵ He states that the sleeping body is more susceptible

¹⁸⁶⁰ Cassian, *Institutiones* VI, c. 11, SC 109, p. 274; *Collationes* XII, c. 7.4, SC 54, p. 132.

¹⁸⁶¹ Dossey, ‘Watchful Greeks’ and Metteer, ‘Distraction or spiritual discipline’ provide an overview of medical, philosophical and theological sleep theories.

¹⁸⁶² See also Athanasius, *On Sickness and Health*, c. 6; transl. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, p. 312: “For the sleep of the saints possesses contemplation of better things, and while their body is lying still on earth, the mind travels through outer places and flies up from earth to heaven.”

¹⁸⁶³ *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 46, SC 536, p. 212; II, c. 5-6, pp. 246-250.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, c. 9, MGH SRM 2, p. 384; c. 19, pp. 390-391. Similar: *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 6, MGH SRM 4, pp. 342-343; Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 11, MGH Script. 15, p. 126. Cassian also assumes that one can pray during sleep (not only sleep during prayers): Cassian, *Collationes* IV, c. 2, SC 42, p. 168.

¹⁸⁶⁵ *Regula Basilii*, c. 3.20-23, CSEL 98, p. 29.

to harm,¹⁸⁶⁶ and that untimely sleep is an effect of losing awareness for God and becoming forgetful of his judgment.¹⁸⁶⁷ Basil praises the monk who awakens his fellow monks because a monk suffers harm by sleeping since he has no awareness (*sensus*) of himself.¹⁸⁶⁸ As a result, Basil imposes the particularly harsh punishment of *excommunicatio* upon a monk who gets annoyed or angry upon being awakened from sleep.¹⁸⁶⁹ Another monastic text addressing sleep is Evagrius' *Prouerbia ad monachos*. Evagrius states in form of a proverb that too much sleep "fattens" the *sensus*, while vigils keep it "slim" and excessive sleep brings forth temptation while the one who stays awake escapes them.¹⁸⁷⁰ The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* do not theorize about sleep; they show, as I already pointed out, a rather lenient and permissive attitude which runs contrary to ascetic ideas of sleep deprivation. They are mainly concerned that monks do not share their beds and sleep a safe distance from each other.¹⁸⁷¹ The notion that a monk cannot sin during his sleep is pushed to an extreme in Hildemar's Commentary to the *Regula Benedicti* from the mid-ninth century. Hildemar fiercely and nervously condemns sodomitic acts between monks – unless they just happen in their dreams. In this case, there's not much to worry about.¹⁸⁷² Jonas would have been horrified by this idea.

Jonas's references to sleep elsewhere in his Rule provide important contexts for understanding what he wants to say in this chapter. Sleep plays a prominent role in his chapter on the priors. It is the priors' task to visit the beds of each nun once a week in order inquire about their *neglegentiae* and to control whether they have kept something with them illicitly and without permission.

16 Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum.

¹⁸⁶⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 9.8, p. 47.

¹⁸⁶⁷ *Regula Basilii*, c. 55, p. 95.

¹⁸⁶⁸ *Regula Basilii*, c. 75, pp. 109-110: *Si quis cognoscit damnum quod de somno patitur, cum neque sui ipsius sensum habet, et intellegit quantum sit lucrum uigiliarum et praecipue cum uigilatur ad glorificandum Deum in orationibus, 2 ita debet habere eum qui ad hoc se inuitat et suscitatur dormientem tamquam eum per quem diuina lucra et caelestia dona consequatur, 3 siue is ad orationem siue ad aliud quodcumque mandatum Dei inuitat et prouocat.*

¹⁸⁶⁹ *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, p. 110.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 48-49, ed. Leclercq, pp. 207-208: *Somnus multus incrassat sensum, uigilia autem bona adtenuat eum. Somnus multus adducit temptationes, qui autem uigilat effugiet eas.*

¹⁸⁷¹ Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', pp. 232-233.

¹⁸⁷² Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 23, ed. Mittermüller, p. 339; c. 35, p. 350.

[¹⁶ Every Saturday after the Ninth Hour of prayer, both the senior and the junior prioresses should visit the beds of all the sisters, and they should do [that] in order to investigate their negligence: whether anything may be found retained illicitly and without permission.]

Moreover, the nuns' beds are to be visited after Compline:

¹⁷ Itemque post completam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant.

[¹⁷ Likewise, after Compline, they should visit the beds of all [the sisters] with lanterns, so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters].]

The nuns are to be observed as well whenever they rise for nightly prayers.

¹⁸ Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. ¹⁹ Et eas, quas tarditate uel segnitia culpabiles reppererint, prout culpa uel aetas fuerit, aut increpatione aut flagello corripiant.

[¹⁸ This is to be done likewise at all nighttime services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity. ¹⁹ And those whom they find guilty of tardiness or sluggishness, they should chastise with exhortation or by the scourge, according to guilt or age.]

The first of these three provisions has important practical implications that I have already addressed. The bed is both a storage place and a potential hiding place for objects of personal use. The nuns *may* keep objects there, but only with the *commeatus* (permission) of the abbess.¹⁸⁷³ A similar regulation is present in Donatus' Rule, where nuns may have a closet next to their beds, as long as it cannot be closed with a key.¹⁸⁷⁴

The second and third provision point us directly to Jonas' anxieties about sleep. He is especially interested in controlling the pivotal moment when the nuns fall asleep and when they wake up – the moment most prone to visions and nightmares.¹⁸⁷⁵ Both moments require the attention of superiors. They are supposed to observe whether the nuns are mentally well prepared with “an alert disposition” (*sensus expergescens*) for entering this twilight zone of sleep. They also observe what influence sleep has had on their state of mind and whether they eagerly (*cum feruore*) do what they are supposed to do at the moment of regaining control over themselves. Tepidity at this pivotal moment is not a trivial issue and needs to be punished severely. We

¹⁸⁷³ On *commeatus*, see p. §.

¹⁸⁷⁴ *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1, CSEL 98, p. 153.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Gordon, ‘Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?’, p. 426; Verdon, ‘Dormir au Moyen Âge’, pp. 757-758.

encounter a similar concern in the *Regula Basilii* that imposes *excommunicatio* on monks who are angry when awakened from sleep.¹⁸⁷⁶

The idea that sleep needs to be prepared for carefully, that God should be the first thing on an awakening mind, and that a prayer should be one's very first activity, are not unique to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.¹⁸⁷⁷ Antony recommends his monks to say a prayer before falling asleep and immediately after waking up.¹⁸⁷⁸ Ambrose recommends praying Psalms and the Lord's Prayer at these moments.¹⁸⁷⁹ Cassian emphasizes, like Jonas, that a prayer should be the first thing on a monk's mind; it is even the same prayer that Jonas requires.¹⁸⁸⁰ Radegund is praised for being "right there" when she awakes.¹⁸⁸¹ Isidore of Seville states in his Rule that before monks sleep they should suppress improper thoughts and embrace good thoughts, assuming that whatever a monk thinks and imagines when falling asleep will determine the movement of the soul during sleep.¹⁸⁸² Jonas himself refers in chapter 9 of his Rule to an *oratio ad somnum capiendum* (prayer before going to sleep).¹⁸⁸³ We can find such a protective prayer, for example, in the eighth-century Sacramentary of Gellone or in the late eight-century *Memoriale qualiter*.¹⁸⁸⁴ None of these sources, however, require that falling asleep and awakening happen under the controlling eye of superiors and that the state of mind at these two moments is a matter of monastic discipline.

¹⁸⁷⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, CSEL 86, p. 110.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', p. 750; Moulin, Léo, *La vie quotidienne des religieux au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Hachette 1978, pp. 29-33.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 55.3, SC 400, p. 282.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Ambrose, *De uirginitate* 3.4.19, ed. Franco Gori, *Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera*, vol. 14.2, Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana 1989, p. 224. See Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', p. 232.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Cassian, *Collationes XXI*, c. 26, SC 64, pp. 100-101.

¹⁸⁸¹ Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 9, MGH SRM 2, p. 384.

¹⁸⁸² *Regula Isidori*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111: *Cogitationesque prauas a se repellat bonasque amplectens; turpes a se reiciat, nam animi motus imaginibus suis agitatur, et qualis uigilantis cogitatio fuerit, talis et imago per soporem incurrit.*

¹⁸⁸³ *RcuiV*, c. 9.8: *Ab hora uero completionis, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, nulla omnino loqui praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit.*

¹⁸⁸⁴ *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* 468 (2862), CCSL 159, p. 453: *Benedic domine hoc famulorum tuorum dormituro, qui non dormis neque dormitas, qui custodis israel, famulos tuos huic domui quiescentes post laborem custodi ab inlusionibus fantasmaticae satanae, uigilantes in praeceptis tuis meditentur, dormientes te per soporem sentient, qui iacob in somnis apparuisti innixum scale. Per Dominum. Memoriale qualiter VI.18, CCM 1, p. 260: *Gratias tibi ago, domine sancte pater omnipotens, qui me dignatus es in hac die custodire per tuam sanctam misericordiam; concede mihi hanc noctem mundo corde et corpore sic pertransire, qualiter mane surgens gratum tibi seruitium exsoluere possim.* See also Moreira, 'Dreams and Divination', p. 627.*

Jonas returns to the topic of immediate alertness in his chapter on liturgical discipline (c. 8) where he emphasizes that both during the day and during night time the nuns have to rise for prayer quickly, with all haste, but in dignity, in order to express with their body that nothing is more important than the *opus Dei* and that the *mens* immediately fully dedicates itself to prayer.¹⁸⁸⁵ Jonas determines that the nightly Hours should be announced by a trustworthy sister who has a “passionate and energetic *mens*” (*quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit*), to prevent the delay of the *opus Dei*.¹⁸⁸⁶

The provisions on the nuns’ sleep in Jonas’ chapters on the prioress and on liturgical discipline express a basic idea which forms the center of Jonas’ theory of sleep. Jonas’ primary disciplining interest is, as we know from various other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *mens*, the mind, which should be submitted to a painstaking program of discipline and control.¹⁸⁸⁷ This concern about the *mens* distinguishes Jonas’ Rule from those of Benedict, Caesarius, and Columbanus, where the *mens* is virtually absent, and from the *Regula Basilii*, which only shows some concern about the “wandering of the mind” in the sense of a lack of concentration.¹⁸⁸⁸

The reason for Jonas’ anxiety about falling asleep and awakening is revealed in his chapter on confession (c. 6). We already saw that Jonas deviated from Columbanus’ provisions by inserting a third round of confession early in the morning. Jonas is extremely concerned about the *fragilitas*, *imbelicitas*, *tepiditas*, and *torpescere* that may overcome the nuns during the

¹⁸⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 8.1-2: *Quandocumque uel diurnis uel nocturnis horis ad opus diuinum signum insonuerit, mox cum summa festinatione surgendum est, ac si praeco regis insonet, omni opere, quod in manibus habebatur, postposito, ut nihil operi dei praeponatur, sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi dei innixa cum omni grauitate et mansuetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et pietatis eius gratias referendas festina currat.*

¹⁸⁸⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 8.11-12: *Horas uero ad cursum procurare iuxta dispensationem abbatissae debet cuicumque ordinatum fuerit, id est quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit ad hoc opus idonea inuenta, ut opus Dei non tardetur. Si uero qualibet occasione a iusto ordine deuiatum fuerit, ut non secundum suum ordinem horae custodiantur, superpositione damnetur.*

¹⁸⁸⁷ See p. 5.

¹⁸⁸⁸ A list of the few references to the *mens* in these rules: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.5, SC 181, p. 442 on the abbot instilling his teachings into the *mens* of his disciples; c. 19.7, SC 182, p. 536 requires that during prayer the *mens* must be aligned with the *uox* (voice). See also *CaesRV*, c. 15.1, SC 345, p. 190 on occupations that do not distract the *mens* from the readings. Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 126 expresses concerns that too much food may burden the stomach and confuse the *mens*; c. 7, p. 132 relates the ability to pray to the capacity of the mind; *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, p. 166, l. 23-24 punishes those who through the ardor of the *mens* excel in their measure of devotion. *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.9, CSEL 86, pp. 39-40, c. 34, p. 80; c. 128.1, p. 158; c. 144.1, p. 171 on *uagatio mentis*. See also c. 8.26-27, pp. 44-45 and c. 58.1, p. 97: *mens intenta*.

daytime – and this applies even more to sleep.¹⁸⁸⁹ The *fragilitas* has the effect that the nuns can commit serious faults during sleep with both their bodies and their minds. The *mens* of the nun remains active during sleep while the nuns lose control over their body (*caro, membra*) and cannot restrain the mind anymore.¹⁸⁹⁰

There is only one effective reparative act, which is the same as for all transgressions committed during daytime: immediate confession. No nun may begin the day without confessing what she has done while she had no control over herself:

²⁰ Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari. (...) ²³ Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante completorium faciendum est

[²⁰ Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be seen to be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. (...) ²³ The abbess, however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given.]

It is remarkable that Jonas shares his anxiety about sleep and the necessity of immediate confession with Donatus. In one of the few sections of his Rule that he probably wrote himself, Donatus expresses a similar idea:

Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, demum pariter orantes dicant: “Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.”¹⁸⁹¹

[In this place they should first ask for forgiveness and each of them should give confession of their carnal and filthy or nocturnal visions. Then they should say together in prayer: “Your mercy, Lord, come over us, just as we put our hope in you.”]

Jonas and Donatus differ on a small yet significant nuance. For Donatus, the danger is caused by nocturnal *uisiones*, by dreams that may come over his nuns.¹⁸⁹² Donatus ties his sleep anxiety into the existing discourse on the potential sinfulness of nocturnal pollutions and erotic dreams and the imperative to reveal nocturnal pollution to a superior in order to have their

¹⁸⁸⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.2; c. 2.18; c. 6.20; c. 14.1; c. 14.4; c. 15.11. *Fragilitas* appears five times in Faremoutiers section of the *VCol*; *imbecilitas* thrice; *tepiditas* once; *tepor* twice; *torpescere* twice.

¹⁸⁹⁰ See p. § and p. §.

¹⁸⁹¹ *Regula Donati*, c. 19.3-5, CSEL 98, p. 157.

¹⁸⁹² See also *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1, p. 164.

sinfulness assessed.¹⁸⁹³ Jonas is not explicitly interested in sinful dreams and visions that may come over a nun but assumes that the nuns actively sin through their mind and body. Throughout his *Vita Columbani*, dream visions have a positive meaning and, in general, reveal the truth.¹⁸⁹⁴ His examples are those of an active mind capable of perceiving good things: Abbot Carantoc dreams that Columbanus and his community are in dire need and rushes to help.¹⁸⁹⁵ Columbanus himself foresees the political future of Clothar II.¹⁸⁹⁶ Ercantrudis receives a vision in which God releases her from her guilt and allows her to take communion again.¹⁸⁹⁷ Leudebertana is warned in her sleep that she will die soon.¹⁸⁹⁸

For Jonas, sleep is perilous because the weakened body is incapable of restraining the mind, which is the reason that Jonas is particularly concerned about what the body does at the moment when the nun awakens. Almost every reference to sleep in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* emphasizes bodily weakness and the “pressure” and “captivity” sleep causes to the body. Columbanus’ mother awakens “after sleep has released her limbs” (*postquam sopor membra laxauit*).¹⁸⁹⁹ Sleep “has suddenly overpowered” Columbanus (*quem subitus sopor obpressit*).¹⁹⁰⁰ Leudebertana receives her vision “when she had relaxed her limbs in sleep” (*cum sopore membra laxasset*).¹⁹⁰¹ The nuns who should wake with Leudebertana are “pressed down by sleep” (*sopore depressae*).¹⁹⁰² When they were waking for the sick Bithildis “sleep overpowered all of them” (*omnes sopor oppressit*).¹⁹⁰³ And Jonas himself describes how he was overcome and paralyzed by sleep: “so great a sleep weighed on me that I was unable to

¹⁸⁹³ Compare, for example, to *Regula Isidori*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111: *Qui nocturna inlusione polluitur publicare hoc patri monasterii non moretur culpaque suae merito hoc tribuat, et occulte paenitentiam agat, sciens quia nisi praecessisset in eo turpis animi cogitatio, non sequeretur fluxus sordide adque imundae pollutionis*, etc. See also c. 17, p. 115 on not disclosing a nocturnal pollution to the abbot.

¹⁸⁹⁴ For the wider context: Metteer, ‘Distraction or spiritual discipline’, pp. 17-21; Moreira, ‘Dreams and Divination’; Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35-56 (on patristic theories about assessing true and false dreams).

¹⁸⁹⁵ *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165.

¹⁸⁹⁶ *VCol* I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 19.

¹⁸⁹⁷ *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 8-18.

¹⁸⁹⁸ *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1-2.

¹⁸⁹⁹ *VCol* I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 10.

¹⁹⁰⁰ *VCol* I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 19.

¹⁹⁰¹ *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1-2.

¹⁹⁰² *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 19.

¹⁹⁰³ *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 22.

lift up my head” (*tantus me sopor oppressit, ut sursum caput attollere non ualerem*).¹⁹⁰⁴ Aside from the *Regula Magistri*, no monastic rule mentions the *membra* (limbs) in the context of sleep.¹⁹⁰⁵

Jonas’ chapter on sleep

Jonas’ scattered references to sleep, the activity of the *mens*, the weakness of the body, the danger of committing transgressions during sleep, the anxiety of falling asleep and waking up, and the imperative of control are tied together in chapter 14. The chapter begins with a very dense reflection on the nature of sleep and the imperative of maternal care. It concludes with a series of new practical implementations that expand those Jonas had already inserted in previous chapters. The first part shows no traces of the *Regula Benedicti*; the second part shows some allusions to Benedict’s chapter on the sleep of the monks (c. 22). Jonas’ view on sleep as a complicated and perilous matter is beautifully, though probably not intentionally, reflected in the fact that his entire introduction on the matter consists of one long convoluted sentence:

¹ Cum semper relogiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, ² ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat, ³ iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio et cor meum uigilat*, ⁴ tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.

[¹ It is true that souls, who are always pious and dedicated to God, prepare the mind which is ready for God, both at the daily and the nightly hours, ² in order that the soul forcefully remains attentive to the praises of the Creator in incessant vigilance, even though the limbs grow stiff with sleep, ³ according to this word: *For I sleep, and my heart keeps watch*. ⁴ Nevertheless one has to observe at all times with skillful care that the subdued limbs do not contract the harm of weakness through negligence of maternal attentiveness.]

Jonas’ object of concern is, as in other parts of the Rule, the *anima*, the soul of a nun. Ideally – though not necessarily in reality – the soul is always dedicated to God – as expressed several times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, in the *Vita Columbani* and in *De accedendo ad*

¹⁹⁰⁴ *VCol* II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 4-5; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 230. Jonas experience aligns with symptoms of what neuropsychologists describe as sleep paralysis. See Gordon, ‘Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?’, pp. 426-429, providing other examples of sleep paralysis described in medieval sources.

¹⁹⁰⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 31.3, SC 106, p. 168: *defessis membris*.

Deum. The soul is supposed to remain attentive and to keep the *mens* prepared – day and night – just like heart of Caesarius, Radegund, or Leoba. The expressions *semper* and *parata* are key. Jonas’ nuns have no break, not even while being asleep, because it is, ideally, only their body that is weakened and paralyzed by sleep, not their mind. Jonas underlines this idea by placing the biblical verse Cant. 5, 2 at the center of his argument: *Ego enim dormio, et cor meum uigilat* (I sleep, and my heart keeps watch).¹⁹⁰⁶ This verse does not appear in other monastic rules, but Jonas uses it in his own *Vita Iohannis*. In both cases he uses the variant *Ego enim dormio* instead of *Ego dormio*, a variant that can only be found here.

This passage from the *Vita Iohannis* is complementary to the provisions on sleep in his Rule. While watching the fields at night during harvest, an ordinary monk named Claudius gets anxious that his fellow monks may miss the Hours of prayer by being deep asleep. Maybe he was the one who was usually in charge of awakening them (as described in chapter 8 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). This passage is steeped with expressions we find in chapter 14 and other parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It describes both the ideal state (represented in the watchful Claudius) and a dire reality (represented in necessity of a miracle to prevent the monks from oversleeping):

Qui cum somno caperet, hac intempesta nocte euigilans, mentis ardorem ad caelum tolleret iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio, et cor meum uigilat* (Cant. 5, 2), coepit cogitare, ne, fessus artus, sodalium membra nimio occubuissent sopore, neglectuque orationis usu, in aurore aduentum iustum tramitis usum deferrent. Cumque hec anxio cordis animo trucinaret, uidit subito caelos apertos et micantem globum totum lustrare mundum.

[And having taken some sleep, waking at the dead of night; he raised the ardor of his mind up to heaven, in accordance with the words “For I sleep and my heart watches”, and he began to worry that, tired in limb, the bodies of his companions might lie in excessively deep sleep, and with the act of prayer forgotten they might put off the proper performance of routine until the coming of dawn. And while he considered this in the anxious soul of his heart, he suddenly saw the heavens opened and a glowing globe illuminate the entire world.]¹⁹⁰⁷

The ideas expressed in this passage of the *Vita Iohannis* are very close to those expressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: The possibility that the weakened limbs (*membra*) may prevent the nuns from waking causes panic for Claudius, which is only soothed when realizing that a glowing globe ensures that his fellow monks wake up. We know the glowing globe from

¹⁹⁰⁶ On *cor*, see p. 5.

¹⁹⁰⁷ *Vloh*, c. 16, p. 339, l. 10-17; transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 258.

the *Vita Columbani* where it awakens the community to prevent two nuns from secretly escaping.¹⁹⁰⁸

In the *Vita Iohannis*, it is an ordinary monk who “sleeps while his heart keeps watch” – and his abbot warns him not to disclose the miracle he experienced due to his vigilance. In other hagiographic texts, this ability is a mark of sanctity and human weakness makes it, as Jonas knows best, impossible to reach this perfect state of continuous alertness and dedication to God. The nuns are in permanent danger of suffering harm (*damnum*) and therefore they, the *subiecta membra* (the subdued limbs, or the subdued members of the community), should be under the *custodia* (attentiveness) and *sollicitudo* (care) of the mother who may show no signs of *neglegentia*. Jonas explains the state in which the nuns *should* be. *Fragilitas* and *neglegentia* prevent them from reaching this goal and therefore the nuns need monastic discipline and *custodia*.

This imperative of *custodia* can be tied to various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Here Jonas refers back to chapter 1 which emphasizes the care of the abbess for the souls of her subjects (using the terms *subiecta*, *anima*, and *mater*), to the control of the priors over the nun dozing off and the way they use their body when waking up, and to chapter 6 which requires constant *custodia* to control “the aging state of mind” (*ueterescentem statum mentis*), which manifests itself, as we already know, in the requirement to confess all nightly transgressions to the abbess before they start their day.¹⁹⁰⁹ Jonas is merely applying to the nuns’ sleep and the perilous moment of losing control over their bodies what he previously applied to the daily routine of the nuns: The damage of the inescapable weakness that jeopardizes the state of being *parata* can only be prevented through the constant *custodia* of the abbess and repaired through a perpetual practice of confession and penance.

There is a lot going on in this convoluted opening sentence. It may have made more sense to have it integrated into chapter 6 on confession, because what follows in the second part of chapter 14 does not expand on the theme of motherly care and *custodia*, despite the fact that Jonas ties the second part to the beginning with the term *proinde* (therefore, hence). Jonas adds

¹⁹⁰⁸ *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272.

¹⁹⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.12-16. Jonas uses the term *custodia* in *RcuiV*, c. 6.2-3: *Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatur rudem semper custodiat, sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prov. 4, 23).

five practical provisions which either revise what we find in Caesarius or paraphrase what we find in the *Regula Benedicti*. Here is the first one:

5 Proinde ergo decernimus, ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in lectulis dormiant, 6 sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur. 7 Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, 8 ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria. 9 Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis senior sit, de cuius relegione non dubitetur. 10 Iuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur.

[5 We therefore decide that, with the exception of the sick and the old, they should sleep in their beds in pairs of two, 6 but in such a way that they do not speak to each other. 7 And they should not look at each other, that is to say face to face, but one should sleep resting behind the other, 8 lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation. 9 And this has to happen in such a way, that one of them is always an elder whose piety is beyond doubt. 10 We determine that the young [nuns] by no means sleep together, lest they are seduced to some offence by passion because of the adversity of the flesh.]

Jonas explains the arrangements for sharing a bed, which largely resonate with what we find elsewhere in the Rule. The nuns are not allowed to speak to each other, expanding on the requirement of silence after Compline and the general prohibition to communicate without a witness,¹⁹¹⁰ and they are not allowed to have eye contact, which is in line with other requirements to discipline the eyes and gaze.¹⁹¹¹ In other places Jonas refers to the devil as a liminal figure that might cross boundaries, but here it is the devil within the bodily enclosure who might shoot his arrows into another nun. The idea of the devil hiding inside or gaining access into a sister is also found elsewhere in the Rule.¹⁹¹² Mouth, eyes, and ears are the dangerous orifices that allow the devil to enter and leave: whatever he can “ejaculate” through the mouth (*iaculare*) he can send into (*inmittere*) another nun, causing deadly desires.¹⁹¹³ What is

¹⁹¹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.8; c. 12.21.

¹⁹¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.9; c. 10.12; c. 6:21.

¹⁹¹² *RcuiV*, c. 5.12-13: *Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, 13 sicut scriptum est: Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24) c. 8.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio.* c. 16.10: *...ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpa faciem diaboli interius recondat.*

¹⁹¹³ Cassian talks about the *iacula* (arrows) of lust thrown at us by demons in *Collationes* XII, c. 6.3, SC 54, p. 128; XII, c. 11.3, p. 139. See also II, c. 13.7, SC 42, p. 127.

inside the nun has to remain inside – and the necessity to enforce this is more urgent than ever at this particular moment. This bodily enclosure, imposed here by closing and controlling the orifice of the mouth repeats the enclosure of the monastic body enforced by guarding the gate of the monastery,¹⁹¹⁴ especially by prohibiting its penetration by *fabulae*.¹⁹¹⁵

Throughout the *Regula cuiusdam*, the devil’s favorite place is at those boundaries, and his objective is to cross them.¹⁹¹⁶ We could imagine, for example, how the two nuns of Faremoutiers who lost their eternal salvation after their escape, aroused their desire in secret conversations at night which they failed to confess in the morning.¹⁹¹⁷

The assumption that the desires caused by such conversation might be lethal (*mortalis*) also follows the general line of the Rule, which assumes that any transgression of the mind may jeopardize a nuns’ salvation. The final sentence may indicate that Jonas’ understanding of desires (*desideria*) includes erotic desires, though elsewhere *desiderium* is either described positively as desire for God or negatively as desire for the world.¹⁹¹⁸ Inspired by Benedict’s practice of separating the younger members of the community (by not placing their beds next to each other), Jonas determines that a *iunior* always needs to share her bed with a *senior*, “whose reputation is beyond doubt” (a recurring phrase).¹⁹¹⁹ This means that at least one of the two nuns should be immune to the lures of the devil.

It is noteworthy that up to this point chapter 14 belongs to the few parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that did not make it into the *Concordia Regularum*. Benedict of Aniane omitted the opening sentence, maybe because the motherly care and custody over the nuns’ sleep was too weird for him and he was not interested in showing his monks that there were monastic rules diverting from the one-person-one-bed rule. He only included the last section of this chapter into his *Concordia Regularum*:

11 Omnes enim, si fieri potest, una domus ad dormiendum capiat, 12 praeter si infirmitas aut senilis aetas poposcerit aut culpa damnauerit aut nouitas probata non fuerit, ut in cella separentur.

¹⁹¹⁴ See *RcuiV*, c. 9.3.

¹⁹¹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 3.13.

¹⁹¹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 5.12; c. 9.3, using Ps. 140/141, 4 (*LXX*) on the *ostium circumstantiae labiis meis*; c. 14.8; c. 16:10; c. 20:8; c. 22:3, and especially c. 8.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio*.

¹⁹¹⁷ *VCol II*, c. 19, p. 273.

¹⁹¹⁸ Desire for God: *RcuiV*, c. 1.6; c. 9.6; *VCol II*, c. 21, p. 276, l. 15-16; desire for the world: *RcuiV*, c. 3.1-3; c. 17.3; *De accedendo* 6. See also *VCol II*, c. 15, p. 265, l. 29.

¹⁹¹⁹ *De cuius relegione non dubitetur*: *RcuiV*, c. 24.8; *VCol I*, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10; *II*, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25-26.

[¹¹ For indeed, if possible, one building should hold all [nuns] for sleeping, ¹² unless sickness or old age demands, or guilt condemns them or because they are new and unproven, so that they should be separated in a [special] cell.]

The first half of this provision comes from the *Regula Benedicti*.¹⁹²⁰ Jonas' use of *domus* instead of *locus* finds its parallel in the *Vita Columbani* where *domus* appears alongside *dormitorium*. The second half is similar to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which requires that the old and sick have to sleep in a dormitory as well and allows the abbess to decide at which point personality or remorse (*personam uel conpunctionem*) appears to qualify the nuns to sleep in the dormitory.¹⁹²¹ Jonas' reference to guilt (*culpa damnauerit*) and Caesarius' reference to remorse (*conpunctio*) imply that nuns who have committed a serious transgression may be excluded from the dormitory. Both Rules prescribe that they are to be imprisoned until showing remorse.¹⁹²² This underlines that Jonas sees sleeping together as an activity that defines and constitutes the community.

¹³ Omnes uestitae et cinctae dormiant.

[¹³ All should sleep clothed and girded.]

Jonas omits here Benedict's provision that the monks should not take their knives to bed – probably because Jonas' nuns did not carry knives.¹⁹²³ We find the same omission in the *Regula Donati*.¹⁹²⁴

¹⁴ In scola, qua dormitur, per totam noctem lucerna ardeat.

[¹⁴ In the *scola* where one sleeps a lamp should burn throughout the entire night.]

¹⁹²⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.2, SC 182, p. 540.

¹⁹²¹ *CaesRV*, c. 4, SC 345, p. 182: *Ei ergo, quae Deo inspirante conuertitur, non licebit statim habitum religionis adsumere, nisi antea in multis experimentis fuerit uoluntas illius adprobata; ² sed uni de senioribus tradita per annum integrum in eo, quo uenit, habitu perseueret. ³ De ipso tamen habitu mutando uel lecto in scola habendo, sit in potestate prioris, ⁴ et quomodo personam uel conpunctionem uiderit, ita uel celerius uel tardius studeat temperare.* c. 9.1-2, pp. 186-188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem, nec habeat cubiculum uel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiarius claudi possit; sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula. ² Quae uero senes sunt et infirmae, ita illis conuenit obtemperari uel ordinari, ut non singulae singulas cellas habeant, sed in una recipiantur omnes, ubi et maneant.*

¹⁹²² *CaesRV*, c. 65.2, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 20.9-11.

¹⁹²³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.5, SC 182, p. 540: *Vestiti dormiant et cincti cingellis aut funibus, ut cultellos suos ad latus suum non habeant dum dormiunt, ne forte per somnum uulnerent dormientem.*

¹⁹²⁴ *Regula Donati*, c. 65.5, CSEL 98, p. 180. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 6-8.

Jonas reproduces the content of the *Regula Benedicti*, but he replaces Benedict's term *cella* with Caesarius' term *scola*.¹⁹²⁵

¹⁵ Ad cursum uero cum festinatione surgentes signum crucis fronti inferatur, simulque sub silentio dicatur: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX)

[¹⁵ But when they rise to the service with hurry, they should make the sign of the cross on their brow and say together in silence: *God, come to my help. Lord, haste to help me.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX)]

The final provision of chapter 14 is puzzling. It belongs to the few passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that are probably influenced by Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* – though, in wording rather than in content.¹⁹²⁶ The *Regula Benedicti* places *Deus in adiutorium* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX) at the beginning of each liturgical hour.¹⁹²⁷ Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* requires that the monks sing this Psalm *sub silentio* at the end of their Hours.¹⁹²⁸ Jonas implies here, just as in chapter 8, that the Hours do not begin once the nuns have arrived in church but right at the moment when they hear the sign for prayer.¹⁹²⁹ Under the strict control of the *praepositae* (as we know from chapter 2) the nuns have to make the sign of the cross and pray *sub silentio* the *Deus in adiutorium* right at the moment of regaining control over their body and mind. This is entirely consistent in the light of Jonas' anxiety about the damage that the uncontrolled and unrestrained mind could cause through its transgressions while the nun is “imprisoned by sleep.” It is possible that Jonas' requirement to pray the *Deus in adiutorium* was inspired by John Cassian. We find in his tenth *Collatio* a long reflection on praying the *Deus in adiutorium* in order to fence off the temptations, particularly sexual temptations, that may overcome a monk during sleep.¹⁹³⁰

Making the sign of the cross and asking God to rush for help is an appropriate – and essential – way to repel the devil that may, up to that moment, have had control over a nun's

¹⁹²⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.4, SC 182, p. 540: *Candela iugiter in eadem cella ardeat usque mane.*

¹⁹²⁶ The other passage are *RcuiV*, c. 2.8-9; c. 9.1.

¹⁹²⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 18.1, SC 182, p. 528: *In primis dicatur uersu Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX), *gloria, inde hymnum uniuscuiusque horae.*

¹⁹²⁸ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 158, l. 13-17: *In commune autem omnes fratres omnibus diebus ac noctibus tempore orationum in fine omnium psalmorum genua in oratione, si non infirmitas corporis offererit, flectere aequo animo debent, sub silentio dicentes: Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX) This passage is also quoted in *Regula Donati*, c. 34.7, CSEL 98, p. 164.

¹⁹²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 8.1-4.

¹⁹³⁰ Cassian, *Collationes* X, c. 10, SC 45, pp. 87-90.

mind. Among all monastic rules, only the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula coenobialis* mention the sign of the cross. The *Regula Magistri* requires the sign of the cross as tool to close the mouth at danger of emitting angry or idle speech, to protect oneself from evil thoughts or to close one's mouth after completing prayer. For him, it did not primarily have an apotropaic function.¹⁹³¹ The *Regula coenobialis* requires that monks leaving or entering a building (another activity of crossing boundaries) have to ask for a prayer and make the sign of the cross.¹⁹³² Moreover, they have to make the sign of the cross over a spoon before eating and over a lamp before lighting it.¹⁹³³

Making the sign of the cross as a means of self-defense and protection from the devil, but also as a saint's tool to perform healings and other miracles, is a common hagiographic motif.¹⁹³⁴ Jonas uses it more often than most other hagiographers: Columbanus, for example, protects himself with the sign of the cross against a pack of wolves.¹⁹³⁵ Eusthasius heals Burgundofara from blindness by making the sign of the cross and asking God for help.¹⁹³⁶ The nuns of Faremoutiers defend themselves (in this case unsuccessfully) with the sign of the cross against demons entering the monastery to snatch the two nuns unwilling to confess.¹⁹³⁷

The question of whether making the sign of the cross over a cup or while entering a building is one of the matters of dispute between Eusthasius and the rebellious monk Agrestius, who allegedly claimed that Columbanus deviated from local customs by requiring these practices. Eusthasius replies, according to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, that it is by no means contrary to proper practice to make the sign of the cross over vessels, or when entering or leaving one's cell "as by the coming of the Lord's sign the disease of the hostile adversary is driven off." Eusthasius states: "Nevertheless, in our daily movement, whether in entering or leaving or while travelling, I consider it correct that each one should be armed with the sign of the cross, to be

¹⁹³¹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.30, SC 105, p. 404, c. 15.34, SC 106, p. 68; c. 47.24, p. 216.

¹⁹³² *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 146-148, c. 9, p. 150, l. 13-14, c. 15, p. 164, l. 26-27.

¹⁹³³ *Regula coenobialis*, c. 2, p. 146, l. 6-10.

¹⁹³⁴ For example, Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 4.5, SC 133, p. 260; c. 22.1, p. 300; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* I, c. 1.4, SC 260, p. 20; c. 4.7, p. 42; c. 10.8-9, p. 100; c. 11, pp. 110-112; II, c. 2.1, p. 136; c. 3.4, p. 142; III, c. 5.4, p. 276; c. 6.2, p. 278; Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* V, c. 1-3, MGH SRM 1.2, pp. 228-229; VII, c. 2, p. 238; IX, c. 2, p. 254; X, c. 1, p. 256; XI, c. 1, p. 260; XIV, c. 2, p. 268, etc.; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 55, SC 142, pp. 298-300; c. 57, pp. 300-302, c. 81, pp. 326-328.

¹⁹³⁵ *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 166, l. 19. *VCol* I, c. 21, p. 200, l. 15: Columbanus uses the sign of the cross to cause a healing miracle. II, c. 2, p. 233, l. 21: A monk stops a river from overflowing with the sign of the cross.

¹⁹³⁶ *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 242.

¹⁹³⁷ *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 7.

reinforced with the blessing of his companions.”¹⁹³⁸ Jonas inserts Ps. 120/121, 7-8 in support of Eusthasius’ position: *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.*¹⁹³⁹ If Eusthasius recommends being “armed with the sign of the cross” at all “daily movements” it is only consistent to require the sign of the cross before the nuns make their first moves after being held in the captivity of sleep.

The care of the sick and the old (chapter 15)

Monasteries were multi-generational communities that provided conditions which made it possible for monks and nuns to reach a considerable age: a regular life, a healthy, diet and care of the sick. There are various references to monks and nuns who got very old or recovered from serious diseases and most monastic rules contain provisions on the care of the sick and the old. Many rules adjust the level of monastic discipline to age and health. Some indicate that there are specific spaces reserved for the sick, regulate whether they have to sleep in the common dormitory, and impose more lenient dietary rules on sick members of the community.¹⁹⁴⁰ The early ninth-century Plan of St. Gall envisions two complete “monasteries within the monastery” dedicated to children and monks of old age, a large infirmary, and even a garden only for medicinal herbs.¹⁹⁴¹ This spatial organization may not reflect a seventh-century setting, but we

¹⁹³⁸ VCol II, c. 19, p. 250, l. 29-31: *...tamen cotidianum motum, siue in ingressu uel egressu seu progressu, unumquemque nostrum signo crucis armari uel benedictione sodalium roborari fas duco.* Transl. O’Hara/Wood, p. 198. See also Diem, ‘Disputing Columbanus’s Heritage’, pp. 271-272.

¹⁹³⁹ VCol II, c. 9, pp. 250-251.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Regulations on the care of the sick: *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 40-48, ed. Boon, pp. 23-25; c. 105, p. 42; c. 129, p. 47; *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 5, pp. 65-66; c. 12, p. 68; *Regula Basilii*, c. 36, CSEL 86, pp. 81-82; c. 177, p. 200; Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.3-5, ed. Verheijen, pp. 421-423; V.5-8, pp. 431-432; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.15-20, SC 297, pp. 194-196; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 12, SC 298, pp. 538-540; *CaesRV*, c. 22.3-4, SC 345, p. 198; c. 30.7-32.3, pp. 210-212; c. 42, p. 224; c. 71.7-9, p. 268; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 17, SC 398, p. 214; c. 24.2, p. 222; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 53, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 34, PL 68, col. 403A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 21, ed. Villegas, p. 43; *Regula Magistri*, c. 28.13-18, SC 106, p. 154; c. 69-70, pp. 296-302; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36-37, pp. 570-572; c. 39.11, p. 578; c. 40.2-3, p. 582; *Regula Isidori*, c. 21, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 120-122; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 149; c. 23, p. 162; *Regula communis*, c. 6-7, pp. 182-184; *Regula Donati*, c. 12, CSEL 98, pp. 154-155. See also Crislip, Andrew T., *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2005.

¹⁹⁴¹ See http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index_plan.html (accessed June 7, 2018).

can assume that the care of the sick and the old was inscribed in the monastic space long before the Plan of St. Gall.

The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* contains several stories of nuns being brought back to health or nursed until their death. There are no references to really old nuns, possibly because Faremoutiers was still a relatively young and pioneering community when Jonas wrote his *Vita Columbani*.¹⁹⁴² This might be one of the reasons why in this chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam* Jonas combined two chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 36-37). One deals with sick monks, the other with old monks and children.¹⁹⁴³ Jonas' primary concern are the sick; old sisters are mentioned marginally; the young ones (which appear in the title of chapter 37 of the *Regula Benedicti*) are not mentioned at all, probably because Jonas addresses the place of children in the monastery in a separate chapter (c. 24) and at various other places.¹⁹⁴⁴

In terms of practical provisions, Benedict's and Jonas' chapters are fairly similar. Sick nuns are to be treated with greatest care. They should have a special place, and members of the community should serve them under strict supervision of the abbot or abbess and with support *cellararius/cellararia*. They should enjoy baths and medical care and should not be required to submit to the same dietary standards and regular strictness as healthy nuns. Jonas omits a couple of details from Benedict's chapter, probably because he considers them redundant or not applicable. Benedict reminds the sick monks that they should not upset those who take care of them through excessive demands or otherwise abuse those who take care of them.¹⁹⁴⁵ Jonas does not mention this. He also omits Benedict's provision that sick monks are allowed to eat meat but have to abstain from meat once they recovered.¹⁹⁴⁶ This omission can be explained by the fact that Caesarius already made clear provisions on the diet of sick nuns: They are allowed to eat poultry but should abstain from meat unless they are very seriously ill, and in this case only by special permission of the abbess.¹⁹⁴⁷

¹⁹⁴² *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 158; c. 12, pp. 260-261; c. 13, p. 262; c. 15, p. 265; c. 16, p. 167; c. 20, pp. 275-276.

¹⁹⁴³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36-37, SC 182, pp. 570-572.

¹⁹⁴⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 10.5; c. 14.10-12; c. 16.3; c. 20.13; c. 24.

¹⁹⁴⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36.4-5, p. 570: *Sed et ipsi infirmi considerent in honorem Dei sibi seruire, et non superfluitate sua contristent fratres suos seruientes sibi; 5 qui tamen patienter portandi sunt, quia de talibus copiosior merces acquiritur.*

¹⁹⁴⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36.9, pp. 570-572: *Sed et carniū esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerunt, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant.*

¹⁹⁴⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 71.7-9, SC 345, p. 268: *Pulli uero infirmis tantum praebeantur: nam in congregatione numquam ministrentur. 8 Carnes uero a nulla umquam penitus in cibo sumantur; si forte aliqua in desperata infirmitate fuerit, iubente et prouidente abbatissa accipiat.*

Jonas also omits Benedict's emphasis that the abbot is eventually responsible if someone fails in his service for the sick.¹⁹⁴⁸ As I have shown already in the commentary to the chapter on the abbess (c. 1), Jonas does not share Benedict's notion of an almost legalistic responsibility of the abbot, so it is only consistent that he omits this verdict. Finally, Jonas omits Benedict's provision on the special treatment of the young (*infanti*) along with the old (*senes*) and his permission that the old and the young may eat before the regular meal times.¹⁹⁴⁹ This can be accounted for by a discussion of mealtimes for children at the end of Jonas' Rule. Jonas' omissions on dietary restrictions, the abbatial responsibility, and the special treatment of children indicate how carefully he worked in revising the *Regula Benedicti* and avoiding contradictions and redundancies.

Jonas did, however, expand on Benedict with some additional explanations and reflections. In line with the rest of his Rule he puts a stronger emphasis on the care of the sick as an act of love and on mutual care. For this purpose, he inserts a passage from Matth. 7, 12: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter* (Whatever you want that men do to you, you should likewise do to them). This especially (*praecipue*) applies to the care of the sick. The care for the sick is, for Jonas, a case in point for the imperative of mutual love through serving each other. Expanding on his reflection on love (c. 5), the care of the sick is understood as an imitation of Christ.¹⁹⁵⁰ A key term added to the material from the *Regula Benedicti* is *ministrare* (to serve), which appears four times in this chapter and several more times throughout Jonas' Rule (and several times in the *Vita Columbani*) but is absent in the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* dealing with the care of the sick, the old, and the young. Moreover, Jonas refers, as in various previous chapters, to the judgment of the abbess (*arbitrium abbatissae*) that determines the level of care.¹⁹⁵¹

¹⁹⁴⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36;10, SC 182, p. 572: *Et ipsum respicit quicquid a discipulis delinquitur.*

¹⁹⁴⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 37.3, p. 572: *...sed sit in eis pia consideratio et praevengant horas canonicas.*

¹⁹⁵⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 16.1-5/9/12: *Harum cura, quae in infirmitatibus detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat, cum dicit: Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter. 2 Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum, praecipue tamen in infirmantium cura haec praeceptio est exhibenda, 3 quia Dominus dixit: Infirmus fui, et uenistis ad me. 4 Ita ergo cura infirmis quaerenda est, ac si praesente Christo ministrare putetur. 5 Reuera etenim quaecumque pro Christo infirmis curam inpendit, Christo in infirmis ministrat. (...) 9 Abbatissa talem curam de infirmis habeat, qualem se recipere a Domino sperat. (...) 12 Non enim hae possunt regulae tenori subiacere, sed potius piaetatis in eas inpendendus est affectus. On mutual love as imitatio Christi, see p. 5.*

¹⁹⁵¹ *RcuiV*, c. 16.11: *...sed iuxta arbitrium abbatissae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur.*

A last detail, which is reflected in some of the Faremoutiers episodes, is that Jonas considers a sick nun to be bearing “a hardship (*poena*) through her sick flesh.”¹⁹⁵² Jonas may not have understood disease as a punishment for specific sins, but as a form of pre-emptive punishment that alleviates what the nuns would experience after their death. We find the same idea expressed in Jonas’ description of the sickness of Eusthasius, Columbanus’ successor as abbot of Luxeuil, whose days of illness before his death wiped out all of his prior negligence.¹⁹⁵³

Accidents and negligence (chapter 16)

The greatest danger for a monastic community might not be that its members actively break the Rule or rebel against their superiors, but rather that they lose motivation to submit themselves to strict monastic discipline or act with the wrong motivation. John Cassian considers *acedia* one of the eight capital vices and discusses the problem of lack of motivation extensively in his *Institutiones*.¹⁹⁵⁴ One specific aspect of the problem has already been discussed in the chapter on liturgical discipline and punctuality at prayer (c. 8).

For Jonas, the *opus Dei* is, as we know, not restricted to the hours of prayer and, consequently, lack of motivation outside the oratory is just as dangerous to the individual and the community as lack of zeal in prayer. As a result, Jonas develops throughout his Rule an elaborate apparatus of incitement, control, and punishment aimed at upholding motivation and influencing the state of the mind of every individual nun. A key term of the Rule is *neglegentia*. Jonas addresses at several places the negligent handling of objects belonging to the monastery,¹⁹⁵⁵ but he also emphasizes that *neglegentia* may manifest itself in the way the nuns sleep,¹⁹⁵⁶ the way

¹⁹⁵² *RcuiV*, c. 16.6: ...*quae in infirma carne poenam portat.*

¹⁹⁵³ *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 19-24: *Cumque iam per multorum circulis annorum in hoc opere intentio uacaret, euenit tempus uocationis, daturque sententia iusti iudicis, ut quod minus annorum circuli diuersis afflictionibus peracti purgauerant, paucorum corporis infirmitas dierum sanaret.*

¹⁹⁵⁴ Cassian, *Institutiones* X, SC 109, pp. 382-424.

¹⁹⁵⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 2.14-15; c. 3.22; c. 12.29; c. 13.4-6.

¹⁹⁵⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 2.16 (on the prioress controlling the nuns’ beds): *Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum; c. 14.4 (on the abbess surveilling the nuns’ sleep): *Tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.**

the *cellararia* does her work,¹⁹⁵⁷ in the care of the sick,¹⁹⁵⁸ in punctuality for prayer,¹⁹⁵⁹ or in the general attitude of the nuns as it shows through movements, gestures, and ways of speaking.¹⁹⁶⁰ Jonas leaves no doubt about the seriousness of *neglegentia*; on three occasions he states that *neglegentia* prevents the nuns from receiving reward for their work.¹⁹⁶¹ *Neglegentia* is tied to fear¹⁹⁶² and to *damnum* (harm) or *damnatio* (damnation).¹⁹⁶³

Chapter 16 addresses a very specific case of *neglegentia*, that of causing accidents and destroying or losing belongings of the monastery. The chapter revises and expands the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 46), which belongs to a sequence of regulations on liturgical discipline and manual labor (c. 42-48). Dedicating an entire chapter to this topic is somewhat strange because Jonas has already several times addressed the necessity of dealing with objects belonging to the monastery with utmost care, *ac si sacrata Dei* (as if they are sacred to God).¹⁹⁶⁴ It seems, however, that revising chapter 46 of the *Regula Benedicti* gives him the opportunity to reflect a bit more on the issue of *neglegentia* and to connect it with the other central theme of his Rule, confession.

The *Regula Benedicti* addresses the topic of accidents and damage to monastic property in a couple of short and straightforward sentences. For Benedict, accidents inevitably occur and things break. This is not a matter of *neglegentia* or of *culpa* (guilt) but something that simply needs to be dealt with in an appropriate manner: a monk who makes a mistake or breaks something needs to reveal his misstep to the community. If he hides it and it is discovered by others, he is to submit to a serious punishment:

¹⁹⁵⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 4.16 (on the *cellararia*): *Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat.*

¹⁹⁵⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 15.9-11: *Abbatissa talem curam de infirmis habeat, qualem se recipere a Domino sperat, ut nec a cellararia nec a ministra aliquam neglegentiam infirmae sentiant.* ¹⁰ *Decrepita uero aetate fessis talis sit cura, quatenus nulla in eis neglegentia,* ¹¹ *sed iuxta arbitrium abbatisae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur.*

¹⁹⁵⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 8.4-6: *Quod si morose et segniter ueniens post primi psalmi, qui in cursu canitur, finem, nouerit se a suo ordine, dum cursus expletur, reuocari,* ⁵ *ut in loco ultimo posita, id est in eo loco, qui talibus neglegentibus fuerit deputatus ad stare et ibi cum uerecundiae metu expectare,* ⁶ *et post inpletum cursum prolixia uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium satisfacere.*

¹⁹⁶⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 22.4-5: *Sunt etenim nonnulla, quae in actu uidentur exigua, et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur,* ⁵ *ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum.*

¹⁹⁶¹ *RcuiV*, c. 2.15: *ut (...) fructum laboris recipiat;* c. 3.22: *mercedem non recipiant;* c. 13.5: *ut mercedem commissae curae recipient.*

¹⁹⁶² *RcuiV*, c. 13.4: *cum sollicito timoris;* c. 8.6: *cum uerecundiae metu.*

¹⁹⁶³ *RcuiV*, c. 13.5: *recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant;* c. 14.4: *ne (...) membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.*

¹⁹⁶⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 2.8; c. 12.27.

¹ De his qui in aliis quibuslibet rebus delinquunt. Si quis dum in labore quouis, in coquina, in cellario, in ministerio, in pistrino, in horto, in arte aliqua dum laborat, uel in quocumque loco, ² aliquid deliquerit, aut fregerit quippiam aut perdiderit, uel aliud quid excesserit ubi, ³ et non ueniens continuo ante abbatem uel congregationem ipse ultro satisfecerit et prodiderit delictum suum, ⁴ dum per alium cognitum fuerit, maiori subiaceat emendationi.

[¹ If someone does something wrong while at any kind of work – in the kitchen, in the cellar, in serving, in the bakery, in the garden, or when working at any other task and in any place – ² or breaks or loses something or errs in something else anywhere – ³ and he does not at once come before the abbot and the community and voluntarily announce his fault and make satisfaction, ⁴ when his error is made known by another, he should be subject to more serious punishment.]¹⁹⁶⁵

Benedict adds in the final sentence of this chapter a thought that may have triggered Jonas to engage with this chapter: If this accident is the result of a sin hidden in one's soul, the monk has to reveal this only to the abbot or spiritual elders, thus to someone who knows how to treat his wound with discretion. The act needs to be made public, the sin (*peccatum*) that may have motivated it, needs to be treated without making it public:

⁵ Si animae uero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, ⁶ qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non detegere et publicare.

[⁵ If it is a matter of sin lying hidden in the soul, he should reveal it only to the abbot or his spiritual elders, ⁶ who know how to care for their own wounds and others' without revealing and making them public.]¹⁹⁶⁶

Jonas superimposes on Benedict's text a number of concepts ubiquitous in his Rule (and in the *Vita Columbani*): *neglegentia*, first and foremost, but also terms that emphasize the seriousness of accidents: *casus*, *damnatio*, *dilabi*, *culpa* and, finally, the remedy and the measures to be taken: *confessio pura* (plain confession) and *paenitentia*. Introducing these categories alters Benedict's text. It turns from a provision on accidents and damages to a chapter on negligence and confession that uses accidents just as an example to convey his point.

De casibus qui per neglegentiam aut eventu superueniunt. ¹ Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis delinquitur, abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. ² Id est in refectorio, in quoquina, in dormitorio uel in qualibet utilitate aut fregerit aut perdiderit aut neglegenter dimiserit, ³ omnia secundum suum modulum sint pensanda et iuxta aetatem uel teneram uel senilem uel uiridem sunt corrigenda.

¹⁹⁶⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.1-4, SC 182, pp. 594-596; transl. Venarde, p. 157.

¹⁹⁶⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.5-6, p. 596; transl. Venarde, p. 157.

[On accidents which occur through negligence or by chance. ¹ The fault of negligence, which is committed often through many accidents, is to be examined by the judgment of the abbess. ² That is to say: whatever [a nun] breaks or loses or negligently leaves [something] behind in the kitchen, in the dormitory or for whatever purpose, ³ it should all be examined on the basis of its impact and is to be corrected according to the nun's age, whether she is tender, old, or youthful.]

Jonas makes a distinction between true accidents that happened *euentu* (by chance) and those caused by *neglegentia*; he makes clear that *neglegentia* in itself is a *culpa*, a fault, not just a moment of not paying attention. The term *culpa* appears no less than seven times in this chapter. Moreover, Jonas uses the term *casus*, which could be translated in various ways (accident, fall, downfall, misfortune) but usually refers to a serious incident. Both *casus* and *dilabi* (to tumble, another recurring term) could refer both to the fall of a vessel to the ground or to the fall of a nun into eternal damnation.

Any *casus* needs to be assessed by the judgment of the abbess according to circumstances (a recurring theme in Jonas' Rule) and lead to a punishment suitable to the age and maturity of the perpetrator (another recurring theme).¹⁹⁶⁷ This means that anything that happens leads to some sort of sanction. None of this can be found in the *Regula Benedicti*, which is exclusively concerned about whether his monks reveal voluntarily to the community that they have committed a fault.

Jonas follows with a one-sentence rationale for this strict provision, which is also absent in the *Regula Benedicti*:

⁴ Quia, si in minimis neglegentiae uitium non corrigitur, mens uitata in minoribus culpis in maiora dilabitur delicta.

⁴ Because, if the vice of negligence is not corrected in the smallest things, the mind tainted by smaller faults will tumble into greater offences.

The vice of *neglegentia* is a slippery slope. If it is not corrected right from the beginning, the *uitium* turns into a *culpa*, which leads to even greater *delicta*. Jonas expresses the same idea in the chapter on manual labor (c. 12), explaining why it is necessary to punish nuns who commit acts of negligence in the kitchen service.¹⁹⁶⁸ He might have been inspired by the first sentence of

¹⁹⁶⁷ See p. §.

¹⁹⁶⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 12.29: *Propter singulas neglegentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussioibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiiores repperiantur.*

Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* which requires immediate confession precisely for this reason: small transgressions lead to gradual decline.¹⁹⁶⁹

Confession, a *pura confessio*, is the main theme of the second part of the chapter, which elaborates on the circumstances and the assessment of the abess. Jonas uses the theme of *neglegentia* to show how to apply the confessional procedure laid out in his chapters on confession (c. 6-7) by describing three scenarios: *Si...Si uero...Si uero...* (If...But if...But if...). This is the first, the best-case scenario:

⁵ Si soror, quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa, statim abbatissae uel praepositae puram dederit confessionem, et conpertum fuerit non suae uoluntatis fuisse quod casu accidit, ⁶ hoc tantummodo sufficiat, ut hoc, quod deliquit et perpetravit, si possit fieri, non denegat, et emendet cum ueniae satisfactione.

[⁵ If a sister, who tumbles into these accidents, immediately gives plain confession to the abbess or prioress, and it is found out that what has happened by accident was not because of her will, ⁶ this alone should be sufficient, that she does not deny what she has committed and carried out and, if it is possible, makes up for it with the excuse of pardon.]

A nun confesses immediately, and her confessor considers it credible that the accident was indeed nothing but an accident and not an act of (ill) will. In this case she just has to ask for forgiveness – in line with the confession ritual of chapter 6. Jonas makes the same point in the chapter on the gatekeepers (c. 3) who have to confess if they transgressed the Rule and will be judged according to their remorse.¹⁹⁷⁰

The second scenario (which is also addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*) is much more serious: a nun does not immediately confess her accident, but it is revealed by another nun. In this case, the guilty nun is to be placed in a state of *paenitentia* which is determined by the magnitude of her guilt (*culpa*).

⁷ Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius prodicione cognitum fuerit, ⁸ prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit paenitentiae subiacebit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit.

[⁷ But if it becomes known not through her confession but through the disclosure of another [nun], she will be subject to penance, according to what the greatness of the guilt demands, ⁸ because she has not made her offence known through plain confession.]

¹⁹⁶⁹ Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 144-146, see note \$. See p. \$ on the question whether this part of the *Regula coenobialis* is authentic.

¹⁹⁷⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.14-15: *Si horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, regulari paenitentia castigentur. 15 Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur.*

Jonas probably elaborates here on the procedure of placing a nun in state of *paenitentia* for serious faults, as it is laid out in Jonas' chapter on confession.¹⁹⁷¹ We can assume that a nun who is caught after an accident will do a *confessio* anyway, but it's not a *confessio pura* any more since it is not done spontaneously.

There is a third scenario, which appears to be even more serious: the possibility that an accident happened deliberately, out of a larger fault (*cupla maior*) and not just out of negligence:

9 Si uero ex maioribus culpis quod ad animae maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet abbatissae, 10 ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat.

[9 But if out of greater guilt she commits what leads to greater damnation of the soul, she should make it known to her abbess through a plain confession of her own will, 10 lest, she, while she is ashamed to uncover her offence out of the tepidity of her soul, hides the face of devil within herself through her state of guilt.]

Jonas is, at this point, not concerned about the act any more, but about the motivation, which may cause no less than eternal damnation if not confessed voluntarily because if a nun does not of her own will reveal what moved her, she hides the devil inside of her. Just admitting what is obvious is not sufficient at all. We can read this provision within two frameworks. First, it deals with the enclosure of the individual, which could not only fence off pernicious outside influences but also capture the devil within a nun. Secret *confessio*, as an act of purification, safely opens this enclosure and purges the nun of the devil who is hiding inside her.¹⁹⁷² Secondly, Jonas makes here on the basis of a different topic exactly the same point as in the dramatic story of the two fugitive nuns in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.¹⁹⁷³ They incurred eternal damnation not because they escaped from the monastery but because their soul fell prey to the devil for not revealing voluntarily what motivated them to flee.

Chapter 16 is, thus, not really a regulation on accidents, but primarily an elaboration of the imperative of confession and a reflection on guilt (*culpa*) and its detrimental effects. As such, Jonas turns his revision of the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* into a veritable summary of his Rule.

¹⁹⁷¹ *RcuiV*, c. 6.24-30.

¹⁹⁷² On *confessio* as an act of purification, see p. \$. The passage is possibly influenced by Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 9, SC 109, p. 132.

¹⁹⁷³ See p. \$.

Poverty (chapter 17)

Individual poverty and shared possessions belong, next to sexual continence, to the basic requirements of monastic life and, as such, they also belong to the most important issues of monastic discipline. Augustine states at the beginning of his Rule: *Et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint uobis omnia communia* (And do not call anything your own, but everything for you should [be held] in common), which is based on the instructions given to the apostolic community in Act. 4, 32. This dictum, which places monks in the tradition of the earliest Christian community, reappears in almost every later monastic rule, usually in the phrasing provided by Augustine.¹⁹⁷⁴

Almost every rule requires entering monks or nuns to abandon their private property and to transfer it either to the monastery or to the poor.¹⁹⁷⁵ Some specify that another transfer must be undertaken once a monk or nun reaches legal age or inherits property from their parents. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not address this aspect, probably because it is already regulated in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.¹⁹⁷⁶ Jonas does, however, address the problem of retaining or claiming private property *within* the monastery, which is addressed in the chapter discussed here. Other matters of concern, which appear elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, are

¹⁹⁷⁴ Augustine, *Praeceptum* I.3, ed. Verheijen, p. 418; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.6, SC 297, p. 276; *Regula orientalis*, c. 30, SC 298, p. 486; Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 20.6, SC 345, p. 194; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 2, SC 398, p. 206; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 25, ed. Schmidt, p. 248; c. 35, p. 250; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 21, PL 68, col. 402B; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33.6, SC 181, p. 562; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 14.6, ed. Villegas, p. 33; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 10, ed. Desprez, p. 131; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 17.1, ed. Villegas, p. 24; *Regula Donati*, c. 8.6, CSEL 98, p. 152; *Regula Leandri*, c. 27, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 68; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.1, p. 93; c. 12.1, p. 109; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 11, p. 151; *Regula consensoria*, c. 1, ed. Verheijen, p. 7. Act 4, 32 in the Vulgate translation: *Sed erant illis omnia communia*. Most monastic rules use the phrasing *sint uobis omnia communia* which indicates direct or indirect dependence on Augustine's *Praeceptum*. On monks as apostolic community, see, for example, Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 1, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹⁷⁵ On monastic poverty, see e.g. Brakke, David, 'Care for the Poor, Fear of Poverty, and Love of Money: Evagrius Ponticus on the Monk's Economic Vulnerability', in: Susan Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Christianity, Holy Cross Studies in Patristic Theology and History*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2008, pp. 76-87; Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500-840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 20-24.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 3-6, SC 345, pp. 182-186. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58-59, SC 182, pp. 626-634.

how members of the community deal with collective property in a responsible way,¹⁹⁷⁷ and who decides about handing out collective property for individual use.¹⁹⁷⁸

Another topic rarely addressed directly in monastic rules but looming in the background, is to what extent a monastery is allowed to amass riches collectively, to what extent it is allowed to own estates and slaves, and to what extent monks are supposed to contribute to the monastic economy through manual labor.¹⁹⁷⁹ The last question did not play much of a role for female communities. There is no evidence that nuns did agricultural work themselves. One could argue that communities of monks eventually followed a female model by relying on external revenues and collectively own property rather than their own labor.¹⁹⁸⁰ One of the few early medieval texts criticizing this practice is the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, the other seventh-century anonymous rule.¹⁹⁸¹ The sometimes conflicted transition from self-sufficient communities to rich monastic institutions forms part of various foundation narratives.¹⁹⁸²

Monastic rules – but also some narrative texts – indicate that the desire to own and to have control over objects of everyday use or to secretly retain private possessions formed a serious problem in monastic communities.¹⁹⁸³ On the one hand, property could determine status

¹⁹⁷⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 16.

¹⁹⁷⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 4.8. c. 13. See p. §.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Brown, *Treasure in Heaven*, pp. 71-108; Rubenson, Samuel, 'Power and politics of poverty in early monasticism', in: Geoffrey D. Dunn, David Luckensmeyer, and Lawrence Cross (eds.), *Poverty and Riches*, Strathfield: Centre for Early Christian Studies 2009, pp. 91-110; Devroey Jean-Pierre, 'Monastic Economics in the Carolingian Age', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Western Monasticism*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming; Kaplan, Michel, 'The Economy of Byzantine Monasteries', in: Beach and Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Western Monasticism*, vol. 1, forthcoming.

¹⁹⁸⁰ See p. §.

¹⁹⁸¹ The *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12, ed. Villegas, p. 20 makes a strong point that monks should sustain themselves through manual labor and give all surplus to the poor. No other monastic rule expresses this viewpoint in a similarly radical way.

¹⁹⁸² Diem, 'Debating Columbanus's heritage', pp. 281-282; *idem*, 'Columbanus' stolen glove', pp. 66-67; *idem*, 'Who is allowed to pray for the king', pp. 61-63'; *idem*, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli" discuss this contested tradition in the context of the Jura monasteries and the monastery of Aniane and St. Gallen. The question whether there was something like an early medieval monastic *Armutsstreit* (poverty debate) still needs to be sorted out systematically.

¹⁹⁸³ *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 81-83, ed. Boon, pp. 37-38; *Liber Orsiesii*, c. 21-22, pp. 122-124; *Regula Basilii*, c. 29, CSEL 86, p. 76; Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*, c. 4, ed. Verheijen, p. 150; Augustine, *Praeceptum* I.3, p. 418; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 32/34, ed. Ledoyen, p. 166; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.5-6, SC 297, pp. 274-276; *Regula orientalis*, c. 30, SC 298, p. 486; *CaesRV*, c. 5-6, SC 345, pp. 182-184; c. 17.1, p. 192; c. 21, pp. 194-196; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1-3, SC 398, pp. 204-206; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 25, ed. Schmidt, p. 248; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 21, PL 68, col. 402B; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 3, ed. Villegas, pp. 19-20; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 10, ed. Desprez, p. 131; c. 35.7-9, p. 143; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 27, ed. Vilanova, pp. 118-120; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.58-61, SC 106, p. 82; c. 82, pp. 336-340; c. 90.63, p. 388; *Regula Leandri*, c. 28, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 70-71; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.1, p. 93; c. 19, pp. 117-119; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 4, p. 145; c. 6, p. 147;

and undermine the ideal of equality in the monastic community; on the other hand, it seems that the desire to have something belonging to oneself becomes almost as strong as sexual desire. John Cassian places *avaritia* (greed) in his work on the eight principle vices right after *luxuria* (lust). He emphasizes how both are related and describes the secret desire to keep something for oneself as a slippery slope leading to the ruin of every monk who indulges in it. Jonas and Caesarius use the term *concupiscentia* both for lust and greed – and it is the bed, the only truly private place, that forms the dedicated space to commit both vices.¹⁹⁸⁴ Cassian’s chapter on *avaritia* looms, as we will see, in the background of chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Hardly any other transgression receives such a merciless response in monastic narratives as retaining, keeping, or hiding private property – the sin that led to the death of Ananias and Sapphira (Act 5, 1-11). The second temptation of Antony (after lustful thoughts) consists of a lump of gold put on Antony’s path.¹⁹⁸⁵ The *Verba Seniorum* contains numerous stories about monks succumbing to the desire of possessions.¹⁹⁸⁶ Gregory the Great tells in his *Dialogues* the story of the monk Justus, a member of his own community, who kept three gold coins for himself. Gregory denied the dying monk every comfort and had him buried in a dung heap.¹⁹⁸⁷ Jonas of Bobbio emphasizes in the short narrated rule at the beginning of *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus’ monks hold everything in common and that whoever breaks the rule of poverty is to be excluded from the community.¹⁹⁸⁸

Yet the *Regula Donati* shows remarkable leniency towards holding goods in private. While Caesarius’ Rule for Nuns strictly prohibits the nuns from having wardrobes, Donatus changes this sentence and simply prohibits his nuns from having wardrobes that can be closed with a key.¹⁹⁸⁹ Donatus’ nuns seemingly could not live without being able to store objects for

c. 11, pp. 150-151; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 15.2-3, ed. Villegas, p. 21; c 17, pp. 24-25; *Regula Donati*, c. 8, CSEL 98, p. 152.

¹⁹⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.16; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 55.16-17, SC 182, pp. 620-622; *CaesRV*, c. 44.4, SC 345, p. 228.

¹⁹⁸⁵ *Vita Antonii*, c. 12, SC 400, pp. 166-168.

¹⁹⁸⁶ *Verba seniorum*, systematic collection, book 6, PL 73, col. 893A-905B lists 47 stories on the desire for private possessions. The preceding book lists 41 chapters on *fornicatio*.

¹⁹⁸⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 57.8-11, SC 265, pp. 188-190.

¹⁹⁸⁸ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 5-7: *Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur*.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Diem, ‘New ideas expressed in old words’, p. 7. Compare Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 9.1, SC 345, pp. 186-188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem nec habebit cubiculum uel armarium aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod*

themselves. Eventually the question whether monks and nuns are allowed to retain control over their own property and whether they can hold possessions within their communities became one of the main distinguishing marks between communities of monks and nuns and communities of secular canons and canonesses.¹⁹⁹⁰

Chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses most of the material and terminology provided by the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* on whether a monk is allowed to own something for himself (c. 33).¹⁹⁹¹ As in previous cases, Jonas makes some discreet alterations and produced a text that is significantly longer than Benedict's because he added three theological reflections that integrate the question of private property into the overall program of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I will discuss these theological reflections first. It is likely that Jonas had the chapter on avarice of John Cassian's *Institutiones* in mind when he revised this chapter of the *Regula Benedicti*. All three insertions show traces of Cassian's work.¹⁹⁹²

¹ Proprii aliquid in monasterio nihil habendum, sed potius propter nomen Domini omnia contemnenda. ² Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo? ³ Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo, ⁴ quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo?

[¹ In the monastery nothing may be held as property, but all things are rather to be despised on behalf of the Lord's name. ² For how should a faithful soul claim something of the things of the world as her own – [a soul] to whom *the world is crucified, and who is crucified to the world?* ³ Why should someone, who is once and for all dead to the world, resume to live in the world through some cupidity for temporal things or any miserable longing – ⁴ someone who, having despised the world, had already begun to live for God?]

Jonas requires more from his nuns than just not keeping objects for themselves. They have to consciously despise (*contemnere*) property, which ties into Jonas' overall concern for

peculiaris claudi possit. with *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1, CSEL 98, p. 153: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem nec habebit cubiculum aut armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiaris cum clauis claudi possit.*

¹⁹⁹⁰ Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 31, ed. Bertram, pp. 46-48; *Institutio canonicorum*, c. 115-120, MGH Conc. II, pp. 397-400; *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, c. 9-13, pp. 444-448; c. 21, p. 452; Claussen, Martin A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 94-103; Felten, Franz J., 'Auf dem Weg zu Kanonissen und Kanonissenstift. Ordnungskonzepte der weiblichen Vita religiosa bis ins 9. Jahrhundert', in: Raphaela Averkorn, Winfried Eberhard, Raimund Haas, and Bernd Schmies (eds.), *Europa und die Welt der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Dieter Berg*, Bochum: Winkler 2004, pp. 551-573.

¹⁹⁹¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33, SC 182, p. 562.

¹⁹⁹² Cassian, *Institutiones* VII (on avarice), SC 109, pp. 290-332.

motivations rather than acts.¹⁹⁹³ John Cassian, as well, reflects in his *Institutiones* on the will (*uoluntas*) to renounce property.¹⁹⁹⁴ Jonas also echoes Cassian in his addition of two rhetorical questions – a device he uses regularly in his Rule.¹⁹⁹⁵ Despising property is for Jonas a matter of the soul (*anima*) and of cutting ties with the world (*mundus*).

Inspired by the widely used passage from Gal. 6, 14 on being crucified to the world,¹⁹⁹⁶ Jonas uses the term *mundus* (which is absent from the *Regula Benedicti*) no less than six times in this short passage. The imperative of detachment from the *mundus* is the true theme of chapter 17. Jonas uses property merely as an example to stress his point. He does not imply that the desire to claim property within the monastery establishes ties to the “real” outside world, but rather that clinging to private possessions, to “mundane” objects (*res mundi*), is a worldly desire that should have been overcome by entering the monastery.

The same idea appears elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but also in the *Vita Columbani*. The *portaria*, for example, is supposed to not desire anything of worldly pomp (*ex praesentibus pompis*).¹⁹⁹⁷ Transgressions in general are described as misdeeds of the world (*facinora mundi*).¹⁹⁹⁸ True love is love *secundum Deum* and not *secundum saeculum*.¹⁹⁹⁹ Holding a grudge against a fellow nun is a symptom of not having left the world behind (*saeculum non reliquisti*).²⁰⁰⁰ For Jonas, *Mundus* and *saeculum* stand for a human sinfulness that one should escape through a true monastic conversion, but not simply for the world outside the monastic walls.²⁰⁰¹ Objects belonging to the monastery are sacred as long as they are held in common and properly guarded but they turn into “mundane” objects once they are claimed for oneself, which means that claiming them forms an act of sacrilege.²⁰⁰² Lastly, worldly desire (*concupiscentia*)

¹⁹⁹³ Jonas uses the term *contemnere* in a similar context in *RcuiV*, c. 3.3. See also *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15-16; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 18.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 21, SC 109, p. 322.

¹⁹⁹⁵ See Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 27, p. 328: *Super tectum euangelici culminis stabilitus quid descendis tollere aliquid de domo tua, ex his uidelicet quae antea contempsisti? Constitutus in agro atque operatione uirtutum substantia mundi, qua te renuntians spoliasti, quid recurrens niteris reuestiri?*

¹⁹⁹⁶ Gal. 6, 14: *Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo*, also used in *RcuiV*, c. 3.1. See p. §.

¹⁹⁹⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1.

¹⁹⁹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 23.5.

¹⁹⁹⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 5.9.

²⁰⁰⁰ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261.

²⁰⁰¹ See chapter 4.

²⁰⁰² Monastic property as sacred and belonging to God: *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 12.29; c. 13; c. 17.6. See also Diem, ‘The stolen glove’.

averts from the desire for God – also a thought that forms part of Cassian’s general assessment of vices.²⁰⁰³

The second theological section addresses a different aspect of handling *res mundi*, again in the form of a rhetorical question, but moves away from the theme of property itself:

8 Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus uoluntates propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?

[For which mundane objects should she give to another sister, who for the sake of Christ has given herself over in all regards to the power of the abbess?]

Jonas’ question is more complicated than it looks at first sight. It fits into a broader concern for any kind of personal relationship between nuns, a concern that surfaces at various points in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The imperative of unlimited mutual love may by no means be disturbed by any form of personal affection or uncontrolled interaction between individual nuns. Jonas explains this here by stating that a nun is supposed to have handed over her will (*uoluntas*) to the power of the abbess, which is an interesting variation of Benedict’s notion of *propria uoluntas* (one’s own will). Benedict states that a monk is supposed not to have a *propria uoluntas* at all, just as he is not supposed to have his own body.²⁰⁰⁴ Jonas view on his nuns’ *uoluntas* is different. They are supposed to *have* a *uoluntas* – and this *uoluntas* is even crucial for their pursuit of salvation – but they are supposed to submit their *uoluntas* to the power of the abbess.

Jonas ends his chapter with a third rationale which is, like the previous ones, absent in the *Regula Benedicti*. He leaves private property behind and focuses on the underlying vice, i.e. greed:

11 ...ne cupiditatis aut temeritatis malum incurrens in laqueum, Iudae proditoris consortio numeretur, qui solus in numero Apostolorum loculos habuisse refertur, ubi commutantium ac uendentium commertia ponebantur.

[11 ...lest they run into the evil trap of greed or recklessness and be counted among the company of the traitor Judas, who is told to have been as the only among the number of Apostles with a purse, where the commerce of traders and sellers was kept.]

²⁰⁰³ Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 95-111.

²⁰⁰⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33.4, SC 182, p. 562: ...*quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec uoluntates licet habere in propria uoluntate*.

The idea that the evils of greed (*cupiditas*) and recklessness (*temeritas*) are a trap (*laqueus*), a slippery slope, as it were, is again influenced by John Cassian.²⁰⁰⁵ Cassian elaborates on Judas as the one in charge of the possessions and goods of the community of the apostles and the one who eventually succumbs to greed.²⁰⁰⁶ *Cupiditas*, another term absent in the *Regula Benedicti*, encompasses both greed and sexual lust; it may be understood as perversion of the *amor, dilectus, pietas, affectus* that should guide a nun according to various chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²⁰⁰⁷

The practical provisions of chapter 17 that follow the three rhetorical questions bear little surprises. Jonas largely uses what he found in the *Regula Benedicti*:

1 Proprii aliquid in monasterio nihil habendum.

[1 In the monastery nothing may be held as property.]

5 Amputandum ergo est hoc uitium radicitus ab omni monacha, ut nullam rem, uel in uestimentis seu in calciamentis uel in quibuslibet rebus, sibi uindicet uel suum esse dicat, 6 nisi quantum ex abbatissae iussione penes se precipitur retinere, ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina. 7 Et ea, quae sibi ab abbatissa fuerint commendata, id est ad necessitatem presentem, aut in uestimento aut in qualibet re, nihil exinde aut dare aut commodare cuiquam praesumat, nisi tantum, si ab abbatissa illi fuerit ordinatum.

[5 Therefore, this vice has to be cut off by every nun at the root, so that she does not claim anything for herself or say that it is hers, be it clothing or shoes or any other things, 6 except in as much she is instructed to keep for it herself by the order of the abbess – as if she is a guardian of someone else’s things but not as the mistress of her own things. 7 And whatever clothes or other things are entrusted to her by the abbess, that is for present need, she should thereafter not dare to give or to lend to anyone, unless it is ordered of her by the abbess.]

9 Omnia ergo, quae in monasterio habentur, sint omnibus communia, iuxta quod in actibus Apostolorum legimus: *Et erant, inquit, eis omnia communia*. 10 Sic tamen communia sunt habenda, ut nulla aut dare aut accipere, nisi abbatissa ordinante praesumat...

[9 All objects that are kept in the monastery should be for all in common, according to what we read in the Acts of the Apostles: *And everything*, he says, *they held in common*.

²⁰⁰⁵ Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 11-12, SC 109, pp. 306-308, using the expression *laquea* (trappings) several times.

²⁰⁰⁶ Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 23-24, pp. 324-326, based on a somewhat forced reading of John 12, 6 and John 13, 29.

²⁰⁰⁷ See p. §.

¹⁰ In such a way, however, are the things to be held in common, that no one dares to give or to receive, unless by the order of the abbess...]

¹² Quod si huic uitio aliqua sororum delectari fuerit depraehensa, et post primam, secundam uel tertiam correptionem emendare noluerit, disciplinae regulari subiacebit.

[¹² But if any of the sisters is caught indulging in this vice, and she does not want to improve after the first, second, or third reproach, she will be subject to the punishment of the rule.]

The most fundamental difference between Jonas' provisions and those we find in the *Regula Benedicti* concerns the specific objects that may not be held in private. Benedict is not only concerned about clothing but also about books and writing utensils (*neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque grafium, sed nihil omnino*); Jonas uses vestments as prime examples. This might indicate that writing and copying books was not one of the primary activities of the nuns in Faremoutiers, which does not, however, preclude that early medieval female communities had their own *scriptoria* and were places of book production. Instead, it could indicate a different organization of the scriptorium's supplies. We find a similar subtle change in the *Regula Donati* as well.²⁰⁰⁸

Jonas, moreover, identifies the sanction imposed on nuns who don't improve as *disciplina regularis* and not, like Benedict, as *correptio* (reproach). Lastly, the chapter elaborates on the theme of utmost care for every object (which is not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti* at this point). A nun has to treat every object she has received from her superior *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina* (as guard of someone else's and not as lord over one's own property). Like in previous chapters, Jonas shifts his focus from the provision itself (nothing may be held privately – which is pretty much a given) to the *why* (it would undo the renunciation of the world) and the *how* (by consciously despising property).

Excommunication and Punishment (chapters 18-20)

The next three chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* develop a detailed outline of monastic discipline and punishment which revolves around the expressions

²⁰⁰⁸ *Regula Donati*, c. 8.3, CSEL 98, p. 152; Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 18-20.

excommunicatio and *excommunicare*. The purpose of my analysis of this section of Jonas' Rule is, on the one hand, to provide a genealogy of the term *excommunicatio* in its specifically monastic context and, on the other hand, to investigate how Jonas uses this term and how he integrates *excommunicatio* into his own monastic program. I will not produce a comprehensive history of monastic disciplinary systems because this would be a book of its own.²⁰⁰⁹ A sentence-by-sentence analysis of chapters 18-20 will, however, shed some more light on discipline and punishment in Jonas' own world and suggest approaches to disciplinary programs in monastic communities that may be expanded to other rules.

The term *excommunicatio* is confusing because it appears in two different contexts that only incidentally touch each other: "ecclesiastical" *excommunicatio* and "monastic" *excommunicatio*. Both concepts emerged largely independently from each other. Ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* is relatively well studied,²⁰¹⁰ but there is not much on monastic *excommunicatio* aside from analyses of Benedict's concept of *excommunicatio* in modern commentaries on the *Regula Benedicti*, Mayke De Jong's studies on penance within and outside a monastic context, and one recent study by Isabelle Rosé.²⁰¹¹

Ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* appeared in the Latin acts of episcopal councils beginning with the council of Nicaea and with an increasing frequency over time. Originally, *excommunicatio* seems to have been a disciplinary measure primarily imposed by bishops and councils upon criminal, rebellious, or disobedient clerics. It mainly entailed the prohibition to perform the Eucharist. Later on, *excommunicatio* was also imposed on lay

²⁰⁰⁹ The classical studies in these fields are Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books 1979; Goffman, Erving, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968; Asad, Talal, 'On Discipline and Humility in Medieval Christian Monasticism', in: *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1993, pp. 125-167.

²⁰¹⁰ See Vodola, Elisabeth, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1986; Bühler-Thierry, Geneviève and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté Chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e-XII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015. For the early medieval period, see also Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Les pratiques de l'excommunication d'après la législation conciliaire en Gaule (V^e-VI^e siècle)', in: Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux (eds.), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Age), I: L'institution. Actes du séminaire tenu à Paris, Institut catholique (1997-2004)*, Paris: Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes 2009, pp. 539-560.

²⁰¹¹ Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 253-294; De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuvs und Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185-224; Rosé, Isabelle, 'Exclure dans un Mode Clos? L'*Excommunicatio* dans les règles monastiques de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge', in: Geneviève Bühler-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté Chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e-XII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 119-142.

people, for example for killing one's slave, and on anyone who associated with excommunicated people. This indicates that at some point the prohibition to celebrate Mass or to receive the Eucharist was extended to exclusion from any kind of prayer and social isolation. The use of the term in legal texts increases and Carolingian *Capitularia* and acts of councils provide detailed legal instructions on excommunication and reconciliation.

The genealogy of monastic *excommunicatio*

One important difference between ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* and monastic *excommunicatio* is that in the world outside the monastery the term seems to refer primarily to *communio*, the Eucharist, and the exclusion from performing Mass or partaking in it. We find this aspect almost never addressed in monastic texts. Monastic *excommunicatio* was a serious form of punishment, but it has fewer implications than ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*. It does not necessarily lead to an exclusion from receiving or performing the Eucharist and it is not the same as expulsion from the monastic community. It remains unclear whether *excommunicatio*, as far as it appears in monastic texts, refers to *communitas*, the community, to *communio*, a coming-together, and especially coming together for receiving the Eucharist, or to *communicare*, any form of verbal or non-verbal communication. Many monastic rules that address *excommunicatio* understand the term in different ways.

Excommunicatio and *excommunicare* appear within the monastic sphere almost exclusively in the context of monastic rules. It is largely absent in ascetic treatises (including the works of John Cassian), in Latin translations of Greek desert father texts, and in early medieval monastic hagiography. All exceptions refer to ecclesiastical rather than monastic excommunications. In Gregory's *Dialogues*, Benedict excommunicates two nuns because they did not refrain from gossiping. The nuns died, were buried in the church but whenever communion was celebrated, they rose from the graves and left the church, until Benedict reconciled them.²⁰¹² Gregory of Tours excommunicated the nuns of Radegund's monastery in Poitiers who rebelled against their abbess, broke their Rule and left the monastery – which

²⁰¹² Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 23.2-5, SC 260, pp. 204-210.

can be understood as an ecclesiastical rather than a monastic *excommunicatio*.²⁰¹³ According to the oldest, fragmentary, version of the *Vita Galli*, Columbanus excommunicated Gallus who stayed behind at Lake Constance against Columbanus' will. In this case *excommunicatio* is defined as prohibition to read Mass until Columbanus' death.²⁰¹⁴

The corpus of Latin monastic rules can be divided into three different groups according to their treatment of *excommunicatio*. A number of important monastic rules, such as those of Augustine, Pachomius, and Columbanus (but also the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* and the *Regula Ferrioli*) never mention *excommunicatio* as a disciplinary measure. A second group refers to *excommunicatio* but does not place it at the center of monastic discipline: the Rules of Basil, the *Regulae patrum*, the Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*. The third group consists of rules in which *excommunicatio* plays a central role in their disciplinary program: the *Regula Magistri* and the Rules of Benedict, Donatus', Jonas', and all the Visigothic monastic rules, which I will not address in this context since they established their own, independent traditions of monastic life.²⁰¹⁵

Let us first look at the monastic rules in which *excommunicatio* appears in a sideline. The first rule that mentions *excommunicatio* is Rufinus' fourth-century Latin translation of Basil's Rule. *Excommunicatio* appears only twice in the 203 chapters of the *Regula Basilii*, in rather unexpected contexts. Basil requires that whoever slanders or listens to slander has to be punished with *excommunicatio*. He also imposes *excommunicatio* and exclusion from meals on a monk who is annoyed or angry when awoken from sleep.²⁰¹⁶ If a monk persists in these habits, he needs to be considered a rotten limb of the body (*putrefactum membrum*) and

²⁰¹³ Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 39-43, *MGH SRM* 1, pp. 460-475; X, c. 15-20, pp. 501-513. See p. §.

²⁰¹⁴ *Vita Galli vetustissima*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 252.

²⁰¹⁵ On the Visigothic monastic rules, see now Díaz, Pablo C., 'Social plurality and monastic diversity in late Antique Hispania (6th-8th c.)', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

²⁰¹⁶ *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, *CSEL* 86, p. 110: *Interr. Quodsi contristatur ille qui excitatur aut etiam si irascitur, quid dignus est? Responsio.* ₁ *Interim excommunicari et non manducare, si forte compunctus agnoscat quantis et qualibus bonis semet ipsum insipienter defraudet, et ita conuersus recipiat gratiam eius qui dixit Memor fui dei et laetatus sum. (Ps. 76/77, 4 LXX)* ₂ *Quodsi permanserit in stultitia non intellegens gratiam abscidatur tamquam putrefactum membrum a corpore,* ₃ *scriptum est enim quia Expediit ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum et non omne corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam. (Matth. 5, 29-30).* See also p. §.

be cut off (*abscindatur*).²⁰¹⁷ Both chapters are translations from Basil's *Short Rule* and it seems that Rufinus was primarily looking for a convenient Latin term to render the meaning the Greek verb ἀπορίζω (to separate).²⁰¹⁸

Even though *excommunicatio* plays marginal role in the Latin *Regula Basilii*, Rufinus' decision to use this expression for resolving a translation issue may have had a deep impact on establishing and defining the term in Latin monastic normative traditions. The connection between *excommunicatio* and cutting off a rotten limb (*abscindere membrum putrefactum*) developed a life of its own, just like the connection between *excommunicatio* and exclusion from meals, the idea that compunction forms the basis for reconciliation, and the notion that unwillingness to repent may lead to expulsion. Basil's particular dislike of people who were moody in the morning may have been the first instance of defining *excommunicatio* as a medical or "surgical" disciplinary measure, as we find in in the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and eventually in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The next group of monastic rules in which *excommunicatio* appears are the so-called *Regulae Patrum* (*Regula quattuor patrum*, *Regula patrum secunda*, *Regula patrum tertia*, and *Regula orientalis*). It is possible that the term *excommunicare* entered these Rules independently from Rufinus' decision to use it as Latin translation of a Greek term. The *Regula quattuor patrum*, which was probably written in the first half of the fifth century and is commonly associated with Lérins, defines *excommunicatio* as temporary measure – and the duration and implication of *excommunicatio* depends on the nature of the fault. For idle talk (*sermo otiosus*) a monk is to be excluded from the community (*congregatio*) and from any conversation for three days. No one is allowed to interact with the guilty monk. Monks who are caught joking or using coarse speech (*in risu uel scurrilitate sermonis*) are to be excommunicated for two weeks.²⁰¹⁹

²⁰¹⁷ *Regula Basilii*, c. 43, p. 88: *Interr. Qui detrahit de fratre aut audit detrahentem et patitur, quid dignus est? Responsio. 1 Excommunicari. Detrahentem enim, inquit, occulte aduersus proximum suum hunc persequer* (Ps. 100/101, 5 LXX), *et alibi dictum est Noli libenter audire detrahentem, ne forte eradiceris.* (cfr Prou. 20, 13)

²⁰¹⁸ Basil, *Shorter Rule*, c. 26, PG 31, col. 1101-1102 and c. 44, col. 1109-1112; Silvas, Anna M., *The Rule of St. Basil in Latin and English*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2013, p. 147, n. 89; p. 171, n. 98.

²⁰¹⁹ *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.1-6, SC 297, pp. 202-204: *Nec hoc tacendum est, qualiter culpa singularum emendentur. Pro qualitate culpa erit excommunicatio. Ergo iste ordo teneatur. 2 Si quis ex fratribus sermonem otiosum emisierit, 3 ne reus sit concilii, praecipimus eum triduo a fratrum congregatione uel colloquio alienum esse, ut nullus cum eo iungatur. 4 Si uero aliquis depraehensus fuerit in risu uel scurrilitate sermonis – 5 sicut dicit Apostolus: Quae ad rem non pertinent – (Eph. 5, 4), 6 iubemus huiusmodi duarum ebdomadarum in nomine Domini omni flagello humilitatis coherceri.*

For the authors of the *Regula quattuor patrum* the punishment of *excommunicatio* seems to refer primarily to communication. Wrongful communication (*sermo otiosus, risus, scurrilitas sermonis*) lead to an exclusion from the community which manifests itself primarily as temporary exclusion from any social interaction: a specific punishment tailored towards a specific transgression. Unlike Basil's (or rather Rufinus') *excommunicatio*, this measure has a time limit and does not require compunction and reconciliation in order to be lifted.

Like the *excommunicatio* of the *Regula Basilii*, the *excommunicatio* of the *Regula quattuor patrum* had an afterlife and shaping concepts of monastic *excommunicatio* that emerged later. In various sixth- and seventh-century monastic rules, including the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti* and our *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, we find the idea that there are different forms, periods, and gradations of *excommunicatio* based on the severity of the fault and the idea of *excommunicatio* as temporary measure. This is also the case for the notion of *excommunicatio* as exclusion from communication and social interaction.

The *Regula patrum secunda* expands on the *Regula quattuor patrum*. Its authors add murmuring, contentiousness, and opposition to the precepts to the list. These transgressions lead first to reproach (*correptio*) by the superior then to abstaining (*abstinere*) and to humiliating oneself in penance (*paenitendo humiliare*). Excommunicated monks are, however, not allowed to “withdraw anywhere” (*usquam recedere*). Those who consent to the errors of the incriminated monk are also worthy of *excommunicatio*.²⁰²⁰ This “contagious *excommunicatio*” would develop an afterlife as well.

The *Regula patrum tertia* imposes *excommunicatio* on a monk who does not prostrate himself and ask for forgiveness after arriving late to the hours of prayer.²⁰²¹ This expands on *excommunicatio* as a punishment for a wrong kind of communication: not asking for forgiveness where it is required.

²⁰²⁰ *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 5.27-30, SC 297, pp. 278-280. *Si quis autem murmurauerit uel contentiosus extiterit aut opponens in aliquo contrariam uoluntatem praeceptis, 28 digne correptus secundum arbitrium praepositi tamdiu abstinetur quamdiu uel culpae qualitas poposcerit uel se paenitendo humiliauerit atque emendauerit. 29 Correptus autem non audeat usquam recedere. 30 Si quis uero de fratribus, uel qui in monasterio sunt uel qui per cellulis consistunt, eius errori consenserit, excommunicatione dignissimus habeatur.*

²⁰²¹ *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 6, SC 298, p. 536: *Ad horam uero orationis, dato signo, qui non statim praetermisso omni opere quod agit, quia nihil orationi praeponendum est – ab abbate uel praeposito corripiatur, et nisi prostratus ueniam petierit, excommunicetur.*

The first monastic rule that breaks out of the pattern of excommunication as a sanction for transgressive communication is the *Regula orientalis*, which integrates *excommunicatio* into a sequence of increasingly severe disciplinary measures. A monk is first to be reproached by the abbot in secrecy, if that shows no effect he needs to be reproached by a small group of seniors, then chastised in front of the entire community. The next step is to be excommunicated and excluded from meals. After that he is to be placed in the lowest rank in the order of prayer, subsequently excluded from prayer, then excluded from the community and from Mass, table, and any form of communication with non-seniors.²⁰²² Here we have a sequential process and the application of *excommunicatio* as a sanction to be imposed on those who do not realize their faults or improve their behavior. We find for the first time the notion of *excommunicatio* as part of procedure of punishment that is determined by the severity of a monk's transgression and the willingness to show remorse.

Caesarius of Arles uses the expression *excommunicatio* once in his Rule for Nuns and once in his Rule for Monks. He prescribes that a nun who, for whatever reason, is excommunicated should be separated from the community and stay in a place prescribed by the abbess, accompanied by a "spiritual sister" until she receives forgiveness by humbly doing penance.²⁰²³ Here we have the notion of spatial separation and the connection of *excommunicatio* and imprisonment: exclusion by confinement, not by expulsion. A monk needs to be imprisoned together with a *senior* and is required to read until he asks for pardon.²⁰²⁴ Caesarius understood *excommunicatio* to be a prohibition of any form of communication, which could be warranted by different reasons and go along with imprisonment. It is, however, not mentioned in any of the other provisions on punishment in both rules. Aurelianus of Arles prescribes, in line with Caesarius, that no one is allowed to talk to an excommunicated person except for the one who has to guard him by order of the abbot.²⁰²⁵

²⁰²² *Regula orientalis*, c. 32, SC 298, p. 488, especially c. 32.7-8: ...*abstineatur a conuentu fratrum, ita ut nec mensae nec missae intersit, neque cum eo ullus frater de iunioribus conloquatur.*

²⁰²³ *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, p. 214: *Si qua uero pro quacumque re excommunicata fuerit, remota a congregatione, in loco quo abbatissa iusserit, cum una de spiritalibus sororibus resideat, quousque humiliter paenitendo indulgentiam accipiat.*

²⁰²⁴ Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 23, SC 398, p. 222.

²⁰²⁵ Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 36, ed. Schmidt, p. 250. This provision does not appear in Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines*.

The *Regula Tarnatensis* refers to *excommunicatio* in a different context: Those who pray (the author uses the word *meditare*) are not allowed to engage in other things or leave the *schola* or whatever place they use for that purpose. Whoever violates this rule undergoes *excommunicatio*.²⁰²⁶ A last monastic rule that uses *excommunicatio* only once is the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which is largely based on Basil's Rule, Cassian's work, and the Rules of Columbanus. One important theme in this Rule is the responsibility and authority of the abbot. The author explicitly states that monks are allowed to depose an abbot or superior who does not follow the *mandata Dei* (the precepts of God) or who indulges in pleasures, drinking, or opulence. If deposition is impossible, the monks are allowed to leave him, and he should undergo *excommunicatio*.²⁰²⁷

This first review of the use of *excommunicatio* leaves us with two important insights: First, *excommunicatio* has different meanings and contexts in each rule (though we might cautiously group the *Regulae patrum* together). Secondly, most of these diverse meanings of *excommunicatio* have an afterlife and re-surface in those monastic rules in which *excommunicatio* plays a central role (which includes, as we will see, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). Ever since the *Regula Magistri*, monastic *excommunicatio* is a hybrid of several normative traditions.

No monastic rule has as much to say about monastic *excommunicatio* as the *Regula Magistri*, which devotes a sequence of three chapters (c. 12-14) to the nature and practice of excommunication and re-integration. The term *excommunicatio* also appears in eleven more chapters. The short chapter 12 of the *Regula Magistri* gives a basic explanation of when *excommunicatio* should occur. A monk who is irreverent, proud, murmuring, or disobedient has to be reproached once or twice, then be referred to the abbot who imposes an *excommunicatio* according to the severity of his guilt.²⁰²⁸ Chapter 13 and 14 of the *Regula Magistri* explain what this *excommunicatio* entails and turn the process of excommunication and of reconciliation into a veritable trial, a dramatic event that includes long speeches of the

²⁰²⁶ *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 7, ed. Villegas, p. 23.

²⁰²⁷ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 20.1-5, ed. Villegas, p. 26: *Si quis ex senioribus siue is qui abbas nuncupatur, uoluptuosus existat et ebriosus et diues, et qui huic saeculo conformatur, id est "in curribus et in equis", de loco ad locum discurrat, hic non solum principatu fratrum indignus est, uerum etiam homicida animarum iudicandus est: et alius monasterio eius praeesse constituatur. Sin uero non poterint monachi ab illo exeant, et ille excommunicetur.*

²⁰²⁸ *Regula Magistri*, c. 12, SC 106, pp. 34-36.

abbot, confessions of guilt by the excommunicated monk, and prayers by the community. Both chapters belong to the long digressions of the *Regula Magistri* that turn the Rule into something that comes close to a theater script.²⁰²⁹

According to the long and terrifying speech the abbot has to give on the occasion of an excommunication, an incriminated monk is to be considered a renegade, a heretic, a servant of the devil, and scabies that has afflicted his flock. He is a Judas who has betrayed God for money and a hero of injustice who hates discipline, whose mouth has overflowed with wickedness, and who will face his just punishment before the tremendous judge. This summarizes only the first half of the abbot's speech, which goes on to add several more accusations and insults. Chapter 14 provides two long speeches that the excommunicated monk has to give in order to receive reconciliation – memorizing these speeches would be a severe punishment in itself.²⁰³⁰ Aside from the words put into the mouth of the abbot, the guilty monk and the community, chapters 13-14 provide various details about the nature of excommunication. It involves removal from the oratory and from the common meal, complete social isolation, and forced labor. If he is allowed to eat, then only in solitude, one hour after the rest of the community. Everyone who interacts with an excommunicated monk without authorization faces *excommunicatio* as well.²⁰³¹

Aside from this *excommunicatio* for severe transgressions, the *Regula Magistri* imposes an excommunication for less serious offenses, which only consists of exclusion from table.²⁰³² A monk who has received full *excommunicatio* needs to prostrate himself in front of the threshold of the oratory, make satisfaction and promise improvement. A monk who is only excluded from table may not take on any leading role in the liturgy.²⁰³³ A monk who refuses for more than three days to make satisfaction, has to be locked up, severely beaten and, if the abbot decides so, expelled from the monastery.²⁰³⁴ Part of the act of reconciliation is a last admonishing speech by the abbot in which he warns the monk that this was his only chance at penance and that a second attempt to do penance would turn him into

²⁰²⁹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 13-14, pp. 34-62.

²⁰³⁰ *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.3-19, pp. 48-50; c. 14.34-66, pp. 54-58.

²⁰³¹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.41-59, pp. 40-44.

²⁰³² *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.60-61, p. 44.

²⁰³³ *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.62-67, pp. 44-46.

²⁰³⁴ *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.68-74, pp. 46-48.

a heretic.²⁰³⁵ At the end of the chapter, the *Regula Magistri* states that children up to fifteen years are excluded from this procedure and only face corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is also (presumably along with excommunication) applied to serious faults, such as theft or attempts to escape or any other crime.²⁰³⁶

The *Regula Magistri* shares several practical aspects of *excommunicatio* with previous monastic rules, but it is the only one that incorporates the rhetoric of ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* and reconciliation by placing a monk's transgression on the same level as heresy and apostasy. The Rule also includes elements of the public penance of the early church, which could be performed only once.²⁰³⁷ No other monastic rule makes a connection between ecclesiastical and monastic penance.

If we look at the other provisions in the *Regula Magistri* it seems that the author (or, more likely, the authors) of this Rule apply at least two different notions of *excommunicatio*: the terrifying procedure laid out in detail in chapters 13-14, and simple forms of exclusion as punishment for a variety of rather menial transgressions. These transgressions include *excommunicatio* of monks in the kitchen service who have not prepared the meal on time (which merely involves a reduced portion of bread),²⁰³⁸ a special *excommunicatio* for those arriving late at table (which includes eating at a separate space and having food that is not blessed),²⁰³⁹ eating and drinking after Compline (*excommunicatio* in form of three days of fasting),²⁰⁴⁰ reluctance to travel on behalf of the monastery,²⁰⁴¹ not saying farewell, or parting from each other without saying a prayer,²⁰⁴² wrongfully claiming to be too sick to attend prayer,²⁰⁴³ or having too many wet dreams as a result of lustful thoughts.²⁰⁴⁴ It is rather unlikely that monks who had performed these transgressions had to undergo the procedure laid out in chapters 13-14.

Only three other chapters of the *Regula Magistri* refer to the severe *excommunicatio*

²⁰³⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.68-69, p. 58.

²⁰³⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.79-87, pp. 60-62.

²⁰³⁷ On public *paenitentia*, see Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*; De Jong, 'What was public about public penance?'

²⁰³⁸ *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.13-17, p. 94.

²⁰³⁹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 23.46-50, p. 120.

²⁰⁴⁰ *Regula Magistri*, c. 30.28-30, pp. 166-168.

²⁰⁴¹ *Regula Magistri*, c. 57.14-16, p. 270.

²⁰⁴² *Regula Magistri*, c. 63.1-2, p. 288.

²⁰⁴³ *Regula Magistri*, c. 69.1-10, pp. 296-298.

²⁰⁴⁴ *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.8-8, p. 330.

laid out in chapters 12-14. A monk has to face a *grandis et diuturna excommunicatio* if caught with keeping private possessions.²⁰⁴⁵ Postulants who went through the procedure of admission have to wait for another two months in which they live and work with the monks and “have to follow the discipline of the rule of excommunications (*disciplina regulae excommunicationum*) – a puzzling statement which might imply either that they are to be treated as if they are in the state of excommunication or that *disciplina regulae excommunicationum* simply stands for the entire disciplinary system of the monastery.²⁰⁴⁶ A substitute abbot has the right to impose excommunications if the abbot in charge is absent and that a substitute abbot who falls short should be demoted and himself submit to *excommunicatio*.²⁰⁴⁷ We should assume, therefore, that *excommunicatio* could mean various forms of, usually temporary, exclusion (from spaces, activities, and social interaction), and Exclusion (the dramatic procedure that may have been modeled after ecclesiastical excommunication).

The *Regula Benedicti* shows similarities in phrasing, terminology, and content with the *Regula Magistri* though I would consider a direct dependence rather improbable. The assumption that both Rules originate from the same monastic milieu and shared a pool of authoritative texts is more likely.²⁰⁴⁸ The *Regula Benedicti* does not show any traces of the terrifying procedure of excommunication and reconciliation laid out in chapters 13-14 of the *Regula Magistri* and does not share the idea of aligning monastic *excommunicatio* with ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*. Instead, Benedict places himself in the tradition of older monastic rules and the “harmless” chapters of the *Regula Magistri* by treating *excommunicatio* as an internal and rather flexible disciplinary measure. The *Regula Benedicti* contains two separate disciplinary sections, chapters 23-30, which largely revolve around the notion of *excommunicatio*, and chapters 43-46, which deal with forms of negligent behavior, such as arriving late at table, making mistakes in performing the liturgy, or causing damage while doing work for the community. Integrated into this second sequence, and slightly out of place, we find a procedure for the re-integration of excommunicated monks, which is a far cry from chapter 14 of the *Regula Magistri*.

²⁰⁴⁵ *Regula Magistri*, c. 82.26-31, p. 340.

²⁰⁴⁶ *Regula Magistri*, c. 88.4, p. 368.

²⁰⁴⁷ *Regula Magistri*, c. 93.66-67, pp. 434-436; c. 93.76-79, pp. 436-438.

²⁰⁴⁸ On the *Regula Benedicti-Regula Magistri* debate, see p. §.

The first set of disciplinary chapters (23-30) of the *Regula Benedicti* form the basis of chapters 18-20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In similar words as the *Regula Magistri*, chapters 23-26 define who is deserving of excommunication and the process by which this occurs. A monk who either shows the wrong attitude (being stubborn, disobedient, arrogant, or murmuring) or who actively violates the Rule or the precepts of superior, should be first reprimanded by his superior, then scolded publicly and, if this does not show effect, excommunicated, but only if he understands what this means. If he has no understanding of its implications, he should be beaten instead. Some of these measures can be found in the *Regula Magistri*, others, e.g. the public reprimand and the reference to unintelligent monks, may come from other traditions. Like the *Regula Magistri* (though phrased differently), The *Regula Benedicti* foresees different levels of *excommunicatio*: the exclusion from common meals, the exclusion from meals *and* prayers, complete social isolation, and forced labor. A first level of *excommunicatio* entails that a monk may be present at the liturgical Hours but not take an active role by leading Psalms or Antiphons or reciting the readings. Both forms of excommunication have no temporal limit but last until the monk gains pardon by making a suitable satisfaction. Everyone who interacts with an excommunicated monk without permission will be excommunicated as well.

Chapter 27 of the *Regula Benedicti*, the most extensive one in the sequence on excommunication, describes how the abbot should provide special pastoral care to an excommunicated monk like a physician and like a shepherd taking care of an errant sheep (cf. Luke 15, 4; John 10, 11). In practice, this means that the abbot appoints competent senior brothers as spiritual counselors who are supposed to bring a monk back to the right path of penance and improvement. This provision has no parallels with the *Regula Magistri*, but Benedict shares this idea with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Another measure is that the community prays for the erring monk as an act of love.

Chapter 28 deals with monks who refuse to improve their behavior despite repeated reproach and *excommunicatio*. The next step is physical punishment and then, as a penultimate measure (or maybe as a last warning), the prayer of all monks. If this does not help, the abbot has to play his role of physician and shepherd who at this point needs to be more concerned about the community than about the erring monk. He heals the his community by amputating the incorrigible monk from the community and removing the sick

sheep from the flock to prevent further infection. As mentioned, Benedict's medical language may have been inspired by the *Regula Basilii*. The last resort is expulsion. Chapter 29 – which will be discussed in my commentary to chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – regulates how a monk who has left the community (probably because of expulsion) could be readmitted. Chapter 30 prescribes that young boys or less intelligent monks should not face excommunication but severe fasting and physical punishment.

Outside of the excommunication sequence, a chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* describes how excommunicated monks should perform satisfaction.²⁰⁴⁹ Those excommunicated from table and prayer should prostrate themselves silently in front of the oratory until the abbot decides that they have done enough. At this point the community prays for the one who was excommunicated and is to be re-admitted to the choir, however without belong allowed to intone the prayer, until the abbot decides that he has done full satisfaction.

All in all, we can see that Benedict shares some, but not all provisions with the *Regula Magistri* but incorporates various other monastic traditions. What Jonas found in the *Regula Benedicti*, was already a hybrid of different disciplinary systems – which got even more complicated once Jonas started to revise Benedict's text.

Excommunicatio in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

Chapter 18-20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* depend on chapters 23-26, 28, and 30 of the *Regula Benedicti*. At the beginning, Jonas revises the text of the *Regula Benedicti* sentence by sentence but then takes his own route leading to a disciplinary program that is different from Benedict's. The three chapters on excommunication play an odd role within the fabric of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas integrates, as we will see, his own language and ideas into his revision of Benedict's provisions on *excommunicatio*, but, conversely, Benedict's concept of *excommunicatio* has hardly any impact on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a whole. The term *excommunicatio* does not appear anywhere outside chapters 18-20 despite the fact that Jonas addresses transgressions and disciplinary measures throughout the entire text. Jonas' Rule would be perfectly function without these

²⁰⁴⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 44, SC 182, pp. 592-594.

chapters.

Neither in the works of Columbanus himself nor in Jonas' hagiographical texts can we find references to monastic *excommunicatio*. Columbanus uses the term only once, in a letter to Pope Boniface criticizing the Pope for not excommunicating those he considered heretics, which refers to a form of ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*.²⁰⁵⁰ Jonas refers to *excommunicato* once in his *Vita Columbani*, telling how Columbanus threatened Theuderic II with *excommunicatio* for his adultery.²⁰⁵¹ It seems, therefore, that Jonas, in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* paid lip service to the *Regula Benedicti* by including Benedict's disciplinary section, but within Jona's Rule as a whole it remains a foreign body. As a result of that, Jonas' Rule develops several parallel systems of discipline and punishment that can be traced to various sources: the idea of *paenitentia* as an act; the idea that nuns could be held in a state of *paenitentia*; the concept of *disciplina regularis*; various forms of *admonitio*, *correptio*, and *correctio*; the focus of motivations and intentions as the primary target of discipline; and the notion of punishment as the ultimate act of love and caring.

Jonas starts his section on excommunication with the title *De culparum excommunicatione* which is (aside from a change of the word order) the same as in the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*.²⁰⁵² He starts chapter 18 by closely following the text of the *Regula Benedicti*, except for the important addition of the devil as an agent – something he does several times in his rule:²⁰⁵³

1 Si qua uero soror instigante diabolo contumax uel superba, seu inoboediens uel murmurans apparuerit, uel etiam in quocumque casu lapsa, seniorum precepta uel sanctae regulae normam uiolare temptauerit, 2 haec secundum praeceptum Domini secreto a senioribus semel uel bis corripiatur.

[1 If any sister through the instigation of the devil appears to be insolent or haughty, disobedient or grumbling, or – having fallen into any misstep – attempts to violate the precepts of the elders and the norm of the holy rule, 2 she is to be reproached secretly by the elders once or twice, according to the precept of the Lord.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

1 Si quis frater contumax aut inoboediens aut superbus aut murmurans uel in aliquo

²⁰⁵⁰ Columbanus, *Epistula* 5, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 46.

²⁰⁵¹ *Vita Columbani* I, c. 19, p. 189.

²⁰⁵² *Regula Magistri*, c. 12.t, SC 106, p. 32; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.t, SC 182 p. 543.

²⁰⁵³ *RcuiV*, c. 2.13; c. 5.12; c. 8.7; c. 14.8; c. 16.10; c. 20.8; c. 22.3.

contrarius existens sanctae regulae et praeceptis seniorum suorum contemptor repertus fuerit, ² hic secundum Domini nostri praeceptum admoneatur semel et secundo secrete a senioribus suis.

[¹ If any brother is found to be stubborn, disobedient, arrogant, a grumbler, or in any way opposed to the holy Rule and contemptuous of the teaching of his elders, ² he should be privately reprimanded by his seniors once and then a second time, according to the teaching of Our Lord.]²⁰⁵⁴

A nun's transgression implies the direct involvement of the devil, which puts the error on a higher level of urgency than in Benedict's Rule: one instance is already sufficient to endanger a nun's salvation. The expression *diabolo instigante* is Caesarius' language.²⁰⁵⁵ Jonas' second addition to Benedict's text, *in quocumque casu lapsa* (having fallen into any misstep), can be found elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²⁰⁵⁶ Additionally, Jonas replaces Benedict's somewhat weaker term *admonere* ("to admonish") with the stronger expression *corripere* ("to reproach"), a term that appears throughout the Rule. Another discreet but important alteration: while Benedict only sanctions actual violations of the Rule and contempt of the orders of superiors, Jonas inserts the expression *temptare* ("to attempt"). A nun receives reproach not only for a deed but for an attempted one, which implies that Jonas intends *correptio* to have a predominantly preventive effect.

When addressing the possible responses to errors, Jonas again expands on Benedict's text by inserting his own language and ideas:

³ Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur, ⁴ et si sic emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut excommunicationi subiaceat, si eius antea intellectus uiguit, ⁵ aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et improbitas perseueret, tunc corporali disciplinae subiacebit.

[³ If she does not want to improve, then she should be rebuked by the entire congregation, ⁴ and if she does not want to improve after that, then she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it. That is, she either should be subject to excommunication, if her understanding is strong [enough] beforehand, ⁵ or, if the tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind persists, then she will be subject to corporal punishment.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

²⁰⁵⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.1-2, SC 182, p. 542; transl. Venarde, p. 99.

²⁰⁵⁵ *Instigante diaboli* appears twice in *CaesRV*, c. 23.1, SC 345, p. 198: on looking lustfully at strangers, c. 26.2, p. 204: on theft.

²⁰⁵⁶ Compare *RcuIV*, c. 17.5: *Si soror, quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa...*

³ Si non emendauerit, obiurgetur publice coram omnibus. ⁴ Si uero neque sic correxerit, si intellegit qualis poena sit, excommunicationi subiaceat; ⁵ sin autem improbus est, uindictae corporali subdatur.²⁰⁵⁷

[³ If he does not improve, he should be scolded publicly, in everyone's presence. ⁴ Should he despite that not correct his ways, he should undergo excommunication if he understands the nature of the punishment. ⁵ If, however, he is intellectually inferior, he should be subjected to corporal punishment.]

Obiurgetur publice is replaced by *simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur* which appears almost verbatim in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*. *Simul omnis*, the emphasis that the *entire* community has to be involved, is a recurring theme of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²⁰⁵⁸ Jonas replaces *neque sic correxerit* (if he does not correct himself in his way) with *emendare noluerit* (she does not want to improve), which is also a recurrent expression that emphasizes that the nun, by following her own will, becomes agent in her excommunication.²⁰⁵⁹

Another addition, *prout culpaie magnitudo poposcerit secundum regulam iudicatur* (she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it) refers to other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and introduces the *regula* as the criterium for assessing a nun's guilt – an idea absent in the *Regula Benedicti* in this specific context.²⁰⁶⁰ The *obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpaie et improbitas* (tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind) ties into Jonas' repeated concern of the *status mentis* (state of the mind) as an object of discipline.²⁰⁶¹ *Tenacitas* and *mens dura* appear in Jonas' hagiographic works.²⁰⁶² Jonas' use of the term *culpa* is remarkable, because the nuns' *culpa* is in his Rule not the act itself but “an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind”, i.e. the unwillingness to improve – which leads us back to Jonas' primary concern of the intention rather than the deed itself. Jonas puts a somewhat stronger emphasis on the procedural character of excommunication by using the word *tunc* three times: first this, then that, and then the following.

²⁰⁵⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.3-5, SC 182, p. 542.

²⁰⁵⁸ VCol II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *omni congregatione: Rcuiv*, c. 4.1: *ex omni congregatione*; c. 6.12: *omnis simul congregatio*. See also *Rcuiv*, c. 4.2; c. 2.7; c. 20.7, etc.

²⁰⁵⁹ *Emendare noluerit: Rcuiv*, c. 18.3/4; c. 20.1/2.

²⁰⁶⁰ Compare *Rcuiv*, c. 16.7-8: *Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius prodicione cognitum fuerit, s prout culpaie magnitudo poposcerit paenitentiae subiacebit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit*.

²⁰⁶¹ See p. §.

²⁰⁶² VCol II, c. 22, pp. 277-278: *durae ac ignauae mentis; Vloh*, c. 19, p. 342, l. 22: *tenacitas* (the term does not appear in any monastic rule).

In the context of *excommunicatio*, both rules use the active verb, *subiaceat*, which is hard to translate correctly because it is neither “she should be subjected to excommunication” nor “she should undergo excommunication” nor “she should be excommunicated.” By using *subiaceat*, Benedict and Jonas emphasize that a person who transgressed is the agent of his or her own excommunication. They submit themselves to punishment rather than being punished and place themselves in a state of excommunication through their unwillingness to improve.

For the next step, Benedict switches to the passive voice: *uitictae corporali subdatur* (he is to be put under corporal punishment); Jonas retains the active form: it is the nun who through her guilty tenacity is the agent of her own corporal punishment: *corporali disciplinae subiacebit* (then she will subject herself to corporal punishment). As subtle as Jonas’ alterations of the *Regula Benedicti* are, they create nevertheless a different and, in fact, new notion of *excommunicatio*. This becomes manifest in chapter 19.

Chapter 19 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* summarizes the content of three chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*. It begins with this provision:

Qualis debeat esse excommunicatio. ¹ Excommunicationis mensura qualis esse debeat, iustum scientibus librare iudicium culpae modus ostendit. ² Leuioribus enim culpis leuior est adhibenda correptio, grauioribus uero feruentior est exhibenda damnatio. ³ Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum, ⁴ ut si aliqua soror in leuioribus inueniatur obnoxia culpis, usque ad indictam sibi horam mensa priuetur.

[Of what sort excommunication should be. ¹ What measure of excommunication should be applied shows the kind of the offence to those who know how to weigh a just judgment. ² For milder offences a milder reproach is to be applied, but for more severe ones a more ardent damnation is to be displayed. ³ Therefore it needs to be determined by the zeal of the abbess, ⁴ that if a sister is found guilty of a lesser offence, she should be excluded from table until an hour determined for her.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

Qualis debet esse modus excommunicationis? ¹ Secundum modum culpae, et excommunicationis uel disciplinae mensura debet extendi; ² qui culparum modus in abbatis pendat iudicio. ³ Si quis tamen frater in leuioribus culpis inuenitur, a mensae participatione priuetur.

[What the degree of excommunication should be. ¹ The measure of both excommunication and punishment should be proportional to the degree of the fault; ² the

seriousness of the faults depends on the judgment of the abbot. ³ If a brother is found in a lesser fault, he should be deprived of participation at the common table.]²⁰⁶³

Here Jonas uses all the material Benedict provides in his Rule but adds, again, a number of new aspects. In line with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, he turns the *iustum iudicium* of the abbess into the agent of assessment of faults and determination of repercussions: it is not the abbess herself who decides but her just judgment. Jonas inserts *usque ad indictam horam* (until a determined hour), an important addition that changes one of the basic ideas of Benedict's concept of excommunication. Benedict does not describe any time limit to his excommunication but leaves it to the judgment of the abbot to decide when a guilty monk has shown sufficient signs of remorse and has made satisfaction. In the next section, Jonas largely leaves Benedict behind:

⁵ De grauioribus uero seu dierum uel ebdomadarum uel mensium definitio in longius protracta correptione finiatur, ⁶ ea tamen regula, ut si amplius quam septem dierum spatium excommunicationis percurrerit, ⁷ quamdiu paenitentiae sub statuto tempore ordo retentus fuerit, sicut a mensa loco suo priuetur, ita et in ecclesia segregetur, ut in loco, in quo ante fuit, nec psalmum cantet, nec ullum ordinem teneat, ⁸ usque dum satisfactione humili cum cordis contritione ab abbatissa uel a senioribus ueniam mereatur.

[⁵ But about more severe offences a definition (for an excommunication) of days or weeks or months has to be determined as a reproach protracted into a longer period, ⁶ according to this rule, however, that if she passes through a period of excommunication of more than seven days, ⁷ as long as the order of penance has been retained under the assigned time, that she, just as she should be deprived from her place at the table, so also she should be separated in the church, so that she does not sing a psalm in the place where she has been before and does not hold any rank, ⁸ until she deserves mercy from the abbes or from the seniors through humble satisfaction with contrition of the heart.]

According to the *Regula Benedicti* the “simple” excommunication from table for lesser faults goes along with being excluded from intoning Psalms and Antiphons and reciting the reading in the oratory.²⁰⁶⁴ Jonas uses a similar provision of limited exclusion from liturgical activities but now applies it to those nuns who committed graver faults and therefore deserved excommunication for a protracted period (again a fixed term that can be set to weeks or even months). This means that Benedict's most serious form of excommunication, exclusion from

²⁰⁶³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24.t-3, SC 182, p. 544; transl. Venarde, p. 101.

²⁰⁶⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24.4-7, p. 544: *Priuatim a mensae consortio ista erit ratio ut in oratorio psalmum aut antiphonam non imponat, neque lectionem recitet, usque ad satisfactionem. ⁵ Refectionem autem cibi post fratrum refectionem solus accipiat, ⁶ ut, si uerbi gratia fratres reficiunt sexta hora, ille frater nona, si fratres nona, ille uespera, ⁷ usque dum satisfactione congrua ueniam consequatur.*

table and prayer, does not appear at all in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Instead, Jonas' nuns may only be removed from their place in the choir. Elsewhere in his Rule, Jonas prescribes that nuns who arrive late at prayer are by no means allowed to stay outside the oratory. In his chapter on confession, however, Jonas states that nuns in the state of *paenitentia* (which might be the same as the state of *excommunicatio*) have to sing a different liturgy in a different church.²⁰⁶⁵ Both provisions somewhat contradict each other, but the bottom line is that, for Jonas, *excommunicatio* does not mean a full exclusion from prayer. Jonas adds, however, another provision for those nuns who are excommunicated for grave faults:

9 Excommunicata uero soror, quae culpis grauioribus existentibus, aut cellula recluditur, aut a consortio congregationis separatur, 10 a nullo paenitus aut conloquia aut uisitationis munus fruatur, nisi tantummodo, cui praeceptum ab abbatissa fuerit. 11 Si qua transgressa hanc regulam fuerit, regulari paenitentiae subiacebit.

[9 But an excommunicated sister, who because of manifestly more severe offences is either shut off in a small cell or separated from the company of the congregation, 10 may absolutely not enjoy the gift of a conversation or a visit, unless by someone who has received an order from the abbess. 11 If someone transgresses this rule, she will be subject to a penance according to the rule.]

Jonas offers here two options (*aut...aut*): either following the Caesarius' Rule for Nuns by imposing imprisonment,²⁰⁶⁶ or following the *Regula Benedicti*, which requires social isolation.²⁰⁶⁷ The *Regula Benedicti* does not include the disciplinary option of imprisonment, and it is remarkable that the *Regula Donati* in two of its few passages that cannot be traced to older rules, adds provisions on the imprisonment of recalcitrant nuns as well.²⁰⁶⁸ The fact that both the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* superimpose the option of imprisonment on the *Regula Benedicti* either points to the fact that expulsion as a disciplinary measure has fallen out of use or that it was not an option for female communities.

Lastly, Jonas prohibits any unauthorized contact with an excommunicated nun. He does not, however, follow the *Regula Benedicti*, which imposes the same *excommunicatio* on any

²⁰⁶⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.24.

²⁰⁶⁶ *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, SC 345, p. 214, c. 65, pp. 250-252.

²⁰⁶⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24, SC 182, p. 544.

²⁰⁶⁸ *Regula Donati*, c. 2.10, CSEL 98, p. 146; c. 5.9, p. 150.

monk who socializes with an excommunicated monk.²⁰⁶⁹ Instead, Jonas talks about the *regulari paenitentia*, merging the penitential system with his program of excommunication.

Chapter 20, Jonas' last and longest chapter of on punishment, addresses the question how to deal with nuns who are unresponsive to reproach and do not want to improve. At first sight, Jonas seems to return to the *Regula Benedicti*, but in fact he merely uses Benedict's words in order to craft his own notion of *excommunicatio* which turns out to be different from Benedict's. First, it is important to notice that Jonas ignores an entire chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* that addresses the care of the abbot for the excommunicated, which describes the abbot acting as physician caring for the sick, and sending wise brothers to the excommunicated who should comfort them privately, and as shepherd for his flock.²⁰⁷⁰ Jonas probably omits this chapter because he has already spelled out the responsibility of the abbess for sinners in chapter 1 of his Rule and emphasized at various places that the abbess is supposed to hear confession.²⁰⁷¹ The practice of sending a spiritual counsel to sinful nuns is already expressed in Caesarius' *Rule for Nuns*.²⁰⁷² Therefore, summarizing or rephrasing that chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* would simply have been redundant.

Chapter 20 begins as follows:

1 Soror si saepius correpta emendare noluerit, excommunicatione pro modo culpae corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc uerberum uindictae subiacebit.

[1 If a sister who has frequently been reproached does not want to better herself, she should be corrected through excommunication according to the extent of her guilt. If in this way the correction of the one who reproves does not accomplish anything, she will be subject to the punishment of floggings.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

1 Si quis frater frequenter correptus pro qualibet culpa, si etiam excommunicatus non emendaverit, acrior ei accedat correptio, id est ut uerberum uindicta in eum procedant.

²⁰⁶⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 26, SC 182, pp. 546-548: *Si quis frater praesumpserit sine iussione abbatis fratri excommunicato quolibet modo se iungere aut loqui cum eo uel mandatum ei dirigere, 2 similem sortiatur excommunicationis uindictam.*

²⁰⁷⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 27, SC 182, p. 548-550.

²⁰⁷¹ *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; c. 7; c. 16.5; c. 16.9; c. 22.17-18.

²⁰⁷² *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, SC 345, p. 214.

[1 If any brother, after frequent correction for any fault and even excommunication, should not mend his ways, harsher correction should follow, that is, beating with rods should come next.]²⁰⁷³

Both Benedict and Jonas propose for recalcitrant offenders a three-step program: *correptio* (reproach) – *excommunicatio* – *uindicta uerberum* (corporal punishment). Jonas adds, in line with the rest of his Rule, two new aspects to Benedict’s provision. He, again, replaces *emendare* with *emendare noluerit* (she does not want to improve), emphasizing the importance on the individual nun’s intention, and he replaces *uerberum uindicta in eum procedant* (they, the monks, move on to punishment of floggings) by *uerberum uindicta subiacebit* (she will subject to the punishment of floggings). The individual nun is, in Jonas’ eyes, in the driver’s seat, both with regard to her improvement and her punishment.

There is yet another subtle difference: Jonas moves the term *culpa* into a different context. While Benedict just states that the three steps might be put in motion *pro qualibet culpa* (for whatever fault), Jonas defines the measure of an excommunication *pro modo culpae* (according to the extent of her guilt.), which implies that he operates with both a notion of increased punishment based on attitude *and* the idea that punishment should be determined by guilt and that there are different forms of *excommunicatio*.

² Quod si sic emendare noluerit, sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata, opera uel actus de quibus corrigitur, defenderit, ³ tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: *Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est.* (Sap. 3, 11) ⁴ Moderante ergo scientia saniae medendi cura adhibeatur.

[² But if she does not want to better herself in this way, but even, exalted by the swelling of pride, defends the works and deeds for which she is corrected, ³ then she is to be corrected as directed by the knowledge of the abbess, because it is written: *Unhappy is he who casts punishment aside.* ⁴ Therefore, the cure for healing should be applied to the infection by the moderation of knowledge.]

Compare to *Regula Benedicti*:

² Quod si nec ita correxerit, aut forte – quod absit – in superbia elatus etiam defendere uoluerit opera sua, tunc abbas faciat quod sapiens medicus. ³ Si exhibuit fomenta, si unguenta adhortationum, si medicamina scripturarum diuinarum, si ad ultimum ustionem excommunicationis uel plagarum uirgae, ⁴ et iam si uiderit nihil suam praeualere industriam, adhibeat etiam – quod maius est – suam et omnium fratrum pro eo orationem, ⁵ ut Dominus qui omnia potest operetur salutem circa infirmum fratrem.

²⁰⁷³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.1, SC 182, p. 550; transl. Venarde, p. 111.

[² But if despite that he still does not correct himself or if, God forbid, carried away by arrogance he perhaps even wishes to defend his actions, then the abbot must proceed like a wise physician: ³ if he has provided poultices, the salve of exhortation, the medicine of divine Scripture, if as a last resort he has used the cauterization of excommunication and whipping with rods ⁴ and still sees that his efforts have no effect, let him offer something more powerful, his own prayer and that of all the brothers on his behalf ⁵so that the Lord, who can do everything, may save this sickly brother]

For the next step – if *excommunicatio* and corporal punishment show no effect – Jonas still follows Benedict closely but with a different emphasis. Both address the problem that a member of the community may not recognize his or her fault, defend his/her acts and, implicitly undermine the authority and legitimacy of those who impose punishment. In this case the abbess decides how the offender is to be corrected, which either implies that up to this point disciplinary measures (including *excommunicatio*) were handled not by the abbess herself but by someone lower in rank, presumably the prioress, or that punishment was to be imposed according to a fixed *disciplina regularis*. Both Jonas and Benedict now move into a sequence of medical metaphors (which, as we know, reaches back to the *Regula Basilii*).²⁰⁷⁴

⁵ Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltem incisionibus amputetur. ⁶ Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit, tunc excommunicationis sententiam uel disciplinae corporalis poenam incurrat.

[⁵ If the lethal wound is not restored to health through the poultice of castigation and the ointment of love and mildness, it should at least be amputated by incisions. ⁶ And if the infection, after having been cut in this way, does not lose its swelling, then let her incur the sentence of excommunication and the penalty of corporeal punishment.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

⁶ Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abscisionis, ut ait Apostolus: Auferte malum ex vobis, ⁷ et iterum: *Infidelis, si discedit, discedat*, ⁸ ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet.

[⁶ But if he is not healed in this way, then the abbot must use the knife of amputation, as the apostle says, “Banish the evil one from your midst,” ⁷ and again “If a faithless man is leaving, let him leave,” ⁸ lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock.]²⁰⁷⁵

²⁰⁷⁴ See p. §. Medical metaphors can be found elsewhere in Jonas’ Rule, e.g. *RcuiV*, c. 1.11-14; c. 5.16; c. 6.12; c. 6.18; c. 7.2-3; *De accedendo* 27.

²⁰⁷⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6-8, SC 182, p. 552; transl. Venarde, p. 111.

Following Benedict – and probably current medical practice – the abbot/abbess-physician first prescribes poultices and ointments and, if this does not help, starts cutting and removing the infection. If the swelling does not go away, both Jonas and Benedict return to the measure of excommunication and corporal punishment, though probably on a more intense level. Jonas moves from *uerberum uindictae* to *disciplina corporalis* and turns the flexible *excommunicatio pro modo culpa* into a *sententia excommunicationis*. Benedict moves from *uerberum uindicta* to *plagae uirgae* and from being *excommunicatus* to the *ustio ultima* (the final burnout) of excommunication. Aside from that, Jonas does insert his own terms and categories and leaves some of Benedict's out. He expands Benedict's medical terminology with a number of terms we know from elsewhere in his texts: *sanies*, *tumor*, *amputare*. Most importantly, he describes the *culpa* of the nuns as *uulnus loetale*, as a lethal wound that needs to be treated by the abbess-physician. Punishment turns into live-saving act and, as he subsequently emphasizes, an act of *pietas* (love) and *lenitas* (mildness).

Again, the transgressing nun is in the active position: it is *she* who incurs the verdict of excommunication and corporal punishment. Jonas curiously leaves out Benedict's notion of *medicamina scripturarum diuinarum* (remedies of the holy scriptures). We might connect this omission back to chapter 1 and the fact that Jonas defined the content of the abbess' teaching differently from Benedict's stern curriculum of *doctrina*. Jonas' re-definition of the *scientia* of the abbess moves away from Benedict's notion of the abbot as teacher of doctrine.²⁰⁷⁶

In the next sentence, Jonas uses the term *pietas* a second and a third time:

⁷ Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita, ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur, ⁸ ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.

[⁷ And if she is not broken either by the fear of excommunication or the punishment of the whip, the tinder of love should be increased even more so that the entire congregation prays to the Lord who is common to all in a service of prayer for her, ⁸ so that she who is kept entangled in the trap of the devil, may be healed by the mercy and love of the Lord.]

Benedict and Jonas describe the prayer – and thus the involvement – of the entire community as a last resort. In the case of Jonas, this is somewhat redundant since prayer by the entire community for anyone who has transgressed is already a central element of the process of

²⁰⁷⁶ See p. §.

confession and re-integration as described in chapter 5 and 6. Neither in these chapters nor in the Faremoutiers section is prayer of the entire community for an individual's sins a last resort. It almost looks as if Jonas pays lip service to the *Regula Benedicti* while garnishing Benedict's redundant measures with his own monastic ideal. On the one hand, Jonas talks of the *metus excommunicationis*, the existential fear related to exclusion (which might be the same fear that motivates the fugitive nuns to return to the monastery). On the other hand, he emphasizes that the prayer of the community is an act of *pietas* (love), which –in line with the chapter on love (c. 5) – imitates and incites God's *pietas* and *misericordia*. The combination of medical metaphors and prayer as an ultimate act of love also appears in the episode of the *Vita Columbani* describing how Columbanus' successor Athala dealt with a group of rebellious monks at the monastery of Bobbio.²⁰⁷⁷

Lastly, and also not unexpectedly, Jonas defines a recalcitrant nun as “entangled by the traps of the devil” who is overly present in the community.

9 Quod si nec sic corripitur uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus praeter custodibus segregata, 10 tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat, 11 quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur. 12 Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes.

[9 But if she does not want to be chastised in such a way, she is to be separated within the confines of the monastery from all except the guards, according to the letter of penance, 10 and she should so long be chastised by various forms of reproach until her humility is revealed to all in true credulity, 11 since healing is often given even to those who are reluctant. 12 For that reason she is to be placed apart from the congregation, so that she does not defile the innocent through her vice.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

2 Quod si nec ita correxerit, aut forte – quod absit – in superbia elatus etiam defendere uoluerit opera sua, tunc abbas faciat quod sapiens medicus: 3 si exhibuit fomenta, si unguenta adhortationum, si medicamina scripturarum diuinarum, si ad ultimum ustionem excommunicationis uel plagarum uirgae, 4 et iam si uiderit nihil suam praeualere industriam, adhibeat etiam – quod maius est – suam et omnium fratrum pro eo orationem,

²⁰⁷⁷ VCol II, c. 1, p. 231: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur. Dique castigatos cum secum tenere non ualeret, merore animi turbatus, multis precibus cum pietatis obsequio prosequeretur, ut se non relinquerent et ardui itineris calle non deuiarent meminiscerentque, patres per mortificationem et contemptum praesentis uitae regna caelorum possidere. Cum nihil iam proficere cerneret nec alibi trahentes animos suae societatis abenis inire posse uidisset, pertinaces ire sinit; qui postquam segregati ab eo, alii eorum marinis sunt sinibus recoepti, alii locum heremi ob libertatem habendam petire.*

⁵ ut Dominus qui omnia potest operetur salutem circa infirmum fratrem. ⁶ Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abscisionis, ut ait Apostolus: Auferte malum ex uobis, et iterum: ⁷ Infidelis, si discedit, discedat, ⁸ ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiēt.²⁰⁷⁸

[² But if despite that he still does not correct himself or if, God forbid, carried away by arrogance he perhaps even wishes to defend his actions, then the abbot must proceed like a wise physician: ³ if he has provided poultices, the salve of exhortation, the medicine of divine Scripture, if as a last resort he has used the cauterization of excommunication and whipping with rods ⁴ and still sees that his efforts have no effect, let him offer something more powerful, his own prayer and that of all the brothers on his behalf, ⁵ so that the Lord, who can do everything, may save this sickly brother. ⁶ But if he is not healed in this way, then the abbot must use the knife of amputation, as the apostle says, “Banish the evil one from your midst,” ⁷ and again “If a faithless man is leaving, let him leave,” ⁸ lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock.]

Jonas breaks here with the *Regula Benedicti*. For Benedict, the ultimate measure is expulsion. Remaining in the sphere of medical metaphors, the abbot has to use a knife to remove the evil from the community to prevent one sick sheep from infecting the entire flock. For Jonas, expulsion is no option. In this regard, he follows Caesarius of Arles and imposes imprisonment and total isolation from the community. He also ties this precept to the framework of *paenitentia*. At this point – and seemingly only at this point in the course of events – nuns have reached a state of *paenitentia*. This is odd since it contradicts previous provisions in Jonas’ Rule which turn nuns into *paenitentes* for much lesser transgressions, unless we assume that both the state of being a *paenitens* and of being *excommunicata* comes in various gradations with various levels of consequences of which incarceration is only one.²⁰⁷⁹

Jonas and Benedict share their rationale for their radically different ultimate measures: to protect the rest of the community. Both use, however, different concepts. Benedict speaks of the fear of contagion; Jonas – also in line with previous chapters (especially chapter 6) – speaks of pollution or defilement.

Jonas concludes this chapter with a new topic:

¹³ Tenera uero aetas, quae excommunicata uim nescit, non excommunicatione, sed flagello corrigenda est.

[¹³ But one of tender age, who does not know the implications of being excommunicated, is to be corrected not through excommunication but by the scourge].

²⁰⁷⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.2-8, SC 182, pp. 550-552.

²⁰⁷⁹ On *paenitentia*, see also p. §.

This last sentence summarizes (and slightly alters) an entire chapter of the *Regula Benedicti*. Benedict states that disciplinary measures need to be adjusted to age and understanding. Therefore, those who do not understand the severity of *excommunicatio* should be submitted to strict fasting or receive heavy corporal punishment.²⁰⁸⁰ Jonas removes the criterion of *intellectus* (understanding) and simply assumes that those of tender age do not understand the force (*uis*) of excommunication and he also takes out the alternative punishment of heavy fasting. This might align with Caesarius' and Jonas' concern with "holy anorexia." Jonas ends with another rather strange metonym. It is not the nun herself but the "tender age" that does not know the power of excommunication. For this reason, the "tender age" needs to be corrected by corporal punishment rather than *excommunicatio*.

In Julia Hillner's study on corporal punishment, she distinguishes three basic concepts of monastic punishment as we find them in different rules: punishment based on the severity of transgressions, punishment determined by moral improvement or the lack thereof, and punishment determined by maturity and the ability to grasp the severity of one's transgression and the implications of a sanction. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* incorporates all three concepts.²⁰⁸¹

Jonas decision to abandon expulsion as the ultimate disciplinary measure has a strong impact on the next chapter, which deals with question of how to deal with nuns who want to return to the monastery. It seems that both Benedict and Jonas dealt with members of the community who left the monastery and wanted to return, but the reasons both for leaving and for returning may have been different – as we will see now.

Escape and expulsion (chapter 21)

Chapter 21 on the readmission of a sister has already been addressed in the context of Jonas' and Caesarius' notion of space and boundaries.²⁰⁸² Jonas describes both escape and return

²⁰⁸⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 30, SC 182, p. 554: *Omnis aetas uel intellectus proprias debet habere mensuras. 2 Ideoque, quotiens pueri uel adulescentiores aetate, aut qui minus intellegere possunt quanta poena sit excommunicationis, 3 hii tales dum delinquunt, aut ieiuniis nimiis affligantur aut acris uerberibus coerceantur, ut sanentur.*

²⁰⁸¹ Hillner, Julia, 'Monks and children: corporal punishment in Late Antiquity', in: *European Review of History* 16:6 (2009), pp. 773-791.

²⁰⁸² See p. §.

as crossing the *septa monasterii* and gives us access to this key concept of his monastic program. The chapter strongly resonates with the story of the fugitive nuns in the Faremoutiers miracles,²⁰⁸³ but also with another episode of the *Vita Columbani* about a group of monks who rebelled against Columbanus' successor Athala in Bobbio and left the monastery in anger. Some of them returned remorsefully, confessed their sins and were readmitted. Jonas emphasizes that their return saved their lives and that many of those who did not return fell prey to divine punishment.²⁰⁸⁴

The chapter is short but complicated; it needs a lot of contextualization but it also provides a important new insights into Jonas' monastic ideal, even aside from the topic of space and boundaries. Benedict's chapter on the readmission of monks who had left the monastery (c. 29) forms the basis of Jonas' provision on fugitive nuns. Jonas uses almost all material from the *Regula Benedicti* but produces a text that is twice as long and combines Benedict's language with a number of terms that we find throughout Jonas' work and that speak to his monastic program, such as *septa monasterii* (the boundaries of the monastery); *iudex aeternus* (eternal judge); *perculsa timore* (shaken by fear); *emendationem polliceri* (promising improvement); and *culpa maculata* (stained by guilt).²⁰⁸⁵

The close similarity between chapter 29 of the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' chapter 21 is particularly striking since both address different topics in almost the same words. Chapter 29 of the *Regula Benedicti* could be – and has been – read in two different ways, either emphasizing escape or expulsion. One textual tradition, the so-called *classis pura* version provides the following text:

Si debeant fratres exeuntes de monasterio iterum recipi.

¹ Frater qui proprio uitio egreditur de monasterio, si reuerti uoluerit, spondeat prius omnem emendationem pro quo egressus est, ² et sic in ultimo gradu recipiatur, ut ex hoc eius humilitas comprobetur. ³ Quod si denuo exierit, usque tertio ita recipiatur, iam postea sciens omnem sibi reuersionis aditum denegari.

[Whether brothers leaving the monastery should be readmitted.

¹ If a brother who leaves the monastery through his own fault wants to return, let him first pledge full amendment for which he departed ² and be received at the lowest rank, so his

²⁰⁸³ VCol II, c. 19, pp. 271-275.

²⁰⁸⁴ VCol II, c. 1, p. 232. On the uprising in Bobbio, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 265-268.

²⁰⁸⁵ *iudex aeternus*: VCol I, c. 15, p. 179, l. 7; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 11/13; *septa monasterii*, see commentary on RcuIV, c. 3.23; *timore percussus*: VCol II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 12-13; *emendationem polliceatur* cfr VCol I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 13-14; II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 7-8; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 29. Another term that appears several times in VCol but rarely elsewhere is *in postmodum/inpostmodum*.

humility may be tested in this way. 3 If he leaves again, let him be readmitted in this manner up to three times, knowing then that afterward any reentry is denied him.]²⁰⁸⁶

The so-called *textus interpolatus* version (which includes the oldest preserved manuscript of the *Regula Benedicti*) adds after *egreditur* the words *aut proicitur* (walks away or is expelled) and after *emendationem* the word *uitii* (amendment of the fault for which he departed).²⁰⁸⁷ This version clearly addresses both options. Smaragdus, who used the *aut proicitur*-version, emphasizes that Benedict had both escape and expulsion in mind.²⁰⁸⁸ Hildemar of Corbie focuses in his commentary on expulsion.²⁰⁸⁹ Whether the *textus purus*-version understands *egreditur* as escape or, euphemistically, in the sense of “having been asked to leave” is unclear, though the context in which this chapter appears, points to the meaning of expulsion. It is part of a sequence of seven chapters on the topic of transgressions, punishment, and excommunication. The chapter which precedes chapter 29 ends by imposing expulsion as the last resort if no other disciplinary measure shows any effect.²⁰⁹⁰ It makes sense to follow up with a chapter on re-admittance.

Yet such a reading hinges on the question what Benedict means with stating that the monks leave the monastery *proprio uitio*. Bruce Venarde translates it with “through his own fault” which points towards expulsion; Michaela Putzicha in the “official” Benedictine translation produced for the Salzburger Äbtekongferenz with “eigenmächtig” (on one’s own accord), which points towards escape.²⁰⁹¹ The *Regula Magistri* contains a similar chapter that allows monks who leave the monastery three times. Here, the chapter forms part of a sequence of

²⁰⁸⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29.1, p. 554; transl. Venarde, p. 133.

²⁰⁸⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29.1, SC 182, p. 554; transl. Venarde, p. 113. The shorter version (without *aut proicitur*) can be found in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 916, the copy of the alleged norm exemplar that was supposedly written by Benedict himself, but also in Benedict of Aniane’s *Codex Regularum*. Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48, fol. 38v contains *aut proicitur*. On the different versions of the *Regula Benedicti*, see Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*; Hanslik, Rudolf, CSEL 75, pp. XXV-LXXI; Zelzer, Klaus, ‘Zur Stellung des *Textus receptus* und des interpolierten Textes in der Textgeschichte der *Regula s. Benedicti*’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978), pp. 205-246. Both Smaragdus and Hildemar comment on the version that contains the words *aut proicitur*.

²⁰⁸⁸ Smaragdus, *Espositio in regulam St. Benedicti*, c. 29, CCM 8, pp. 233-234 juxtaposes c. 29 both with passages on expulsion and on escape.

²⁰⁸⁹ Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 364-369.

²⁰⁹⁰ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6-8, SC 182, p. 552: *Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abscisionis, ut ait Apostolus: Auferte malum ex uobis (I Cor. 5, 13), et iterum: Infidelis si discedit, discedat (I Cor. 7, 15), ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet.*

²⁰⁹¹ Putzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, p. 370.

chapters on travelling monks or monks who leave and return to the monastery for various reasons.²⁰⁹² It is likely that this Rule refers to escape rather than to expulsion.

Chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* explicitly refers to fugitive rather than expelled nuns, which places it, again, closer to the *Regula Magistri* than to the *Regula Benedicti*. It also follows a sequence of chapters on punishment (c. 17-20) which, as we saw, omit the option of expulsion as last resort. The same applies of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns which does not even address the possibility that a nun might try to escape, let alone that she might be forced out of the enclosure. Monastic conversion is, as both regulators imply, irreversible, not only from the perspective of the individual, but also from the perspective of the institution. If we look at other monastic rules we see that there is a general trend of fading out the option of expulsion and replacing it by imprisonment.²⁰⁹³ In the aftermath of Columbanus, at least some monasteries (including Luxeuil) took on the role of places of forced retreat for political opponents and dynastic competitors.²⁰⁹⁴ A prison that offers the option of being expelled makes little sense.

Already before Columbanus, those who left the monastery were increasingly seen and treated as fugitives who had to return by force, which was the case especially for religious women.²⁰⁹⁵ This development, which implies a fundamental shift in understanding what it means

²⁰⁹² *Regula Magistri*, c. 64.t-1, SC 106, p. 290: *Quotiens debet frater relinquens monasterium et iterum ab errore reuertens suscipi? 1 Frater si exierit frequenter de monasterio, usque tertio reuersus resuscipiat, amplius non iam.* Chapter 64 appears in the context of several chapters on monks who travel or leave and return to the monastery for various reasons. *Excommunicatio* is addressed in c. 12-14, pp. 34-62.

²⁰⁹³ Regulations on the expulsion of monks can be found in Augustine, *Praeceptum* IV.6-9, ed. Verheijen, pp. 426-427; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 16.3, SC 109, p. 142; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 7.43-45, SC 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 17, SC 297, p. 380; *Regula orientalis*, c. 35, SC 298, p. 490; *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.68-72, SC 106, p. 46; c. 14.84, p. 62; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6-7, SC 182, p. 552; c. 58.27-28, p. 632; c. 62.10, p. 642; c. 65.21, p. 658; c. 71.9, p. 668. See also Siricius (d. 399), *Epistula* 1, c. 6/7, PL 13, col. 1137B-C: unchaste monks and nuns are to be expelled from church and monastery. On the practice of expulsion, see Anaya Torres, Juan Miguel, *La expulsión de los religiosos: Un recorrido histórico que muestra interés pastoral de la Iglesia*, Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana 2007; Ohm, Juliane, 'Der Begriff carcer in Klosterregeln des Frankenreichs', in: Joachim F. Angerer and Josef Lenzenweger (eds.), *Consuetudines Monasticae. Eine Festgabe für Kassius Hallinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo 1982, pp. 145-155, at pp. 150-151.

²⁰⁹⁴ De Jong, Mayke, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in: *eadem*, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 291-328.

²⁰⁹⁵ Legal provisions on sacred virgins, the irreversibility of their vows, and the treatment of nuns who escaped or were forced out of the monastery include Council of Elvira (300-306?), c. 13, ed. José Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos et Hispano-Romanos*, Barcelona/Madrid 1963, p. 4; Council of Ankyra (314), c. 19, PL 67, cols 53D-54A; Council of Vannes (374), c. 2, CCSL 148, p. 39; Council of Saragossa I (380), c. 16, ed. Vives, p. 23; Council of Toledo I (397-400), c. 16; c. 19, ed. Vives, pp. 23-24; Siricius (d. 399), *Epistula* 10 (*Canones Synodi Romanorum ad Gallos Episcopos*), c. 1, PL 13, cols 1182D-1184A; Innocent I (d. 401), *Epistula* 2, c. 13-14/15-16, PL 20, cols 478B-480A; Council of Rome (402), c. 1-2, ed. Karl Joseph Hefele and Henri Leclercq, *Histoire des Concils*, vol. 2.1, Paris:

to be a monk or a nun, goes along with an increasingly formalized process of monastic conversion as an irreversible act and a new understanding of monks as being different from lay people – in analogy to sacred virgins who had already held such a different (and irreversible) status.

The move towards irreversibility of monastic vows, however, was not a linear development. Both notions, expulsion as a disciplinary option and forcing fugitive members to return, existed alongside each other. The *Regula Benedicti* imposes, almost ironically, expulsion on a monk who wants to leave the monastery.²⁰⁹⁶ The general trend may have been to view those who left the monastery as fugitives who would lose both their worldly status and their eternal salvation,²⁰⁹⁷ but there was a remarkable exception, which falls in the same period as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The angry brother of Jonas' Rule, the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, imposes first imprisonment and then expulsion for a numerous transgressions including expressing dissent. The author, who may have belonged to the group that rebelled against Columbanus' successors, seems to have cared little about the irreversibility of monastic entry and envisioned a community of self-selected ascetic enthusiasts rather than monks or nuns who were bound, but also protected, by their monastic vows.²⁰⁹⁸

Jonas of Bobbio did in his chapter 21 not just shift his focus from expulsion to escape but he used the topic of escape and return to develop an important theological argument:

¶ Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.

Letouzey et Ané 1908, p. 136; Council of Orange (441), c. 26/27; c. 27/28, in: *CCSL* 148, p. 85; Council of Arles II (449/461), c. 25; c. 52, pp. 119/124; Leo I, *Decreta*, c. 27, *PL* 67, col. 290C; *Epistula* 12, c. 8, *PL* 54, col. 653B-C; Council of Tours (461), c. 6, *CCSL* 148, p. 146; Council of Vannes (461/491), c. 4; c. 36, pp. 152/172; *Regula Leandri*, c. 31, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 73-76. A survey of secular law on sacred virgins gives Arjava, Antti, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1996, pp. 157-167; on perseverance and the irreversibility of vows, see also Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500-840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 25-35.

²⁰⁹⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58.27-28, *SC* 182, p. 632.

²⁰⁹⁷ On the binding character of monastic conversion and on the persecution of fugitive monks, see, for example, Council of Chalcedon (451) c. 4, ed./trans. Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, London/Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 1990, p. 89; Council of Agde (506), c. 27, *CCSL* 148, p. 205; Council of Orléans (511), c. 19, *CCSL* 148A, p. 137. Provisions on monks who leave the monastery illicitly include: *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 87, ed. Boon, p. 38; c. 136-137, p. 49; *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta et instituta*, c. 12, p. 57; *Regula Macharii*, c. 25 and c. 28, *SC* 297, pp. 384-386; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 10, c. 12, and c. 14, *SC* 298, pp. 538-540; *Regula orientalis*, c. 26.4, p. 482; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 20, ed. Ledoyen, p. 179; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.7-8, ed. Villegas, pp. 32-33; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 20, ed. Desprez, pp. 134-135.

²⁰⁹⁸ *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 4.2, ed. Villegas, pp. 14, c. 8.7, p. 17; c. 16.4, p. 24; c. 17.4, p. 25; c. 18.1, p. 25; c. 26.2, p. 30.

[¹ If at any time – what should be far removed from Christian piety – a sister leaves the confines of the monastery and, after fleeing to the outside, returns, after having remembered her former piety and being daunted by the fear of eternal judgment, she should first promise to improve her entire character.]

This sentence adds three important new aspects that were absent in Benedict's Rule. The first one is the notion of escape and return as crossing monastic boundaries, which I have already discussed.²⁰⁹⁹ The second is turning escape into an almost unthinkable violation of Christian piety – *quod absit a Christiana relegione*. Jonas assumes that the fear of imminent divine judgment might motivate a nun to return out of her own will. Depicting escape as an unimaginable transgression resonates with Caesarius' concept of total enclosure. The fear that leaving the monastery will lead to eternal damnation might have been a real fear – at least if we believe what Jonas tells in his *Vita Columbani*. Even within the monastery the nuns are, as we know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani*, supposed to be in a state of constant fear of incurring damnation. Jonas emphasizes in the episode of the nun Ercantrudis that even the secret desire to return to the world puts a nun's salvation in jeopardy.²¹⁰⁰ The third aspect is that a returning nun has to promise improvement of her entire character (*emendatio omnium morum*). It requires yet another total conversion, not just resolving the specific issue that caused Benedict's monk to leave the monastery.

In the next sentence we see that a promise alone does not suffice. The community has to be convinced that this *emendatio morum* is sincere:

² Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur. ³ Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili pietate foueatur, ⁴ sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.

[² After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within the confines of the monastery. ³ And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love, ⁴ but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable.]

Prius...postea...tunc (first...afterwards...then) implies that being re-admitted to the monastery requires a procedure, which probably included a formal *confessio*. Jonas does not

²⁰⁹⁹ See p. §.

²¹⁰⁰ *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263.

mention this *confessio* here, but it does appear in the episodes describing fugitive monks and nuns in the *Vita Columbani*.²¹⁰¹ An essential part of this procedure of re-admittance, which is (as we might have expected), an act of love (*pietas*), is that the credibility of the nun's motivation to return has to be acknowledged. A formal apology or just undergoing a punishment or penance is not sufficient. This aligns with Jonas' repeated references to *pura confessio*, *uera dilectio*, *uera mortificatio*, *uera credulitas*, and *uera humilitas*.²¹⁰² Whatever a nun does, needs to come from inside and needs to be truly heartfelt.

Jonas inserts a fourth thought into Benedict's material which leaves us with some interpretative challenges: his reference to penance (*paenitentia*) and to penitents (*paenitentes*). In both the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, *Paenitentia* plays an important, but never clearly defined, role. In this regard, chapter 21 points us to the structural limitations of interpreting normative texts. It is obvious that Jonas and his audience shared a notion of *paenitentia* that was so self-evident that it did not require much of a reflection or justification. This notion is largely lost to us and we need to piece together the meaning (or meanings) of *paenitentia* and being a penitent from a variety of different contexts – never being sure that we are right.

Jonas refers both in the *Vita* and in the *Regula* to the salvific *medicamenta paenitentiae* (remedies of penance) that monastic life can provide.²¹⁰³ He does, however, only twice refer to a tariffed penance as we find them in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* or in the *Regula Donati*.²¹⁰⁴ Seeing Jonas' repeated emphasis on the internal attitude and his idea that transgressions deserve very individual responses, we can cautiously assume that Jonas did not share Columbanus' and Donatus' believe in the usefulness of tariffed penance.

Jonas' reference to the *paenitentia probabilis* (commendable penance) which is tied to an *emendatio morum* (improvement of character) even implies that, at least at this point, the heartfelt

²¹⁰¹ *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232; II, c. 13, p. 261; II, c. 19, p. 272 and p. 274.

²¹⁰² *RcuiV*, c. 2.7; c. 6.5; c. 9.20; c. 16.5; c. 16.8-9; c. 20.10; c. 22.6-7.

²¹⁰³ *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 7; I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 3; II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 3; II, c. 8; p. 245, l. 17-18; II, c. 15, p. 165, l. 30-31; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 5; II, c. 25, p. 290, l. 14-15. The term *medicamenta paenitentiae* goes back to Caesarius of Arles who uses it in his sermons, though not in a monastic context. Jonas redefined its meaning. See Wood, Ian, 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélie Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29-37, at pp. 32-33.

²¹⁰⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 8.9; c. 12.29. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 32-36.

improvement of the character equals a true *paenitentia*, no matter whether it includes a specific act of penance.

In the next sentence Jonas does, however, mention that there is a distinct group of *paenitentes* that is placed *in extremo loco* (at the most remote place). A nun who leaves the monastery more than once and who, implicitly, has deceived her fellow nuns by breaking the promise of *emendatio morum*, has to join these imprisoned *paenitentes* and, instead of just making promises, she needs to be strictly interrogated until her improvement is considered credible. Contextual evidence might help us understanding what is going on. The *locus extremus* might be the same as the *salutatorium* of Caesarius' Rule: a place in which the world and the monastery overlap, which is therefore considered the most marginal in the enclosure and suitable for an act of symbolic expulsion.²¹⁰⁵ It might also be the place within the boundaries mentioned in the previous chapter where irredeemable nuns were to be locked up, separated from the community, punished and reproached until they show credible humility.²¹⁰⁶

It seems, however, that not all *paenitentes* are to be locked up *in extremo loco*. Jonas mentions that serious transgressions could put nuns in a state of *paenitentia* that forces them to pray separated from the rest of the community and afterwards prostrate themselves outside of the oratory waiting for the prayer of the non-penitent nuns.²¹⁰⁷ Jonas requires that *paenitentes* perform especially menial tasks such as building fires, washing the hair of the other nuns, and preparing their baths. These acts and other *extrema* (as he calls them) should, if performed with humble mind and contrite heart, cleanse the nuns faster from their transgressions.²¹⁰⁸ There are also several references on imposing *paenitentia* on nuns on the basis on their internal attitude,²¹⁰⁹ but the penances imposed on them were not the tariffed ones but, as we saw, menial tasks, silence,²¹¹⁰ or being excluded from the table and the church. Such measurements are imposed not for a fixed time period but until remorse is considered credible and the nun's internal attitude has changed.²¹¹¹

²¹⁰⁵ *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, SC 345, p. 214; c. 65.1-3, p. 252.

²¹⁰⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 20.9-10. See also Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149-166.

²¹⁰⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 6.24-30.

²¹⁰⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 12.13-15.

²¹⁰⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.15-16; c. 7.4-6; c. 16.7-8.

²¹¹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 9.20.

²¹¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 19.5-8.

In sum, for Jonas *paenitentia* could cover everything from promising improvement to being imprisoned indefinitely. In some, but not necessarily in all cases *paenitentia* turns nuns into *paenitentes* and places them in a state of suspense that ended only through credible remorse. A first attempt to escape may warrant the most lenient form of *paenitentia* (because the fear of damnation is already enough); repeated escapes warrant the heaviest form, imprisonment until remorse and improvement is proven. This imprisonment forms the alternative to the disciplinary measure of expulsion that had been abandoned both in Caesarius' and in Jonas' Rule. There is more than one *medicamentum paenitentiae*, and a simple tariffed penance may, in Jonas' eyes, not do the job.

In line with Benedict, Jonas gives a nun only three chances to return to the monastery. The chapter concludes with the following provision:

⁵ Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, sciat omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum denegandum.

[⁵ But if after the third re-admission she is defiled by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.]

Jonas inserts here yet another notion we already know from previous chapters. Guilt is a stain, a *macula*, that pollutes and needs to be washed away. This applies especially to the guilt of escaping from the monastery because moving outside means having stained oneself with the dirt of the outside world. Jonas' repeated references to the *septa secreta* implies that the *macula* of escape not only stains the individual nun, but also the monastic space.

Humility in Action (chapter 22)

Several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* have long and elaborate titles that try to capture their content as precisely as possible. The title of chapter 22 is the longest of them: *Qualiter inuicem se humiliant uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint seruanda praecepta* (How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts). The chapter's overarching theme is humility, which is according to the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* the basic principle for monastic life. Instead of just calling the chapter *De humilitate*, the title appearing in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti*, Jonas uses the verb *se humiliare*

and adds one of the key expressions of his Rule, *inuicem*. He describes *how* (*qualiter*) the nuns should humble themselves in dealing with each other and with their superiors.

Humilitas needs to be performed – it is not just an attitude but an act.

Chapter 22 belongs, along with chapters 3, 5-7, and *De accedendo ad Deum*, to the most complicated and skillfully structured parts of the Rule. It provides the programmatic basis for a topic that plays an essential role in Jonas' work: how the nuns are supposed to interact with each other and how the community should function in order to work collectively on the pursuit of salvation. The chapter consists of two sections, an introduction (c. 22.1-9) and a list of practical provisions (c. 22.10-23). Some of these provisions are inspired by the *Regula Benedicti*, others have no parallel in any other rule. Jonas makes clear that the list of provisions in this chapter is not exhaustive but just provides examples. Other provisions on the interaction between individual nuns and between an individual and the community can be found throughout the Rule.

The introduction: attaining the “summit of virtues”

Most of the introductory parts of the previous chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show no influence of the *Regula Benedicti*. It is in these parts where Jonas develops his own monastic program and provides an alternative to the monastic ideals of the *Regula Benedicti*. In chapter 22 he takes a key term from the very last chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* and re-defines its meaning: the *culmen uirtutum* (the summit of virtues). Benedict ends his Rule envisioning the strive for the *culmina uirtutum* as a primarily individual pursuit. He does, at this point, not address a community any more but uses the second-person singular (*peruenies*), which connects the end of the Rule with the beginning of the prologue where he also addresses an individual disciple (*Ausculata, o fili, praecepta magistri*):

⁸ Quisquis ergo ad patriam caelestem festinas, hanc minima inchoationis regulam descriptam, adiuuante Christo, perface, ⁹ et tunc demum ad maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae uirtutumque culmina, Deo protegente, peruenies. Amen.

[⁸ Therefore, whoever you are, hastening toward your heavenly home, with Christ's help carry out this little Rule sketched as a beginning, ⁹ and then at last you will reach those summits of learning and virtues (*doctrinae uirtutumque culmina*) we mentioned

above, with God’s protection. Amen.]²¹¹²

Benedict also explains in this final chapter that the *regula* does not just encompass his own little Rule but also the works on the *sancti patres* (holy fathers). He particularly mentions the *Collationes Patrum et Instituta*, i.e. the works of John Cassian, where he found the expression *culmen uirtutum*. Jonas was familiar with Cassian’s work and paraphrased a section of the *Collationes* in his *Vita Iohannis*.²¹¹³ In chapter 22 he followed, as it were, Benedict’s advice, did his homework and read his Cassian, and used a section of Book 12 of the *Institutiones* as basis for his own interpretation of *culmen uirtutum*. For Cassian (and for Jonas), this *culmen uirtutum* is the *culmen caritatis*, the “summit of love.” The following passage from Cassian forms the basis of Jonas’ chapter 22. We can see it shining through the text (parallels are bold)

Nulla enim modo poterit in **anima** nostra **uirtutum** structura consurgere, nisi prius iacta fuerint **uerae humilitatis** in nostro corde **fundamina**, quae firmissime conlocata perfectionis et **caritatis culmen** ualeant sustinere, ita scilicet, ut quemadmodum diximus primum fratribus nostris **humilitatem ueram** intimo cordis exhibeamus **affectu**, in nullo scilicet adquiescentes eos contristare, uel laedere.

[For the superstructure of the virtues will never be able to rise in our soul (*anima*) if the foundations of true humility (*uera humilitatis*) have not first been laid out in our heart. When these have been very firmly posed, they will be able to hold up the peak of perfection and love (*perfectionis et caritatis culmen*). In order to do this, as we have said, we must first and from the deepest reaches of our heart exhibit true humility (*humilitatem ueram*) to our brothers by determining never to sadden or hurt them.]²¹¹⁴

Cassian provides here a definition of *humilitas* that is different from Benedict’s understanding of *humilitas*. Benedict’s twelve steps of humility, which he characterized as an ascent to the “summit of greatest humility” (*culmen summae humilitatis*), are entirely self-centered. The other monks or the community as a whole play hardly a role in Benedict’s path to the top, except for that of a passive audience. This path to the top is paved by the fear of God, not loving one’s own will, unconditional obedience, enduring adversity, humble confession, being content with anything shabby, being lower than all others, following

²¹¹² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 73.9, SC 182, p. 674; transl. Venarde, p. 229, slightly revised.

²¹¹³ Jonas paraphrases Cassian, *Collationes* IX, c. 3, SC 54, pp. 41-43 in *Vloh*, c. 18, pp. 341-342. See Diem, ‘The Rule of an “Iro-Egyptian Monk”, pp. 38-44.

²¹¹⁴ Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, SC 109, p. 498; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian, The Institutes*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press 2000, p. 273.

nothing but the Rule, keeping silence, avoiding laughter, speaking gently and expressing humility with one's body.²¹¹⁵

Cassian states that true humility (*humilitas uera*) is to be acted out on one's brothers and means to protect them from harm. For Jonas, *humilitas* manifests itself, in line with Cassian, primarily in the interaction with the other nun, in the act of loving and serving each other (*ministerium*). It is a *humilitas*-in-action that is built upon the foundation of mutual love, not on *oboedientia* and killing one's *propria uoluntas*, the basic principles of the *Regula Benedicti*. At no point is Jonas' fundamental disagreement with Benedict as obvious as in chapter 22 where he essentially implies that Benedict misunderstood Cassian.

Jonas begins by grounding individual humility in the collective practice of mutual love:

¹ Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt. ² Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officii demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est.

[¹ The Institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how much affection and service of love the souls placed in the monastery should love themselves. ² But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favors it must be shown.]

The explicit reference to John Cassian's work announces Jonas' departure from the *Regula Benedicti* in favor of Cassian. The key words of his opening sentence, *caritas*, *ministerium*, and *diligere*, appear throughout the Rule and, in particular, in the chapter on mutual love (c. 5). We have encountered the metonym *anima* for "nun" already several times in the Rule, emphasizing that Jonas is primarily concerned with the salvation of his nuns' soul.²¹¹⁶ Jonas defines his own task (*a nobis pro parte indicandum est*) as explaining *how* this imperative of love needs to manifest itself in deeds and service to each other. This may refer to the provisions that follow in this chapter, but also to the Rule as a whole. But first Jonas provides an explanation of his imperative of love. I have already discussed the key expression of this explanation, *ambitus uirtutum*, in chapter 4 of this study.

³ Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.

[³ In the end the crowd [of nuns] has a very wide circle of virtues, because being

²¹¹⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7, SC 181, pp. 472-490.

²¹¹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 1.2; c. 2.9; c. 14.1, c. 17.2.

surrounded [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy who is turned against them.]

The *ambitus uirtutum* creates a safe space that fences off the devil. Jonas might have deliberately chosen the expression *ambitus uirtutum* as a response to Benedict's *culmen uirtutum*: a horizontal encircled space that surrounds the entire community rather than the vertical top that the individual monk aims to reach by himself in spiritual ascent. The term *copia* is used in an unusual way. Elsewhere in the Rule (as well as further along in this chapter) it refers to an abundance (of things); here it stands for the crowd or multitude of nuns, as if Jonas wants to emphasize that the more nuns participate in upholding the *ambitus uirtutum* the stronger it is.²¹¹⁷ It seems that Jonas deliberately plays with the ambiguous meaning of *copia*, as he does elsewhere with the ambiguous meaning of *membra*, which could refer to the members of the community and to the body parts of the individual nun, or *in omnibus* which could refer to all things or all nuns.²¹¹⁸

Jonas now elaborates on how this *ambitus uirtutum* needs to be established in practice.

4 Sunt etenim nonnulla, quae in actu uidentur exigua, et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur, 5 ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut certe piaie purissimum patefacient affectum.

[4 Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be petty as act and yet they are demonstrated by either a lukewarm or a heated motion of the mind to be well observed or neglected things, 5 for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a mind that is stern or amicable or, certainly, loving.]

This section, which is linked to the previous one by the word *etenim* (indeed, because) is somewhat convoluted and may be corrupted.²¹¹⁹ It explains – in line with numerous provisions throughout the Rule – that the most trifling gestures and the use of one's voice intentionally or unintentionally expresses one's inner attitude (the *motus animi*, movement of one's mind) and plays a crucial role in expressing one's love. Through gestures

²¹¹⁷ Compare *RcuiV*, c. 6.17; c. 22.8.

²¹¹⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 1.17; c. 3.35; c. 2.16; c. 10.2; c. 14.2; c. 14.4; c. 15.2; c. 22.23; c. 23.7; c. 24.11.

²¹¹⁹ In the *Codex Regularum* we find *quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordiae aut, si certe piaie purissimum patefacient affectum* which does not make sense. Bonnerue follows in his edition of the *Codex Regularum* one manuscript that omits *si*. I follow his emendation.

like bowing one's head a nun shows whether her mind is *tepescens* (lukewarm) or *feruens* (heated) or whether she is *rigida* (rigid) or *concorda* (agreeable),²¹²⁰ and *pia* (loving), categories that can be found throughout the rule.²¹²¹

The phrase *uel custodita uel neglecta* could simply refer to conscious gestures and those performed unknowingly. Alternately, Jonas might be reminding the nuns that they need to be constantly aware of how they comport themselves, expanding the warning against *neglegentia* (which is omnipresent in the Rule) to controlling one's posture. The expression *purissimus* also resonates with other parts of the Rule where Jonas speaks about the purity of love and the *confessio pura*.²¹²² Out of this context, the translation “very sincere” may be more fitting than “most pure.”

Now Jonas starts to weave Cassian into his argument and provides his definition of *humilitas*. There is no humility without love, and no love without humility:

⁶ Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi, ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant, quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum. ⁷ Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas.

[⁶ The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within the state of the mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident, ⁷ because just as love never remains true without true humility, so humility never remains true without true love.]

The previous section described which state of mind the nuns should express in their behavior and in their way of speaking. This section is ambiguous, depending on whether we should read *quae* as referring to the “nuns” or to “things”. Either we remain still within the realm of what happens inside a nun and how it is revealed and expressed, or we have moved to the level of interaction: behavior and speech not only *expresses* love, but it also causes love. Maybe Jonas was purposefully ambiguous.

The expression *uera*, which also appears previously in chapter 5, is important in this context. The *actus* of the nuns may not be just “acting”. It must be truly representing what they feel and what moves them. Just the external appearance does not count.

²¹²⁰ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 406, s.v. *concorde* identifies *concorde* as deriving from an obsolete form *concordus*.

²¹²¹ Similar expressions have already been used throughout the Rule: *rigidus*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.12 (negative connotation); *tepescere*: c. 2.2; c. 2.6; c. 2.17; c. 6.21; *feruens/feruor*: c. 2.18; c. 19.2 and six times in *VCol*.

²¹²² *RcuiV*, c. 3.9; c. 6.5; c. 16.5-9.

Now we arrive at the *culmen uirtutum*. Jonas' focus is, in line with Cassian, not the top of the summit but its foundation:

⁸ Arripiamus ergo instruere fundamentum, ut ad culmen perueniamus uirtutum. ⁹ Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur.

[⁸ Let us therefore take it upon us to build the foundation, so that we arrive at the summit of virtues. ⁹ First, humility should be shown both in act and in disposition (*affectus*), so that subsequently an abundance of love is built [upon it].]

Just as in chapter 5 and the first part of chapter 6 the author addresses the nuns in the first-person plural and not, as Benedict does, in the second-person singular. It is impossible to build the foundation for reaching the summit of virtues if you are on your own. The *culmen uirtutum* is, just like the *ambitus uirtutum*, a collaborative project based on mutual love.

Implementation

The second part of the chapter consists of eleven examples of expressing the appropriate *affectus* (disposition) in various circumstances, both in the interaction with fellow nuns and within hierarchical structures.

¹⁰ Et quando sibi mutuatim in uia uel in quocumque loco occurrerint, cum omni humilitate ab inuicem flectentes benedictionem rogent. ¹¹ Et si ex eis una senior fuerit, prius iunior benedictionem postulet, tunc demum senior prosequatur.

[¹⁰ And when [the sisters] meet one another on their path or at any place, they should bow with all humility and ask each other for a blessing. ¹¹ And if one of them is an elder, the junior should first request a blessing whereupon the elder should follow.]

Jonas shows how the nuns should communicate whenever they see each other *cum omni humilitate* (with all humility), which is expressed through movements of their bodies. In other circumstances the author uses the expression *sub silentii uoce* (with a voice of silence).²¹²³ We can assume that the same is meant here. It is possible that the nuns whisper their requests and their blessings or just express them through gestures. The provision that seniority determines who acts and who reacts is taken from the *Regula Benedicti*.

In the next section, Jonas picks up the notion of seniority and hierarchy but places it

²¹²³ *RcuiV*, c. 14.15; c. 22.23.

in a different context, that of the liturgy:

¹² In cursu uero positae, prout ab abbatisa fuerint ordinatae, uel ad psalmum canendum uel lectiones recitandas, uel etiam ad communicandum euntes suum ordinem custodiant, nec constitutum sibi locum transilientes in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.

[¹² Where they are placed in the service, as they are arranged by the abbess, they should keep their rank – be it for the singing the psalms or reciting the readings but also while going to take communion – and they should not sink into the vice of ambition or presumption by stepping out of the position where they are placed.]

Every nun should strictly keep her place in the order. I would assume that this section does not so much deal with actual hierarchies but primarily with the “choreography of prayer” and the dynamics of an individual’s conduct in a moving crowd. Here the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* follows the *Regula Benedicti*’s chapter on the rank in the community (c. 63). Jonas adds, however, a warning against a mindset (of ambition or presumption) that might motivate nuns to step out of their rank. This aligns with numerous other instances in which Jonas adds the aspect of motivation to an organizational provision of the *Regula Benedicti*.

In the next section Jonas expands on the tension between *ordo* and *ambitio*, but elaborates it within a different context:

¹³ Abbatissae uero studendum est, ut per ordinem sicut conuersae in monasterio fuerint, ita in suo ordine constituentur, praeter si uberis conuersatio religionis meruerit, ut inantea promoueatur, uel si grauis culpa exigerit, ut retro regradetur. ¹⁴ Siue aliqua ex sororibus cognoscatur seniozem affectare locum, cum uerecunda castigatione refellatur, quia non debiti honoris locum praesumpsit, nec reigionis commeritum sed ambitionis honorem indebitum conata est arripere.

[¹³ But the abbess has to be concerned that they are placed in the same order as they converted in the monastery, unless the conduct of abundant piety deserves that [a nun] is moved forward before [her turn], or if a severe offence requires that she is degraded to a lower rank. ¹⁴ Should one of the sisters be recognized as aspiring to the place of an elder, she is to be rebuked with a shameful castigation, because she has dared [to claim] a place of undeserved dignity, and she has attempted to take upon herself an undeserved honor because of her ambition and not an honor deserving of her piety.]

Jonas follows here as well the *Regula Benedicti* which ingeniously organizes rituals and the use of space by a symbolic hierarchy based on the moment of conversion (he

probably means the moment of taking vows).²¹²⁴ This hierarchy has limited meaning outside of the context of ritual and the organization of space, but it gives the abbot or abbess the opportunity to punish or exalt a member of the community by moving him or her to another rank. Jonas deviates from Benedict in two regards. He omits Benedict’s warning that the abbot may not abuse this power but has to give an explanation of his decisions,²¹²⁵ and he requires the abbess to punish strictly those who themselves aspire to be promoted and to take the place of an elder sister. *Ambitio* and *arrogantia* are destructive attitudes that must be punished just as strictly as *superbia*, *contumacia*, or *elatio* – mental states mentioned elsewhere in the Rule.²¹²⁶

Jonas now moves to a very specific provision on how the nuns should comport themselves in assemblies, closely following a provision from the *Regula Benedicti*. This provision picks up the term *locus* from the previous sentence.

15 In consessu sororum si alia superuenerit, quae iuniores sunt ordine, adsurgant et seniori locum praebeant.

[15 If another nun arrives at the assembly of the sisters, those who are juniors according to their rank should rise and give place to the elder.]

Different from the oratory, where everyone has her predetermined place, at the assembly the nuns have to re-constitute the hierarchy whenever a nun arrives. The nuns have to move and to interact with each other.

Jonas now moves to the theme of how *seniores* and *iuniores* are to interact but carries it into a different context which is not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*:

16 Iuniores uero senioribus nullatenus superbiendo contradicant, sed cum omni humilitate uel interrogatae uel correptae respondeant.

[16 Juniors may by no means contradict the elder out of pride, but they should respond with all humility when they are asked for their opinion or reproached.]

The way the nuns respond to each other exemplifies “humility in action.” The expression *cum omni humilitate* appears here for a second time. Jonas’ prohibition to

²¹²⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.1-9, SC 182, pp. 642-644.

²¹²⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.2-3, p. 644: *Qui abbas non conturbet gregem sibi commissum nec, quasi libera utens potestate, iniuste disponat aliquid, sed cogitet semper qua de omnibus iudiciis et operibus suis reddituris est Deo rationem.*

²¹²⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 2.5; c. 18.1; c. 20.2.

contradict an elder pertains to two different situations: when a nun is asked for her opinion or when she is reproached. *Interrogare* appears at two other occasions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that indicate that “asking for an opinion” is a more accurate translation than an inquisitive “interrogate”.²¹²⁷

Jonas now picks up the theme of reproach and elaborates on it in a new context which is also not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*: if an inferior nun observes a superior’s transgression:

17 Si labentem in quodlibet delictum iunior seniorem aspexerit, non exprobrando, sed magis dolendo ad confitendum abbatissae uel praepositae dirigat. Similiter senior iuniori faciat.

[17 If a junior sees an elder falling into any sort of offence, she should guide her to the abbess or prioress in order to confess. [She should do that] not in an upbraiding but rather in a grieving way. Likewise, should an elder act towards a junior.]

A junior is not supposed to reproach an elder for a transgression but to feel sadness about the harm she has inflicted upon herself. She should point her to the one and only appropriate action to be taken in such a case: to confess her deeds. We already know that from various other passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas abandons at this point the topic of hierarchy: the nuns have to encourage each other to confess a transgression, no matter whether it is committed by a junior or an elder. He elaborates on the theme of *confessio* in the next sentence:

18 Ad confessionem ueniens prius prostrata supra humum suam culpam esse dicat. Sic postquam surgere iubetur, suam confessionem manifestet.

[18 When [this nun] comes to confession, she should first prostrate on the ground and say that the offence is hers. When she then is ordered to rise, she should make her confession known.]

At this point the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* reveals two important details of the practice of confession that have not been addressed in the chapters dedicated to this issue (c. 6-7). The process of confession is a two-step process. Laying on the ground a nun first needs to acknowledge her offense. Only after given permission to rise does she make her *confessio*, which entails much more than just saying what she has done. As we know from the *Vita Columbani*, particularly from the episode about the fugitive nuns, the confession of one’s

²¹²⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 2.8-9; c. 12.9. The term also appears numerous times in *VCol*.

motivations is decisive, even if the act itself is known to everyone.²¹²⁸ Chapter 6 identifies the objects of confession to be everything a nun has done, seen, heard, thought, and all the stain the mind has attracted.²¹²⁹

In the next sentence, Jonas moves to a different example of an interaction between nun and abbess that consists, again, of two steps and hinges on the abbess' consent. Just as a nun needs to disclose her deeds, before the abbess gives her the opportunity to confess them, a nun needs to ask permission (*uenia*) before asking the abbess' permission (*commeatus*) for doing the things she needs to do:

¹⁹ Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere, quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.

[¹⁹ When someone asks for permission for some sort of work that is to be done, she should first request permission [to ask], and then she may ask for approval for the work that needs to be done.]

The author uses here the term *commeatus* which we already encountered several times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but also in the *Vita Columbani*.²¹³⁰ As discussed in my commentary to the chapter on the *praeposita* (c. 2), the soft-authoritarian term *commeatus* (permission or, maybe, assignment) replaces what Benedict would have called *iussio*, *mandatum*, *ordo*, or *imperium*.²¹³¹ It is a term used regularly by Jonas which appears only twice in other monastic rules, once in the *Regula communis* and once in the *Regula Donati*. The passage in the *Regula Donati* that contains the term *commeatus* belongs to the very few sections in which Donatus may have composed himself without quoting one of his sources verbatim. It shows, in fact, striking similarities to the provision made here in chapter 22.²¹³²

The expression *uenia* re-appears in the next sentence which addresses in general terms how a nun ought to interact with her abbess, thus not only in the context of confession or receiving an assignment. Here we find the reminder that all of this has to happen *cum*

²¹²⁸ See p. §.

²¹²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 6.20-23.

²¹³⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 2:16; c. 3:11; c. 3:19; c. 2:9; c. 9.7; c. 12.5. The expression also appears three times in *VCol*.

²¹³¹ See p. §.

²¹³² *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183; *Regula Donati*, c. 19.3-5, CSEL 98, p. 157: *Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te. (Ps. 31/32, 22) Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniore: "Da commeatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri."*

omni humilitate for a third time:

²⁰ Quando ad abbatissam uenitur, cum omni humilitate ueniam petendo accedatur. Similiter, quando egreditur, cum ueniae petitione benedictio quaeratur.

[²⁰ When she comes to the abbess, she should approach her with all humility and request permission. Accordingly, when she leaves, she should request permission [to leave] and ask for a blessing.]

Interacting with the abbess a nun has to express *humilitas*, which includes the same request for a blessing (*benedictio*) that a nun has to express in any interaction with a superior as we already know from earlier in chapter 22. The next sentence picks up the topic of approaching the abbess and makes clear why a nun should always ask for permission before approaching the abbess. In general, a nun should approach the *praeposita* first. After all, the abbess should, as we know from chapter 2, “rest” above the *praeposita*.²¹³³

²¹ Nulla monacharum per semetipsam de propria necessitate abbatissae suggerat, sed omnes per praepositam, quicquid necessitatum fuerit, abbatissae studeant intimare.

[²¹ None of the nuns may of her own accord bring something of her own affairs to the abbess, but all should be concerned to bring whatever is necessary to the [knowledge of the] abbess by way of the prioress.]

The abbess always needs, as we know from various passages in the Rule, to be informed about everything, especially through the *praeposita*, which means that no nun may interact with the abbess without permission. The notion of distance and of limited interaction re-appears in the next sentence, which addresses a new topic: how the nuns ought to interact with visiting priests. As we might expect by now, this interaction has to happen *cum omni humilitate* as well:

²² Si sacerdos uel quilibet relictus uenerit, ut ei per abbatissae comitatum sit occurrendum, a longe adstantes cum omni humilitate flectentes genu sub silenti uoce benedictionem rogent.

[²² If a priest or any other religious person visits and they receive permission from the abbess to meet them, they should ask for a blessing standing at a distance with silent voice, bending with all humility.]

Here again, the Rule requires a gesture that expresses humility in a nonverbal request for blessing (*benedictio*), the third one in this chapter. This is the one and only passage of the

²¹³³ *RcuiV*, c. 2.7: ...super quam abbatissa requiescat...

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines that addresses the interaction with outsiders and the place of priests in the monastery. We know from the *Vita Columbani* that Faremoutiers received male visitors, including Jonas himself,²¹³⁴ but, at least in this passage, Jonas does not ascribe them any authority. It is the abbess who gives her nuns permission (*commeatus*) to interact with priests, though this interaction seems to be limited to standing at a distance and asking silently for a blessing.

The notion of silence and asking for *commeatus* appears again in the very last sentence of chapter 22 which contains the phrase *cum omni humilitate* for a fifth time.

²³ Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa, ut cum his aliqua sororum loquatur, cum omni humilitate et modestia ac sobriaetate loquendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.

[²³ And if it is ordered by the abbess, that any of the sisters speaks with [the visitors], so should she speak with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them.]

The purpose “that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them”, guides us back to the beginning of the chapter.

Chapter 22 contains various specific provisions how the nuns have to interact with each other *cum omni humilitate*. As different as these provisions are, they are all bundled together either by transferring a concept or a term from one context to the next one. As such Jonas’ eleven examples of humility in action form another chain similar to the one we observed in chapter 3 on the portaria (and on physical enclosure). Knowing by now how carefully Jonas crafted his work, I consider it likely that this chain of acts of humility exemplifies the protective circle that fences off the devil. Chapter 22 *is* the *ambitus uirtutum*.

Family (chapter 23)

Chapter 23 prohibits defending a fellow nun or a relative in the monastery, responding to the problem of family ties and the potential that hierarchies and discipline might be undermined when nuns side with members of their own family and defend them in conflicts. Placing this

²¹³⁴ VCo/ II, c. 7, p. 243; II, c. 21, pp. 276-277.

chapter after one that regulates how the nuns should interact with each other makes completely sense.

For Jonas, the question of defending others was not only a practical challenge that required pragmatic responses, but a spiritual problem that needed to be resolved within his overall monastic program: his concept of love, discipline and mutual responsibility for every nun's salvation. Instead of simply prohibiting the defense of one's kin, Jonas turns chapter 23 into yet another short and dense theological treatise on how to navigate the worldly versus spiritual ties in this particular context.

The chapter gives us access to one of the many silent but fundamental transformations that took place in the late antique and early medieval monastic world. Numerous late antique sources stress resistance on the part of family members or secular and ecclesiastical superiors against an individual's decision to convert to the monastic life. Monastic conversion was considered a disruptive, often scandalous act.²¹³⁵ At some point in the century before Columbanus' arrival on the continent, we can observe new forms of monastic conversion that no longer presumed a family conflict and definitive break with the outside world and its social structures. New monasteries were founded by kings, bishops, and aristocrats who did not necessarily commit themselves personally to monastic life but considered their foundation a family endeavor. Having family represented in the community was an essential part of these endeavors.²¹³⁶

As Mayke de Jong has shown, the entry of children into the monastery transformed from an exceptional form of monastic conversion (usually parents who enter monasteries along with their children) into an act of oblation, i.e. offering children to the monastery as a collective family investment.²¹³⁷ Having several members of the same family living in a monastery had a deep impact on internal dynamic of a community. The most dramatic example of the impact of

²¹³⁵ See, for example, Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, SC 400, c. 2, pp. 132-134; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 2, SC 133, pp. 254-256; c. 6-8, pp. 264-270; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 4, SC 536, p. 152; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, c. 1-7, SC 90, pp. 130-140; *Vita abbatum Accaunensium*, c. 1, MGH SRM 7, p. 330; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 12-16, MGH SRM 2, pp. 368-270; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 5-7, pp. 381-382; *VCol* I, c. 3, pp. 156-158; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 1, MGH Script. 2, pp. 334-335.

²¹³⁶ Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Hummer, *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe*.

²¹³⁷ De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996.

family ties on a monastic community is the uprising in Radegund's foundation in Poitiers which was instigated by several members of the Merovingian family.²¹³⁸

In his *Vita Columbani* Jonas makes this paradigmatic shift part of the narrative. We have Columbanus who leaves the world by stepping over his mother's body as she blocks the threshold of their house in order to prevent him from leaving;²¹³⁹ we have Athala who leaves the household of Bishop Arigius of Lyon in anger and enters the old Gallic foundation Lérins only to find its monastic regime too lenient;²¹⁴⁰ we have Burgundofara who resisted the marriage plans of her parents by falling seriously ill.²¹⁴¹ For the next generation, monastic conversion was not a matter of conflict any more. We find the Frankish aristocrats flocking *en masse* to Columbanus' foundations²¹⁴² or Waldelenus and Flavia, an aristocratic couple that willingly dedicate their offspring to monastic life.²¹⁴³ Of all the nuns in Faremoutiers, only one, Gibitrudis, had to overcome her parents' resistance in order to enter the monastery.²¹⁴⁴

Monastic foundations as family endeavors may have existed before Columbanus' arrival in Gaul, but they became the prevalent model in the aftermath of his foundations. The wave of monastic foundations after Columbanus' death seems to have been sustained primarily by a number of aristocratic families whose members acted as founders, leaders, and members of various monastic communities under the *regula Columbani*.²¹⁴⁵ Faremoutiers was the first female foundation among these family projects. Abbess Burgundofara's brother Chagnoald shares in the teaching of the *regula* to the nuns of Faremoutiers. Jonas describes the commitment of entire families to monastic life as praiseworthy, but he also expresses, as we will see, fear that the dirt of the world might infiltrate the monastery in the form of family ties.

²¹³⁸ Dailey, Erin Thomas A., *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite*, Leiden: Brill 2015, pp. 64-79; Scheibelreiter, Georg, 'Königstöchter im Kloster. Radegund (†587) und der Nonnenaufstand von Poitiers (589)', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979), pp. 1-37; Hartmann, Martina, 'Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1-19.

²¹³⁹ *VCol* I, c. 3, p. 157.

²¹⁴⁰ *VCol* II, c. 1, pp. 230-231. On Arigius, who became one of the antagonists of Columbanus: O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, p. 179, n. 463.

²¹⁴¹ *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 242.

²¹⁴² *VCol* I, c. 10, pp. 169-170.

²¹⁴³ *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 174-176.

²¹⁴⁴ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260.

²¹⁴⁵ Fox, *Power and Religion*.

Family ties are not the only threat to a spirit of communality and equality and to structures of obedience and submission. Monastic rules express concerns about emotional friendships with their potential of sexual relations,²¹⁴⁶ but also, for example, demand that masters and slaves entering the monastery have to become equals and that they may by no means continue their former relationship.²¹⁴⁷ Chapter 23 may focus primarily on family ties, but the theological arguments Jonas develops here could be just as well applied to other personal relationships within the monastery.

The problem that the system of discipline, hierarchy, and authority might be disrupted by members of monastic communities defending each other was probably very common since it is addressed in various monastic rules, including the *Regula Benedicti*.²¹⁴⁸ Jonas uses the *Regula Benedicti*'s short chapter on this issue (c. 69) but because of the changed family response to monastic conversion, turned it into something different. His alterations reflect that family ties and their disruptive potential had become much more important within the century that lies between the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Here is what Benedict writes about disruptive ties:

Ut in monasterio non praesumat alter alterum defendere. ¹ Praecauendum est ne quauis occasione praesumat alter alium defendere monachum in monasterio aut quasi tueri, ² etiam si qualiuis consanguinitatis propinquitate iungantur. ³ Nec quolibet modo id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde grauissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. ⁴ Quod si quis haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur.

[Nobody in the monastery should presume to defend another. ¹ Care must be taken lest a monk presume in any circumstance to defend another in the monastery or take him under his protection, as it were, ² even if they are connected by some close kinship. ³ In no way should monks presume in this way, because very grave occasion for scandals can arise from it. ⁴ Anyone who transgresses in this matter should be severely punished.]²¹⁴⁹

²¹⁴⁶ For example *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, SC 298, p. 476; c. 44, p. 494; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 33, ed. Schmidt, p. 250 (not appearing in Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines*); *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.4, ed. Villegas, p. 32; *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109-111, SC 106, p. 30; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 33, ed. Desprez, pp. 141-142; *Regula Donati*, c. 32, CSEL 98, p. 163; c. 65, pp. 179-180.

²¹⁴⁷ For example *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.35, SC 297, pp. 190-192; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 1.14-15, ed. Villegas, pp. 16-17; *Regula Leandri*, c. 22, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 61. See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 5, SC 536, p. 154: Caesarius enters Lérins with only one slave; *Vita Columbani* II, c. 1, p. 230: Athala enters Lérins with only two servants. On slaves in the monastery: Diem, Albrecht, 'Exclusion and the rhetoric of accessibility in the late antique and early medieval monasticism', pp. 129-131.

²¹⁴⁸ Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum*, c. 74, CCCM 168A, pp. 646-653 lists *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 16, ed. Boon, pp. 69-70; *Liber Orsiesii*, c. 24-25, pp. 125-126; *Regula Basilii*, c. 26, CSEL 86, p. 74; c. 120-121, pp. 146-148; *Regula orientalis*, c. 33.1-2, SC 298, p. 490; c. 47, p. 494.

²¹⁴⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 69, SC 182, pp. 664-666; transl. Venarde, p. 221.

Chapter 23 begins and ends with two succinct practical provisions. Between these provisions Jonas inserts a theological excursus that ties them together and integrates them into the overall program of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The first provision is based on Benedict's chapter:

¹ Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio, nullo modo permitti censemus.

[¹ We determine that it is by no means [a nun] is permitted to defend or relative or a family member in the monastery.]

Benedict simply prohibits a monk from defending another one *in monasterio*, that is *within* the monastery. The qualification *in monasterio*, which appears in both Rules, might be important because it does not preclude that monks or nuns could side with each other outside the monastery. Benedict is concerned with *any* form of siding with each other in the monastery, *even if* it happens between family members, while Jonas turns the *even if* into what he considers the matter at stake. Family members *in particular* are not allowed to side with each other.

Another difference is that Benedict motivates his provision with his concern of “the most serious opportunity for scandals” (*grauissima occasio scandalorum*), i.e. disruptions within the monastery. Jonas is not, or at least not explicitly, interested in these mundane effects of factions among his monks. For him, defending each other because of blood relationships is a spiritual rather than a practical challenge because it undermines the theological basis of his entire Rule.

The next few sentences of chapter 23 elaborate this concern. Jonas combines two textual techniques that he had deployed before. He develops a theological argument through a chain of biblical references, as he does in chapter 5 and 6 (and, as we will see, in *De accedendo ad Deum*), and he uses the device of rhetorical questions, as we find them in chapters 3, 9, and 17 (and also in *De accedendo*). A sequence of three questions juxtaposes the act of illicitly defending (*defendere*) someone with the act of crucifixion (*crucificare*). The chapter develops, step by step, the argument that monastic conversion is incompatible with family ties – or any other personal ties. *Amor* among family members is different from the *amor* that, in Jonas' view, holds the community together and plays a crucial role in the pursuit of salvation. This *amor* should manifest itself not in defending each other (*defendere*), but, to the contrary, in correcting each other (*corrigerere*). Here is the first rhetorical question:

² Quid enim aliam defendat, quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, ³ quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?

[² For why should a nun defend another who does not live any more for herself but for Christ, and continues to be crucified in imitation of Him, ³ – and who has already given up her own soul in order to bind herself more fully to salvation?]

Jonas connects in this question two theological ideas and links them to the imperative of *imitatio* of the crucified Christ. The first idea is that Christ died on the cross for our sins and to open the path to salvation for us. The nuns are supposed to imitate this crucifixion by not living any more for themselves but, as Jonas implies, for others.²¹⁵⁰ We find the same motive in the *Vita Columbani*: Ercantrudis identifies a nun whose desires to return to the world make her unworthy to live among the nuns who having been crucified the world, live for Christ and not for themselves.²¹⁵¹ Jonas adds as second allusion the ultimate sacrifice of giving up one's soul for one's friend according to Marc 8, 35, Luke 17, 32, and John 15, 13.²¹⁵²

Jonas has already presented the notion of *imitatio* in chapter 5: inciting God's forgiveness by imitating (as it were, re-enacting) God's love through forgiving each other one's sins.²¹⁵³ The result of this *imitatio* of Christ's sacrifice for a nun is "to bind herself more fruitfully to salvation" – not to *her* salvation, but to salvation in general. *Imitatio Christi* is, for Jonas, not an imitation of Christ's suffering through a *mortificatio* of the flesh, but rather an imitation of the ultimate act of love that the crucifixion stands for. From there, Jonas moves into the second rhetorical question:

⁴ Quae ergo proprias perdidit uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quae aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria crucifixit?

[⁴ Thus, why should she, who has given up her own will in order to fill Christ's will into herself, defend the offenses of others – she who has crucified her own offenses?]

²¹⁵⁰ See, for example, II Cor. 5, 13-15: *Siue enim mente excedimus Deo: siue sobrii sumus. Caritas enim Christi urget nos: aestimantes hoc, quoniam si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt: et pro omnibus mortuus est Christus: ut, et qui uiuunt, iam non sibi uiuant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit.* See also Rom. 4, 23-25. Jonas combines in this sentence language also from Rom. 14, 7-8; Gal. 2, 19, and Gal. 6, 14.

²¹⁵¹ VCol II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 23-24: *...ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*

²¹⁵² Luke 17, 33: *Quicumque quaesierit animam suam saluam facere, perdet illam, et quicumque perdiderit illam, uiuificabit eam.* Marc 8, 35: *Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluam facere, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me et euangelium, saluam eam faciet.* John 15, 13: *Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis.*

²¹⁵³ RcuIV, c. 5.4: *Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit.* See p. §.

Jonas reframes the “not living for oneself any more” of the previous sentence into “giving up one’s own will” (*proprias uoluntates perdere*) – a concept that plays a key role in the *Regula Benedicti*, but does not really take root in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, aside from this passage.²¹⁵⁴ For Jonas, the objective of monastic life is not so much giving up one’s *propria uoluntas*, but guiding one’s own will to the right purpose. More importantly, in this rhetorical question Jonas alters the meaning of *crucificare*. Imitating the crucified Christ turns into crucifying one’s own *delicta*. Crucifixion transforms from something the nuns should endure (*crucifixa*) to something the nuns have performed (*crucifixit*). Nailing one’s *delicta* to the cross is, of course, incompatible with defending the *delicta* of someone else.

In the third rhetorical question, Jonas picks up the notion of an active act of crucifixion of one’s misdeeds and replaces the *propriae uoluntates* with a new concept that plays a crucial role both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the Faremoutiers section: *mundus* (the world):

5 Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quur in mundi facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?

[5 And if she has truly crucified [her offenses] and does not live any more for the world but for Christ, why should she defend due to any sort of family tie those who fall into the misdeeds of the world?]

This question is based on a vague allusion to a biblical verse that is ubiquitous in monastic rules and has already appeared twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:²¹⁵⁵

Gal. 6, 14: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.

[But God forbid that I should boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world].

²¹⁵⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.3, SC 181, p. 412; c. 1.11, p. 440; c. 4.60, p. 460; c. 5.7, p. 466; c. 7.12, p. 476; c. 7.19, p. 476; c. 7.31-33, p. 480; c. 33, SC 182, p. 562; c. 49.6, p. 606. See also *VCol I*, c. 9, p. 168, l. 21-23: *Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates.*

²¹⁵⁵ *Regula Basilii*, c. 4.8, CSEL 86, p. 33; c. 82.5, pp. 116-117; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 126; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos/uirgines*, prologue.6, ed. Schmidt, pp. 239-240 and PL 68, col. 400A; *Regula Magistri*, c. 91.62, SC 106, pp. 408-410; *CaesRV*, c. 52.7, SC 345, p. 240; Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 7.9, p. 322; *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, quibus mundus...;* *RcuiV*, c. 17.2: *Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo.*

Gal. 6, 14 probably formed the basis for the idea that crucifixion goes both ways: that the nuns can both *be* crucified and *do* crucifixion. In any case, what Jonas called *delictum* or *facinus*²¹⁵⁶ is now identified with the world.

Mundus is a complicated term in Jonas' work. We have already encountered it in chapter 17 on not claiming anything as one's own, where it appears no less than seven times. *Mundus* is the world that could sneak into the monastery and unfold its harm. Objects belonging to the monastery turn, as we know from chapter 17, into *res mundi*. A misdeed becomes a *facinus mundi* by being defended through family members. In the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas describes Gibitrudis' fault of not having forgiven her fellow sisters, and uses the term *saeculum* (which he uses interchangeably with *mundus*) for a similar purpose: Gibitrudis' anger is described as not having "left the world behind" (*saeculum non reliquisti*).²¹⁵⁷ Acting sinfully is equated with acting worldly, which is possible both within and outside the monastery.

After this threefold approach to crucifixion, Jonas shifts to the ultimate form of imitating the crucified Christ, the act of love, *amor* – a love that is directed towards the pursuit of salvation. When describing the consequences of the nun's imitation of the crucifixion, of their crucifying and their being crucified, Jonas uses one of his favorite phrases: *sit ergo*. This is how it should be implemented:

⁶ Sit ergo ei aequus amor tam in consanguinea quam in cetera sorore, quae ei sanguinis adfinitate non iungitur. ⁷ Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, ⁸ ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.

[⁶ Therefore, she should have equal love both for a relative and for another sister who is not bound to her by the ties of blood. ⁷ Let therefore in all nuns the love remain enclosed in the heart, and she should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the regime of punishment, ⁸ lest she infuses the vice of defending into others.]

The act of loving that results from the imitation of the crucified Christ is to be equal to everyone no matter whether someone is related by blood or not. We already learned in chapter 5 that this is to be an impersonal and non-carnal love that consists of kindness but also of reproach, which is just another form of kindness.²¹⁵⁸ Defending a nun means infecting her through the vice of defending. From there, Jonas finally arrives at the second provision of this chapter:

²¹⁵⁶ Both terms appear interchangeably in *RcuiV*, c. 6.4-17.

²¹⁵⁷ *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261, l 15.

²¹⁵⁸ For example *RcuiV*, c. 2.4: *correptio pia*; c. 20.5: punishment as *piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta*.

9 Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.

[9 Let it therefore be in the judgment of the corrector that she imposes punishment on those whom she corrects under the zeal of love, not by fulfilling her own will, but by correcting their faults.]

Jonas shifts his emphasis from the person who defends to the person who corrects, and from the potentially “too little” punishment (by defending) to a potentially “too much” (by punishing unreasonably). With the term *corrigens*, “the correcting person”, Jonas refers to *any* person who corrects anyone else in any situation, thus not only the abbess, the prioress, or those responsible for the education of children. They must measure their punishment (*disciplina*) by their zeal of love rather than their own will, and their punishment must target the vice rather than the person.

This provision is connected to various ideas in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (as well as in the *Regula Benedicti*). Jonas emphasizes time and again that monastic discipline is not mechanical but must be assessed by the wisdom of a superior (*arbitrium, scientia, discretio*), which increases the responsibility of the superior who cannot just enforce a punishment according to the Rule. *Sub amoris studio* links chapter 23 to chapter 5 but also to the many other references of zeal (*studium, zelus*) throughout the Rule.

In his *Vita Columbani*, Jonas exemplifies his ideal of not defending family members but saving them through love and correction through the episode of the nun Deurechildis. She entered the monastery along with her mother. Instead of defending the moral weaknesses of her mother, she astutely rebukes them. Deurechilda’s ultimate act of love consists of turning her mother’s life around and ensuring that she may experience a *felix exitus*.²¹⁵⁹

Children (chapter 24)

The last chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses the raising of children in the monastery and expands on the notion of loving punishment that Jonas developed in the previous chapter. No other monastic rule contains a similarly detailed reflection on monastic

²¹⁵⁹ VCo/ II, c. 15, pp. 264-266.

education, which is probably the reason why a paraphrase of this chapter appears in the *Institutio Sanctimonialium* of 816, a reform rule for canonesses.²¹⁶⁰ Chapter 24 consists, like several of the previous ones, of two parts. The first is a general statement on the shape and purpose of the education of children in the monastery; the second is a series of practical provisions.

First I will address Jonas' language, which is particularly interesting in this case because we can see how Jonas masterfully used semantic repertoires – this time not only from the *Regula Benedicti* but also from the *Regula Basilii* – in order to convey his ideas giving the impression that they root in a venerable monastic tradition. The chapter shows traces of a section from chapter 70 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which addresses the problem of unjustified punishments. Benedict states in this chapter:

4 Infantum uero usque quindecim annorum aetates disciplinae diligentia ab omnibus et custodia sit; 5 sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione. 6 Nam in fortiori aetate qui praesumit aliquatenus sine praecepto abbatis uel in ipsis infantibus sine discretione exarserit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat, 7 quia scriptum est: Quod tibi non uis fieri, alio ne feceris. (Matth. 7, 12)

[4 There should be supervision and diligent discipline of children up to the age of fifteen on everyone's part, 5 but this with all moderation and reason. 6 Anyone who presumes in any way against someone older without the abbot's permission or whose temper flares thoughtlessly at those children should be subject to the discipline of the Rule, 7 for it is written, "Do not do to another what you do not want done to yourself."]²¹⁶¹

Jonas does not paraphrase the *Regula Benedicti*; he uses a number of key terms – *disciplina*, *custodia*, *aetas*, and *discretio* – but constructs a new chapter which has little to do with the content and framing we find in the *Regula Benedicti*. Another source for Jonas was probably the chapter of Rufinus' translation of the *Regula Basilii* that addresses the question of what age one should enter the monastery or vow oneself to virginity, and how to admit monks of

²¹⁶⁰ *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, c. 22, MGH Conc. 2.1, p. 452: *Ut erga puellas in monasteriis erudiendas magna adhibeatur diligentia. Religio ecclesiastica docet, ut puellae, quae in monasteriis erudiuntur, cum omni pietatis affectu et uigilantissimae curae studio nutriantur, ne, si lubricae aetatis annos indisciplinate uiuendo transegerint, aut uix aut nullatenus corrigi postea possint. Quapropter praeferantur eis ex sanctimonialibus tales magistrae quae utique et probabilis sint uitae et erga eas talem exhibeant curam, ut nequaquam huc atque illuc uagandi possint habere progressum et aut desidia aut lasciuiae uitio maculentur, quin potius sacris inbuantur disciplinis, quatenus his mancipatae uagandi otio careant.*

This section follows a paraphrase of Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*ad Laetem*), c. 3.3-12.3, CSEL 55, pp. 293-303. On the *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, see Schilp, Thomas, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht 1998.

²¹⁶¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 70.4-7, SC 182, pp. 666-668; transl. Venarde, p. 223.

a more advanced age. Jonas shares with Basil a number of terms as well, *timor Domini*, *aetas perfecta*, *uirtus*, *aetas tenera*, *cura*, *correptio*, and *documenta*. Moreover, two of Jonas' statements in chapter 24 were probably inspired by Basil: the idea that practice at a young age will lead to endurance in adulthood,²¹⁶² and that care of children should be exercised by those whose patience and authority qualifies them for this task.²¹⁶³

Yet Jonas mined Basil's provision for words and ideas rather than paraphrasing it completely. He combined Benedict's and Basil's terminology with his own vocabulary of monastic practice expressed in previous chapters of his Rule and from the *Vita Columbani*: *cura*, *ministerium*, *lasciuus*, *maculare*, *corripere*, *amor*, *doctrina*, *arbitrium*, and the phrases *cum omni pietatis affectu*, *cultus religionis*, and *de quarum religione non dubitatur*.

The chapter begins with another nod to previous monastic authorities:²¹⁶⁴

¶ Infantes in monasterio quanta cura et disciplina sint nutriendae, multis didicimus documentis.

[¶ We have learned from many examples with how much care and discipline children should be brought up in the monastery.]

Jonas' use of the expression *documenta* might have been inspired by Basil who used this word (which is otherwise rare in monastic rules) in his chapter on admitting adults into the monastery.²¹⁶⁵ Translating *documenta* with "texts" or "documents" might be the first choice, but it leaves us with a problem: there are, in fact, hardly any documents preserved that reflect on the education of children in the monastery, let alone on the topics addressed in this chapter. We have some references to children in older monastic rules, especially in the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, or the *Regula Donati*,²¹⁶⁶ and it is possible that Jonas had the provision

²¹⁶² *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.6, CSEL 86, p. 39.

²¹⁶³ *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.7, p. 39.

²¹⁶⁴ After having invoked the *series scripturarum* in c. 6 and c. 9, the *pietas auctoris* in c. 15, and the *instituta sanctorum patrum* in c. 22.

²¹⁶⁵ *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.13, CSEL 86, p. 40 uses *documenta* in the meaning of "confirmation".

²¹⁶⁶ De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 16-53 provides a survey of early sources; see also Lahaye-Geusen, Maria, *Das Opfer der Kinder: ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums im Hohen Mittelalter*, Altenberg: Oros Verlag 1991, pp. 15-28; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 300-312. References to children in the monastery can be found in *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 7, ed. Boon, p. 66; c. 13, pp. 68-69; *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, SC 298, p. 476; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 17, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 22, p. 247; c. 47, p. 253; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 18, PL 68, col. 402A; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 2-3, ed. Vilanova, p. 108; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Donati*, c. 6.13, CSEL 98, p. 151; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 182-183; *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.79-87, SC 106, pp. 60-62; c. 27.41, p. 148; c. 28.19-24, p. 154; c.

on children in mind that we find in Rufinus' translation of the *Regula Basilii*.²¹⁶⁷ Aside from that, we find scattered remarks on children in the *Verba Seniorum*, and there is one rather gruesome story in Cassian's *Institutiones* of a father who endures the neglect and abuse of his son by other monks when they entered the monastery together.²¹⁶⁸ None of these references, however, would sustain the author's claim that "many documents" prove his point about the care and discipline in monastic education.

It is possible that Jonas aimed at supporting what follows with a diffuse invocation of authoritative texts, but why should he utilize this blunt rhetorical device for a topic as non-controversial as the necessity to give children in the monastery a caring and strict education? Jonas may have seen a need to justify the very presence of children in the monastery, though the question itself is not addressed in the chapter either. Both the *Regula Benedicti* and Caesarius' Rule assume, like Jonas, that it was not at all uncommon to enter a monastery at a very young age. There are no indications of an "oblation dispute" in the seventh century.²¹⁶⁹

There is another, more plausible, explanation of the *multa documenta*: in classical Latin, *documenta* does not refer to what we would understand as "documents" but rather to teachings and *exempla* (derived from *docere*).²¹⁷⁰ Jonas uses *documenta* four times in the *Vita Columbani*. Only in one case does the expression clearly refer to written texts;²¹⁷¹ the other three passages most likely refer indeed to teachings and *exempla*.²¹⁷² It is therefore amenable that the *multa documenta* on the importance of education rather refer to "many examples" or simply to "a lot of experience."

50.12-15, p. 224; c. 53.52-54, p. 254; c. 59.10-11, p. 276; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 30, SC 182, p. 554; c. 31.9, pp. 556-558; c. 37, p. 572; c. 39.10, p. 578; c. 45.3, p. 594; c. 59, pp. 632-634; c. 63.9, p. 644; c. 70.4-7, p. 666.

²¹⁶⁷ *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.1-10, CSEL 86, pp. 38-40.

²¹⁶⁸ Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, SC 109, pp. 142-144. See also Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 205-206.

²¹⁶⁹ The question of child oblation becomes a matter of discussion in the Cistercian movement, which limited the entry age of novices first to 15, later to 18 years, though the rules were not always followed and child oblation still occasionally occurred. See Lynch, Joseph H., 'The Cistercians and Underage Novices', in: *Citeaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 24 (1973), pp. 283-297.

²¹⁷⁰ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, pp. 605-606, s.v. *documentum*.

²¹⁷¹ VCol II, c. 17, p. 269: Wilsidana recites the *euangelique uitalia sacramenta ac apostolica post ueterum documenta* (vital and apostolical mysteries of the Gospel according to old documents).

²¹⁷² VCol II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 17-18: Eusthadius contemplates on his deathbed the *misticorum documenta praeconiorum*, the "teachings of the secret announcements." VCol II, c. 18, p. 270. L. 26-27: Leudebertana is strengthened with *monitis salubribus ac caelestis prosapie documentis* (salutary warnings and teachings of heavenly origin), which refer to a dream vision that announces her imminent death.

The target audience of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consisted, at least partly, of nuns who have “learned” from their own experience the importance of *cura* and *disciplina* in their education. It is certainly not by accident that Jonas uses the term *didicimus* (we have learned). We should not assume that “we”, i.e. the community, learned about good education from the works of a lost early medieval precursor of Dr. Spock’s *Baby and Child Care*. Jonas’ “we” could easily include himself who, as we know from his *Vita Columbani*, had entered Bobbio at a young age.²¹⁷³ A short autobiographical excursus in the *Vita Columbani* shows striking similarities to chapter 24. Nine years after his entry, Jonas was allowed to leave the monastery in order to visit his mother. He was accompanied by two monks, Bidulfus and Hermenoaldus, *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur* (whose piety was beyond doubt).²¹⁷⁴ Chapter 24 determines in precisely the same words that the piety of the elders (*seniores*) who supervise young nuns at the table should be beyond doubt (*de quorum religione non dubitatur*). Jonas’ use of *didicimus* in chapter 24 may be a spark of autobiography.

Once he has grounded the topic in the authority of experience, Jonas’ summarizes the purpose of education using various key elements of his monastic ideal:

2 Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et disciplinae ministerio, 3 ne desidia uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripri.

[2 For they must be brought up with a complete disposition of love and service of discipline, 3 lest they, defiled at a tender age by the vice of idleness and lasciviousness, be scarcely – or not at all – able to be reproached at a later stage.]

The main instrument of education is love (expressed as *affectus pietatis* which appears similarly elsewhere in the Rule).²¹⁷⁵ As discussed in the commentary on chapter 5, Jonas’ idea of love is rather different from any modern understanding of love. It is rather the care for a fellow sister’s eternal salvation. The second element is *disciplina*, though not as a means to its end, but rather understood as service to a fellow nun. It is a *ministerium*, which is also a recurring term of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that ties into the notion of mutual responsibility.²¹⁷⁶ The

²¹⁷³ On Jonas’ biography, see O’Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 31-37; O’Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 1-37.

²¹⁷⁴ *VCol* II, c. 5, pp. 237-238. Jonas uses the same expression in *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170 referring to the *gubernatores* he installed to rule his monastery while he was absent.

²¹⁷⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 5.8: *non carnis affectu, sed pietatis ministerio*; c. 6.30: *pie mentis affectus*. See also *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 29: *pietatis cultus, lenitatis affectus*.

²¹⁷⁶ See p. §.

affectus and *ministerium* target a polluting mindset, that of idleness and lasciviousness. The primary goal of an education in love and discipline is to condition the nuns at an early age in a way that they remain open to *correptio* (reproach) that reaches their inner self rather than just a *correctio* of their acts. Lacking such an education makes it difficult or even impossible to get the nuns receptive for such *correptio*.²¹⁷⁷

The next sentence provides a challenge for a translator:

4 Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, 5 sed semper ab eis disciplinae retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis.

[4 Let there therefore be in them such a great care that it is never allowed to stray hither and thither without a senior, 5 but that they, always restrained by them [the elders] through the doctrine of discipline and imbued with the doctrine of fear and love of God, be instructed in the practice of piety.]

Jonas' phrasing is slightly odd because it implies that children are allowed to stray hither and thither *if a senior* is present. This makes little sense since *deuiare* has generally a negative connotation and we would expect that there is no such thing as a well-supervised *deuiare*.²¹⁷⁸ The idea of an uncontrolled movement "hither and thither" which would most likely cross the boundaries of the *septa*, would also contradict the spirit of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Moreover, just *one* senior would never be sufficient, because it would give her the opportunity of unsupervised conversations.²¹⁷⁹ Therefore it makes more sense to understand *sine seniore* as "because there is no senior" rather than "without a senior." The constant presence of *seniores* should ensure that they *never* deviate from the right path.²¹⁸⁰ This right path is the *cultus religionis* (practice of piety) which, as we know from other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, *De accedendo ad Deum*, and the *Vita Columbani*, is the essence of monastic life.²¹⁸¹

²¹⁷⁷ Jonas expands here on a much more simplified idea expressed in *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.5-6, CSEL 86, p. 39: *Adhiberi autem eis oportet summam diligentiam, quo possint ad omne uirtutis exercitium probabiliter institui, tam in uerbo quam in intellectu et opere; quicquid enim in tenero quis et paruo inseruerit, firmiter et tenacius in posterum conseruabit*. Jonas expresses a similar notion of preemptive discipline in *RcuiV*, c. 1.12 and c. 12.29.

²¹⁷⁸ Jonas uses the term several times in his *Vita Columbani*, usually in the sense of deviating from the right path. See, for example, *VCol* I, c. 17, p. 181, l. 25; I, c. 27, p. 210, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 17; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 4.

²¹⁷⁹ See *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.21; c. 18.18 on preventing any form of communication without a third person as witness.

²¹⁸⁰ Hildemar of Corbie expresses a similar idea in his *Expositio Regulae S. Benedicti* ed. Mittermüller, pp. 331-332, reflecting on the implications of *ubi ubi* in his commentary to chapter 22 of the *Regula Benedicti*. Hildemar develops here a watertight program of supervision of novices that should prevent them from any sexual activities.

²¹⁸¹ See *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18 and p. 282, l. 26-27; *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 7; c. 2, p. 329, l. 12.

The method for preventing deviation is restraining children through *disciplina* (a term that may include punishment but is broader than that) and teaching love and fear of God. Young nuns have to learn from early on to be in constant fear (*timor* and *metus*) of the angry judge and of imminent damnation, as we know from various passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²¹⁸²

The term *deuiare* deserves some more reflection: it is a spatial term which might indeed refer to roaming around illicitly within or maybe even outside the monastic space (an aspect also mentioned in the *Regula Benedicti*),²¹⁸³ but it might also refer to the moral space and to stepping out of line of the carefully crafted monastic choreography, or even to something like the wandering of the mind which causes the stain of *desidia* and *lasciua*. Jonas may have consciously played with the various levels of meaning of *deuiare*.

After placing the treatment of children in the conceptual world of the Rule, Jonas turns to some practical guidelines. The second part of chapter 24 contains three practical regulations on *lectio*, the order of meals, and on the schedule imposed on youngsters. I consider it likely that these three rather mundane provisions served as examples for implementing Jonas' pedagogical ideal rather than as a comprehensive educational program. Both Jonas and Caesarius address children, young nuns, and novices in various other contexts and these provisions could be added to the short list given in chapter 24.²¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Jonas' three provisions reveal important insights into the place of children in the monastery.

⁶ *Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant.*

[⁶ They should have the habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may accomplish/perform when they are brought to perfect age.]

The phrase *Habeant usum* sounds somewhat clunky, though it is a common expression. Jonas may have chosen these words in order to refer back to chapter 12 in which he uses the

Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule use the term *religio*. It appears once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* but several times in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Basilii*. The expression *cultus religionis* is common, but not used in other monastic rules.

²¹⁸² See *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; c. 4.14; c. 8.5; c. 8.8; c. 12.15; c. 13.4; c. 20.7; c. 21.1; *De acc* 19.

²¹⁸³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.18-19, SC 182, p. 646.

²¹⁸⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 10.18; c. 16.1-3; c. 20.13: on punishment adjusted to age; c. 10.5: on larger portions for those new to the monastery; c. 11.8: younger nuns must serve at the table; c. 14.11-12: younger nuns are not allowed to share a bed; c. 15.8: young nuns should not take too many baths; *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, SC 345, p. 182: those who have not professed yet, may not sleep in the monastery's dormitory; c. 7.3-4, p. 186: on six or seven years as lowest entry age; no education of externals; c. 6.1-2, p. 184: renouncing property at the age of maturity; c. 18.7, p. 192: all nuns have to learn how to read; c. 43.7, p. 228: on the re-use of vestments.

expression *lectio usitetur* in the context of dividing the day into periods of work and prayer.²¹⁸⁵ *Ad perfectam* most likely refers back to *aetate*, the “perfect age”, thus adulthood.²¹⁸⁶ Jonas does not just expand on Caesarius’ provision that all nuns have to learn to read,²¹⁸⁷ but, more specifically, refers to the practice of *lectio*, i.e. of reading texts aloud in an edifying way during meal times as well as during communal work.²¹⁸⁸ If Jonas indeed refers to public *lectio* rather than a private intellectual activity, it might be best to translate *proficere* with “to perform”, which would be in line with Jonas’ concern with “performativity”, in this case the correct use of one’s voice.²¹⁸⁹

If he is specifically referring to reading aloud, the next provision on the location of children during meals is a natural progression:

7 In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam positam. 8 Seniores tamen uel duo seu amplius, de quorum religione non dubitatur, cum eis sedeant, 9 ut semper timorem antepositum sub metu seniorum nutriantur.

[7 In the refectory they should have a table for themselves, which is placed next to the table of the elders. 8 But two or more elders, whose piety is beyond doubt, should sit with them, 9 so that they, always confronted with fear (*timor*), are brought up in fear (*metus*) of the elders.].

Certainly, at this point it becomes clear that Jonas considers fear a more effective measure of education than anything we would understand as love. Fearing the elders is a good exercise for eventually fearing God. As already stated, Jonas uses here, again, the phrase *de quarum religione non dubitatur*. The same expression also appears in chapter 14, requiring that the piety of the *senior* who shares a bed with a *iunior* should be beyond doubt.²¹⁹⁰ It seems that any task related to dealing with children in the monastery should, according to Jonas, only be assigned to those whose piety qualifies them. In this regard Jonas deviates from Benedict who made the supervision of younger monks a task of the entire community.²¹⁹¹ Jonas’ concerns

²¹⁸⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 12.4. The expression *usum lectionis* appears otherwise only in Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam* I.VII, c. 1, CCSL 142, p. 84 in an unrelated context.

²¹⁸⁶ The *aetas perfecta* appears in three earlier monastic rules: Jerome’s translation of the *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 6, ed. Boon, p. 66; *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.3, CSEL 86, p. 39; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 4, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 144. See also *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 6, MGH SRM 5, p. 57.

²¹⁸⁷ *CaesRV*, c. 18.7, p. 192: all nuns have to learn how to read.

²¹⁸⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 9.13-15; c. 12.3-4.

²¹⁸⁹ See p. §.

²¹⁹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 14.9. See also *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 22.13.

²¹⁹¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 70.4, SC 182, p. 666: *Infantum uero usque quindecim annorum aetates disciplinae diligentia ab omnibus et custodia sit...* See also c. 63.9, p. 644.

about educator's *religio* resonate somewhat with regulations in other rules that restrict interaction with youngsters because of the fear of sexual transgressions.²¹⁹² At various points in the Rule Jonas makes clear that specific tasks should only be carried out by nuns who are suitable and have the right motivation.²¹⁹³

10 Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, abbatissae arbitrio pensandum est, 11 ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.

[10 It must be weighed out by the judgment of the abbess at which hours they should eat and go to sleep, 11 so that in anyone/anything discretion is found through the observance of the virtues.]

This last provision emphasizes, like several earlier ones, that the abbess has the authority to determine schedules and the organization of time according to her discretion instead of following a strict schedule. Chapter 10 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which deals with the organization of meals, contains no less than seven references to the abbess as the one who makes decisions, which shows that especially this aspect of monastic life should be organized according to the experience and authority of the abbess rather than by strictly adhering to fixed norms.²¹⁹⁴ Also in chapter 11 and 12 Jonas emphasizes that the abbess has a right to adjust meal times according to the season and the arrival of guests.²¹⁹⁵

Jonas limits, however, the abbess' leeway by defining its purpose to be the "vigilance of virtues" that need to be found *in omnibus* which is an ambiguous expression that could refer to "all nuns", "all things", or "any regard." This is not the first time that Jonas' leaves us to guess about the meaning of *in omnibus*.²¹⁹⁶ With his emphasis on the "vigilance of virtues" (*custodia uirtutum*) Jonas connects the end of the chapter with its beginnings and the fight against the vice of idleness and lasciviousness.

From Jonas' point of view, it certainly makes sense to insert a chapter on the education of children as continuation of a chapter on kinship and to address this topic towards the end of his Rule. After all, Jonas' idea of pursuing salvation is built around the ideal of being *parata* (well

²¹⁹² *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 7, ed. Boon, p. 66; *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, SC 298, p. 476; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.4, ed. Villegas, p. 32.

²¹⁹³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.1: the abbess; c. 2.1-8: the prior; c. 3.1-3: the gatekeeper; c. 2.1-3: the supply keeper; c. 7.1: the person hearing confession; c. 8.11: the nun responsible for waking up the community for prayer; c. 13.1-2: the nuns handing out tools.

²¹⁹⁴ See p. §.

²¹⁹⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 11.3; c. 12.6.

²¹⁹⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 3.25; c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 10.2; c. 15.2; c. 22.23.

prepared) – something one can't start early enough. As Mayke de Jong has shown, child oblation may have been largely motivated by the idea of recruiting new members of the community at an age where they had still been unstained of sexual desire and moldable enough to be turned into perfect monks and nuns.²¹⁹⁷ As Jonas reports in the *Vita Columbani*, adult converts are in a less fortunate position than child-nuns because they carry the dirt of the world with them into the monastery while children could be educated with so much *custodia* that they do not even know the difference between men and women.²¹⁹⁸ Jonas exemplifies these different conditions in the story of the young nun Deurechildis who entered Faremoutiers along with her mother.

Deurechildis becomes through her innocence a model nun and experiences a smooth *felix exitus* while her mother kept being entangled in her worldly desires. Only the intercession of her pure daughter could eventually save her, the adult convert, from eternal damnation.²¹⁹⁹

Chapter 24 ends on a rather strange note. A provision that allows the abbess to determine the meal and sleep schedule of children in the monastery is certainly not what we would expect as the final sentence of a monastic rule as carefully crafted as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The fact that in its only preserved manuscript the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off in the middle of chapter 24 and that we have to fill in the rest from Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum*, indicates that its textual transmission must have been mixed up at some point. As I hope to show in the last chapter of this book, chapter 24 may have been the last chapter of the Rule containing practical provisions, but it is not the end of Jonas' monastic Rule. The treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which can be found on the very last folio of the *Codex Regularum*, would provide a much more plausible conclusion of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and ingeniously explain, as I hope to show now, the entire purpose of the regiment of *affectus* and *ministerium* that Jonas developed throughout his Rule.

²¹⁹⁷ De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 126-145; *eadem*, 'Imitatio morum. The cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in: Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, New York/London: Garland Publishing 1998, pp. 49-80.

²¹⁹⁸ VCol II, c. 17, p. 269: *Non aspicitis, quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcitia maculauit?* II, c. 13, p. 262: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam; aequae enim marem ut feminam putabat, aequae feminam ut marem.*

²¹⁹⁹ VCol II, c. 15, pp. 264-266.

PART IV: SALVATION

Chapter 7: *De accedendo ad Deum* – a lost chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*?

The last folio of the Munich *Codex Regularum* contains a short treatise titled *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum* (How to approach God by praying with a readily disposed heart).²²⁰⁰ In this chapter I will show that *De accedendo ad Deum* was at some point a part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It belonged along with chapters 5, 6, and 22 to the theological core sections of the Rule. As part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, *De accedendo* would also have been a work of Jonas of Bobbio. In the final chapter of this study I will argue that it is one of the most sophisticated contributions to seventh-century monastic theology.

theological texts produced in the monastic world the aftermath of Columbanus. It produces an answer to the central question of early medieval monasticism: how and why the monastic pursuit of salvation works.

De accedendo has not played a large role in research on the history of early medieval monasticism aside from a brief report in Adalbert de Vogüé's *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique* on its connections to the *Regula Benedicti*.²²⁰¹ Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl has recently produced a critical edition of the text for the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* and there are translations available in French and German.²²⁰² Zimmerl-Panagl has disproved the assumption that *De accedendo* and a preceding fragment of a female version of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* formed together an otherwise lost "*Regula Columbani ad uirgines*."²²⁰³ In the

²²⁰⁰ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 216-216v: <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054966/images/index.html?id=00054966&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=435>. The text also appears in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum* as part of the commentary on chapter 20 on the *Regula Benedicti* (On the Reverence in Prayer). See Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, c. 26.5, CCCM 168A, pp. 209-210. *De accedendo* has been edited by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl in CSEL 98, pp. 239-240. I reproduce the edition in its entirety in as appendix to my edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with the friendly permission of the editor and the publishing house De Gruyter.

²²⁰¹ De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*, vol. 11, Paris: Cerf 2007, pp. 28-30.

²²⁰² *De accedendo ad Deum*, CSEL 98, pp. 237-238; De Seilhac, et al., *Règles monastiques au féminin*, pp. 280-282; Diem, Albrecht and Matthieu van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln. Regula cuiusdam patris, Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines, Regelfragment De accedendo*, Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag 2016, pp. 108-126 and pp. 215-219. Parts of the introduction to this edition appear in this chapter in an extended version.

²²⁰³ Zimmerl-Panagl, CSEL 98, pp. 196-200. Seebass, Otto, 'Fragment einer Nonnenregel des 7. Jahrhunderts', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1896), pp. 465-470, had produced an edition of the female *Regula Columbani* and *De accedendo* on the basis of the Cologne copy of the *Codex Regularum* which presents both texts together as one work.

Munich manuscript the text of *De accedendo* appears as a short, but complete treatise in the style of a sermon, which is placed under the running title *Regula* (on fol. 215v) – *Sancti Columbani* (on fol. 216).

Benedict of Aniane was probably not aware of a connection between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo*. As we can infer from the table of contents provided on fol. 207ra of the Munich manuscript, he assumed that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consisted of the 24 chapters we know. In his *Concordia Regularum* he referred to *De accedendo* as *Ex Regula Patrum de accedendo ad Deum* and not to *Ex Regula cuiusdam*. So if both texts originally belonged together, they must have been separated before Benedict of Aniane produced his *Codex* and *Concordia Regularum*. Benedict of Aniane did, however, consider *De accedendo* a part of a monastic rule.

De accedendo does not explicitly address a female community, though its use of male pronouns is restricted to general statements.²²⁰⁴ A connection between both texts is, as I will show, highly probable, but there is no absolute proof that *De accedendo* is a lost “chapter 25.” Theoretically, *De accedendo* could also have been formed part of a male counterpart of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – if such a text ever existed.

There is, however, one peculiarity in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that could be explained by a missing chapter. Chapter 24 (which only the *Concordia Regularum* transmits in its entirety) ends, as already stated, in a strangely abrupt way. Instead of some sort of a concluding sentence – as we can find in most monastic rules²²⁰⁵ – the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* states very prosaically that the abbess (or, in the preserved version, the abbot) decides at which time children in the monastery are supposed to eat or to sleep, “so that in anyone (or

²²⁰⁴ *De accedendo* 6: *Inquirendo...et petendo exauditur, qui...* 8: *Si omnis qui petit accipit...* 10: *Quamuis iuxta Apostolum alius riget...* 17: *Quia apud eum...qui praetendit...* 21: *Sapienter enim quisque psallit, qui...* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam...* *RcuiV*, c. 6.4-8; c. 11.2; c. 19.10; c. 22.6 also use male pronouns and nouns.

²²⁰⁵ See, for example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 73.8-9, SC 182, p. 674: *Quisquis ergo ad patriam caelestem festinas, hanc miniman inchoationis regulam descriptam, adiuuante Christo, perfice, et tunc demum ad maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae uirtutumque culmina, Deo protegente, peruenies. Amen.* *Caesarius, Regula ad monachos*, c. 26.17-18, SC 398, pp. 224-226: *Vestes enim seculares deponere et religiosas adsumere unius horae momento possumus; mores uero bonos iugiter retinere uel contra male dulces uoluptates seculi huius, quamdiu uiuimus, Christo adiutore laborare debemus, quia non qui inceperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic salus erit.* (Matth. 10, 22) *CaesRV*, c. 73.2, SC 345, p. 272: *...sed liceat sanctae congregationi resistere, et, quod famae uel quieti suae incongruum esse cognoscunt, fieri non permittant.*

everything) discretion is found in the vigilance of the virtues.”²²⁰⁶ Concluding a monastic rule, especially one that is as diligently crafted as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, with a regulation on the meal- and bedtimes of children is odd. *De accedendo* ends with an exhortation to pray constantly so that the guilty may receive pardon, followed by an invocation of the Holy Trinity and completed with the word *amen*. This would have formed a much more appropriate conclusion of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²²⁰⁷

The odd ending of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is in itself, of course, not sufficient argument for tying these particular texts together. Stronger arguments can be drawn from the similarities between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* on a stylistic and semantic level. *De accedendo* shares a large number of phrases and expressions both with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and with Jonas’ hagiographical works. Moreover, the text utilizes the *Regula Benedicti* in the same unique way the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does.

Already the title of *De accedendo* points to a connection to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. No less than seven chapter headings of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contain similar gerund constructions, which only occasionally appear in other monastic rules. The title of chapter 5 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – the chapter that forms, in some regards, the counterpart of *De accedendo* – shows the closest similarities to the title of *De accedendo*:

De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum

RcuiV 5: De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo

RcuiV 6: De assidue danda confessione

RcuiV 7: De non manifestandis sororum confessionibus

RcuiV 10: De ratione mensae qualiter administrandum uel obseruandum sit

RcuiV 12: Quomodo cotidianis diebus manibus sit operandum

RcuiV 23: De non defendenda proxima uel consanguinea in monasterio

RcuiV 24: De nutriendis infantibus

Chapter 5 and 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* not only show similarities with regard to their titles but they are also structured in the same way as *De accedendo*. All three texts develop a theological argument along a chain of biblical quotations. The opening sentences of all

²²⁰⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 24.10-11: *Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, abbatis arbitrio pensandum est, ¹¹ ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.*

²²⁰⁷ *De accedendo* 27-28: *Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infundit medicinam ²⁸ salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* Chapter 5 of the *RcuiV* ends with *amen* as well.

three chapters are structured in an analogous way (I will provide English translations of *De accedendo* in the next chapter which addresses its content):

De accedendo 1-2: Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur, Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur.* (Ps 33/34, 6)

RcuiV 5.1-3: Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura debeant, per euangelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, cum dicit: *Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* (John 15, 12-13) Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis.* (John 13, 35)

RcuiV 6.1-3: Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta Scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrat. Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscum rudem semper custodiat, sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prov. 4, 23)

Similar opening sentences can also be found in two other chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam*:

RcuiV 9.1: Regulam silentii omni tempore seruandam sanctarum Scripturarum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *cultus iustitiae silentium et pax.* (cfr Is. 32, 17)

RcuiV 15.1: Harum cura, quae in infirmitatibus detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat, cum dicit: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter.* (Matth. 7, 12)

Two sentences of *De accedendo* start with a gerundive construction in connection with the term *semper*:

De accedendo 3 *Accedendum semper est, ut...*

De accedendo 27 *Orandus semper est, ut...*

The same construction appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

RcuiV, c. 2.9 *Interrogandum semper est, ut...*

RcuiV, c. 6.2: *Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut...*

In the entire body of patristic and early medieval Christian literature there is only one other text using a similar construction, which is the *Moralia in Hiob* of Gregory the Great.²²⁰⁸

²²⁰⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Hiob* XX.III.8, l. 67, CCSL 143A, p. 1007: *Vigilandum quippe semper est, ut...*

In the middle of *De accedendo* we find a rather convoluted rhetorical question arguing for the effect of a constant and unceasing approach of God through prayer and work²²⁰⁹:

De accedendo 8-9: Si omnis qui petit accipit, cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscimus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium, quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum opere implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et inconprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae praesidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest?

Similar rhetorical questions can be found in four chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but rarely elsewhere. The author uses most of these rhetorical questions to convey that there is no alternative to dedicating oneself to Christ and giving up the world and worldly desires entirely.²²¹⁰

Towards the end of the text, *De accedendo* switches to an explanatory mode, as if the author wanted to say: “This is how we are going to implement what I have just stated.” He does this in a sequence of sentences starting with *Sic* or *sic ergo*:

De accedendo 20: Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur... 22 Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat... 24 Sic cordis conpunctione flagret...

We find similar sequences of *sic*-sentences in three chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.²²¹¹ All in all, twenty sentences in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* begin with *sic*, *sic*

²²⁰⁹ This question will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 8.

²²¹⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?* c. 9.6: *Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?* c. 17.2-4: *Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo?* ³ *Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo,* ⁴ *quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo?* c. 17.8: *Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus uoluntates propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?* c. 23.2-5: *Quid enim aliam defendat, quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa,* ³ *quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?* ⁴ *Quae ergo proprias perdidit uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quur aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria crucifixit?* ⁵ *Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quur in mundi facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?* See also Jonas *Vita Columbani* II, c. 25, p. 292, l. 1-6: *Quid namque fuerit, quod clementissimus rerum creator exeunti de mundo monstrare uoluit, qualis post futurus esset, nisi quia hi qui simile simplicitate uiuunt et oboedientiae ac mortificatione uoluntariae subiciuntur, similem remunerationem expectent claritatemque aeterni liminis potiantur?*

²²¹¹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.6: *Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere...* c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat...* c. 1.10: *Sic misericorditer bonitatis dona distribuat...* c. 1.13: *Incautus etenim sic blanda persuasionem subueniat...* c. 9.5: *...sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobrietate ueniant...* c. 9.7: *Sic demum ad suam mensam, qua sederint, deferant fercula...* c. 14.6: *...sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur...* c. 14.9: *Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis senior sit...*

ergo or *sic tamen*. All early medieval monastic rules together contain about fifty sentences starting with *Sic*.

Aside from these similarities in style and structure, *De accedendo* shares a large number of specific phrases, expressions, and word combinations either with the *Regula cuiusdam* or with Jonas of Bobbio's hagiographical works or with both. Some of them appear exclusively in these texts, others can occasionally be found in other patristic or early medieval texts. Examples would include *facinorum mole* (the weight of our misdeeds),²²¹² *aditus non denegetur* (access is not denied),²²¹³ *iuxta psalmografi praeconium* (according to the message of the Psalmist).²²¹⁴ A full documentation of these textual parallels is provided in appendix two.

Finally, if we compare the vocabulary of *De accedendo* with that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it appears that 86% of all terms used in *De accedendo* appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani* as well. If we leave aside words derived from biblical quotations and from the *Regula Benedicti*, we find not more than six terms in *De accedendo* that appear neither in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* nor in Jonas of Bobbio's hagiographical work.²²¹⁵

The most striking connection between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* consists in the way both texts engage with the *Regula Benedicti*. As I already have shown, most chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* use sections of the *Regula Benedicti* as a point of departure but place them into a new discursive framework and revise their content. *De accedendo* does this as well, using chapters 19-20 of the *Regula Benedicti*. As we will see in

²²¹² *De accedendo* 6; *RcuiV*, c. 6.6: *facinorum molem*. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

²²¹³ *De accedendo* 12; *RcuiV*, c. 21.15: *aditum esse in postmodum denegandum*; *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 8-9: *aditum denegabat*; I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 8: *aditum denegat*; I, c. 30, p. 222, l. 3-4: *aditum plaustorum denegabat*. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

²²¹⁴ *De accedendo* 19; *RcuiV*, c. 8.1: *ad sonitum preconis*; c. 14.1: *preconiis peruigil*; *VCol* I, c. 3, p. 158, l. 8-9: *psalmographi praeconii*; I, c. 17, p. 182, l. 11: *preconantis uox psalmographi*. The combination *praeconium/psalmographus* appears exclusively here and in no other source text.

²²¹⁵ Of all the expressions used in *De accedendo* that cannot be traced to a specific biblical quotation or to chapters 19-20 of the *Regula Benedicti*, twenty-eight do not appear in the *RcuiV*: *adsistere*; *alibi*; *attere*; *conditor*; *confamulare*; *hortare*; *ignis*; *implere*; *incedere*; *incognitus*; *inconprehensibilis*; *ineffabilis*; *obstaculum*; *obstare*; *passio*; *patrari*; *perennis*; *pollere*; *possidere*; *potare*; *potentia*; *praepedire*; *praetendere*; *proferre*; *prouocare*; *seruitus*; *tendere*; *torrere*. Six of them appear neither in the *RcuiV* nor in Jonas' hagiographical works: *attere*, *confamulare*, *incedere*, *incognitus*, *inconprehensibilis*, *seruitus*. Not counted are the following terms appearing in *De accedendo*, which come from biblical quotations: *confundere*; *exaudire*; *exultare*; *fons*; *inebriare*; *intrare*; *lumen*; *plantare*; *pulsare*; *rectus*; *regnare*; *rigere*; *Salomon*; *seruire*; *tremor*; *ubertas*. The expressions *conpunctio*; *deuotio*; *lacrima*; *multiloquium* are taken from c. 19-20 of the *Regula Benedicti*.

Chapter 8, using the *Regula Benedicti* meant for the author, again, revising the text and imposing his own ideas upon it.

De accedendo

¹⁹ Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: **Seruite**, inquit, **Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore**. (Ps. 2, 11) ²⁰ Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si **opus bonum** ad **uocem** laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: **psallite sapienter**. (Ps. 46/47, 8) ²¹ Sapienter etenim quisque **psallit**, qui **uoci** laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et **qualiter oporteat** potentiae **diuinae** famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. ²² Sic ergo **mens nostra** ad **psallendum** intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio, ¹⁹

²³ sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata **humilitate** et **puritate** ac promptissima **deuotione** ornata ad aeterna praemia **tendat**. ²⁴ Sic **cordis conpunctione** flagret, **qualiter** in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. ²⁵ Nec se **in multiloquio** quisquam, **sed** potius **in puritate cordis** et **lacrimarum** ubertate **exaudiri** credat. ²⁶ Non enim longae **orationis** prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat.

A final word on *De accedendo* and Jonas' *Vita Columbani*: As I have shown in the previous chapter, there are several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam* whose content corresponds with specific sections of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. We can make a similar observation with regard

Regula Benedicti

c. 19: De disciplina **psallendi**
¹ Ubique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos, ² maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum **ad opus diuinum** assistimus.³ Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: **Seruite Domino in timore** (Ps. 2, 11), ⁴ et iterum: **Psallite sapienter**, (Ps. 46/47, 8) ⁵ et: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi*. ⁶ Ergo consideremus **qualiter oporteat** in conspectu **diuinitatis** et angelorum eius esse, ⁷ et sic stemus **ad psallendum** ut **mens nostra** concordet **uoci** nostrae.

Regula Benedicti

c. 20: ¹ Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, ² quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni **humilitate** et **puritatis deuotione** supplicandum est. ³ Et non **in multiloquio**, **sed** in **puritate cordis** et **compunctione lacrimarum** nos **exaudiri** sciamus. ⁴ Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura **oratio**, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur.

to *De accedendo*. Central ideas of this work appear, expressed in different words, at two places in the *Vita Columbani*. In the first book Jonas explains the power of prayer in the context of one of Columbanus' miracles:

Nec inmerito **misericors Dominus** suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates, tantum fidem **pollentes**, quae eius **misericordiae** postulauerint, impetrare non dubitant; quia ipse promisit, dicens: *Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic: “Transi” et transiet, et nihil impossibile erit uobis* (Matth. 17, 19); et alibi: *Omnia quecumque **orantes petitis credite quia accipietis, et uenient uobis.*** (Marc 11, 24)

[Not without reason does the merciful Lord respond to the prayers of His saints, who have crucified their own desires on account of the command of His teachings. They have such faith that they do not doubt that those things which they have asked for through His mercy will be fulfilled, as He himself promised when he said: *If your faith were the size of a mustard seed you could say to this mountain, Move from here to there, and it would move; nothing would be impossible for you.* (Matth. 17, 19) And elsewhere: *Everything you ask and pray for believe that you have it already, and it will be yours.* (Marc 11, 24)]²²¹⁶

In one of the most dramatic scenes in the second book, Eusthasius defends the *Regula Columbani* against allegations of heresy that were brought forward by the monk Agrestius.²²¹⁷ The last part of Eusthasius' defense of the *Regula Columbani* addresses the same topic as *De accedendo* in similar words: the power and effectiveness of prayer, partly in the same words.

Multiplicationem uero **orationum** in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis. Cum enim plus **Dominus** queritur plus inuenitur, et cum **uberius oratione pulsatur**, ad **misericordiam petentium** citius **excitatur**; nihil enim aliud plus desudare debemus quam **orationi** incumbere. *Vigilate et **orate, ne intretis in temptationem.*** (Matth. 26, 41) **Sic enim** nos et Apostolus sine intermissione **orare** rogat; **sic** omnis scripturarum sacrarum ordo iubet clamare; qui enim clamare neglegit, neglegens et absclusus a Christi membris abicitur. Nihil enim tam utile tamque salutare quam **creatorem** multiplicatione precum et adsiduitate **orationum pulsare.**

[I also believe that the multiplication of prayers in the sacred Office benefits all the churches. Indeed, when the Lord is sought more, He is found more, and when He is more fully besought with prayer, He is more quickly incited to grant mercy to those who asked for it. There is nothing we ought to exert ourselves in more than to bow in prayer. Thus are we, together with the Apostles, encouraged by the Lord, *Watch and pray so that you*

²²¹⁶ VCol I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 21-p. 169, l. 3; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 115.

²²¹⁷ On the conflict around Agrestius, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris*'; Dumézil, Bruno, 'L'affaire Agrestius de Luxeuil: hérésie et régionalisme dans la Bourgogne du VII^e siècle', in: *Médiévales* 52 (2007), pp. 135-152; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Colomban, Agrestius et le schism d'Aquilée', in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélie Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 227-237.

may not enter into temptation. (Matth. 26, 41) The Apostle too asks us to pray unceasingly, and every section of sacred Scripture commands us to cry out, for he who neglects to cry out, disregarded and cut off is cast aside from the members of Christ. For nothing is so useful and so beneficial than to beseech the Creator with a multiplication of petitions and in the repetition of prayers.]²²¹⁸

De accedendo is, as we can conclude, closely related to both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. It is likely that it was, at some point, the final part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I will now show that the text could indeed be read as the theological core of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* or – even more broadly spoken – of Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic program.

Chapter 8: *Prompto corde orandum*: the theological program of *De accedendo*

The title, *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*, is at first sight misleading. The key term *orare* (to pray) returns only the last section of *De accedendo* (19-27). We could make a similar observation in the chapter on love of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 5). Despite the title *De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*, the theme obedience seems not to be addressed at all in the chapter itself and the term *oboedientia* appears exclusively in the title. Jonas conveys in the chapter on love that *amor*, *dilectio*, *pietas* and *caritas* do in fact replace what other texts (particularly the *Regula Benedicti*) propagate as *oboedientia*. A similar re-assessment takes place in *De accedendo*. Instead of organizing prayer and developing a program of liturgical discipline, the chapter focuses on the framework of prayer and the conditions that make it effectful rather than prayer itself.

The author develops his argument on the basis of a sequence of biblical quotations (as he does in chapters 5, 6, 22, and 23). In order to understand how it relates to ideas developed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – we need to analyze the text step by step. *De accedendo ad Deum* begins with as follows:

¹ Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur, ² Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur.* (Ps. 33/34, 6)

²²¹⁸ VCo/ II, c. 9, pp. 250-251; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 198.

[¹ We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search [and] how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer, ² admonished by the Prophet who says: *Approach the Lord and be enlightened and your faces will not be confused.*]

This opening sentence poses a grammatical problem which needs to be addressed first. Translated literally, we learn from the Prophet how much *intentio* and *studium* we must investigate how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion. This would be a lot of attention and zeal for a rather modest learning goal. Later in this chapter both *intentio* and *studium* serve much higher goals, namely reaching God's ear, praying wisely, approaching the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia*), and inciting divine mercy.²²¹⁹ Therefore I suggest to detach *inquirendum sit* from *qualiter* and to assume that *qualiter* is not subordinated to *quanta*. If we read the construction as asyndeton and insert the word *et* before *qualiter*, this opening statement would make much more sense: we need to both search *and* direct ourselves.²²²⁰

The choice of words in this section also deserves our attention. The expressions *intentio*, *studium*, and *tendere* return later in the *De accedendo*. *Intentio* or *intentus* appear all in all four times and belong to the key terms of this text. One of the main themes of *De accedendo* is the necessity to perform prayer and work, *opus* and *oratio*, with the greatest possible determination. Nothing can be achieved without great exertion, *sine grande labore*, as the text states later.²²²¹ The same imperative of intensity and unceasing concern with motivation is, as I already have discussed, a central theme in Jonas' program, so it is no wonder that *intentio/intentus* and *studium* can also be found several times at prominent places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and no less than 26 times in the *Vita Columbani*.²²²²

²²¹⁹ *De accedendo* 6; 21; 23; 26.

²²²⁰ I owe this suggestion to Matthieu van der Meer.

²²²¹ *De accedendo* 8.

²²²² *RcuiV*, c. 2.14: *intenta cura*; c. 8.2: *mens intenta*; c. 9.11: *intento animo*; c. 12.2: *operi detur intentio*; c. 14.2: *anima uigore creatis intenta praeconiis peruigil maneat*; c. 2.25: *ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem*; c. 6.18: *cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur*; c. 13.4: *cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent*; c. 15.8: *summo adhibeatur studio*; c. 19.3: *Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum*; c. 23.9: *ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio*. The expressions *intentus* and *intentio* appear once in the *Regula Benedicti*. The term *studium* (in the sense of zeal) does not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, but twelve times in the *Vita Columbani*.

De accedendo shares with both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' saints' lives another key expression, *cultus religionis* (practice of piety).²²²³ All three texts use this phrase as an all-encompassing term for monastic practice, which, as we finally learn here, includes both *opus* and *oratio*. Zealous prayer alone does, as we will read later in this chapter, not suffice. *De accedendo* will explain how *opus* and *oratio* need to be tied together.

The author's choice of Ps. 33/34, 6 as evidence for the truth of his admonition is peculiar. Why do we, as we approach God, search "to be enlightened" (or maybe: "to gain insight" or "to see God's light") and to overcome confusion, rather than simply achieving salvation or forgiveness for our sins? Jonas explains this later in his text.

De accedendo continues:

³ Accedendum semper est, ut accessum sequatur inluminatio. ⁴ Si non accedimus, non inluminamur; ⁵ si accedimus et inluminamur et cum eodem dicere possimus: *Inquisiui Dominum et exaudiuit me.* (Ps. 33/34, 5)

³ One has always to approach so that enlightenment follows approach. ⁴ If we do not approach, we are not enlightened; ⁵ if we approach we are both enlightened and we can say with the same (Prophet): *I have searched for the Lord and he has listened to me.*

One of the key words in this sequence is *semper* (always). This activity of approaching God and gaining insight needs to be performed constantly because otherwise it does not lead to *illuminatio*. The author of *De accedendo* repeats this no less than five times throughout the text²²²⁴ – and the notion of unceasing activity and never released tension runs as well through the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – most obviously in the requirement to confess three times a day.²²²⁵

The author toils a bit more on the notion of *illuminatio* and uses again the term *inquirere*, which rather carries the notion of "seeking knowledge" instead of "praying", "asking" or "requesting". This fits well with the objective of *illuminatio*. What we want to achieve is still a

²²²³ *RcuiV*, c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat, ut ad cultum religionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat; c. 24.5 (on children): ad cultum instruuntur religionis.* See also *VCol I*, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; *I*, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20; *II*, c. 11, p. 259, l. 15-16; *II*, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; *II*, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18; *Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17.

²²²⁴ *De accedendo* 8: *hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus...* 14: *semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet...*; 19: *Ea ergo semper lingua proferat...* 23: *sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata...*; 27: *Orandus ergo semper est...*

²²²⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.2: *Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatur rudem semper custodiat.* The expression *semper* appears in the context of monastic activities no less than 19 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

rather modest goal: that God listens to us and hearkens to our seeking (*exaudiuit me*).²²²⁶ Jonas goes on:

⁶ Inquirendo etenim et omni intentione petendo exauditur, qui se exterius a saeculi desideriiis atterit et interius cum omni cordis contritione per ardorem conpunctionis pollet.

⁶ For he, who externally deprives himself of the desires for the world and internally abounds with all contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse, is hearkened through searching and asking with all intention.

Now the author defines the conditions on which God deigns to listen to us and what it means to ask *omni intentione*: not to have one's *intentio* (maybe also understood as “concentration”) led astray through desires for the world and to be strong in contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse. In other words, we need to detach ourselves from the world and be aware of and saddened by our sinfulness.²²²⁷ The author will return to both these conditions in the second half of the text.²²²⁸ The monastery, at least as it is pictured in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, offers both: the permanent retirement from the world and a permanent confrontation with one's sinfulness through continuous opportunities for remorse.²²²⁹ Now follows the key statement of *De accedendo*:

⁷ Petite, inquit, et dabitur uobis. (Matth. 7, 7) ⁸ Si omnis qui petit accipit, (Matth. 7, 8) cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium, quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, ⁹ cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum opere implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae praesidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest?

[⁷ Ask, he says, and it will be given to you. (Matth. 7, 7) ⁸ If everyone who asks receives (Matth. 7, 8), why should we, while the listlessness of the flesh is hindering [us] and the weight of our misdeeds is blocking us, not demand daily in order that we may possess the following in eternity: namely the reward (*praemium*) of a blessed life and the everlasting

²²²⁶ See also *De accedendo* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat.* VCol I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 7-8: *exaudit uota petentis...*

²²²⁷ *De accedendo* uses both *compunctio* and *contritio cordis*, which have roughly the same meaning. *Compunctio* derives from the *Regula Benedicti*, c. 20.3, SC 182, p. 536. *Contritio cordis* appears three times in the *RcuiV*. Similar pleonasm and redundancies can be found at numerous occasions in the *RcuiV*.

²²²⁸ *De accedendo* 24.

²²²⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 3.1-3; c. 5.6; c. 17.4; c. 17.8; c. 23.5 on cutting all ties with the world and worldly desires. On pain and contrition about one's sinfulness: c. 5.6; c. 12.5; c. 19.8; and esp. c. 6.26-27: *Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, ²⁷ meminentes illud: Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.* (Ps. 50/51, 19) The concept of *contritio* or *contritio cordis* is absent in the *Regula Benedicti*.

support (*suffragium*) of the eternal gift, which cannot be acquired without great effort? 9 [Why shouldn't we demand this] when (support) is at first implanted into the untried mind through desire and teaching and afterwards consecrated by fulfilling the work, but cannot be achieved without the protection and help of the ineffable and incomprehensible mercy of the Almighty God?]

Here the author gives a very complicated answer to a simple but crucial question: what is the process by which we receive what we are asking for? The fact *that* we receive is, following Matth. 7, 7-8, not a matter of discussion, but taken for granted. What the author of *De accedendo* presents, in a rather convoluted rhetorical question, is an explanation of *how* our own contribution and agency is intertwined with what God gives us. He makes, in fact, an attempt to resolve the question of how grace and free will are related to each other, while, maybe consciously, avoiding the use of these heavily loaded terms.

At first sight the author now leaves the shy notions of *accedere* (to approach) and *inquirere* (to ask) behind and turns, encouraged by the security of its immediate effect,²²³⁰ to more explicit terms, i.e. *petere* (to beg) and, even stronger, *poscere* (to demand).²²³¹ Further on, the author uses in the same vein *pulsare* (to knock),²²³² *prouocare* (to provoke) and *excitare* (to arouse). In the respective passages of the *Vita Columbani* quoted in the previous chapter we find a similar sequence: *postulare* (to demand) – *impetrare* (to beseech) – *petere*; *pulsare* – *excitare*.²²³³ At the same time, the initial tentative search for *illuminatio* turns into demanding the *beatae uitae praemium* (the reward of a blessed life), the jackpot of eternal salvation.²²³⁴

If we ask for it, we get it, but *only* if we ask for it in the right way by overcoming the listlessness of the flesh and undoing ourselves from the weight of our crimes, which we do, as we also know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, through confession, contrition of the heart

²²³⁰ *RcuiV*, c. 5.19-21 proposes the analogous form of exchange: *Date, inquit, et dabitur uobis. (Luc. 6, 38) 20 O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse, 21 si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur!*

²²³¹ On *poscere*: *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.4, SC 181, p. 414; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 23: *Nec defuit fideliter poscenti salus diu dilata.*

²²³² *Vloh*, c. 7, p. 333, l. 15-16 combines *pulsare* and *poscere*: *...oratione innexus, Dominum pulsando deposcit.*

²²³³ *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 21-p. 169, l. 3; II, c. 9, pp. 250-251. See p. \$.

²²³⁴ On *praemium*, see especially *RcuiV*, c. 5.11: *Si soror sororem diligat sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet; VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1-2: *aeterna praemia caperent; II*, c. 14, p. 264, l. 18: *lucra caperet uitae aeternae; Vloh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25-26: *et eterne uite premia capere.* See also *RcuiV*, c. 1.19 (*praemium*); c. 1.18; c. 3.6; c. 9.19 (*lucrum*); c. 1.18; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 4.21; c. 12.23; c. 13.5 (*merces*); c. 1.5; c. 2.15; c. 6.17; c. 9.4; c. 9.20; c. 12.2; c. 12.23 (*fructus*).

and penance.²²³⁵ Yet, in order to petition in a correct and effective way, we cannot simply ask for the *praemium*, but we need also ask for the *perenne suffragium aeterni muneris* (the everlasting support of the eternal gift). *Suffragium* is, thus, God's ultimate gift, which, of course, is effective only if we ask for it and use it. God does not give eternal life directly, but he does provide support that helps us to overcome the obstacle of our *mola facinorum* (the weight of our misdeeds).

This *suffragium*, which remains the object of the entire rest of the sentence, cannot be obtained without great effort (*sine grande labore*). It is already there, and one could see it as a manifestation of divine grace. It is beautifully and clearly defined as *desiderium* and *doctrina*, that is: desire (or will) and teaching, which are in the beginning – *primum* – instilled in our unknowing mind, but then need to be implemented (or, as the author says, consecrated) by fulfilling our work.

Placing (God-given) *desiderium* and *doctrina* at the beginning of the human capacity to approach God through prayer might be one of the most original contributions to the question of how grace and human will relate to each other. Both terms play a key role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which primarily aims at channeling *desiderium* into the right direction²²³⁶ and at transmitting *doctrina* through the abbess.²²³⁷

²²³⁵ *RcuiV*, c. 6.6: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo.*

²²³⁶ *RcuiV*, c. 1.6 (on the abbess): *Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta, et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desiderii imitabilis exemplo*; c. 3.1-3 (on the porter): *...si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderant, sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* (Ps. 72/73, 28)³ *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderant quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?*; c. 9.6: *Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?* c. 14.7-8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria*; c. 17.3-4: *Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo, quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo? The concern about worldly desideria is also expressed in De accedendo 6 and 22. VCol I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 11-14: *Confessus igitur uenerabili patri Commogello cordis ardorem et ignitum igne Domini desiderium, de quo igne Dominus in euangelio loquitur: Ignem ueni mittere in terram; quam uolo, ut ardeat...* (Luke 12, 49); II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 14-17: *Quae cum diu regularis disciplinae abenis confecta immobilis desiderio caelestia praemia desideraret, euenit, ut iustus arbiter iustam animam iustitiae copia plenam caelos condere uellet.**

²²³⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.3-5: *Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur, quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant. Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum*; c. 24.4-5: *Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, sed semper ab eis disciplinae retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis.* On the use of *doctrina*, see also VCol I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 4-6; I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 10-12; II, c. 26, p. 210, l. 11-15; I, c. 27, p. 214, l. 7-12; II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 22-p. 249, l. 2.

Desire and teaching, which is instilled into our *mens incognita* (untried mind), sets a process in motion that helps us to remove from the weight of our sins and allows us to ask for more *suffragium*, *illuminatio*, and eventually the *praemium beatae uitae*. This circular motion of using *suffragium* in order to ask for *suffragium* finds a neat analogy in the circular cleaning of one's mind from one's sins through confession and intercessory prayer as it is described in Jonas' chapter on confession. In both cases we find the term *cotidie*.²²³⁸ It must never stop but needs to be kept in motion every day.

Eventually, this process, which requires all of our will and effort, still depends on the *praesidium* and *adiutorium* (support and help)²²³⁹ that God provides through his mercy (*clementia*, *misericordia*, *miseratio*).²²⁴⁰ We have to do it ourselves and we have to want it ourselves with all our zeal and effort, but we still can't do it without God's unceasing help and mercy.²²⁴¹

The author connects a variety of forms of *accedere ad Deum* (approaching God) – *inquirere*, *petere*, *poscere*, *pulsare*, *orare*, *excitare* – with an even broader variety of what we could call gifts of grace that manifest themselves at different stages of this movement towards God: *clementia*, *miseratio*, *misericordia* (which manifests itself in God making the first step), *desiderium* (which gets us moving), *doctrina* and *illuminatio* (which makes us moving into the right direction), *suffragium* and *adiutorium* (which keeps us moving), *praesidium* (which protects us from moving into the wrong direction), and *praemium beatae uitae* (the ultimate goal of our movement). Later on, the author adds to this list *consilium* (which keeps us on track) *medicina* (which brings us back on track), *incrementum* (which moves us to the next level), and *salus* (again, the ultimate goal). As we could expect by now, almost all these gifts (*munera*) are addressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well.

Now Jonas provides biblical evidence:

²²³⁸ *RcuiV*, c. 6.2.

²²³⁹ *RcuiV*, c. 1.19 (on the abbes): *...ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiiis prebuit supplementum.* c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.* c. 12.25: *orantes in oratione dicant: Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram* (Ps. 123/124, 8, LXX); c. 14.15: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, LXX)

²²⁴⁰ See also *De accedendo* 14; 15; 17; 24; 26. All three terms appear several times in the *RcuiV* and in the *Vita Columbani*. *Clementia* and *miseratio* are absent in the *Regula Benedicti*; *misericordia* (as *misericordia Dei*) appears twice.

²²⁴¹ Emphasis on dependence on grace, for example, *VCol* I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 21-23: *ad boni cultus operis Christo duce, sine quo nihil boni agitur adspiraret.* I, c. 7, p. 166, l. 9-10: *diuino fultus auxilio.*

¹⁰ Quamuis iuxta Apostolum alius riget, *alius plantet, Deus autem incrementum dat.* (cfr I Cor. 3, 7) ¹¹ Sic Salomon testatur dicens: *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* (cfr Prov. 16, 1/9) ¹² Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur.

¹⁰ Although, according to the Apostle, *the one waters, the other plants, it is still God who gives the growth.* ¹¹ Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart and the Lord's task to give counsel.* ¹² Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if the access to the stubborn mind is not denied.

If we take these two biblical references out of their specific context, we could come to the conclusion that the author gives primacy to human agency, which causes God's response. The preceding sentence, however, makes clear that God only interferes with a process he had already set in motion himself. The second reference, *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium*, is, even though the author ascribes it to Salomon, a paraphrase suiting its specific context rather than an accurate quotation.²²⁴² It is a loose hybrid of Prov. 16, 1 (*Hominis est animum praeparare, et Domini est responsio linguae*) and 16, 9 (*Cor hominis disponit uiam suam, sed Domini est dirigere gressus eius*).²²⁴³ Making the preparation of one's heart a human responsibility refers back to the title of the work, *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*. The author refers to the prepared heart four more times in this text: Our heart needs to "reflect on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator."²²⁴⁴ Justice will be extended to those "who are rightful in the heart."²²⁴⁵ The contrition of the heart "arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator towards itself," and the purity of the heart makes God listen to us.²²⁴⁶

Both the notion of preparing one's heart for prayer and reaching God through the contrition of the heart are addressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* no less than fourteen times, which makes the heart (along with the mind, *mens*) the primary object of monastic discipline. If we have to work on our heart, the monastery is the place to do it.²²⁴⁷ God's part of

²²⁴² Prov. 16, 1: *Hominis est animum praeparare, et Domini est responsio linguae.* Prov. 16, 9: *Cor hominis disponit uiam suam, sed Domini est dirigere gressus eius.*

²²⁴³ Identified by Veronika Zimmerl-Panagl, CSEL 98, p. 239.

²²⁴⁴ *De accedendo* 15: *cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem...prouocet.*

²²⁴⁵ *De accedendo* 18: *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.*

²²⁴⁶ *De accedendo* 24-25: *Sic cordis conpunctione flagret, qualiter in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat.*

²²⁴⁷ *RcuiV*, c. 1.7 (on the abbess): *Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda.* c. 1.12: *In utroque etenim abbatissae cauendum est, ne aut nimia bonitate in subiectarum cordibus uitia nutriat;* c. 2.12 (on the prioress): *Debet namque esse omnium necessitatum tam corporis quam animae prouida, ut et subsidia*

the exchange, *consilium*, can be tied back to the terms *illuminatio*, *doctrina*, *suffragium*, *adiutorium*, and *scientia*. God provides us with the necessary knowledge and skills, but only if we overcome the stubbornness of our mind and grant him access.²²⁴⁸

Up to this point in the text, I have not been able to trace any other intertextual references apart from the *Regula cuiusdam* and Jonas' saints' Lives, but it is possible that the author of *De accedendo* is here inspired by John Cassian's famous thirteenth *Collatio* on *De protectione Dei* (On God's protection). This work was attacked by his contemporaries for showing Pelagianist tendencies. Early modern scholars coined for Cassian's work the verdict of "semi-Pelagianism," largely because of the thirteenth *Collatio*.²²⁴⁹ After having dutifully emphasized the full dependence on God's grace, Cassian discussed here the interconnectedness of divine *gratia* and human *uoluntas* in a way that *could* be read as giving *uoluntas* the primacy.

presentis necessitatis porrigat, et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat. c. 3.1-2: Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent, que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, quibus mundus..., si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderant, 2 sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam. (Ps. 72/73, 28) c. 4.19-20 (on the cellararia): Et si non habeat, quod ab ea quaeritur, quod tribuat, sermone leni sine ulla asperitate in responsione procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat, 20 iuxta quod scriptum est: Fauum mellis sermones boni. (Ioh. 12, 26) c. 5.12: Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum. c. 6.12: Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscaturum rudem semper custodiat, 3 sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit. c. 6.26-27: Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, 27 meminentes illud: Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit. (Ps. 50/51, 19) c. 9.2-3: Tacendum namque est ab otiosis et friuolis et scurrilibus et prauis et malitiosis fabulis, 3 de quibus Propheta orabat, dicens: Pone Domine custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala. (Ps. 140/141, 3-4, LXX) c. 9.10-11: Ad mensam uero nulla penitus praeter abbatissam uel cui abbatissa praeceperit pro communi necessitate sororum loqui praesumat, 11 sed omnes intento animo gratias reddentes creatori in cordibus suis, cibi ac potus solidae mensurae largitione fruuntur. c. 12.14-15 (on penitents): Similiter ad caput sororum lauandum per singula sabbata uel balnearum usus per festas sollempnitates praeparent, 15 ut si sunt alia extrema facienda, penitentes faciant, ut dum mente humili et contrito corde haec propter timorem Domini faciunt, ab omnipotentis Dei misericordia celerius a suis delictis lauentur. c. 14.1-4: Cum semper relegosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, 2 ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiiis peruigil maneat, 3 iuxta illud: Ego enim dormio et cor meum uigilat, 4 tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternas sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis. c. 18.8: ...usque dum satisfactione humili cum cordis contritione ab abbatissa uel a senioribus ueniam mereatur. c. 23.7-8: Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, 8 ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.

²²⁴⁸ In *Rcuiv*, c. 2.9-10 the notion of *consilium* appears on a more mundane level, using the story of king Roboam to emphasize the necessity of holding *consilium* with one's seniors.

²²⁴⁹ Rousseau, Philip, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, 2nd ed., Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2010, pp. 231-234. For a defense of Cassian's orthodoxy, see Casiday, Augustine, 'Cassian against the Pelagians', in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 7-23; Ramsey, Boniface, 'John Cassian and Augustine', in: Alexaner Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casidy (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 114-130.

De accedendo shares with Cassian the notion of sinfulness as a form of resistance against God.²²⁵⁰ Both use I Cor. 3, 7 on God giving growth to what man has sewn and planted.²²⁵¹ Cassian did, however, not link his argument about the narrow gearing of *gratia* and *uoluntas* with the notion of preparing one's heart to be able to pray. If Jonas indeed used Cassian's ideas – and we know for sure that he knew Cassian's work and drew on it²²⁵² – he clearly went beyond Cassian's ideas by diversifying the manifestations of grace and assigning prayer a central role.

Boniface Ramsey comments in the introduction to his translation of the thirteenth Conference: “But his analysis of the working of the two leaves something to be desired because he simply juxtaposes them without seeking to explain their interaction in any significant way. In other words, Cassian does not explore the influence of grace upon the will; he merely says that such influence exists.”²²⁵³ Maybe *De accedendo* tried to fill this gap. The text continues:

13 Sic per Apocalipsin dicitur: *Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* (Rev. 3, 20) 14 Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus, 15 ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet. 16 In qua quis cum uenerit, *inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* 17 *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* 18 *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.* (Ps. 35/36, 9-11)

²²⁵⁰ Cassian, *Collatio* XIII, c. 3.6, SC 54, p. 151; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1997, p. 469: “But it is up to us to conform humbly to the grace of God that daily draws us on. Otherwise, if we resist it with a stiff neck and uncircumcised ears, as it is written, we shall deserve to hear what Jeremiah says: “Shall the one who falls not rise again, and the one who has turned away not turn back? Why, then, has this people in Jerusalem turned away with a contentious turning? They have stiffened their necks, they have not wished to return.” (Jerem. 8, 4-5)”; *Collatio* XIII, c. 9.1, SC 54, pp. 158-159; transl. Ramsey, p. 474: “Hence human reason does not easily discern how the Lord gives to those who ask, is found by those who seek, and opens to those who knock, and on the other hand how he is found by those who do not seek, appears openly among these who were not asking for him, and stretches out his hands the whole day to a people who do not believe in him and who gainsay him, calls those who resist and are far away, draws the unwilling to salvation, removes from those who want to sin the means of fulfilling their desire, and graciously hinders those who are hastening on to what is evil.”

²²⁵¹ Cassian, *Collatio* XIII, c. 12.7, SC 54, p. 166; transl. Ramsey, p. 480: “It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the seeds of virtue exist in every soul, having been placed there by the kindness of the Creator. But unless they have been germinated by the help of God they will not be able to increase in perfection, because, according to the blessed Apostle, ‘neither is the one who plants anything, nor the one who waters, but God who gives the increase.’”

²²⁵² *Vloh*, c. 18, pp. 341-342, refers explicitly to Abbot Isaak, the speaker of the ninth *Collatio*, and paraphrases c. 3.1, SC 54, pp. 41-42; *RcuiV*, c. 22.1-9 refers to the *Instituta patrum* and then paraphrases *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, SC 109, p. 498. None of these sections address the matter of grace and free will. See also Diem, ‘The rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk’, pp. 38-44.

²²⁵³ Cassian, *Conferences*; transl. Ramsey, p. 460 (Ramsey's introduction to *Collatio* 13).

[¹³ In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I will have meal with him and He with me.* (Rev. 3, 20) ¹⁴ Whenever we stand (in front of the gate) we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy, ¹⁵ in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosures of the mind and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – (the mercy) which comes to the meal and leads us to his (meal). ¹⁶ When someone comes to this (meal), *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* ¹⁷ *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* ¹⁸ *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.* (Ps. 35/36, 9-11)]

The author adds two more biblical words which frame the argument he made so far with the appealing image of a festive meal. The first quotation, Rev. 3, 20, re-emphasizes the reciprocity of the process of approaching God. It is not only about us knocking at the door and asking to be allowed to enter, but it is also about inviting God into us and receiving him. We have to be prepared both in body and in mind for the *opus seruitutis diuinae miserationis*, the work of service for divine *miseratio* (mercy), that makes us capable to receive him and provoke his *miseriordia* (mercy).

Psalm 35/36, 9-11 provides a beautifully poetic summary of everything said before, emphasizing both God's initial agency, his ongoing involvement but also the conditions we have to fulfill in order to get "intoxicated by the richness of His house": it is the "stream of *his* will", which refreshes; with *him* is the source of life, *he* provides the light we need for illumination and *he* gives mercy – but only to those who have acquired knowledge about him (*scientes de se*) and who have cleansed their heart. The *scientia* we have gained through *doctrina, illuminatio, suffragium, consilium* also appears in numerous contexts in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, particularly as the *scientia* of the abbess that enables her to provide her nuns with good guidance and, in particular, to apply effective punishment.²²⁵⁴

²²⁵⁴ *RcuiV*, c. 1.11: *Sit ergo bonis bona per meritum, sit malis mala per flagellum, quod mediante scientia agendum est; c. 10.1-2: Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobriaetate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum, 2 ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes. c. 19.1: Excommunicationis mensura qualis esse debeat, iustum scientibus librare iudicium culpae modus ostendit. 20.2-4: Quod si sic emendare noluerit, sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata, opera uel actus de quibus corrigitur, defenderit, 3 tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est. (Sap. 3, 11) 4 Moderante ergo scientia saniae medendi cura adhibeatur.*

De accedendo 19-27: a response to the *Regula Benedicti*

The words from Ps. 35/36, 9-11 complete the long, dense and – at least in my view – beautiful introduction on what *prompto corde orandum* actually entails. Yet it seems that the practice of prayer itself disappeared while the author described the many aspects of preparatory work that makes our heart prompt (*prompto corde*) and the various ways God could interfere with this process. The remainder of *De accedendo* implements the ideas that have been developed so far and turns more closely to the practice of prayer itself. The two chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* in liturgical discipline (c. 19-20) form a sub-text of this section. The author rephrases, modifies, and explains Benedict on the basis of the notion of preparing one's heart that he had developed so far.

This shift from reflection towards implementation is marked by a sequence of sentences beginning with expressions such as *Ea ergo semper...Sic ergo...Sapienter etenim...Sic ergo...sed semper...Sic cordis...non enim*. Since the first part of *De accedendo* provided the ground work, it is no wonder that most of the key expressions that have been used so far, return in this section: *opus, studium, intentus, paratus, desiderium, puritas, aeterna praemia, tendere, compunctio cordis, misericordia, clementia, excitare, lacrimae, exaudiri, promptus, intentio mentis*.

In their original context, chapter 19 and 20 of the *Regula Benedicti* conclude the rule's liturgical program with a reflection on liturgical discipline.²²⁵⁵ Since every alteration that the author of *De accedendo* inflicted on Benedict's text marks a conscious decision, we first need to provide an outline of the ideas expressed in the *Regula Benedicti* itself:

XIX. De disciplina psallendi

¹ Ubique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et *oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos*, (Prov. 15, 3) ² maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum ad opus diuinum assistimus. ³ Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: *Seruite Domino in timore*, (Ps. 2, 11) ⁴ et iterum: *Psallite sapienter*, (Ps. 46/47, 8) ⁵ et: *In*

Chapter 19. Discipline in Psalm-singing

¹ We believe the divine presence is everywhere and *the eyes of the Lord observe the good and the wicked in every place*. ² Let us believe this most of all, without a trace of doubt, when we are present at the divine office. ³ Therefore let us always remember what the prophet says: *Serve the Lord in fear* (Ps. 2, 11)⁴ and again, *Sing Psalms sagely*, (Ps.

²²⁵⁵ The liturgical program of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 8-18) was probably not applied in Columbanus' foundations. On liturgy in monasteries founded by Columbanus or under his Rule, see esp. Muschiol, *Famula Dei*.

conspectu angelorum psallam tibi. (Ps. 137/138, 1) ⁶ Ergo consideremus qualiter oporteat in conspectu diuinitatis et angelorum eius esse, ⁷ et sic stemus ad psallendum ut mens nostra concordet uoci nostrae.

XX. De reuerentia orationis

¹ Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, ² quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni humilitate et puritatis deuotione supplicandum est. ³ Et non in multiloquio, sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrimarum nos exaudiri sciamus. ⁴ Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura oratio, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur. ⁵ In conuentu tamen omnino breuietur oratio, et facto signo a priore omnes pariter surgant.

46/47, 8) ⁵ and *I will sing to you in the sight of the angels.* (Ps. 137/138, 1) ⁶ So let us consider how we ought to behave in the sight of the divinity and his angels, ⁷ and stand to sing Psalms in such a way that our mind and our voice are in harmony.

Chapter 20. Reverence in prayer

¹ If, when we want to propose something to powerful men, we do not presume to do so except with humility and reverence, ² how much more should we petition the Lord God of all things with all humility and pure devotion. ³ Let us know that we will be heard not in loquacity but in purity of heart and tearful compunction. ⁴ Therefore, prayer should be brief and pure, unless by chance it is prolonged by the inspiration of divine grace. ⁵ In community, however, prayer should absolutely be short and at the prior's sign, all should rise together.²²⁵⁶

Benedict draws a distinction between *psallere* (the main topic of chapter 19) and *orare* (addressed in chapter 20). *Psallere*, the singing of the Psalms in the context of the liturgical Hours, is for Benedict a matter of *disciplina*; *orare* is a matter of *reuerentia*, thus of the correct attitude. Chapter 19 starts on the premise that we are under a constant divine surveillance and that we should be aware of this especially (*maxime tamen*) in the moment of liturgical Hours, the *opus diuinum* (divine work) or, as he calls it otherwise, the *opus Dei* (work of God). When singing the Psalms, we must make sure that our mind and our voice are in harmony.

We find similar reminders of alertness and concentration and condemnation of sleep and *uagatio mentis* (wandering of the mind) in numerous other monastic rules. Benedict of Aniane lists no less than sixteen chapters from rules and patristic texts that address various aspects of discipline of prayer.²²⁵⁷ Neither chapter 19 itself nor the supporting texts that Benedict of Aniane provided in his *Concordia Regularum* nor Hildemar of Corbie's *Expositio Regulae Sancti*

²²⁵⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 19-20, SC 182, pp. 534-538; transl. Venarde, pp. 91-93 (slightly revised).

²²⁵⁷ Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, c. 25, CCCM 168A, pp. 192-206 provides 17 quotations from rules and patristic texts addressing this topic. Almost all of them emphasize concentration and fighting *uagatio mentis* and sleep.

Benedicti state that the requirement *ut mens nostra concordet uoci nostrae* (that our mind and our voice are in harmony) has an ethical implication reaching beyond the moment of prayer itself, i.e. that only a *mens* that is previously prepared through good work can be in harmony with the singing voice.²²⁵⁸ Among modern commentators to the *Regula Benedicti* only Michaela Puzicha argues that chapter 19 has implications for a monastic discipline that do not only pertain to the liturgical Hours themselves.²²⁵⁹ I emphasize this because the re-interpretation of chapter 19 in *De accedendo* makes exactly this point.

Chapter 20 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which moves from singing the Psalms to *oratio*, constructs the prerequisite of *reuerentia* in prayer in analogy to approaching worldly *potentes*, which requires both humility and reverence. For approaching God, we not only need *reuerentia* but also the devotion of (or to?) purity (*deuotio puritatis*), which Benedict then specifies as purity of the heart (*puritas cordis*, a term borrowed from John Cassian)²²⁶⁰ and the remorse of tears (*compunctio lacrimarum*). These qualities, and not verbosity, ensure that God listens to us.

The last two sentences of chapter 20 indicate that Benedict's reflections on prayer address in the first place the particular moment of silent prayer that forms part of the liturgy of the hours: a silent prayer that should not be too long and that comes to completion through a sign of the prior. Jonas did not use this passage in *De accedendo*. If we look at the entire *Regula Benedicti* we can, however, conclude that Benedict had a much broader notion of *oratio* and that what he says about the short silent prayer that forms part of the liturgy also applies to prayer in general. *Oratio* refers in Benedict's Rule to all forms of liturgical activity (including *psallere*),²²⁶¹ in particular to the Lord's Prayer,²²⁶² and to private prayer within and outside the liturgical Hours.²²⁶³ Any form of prayer is a way of asking God for something and expecting a

²²⁵⁸ See Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 19, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 314-315 (with a translation by Kristina Hosoe on www.hildemar.org). See also Kardong, Terrence G., *Benedict's Rule. A Translation and Commentary*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996, pp. 203-206; De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Die Regula Benedicti. Theologisch-Spiritueller Kommentar*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag 1983, pp. 165-179.

²²⁵⁹ Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel. Im Auftrag der Salzburger Äbtekonzferenz*, St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag 2002, pp. 226-232, esp. p. 226: "Das Chorgebet ist kein gesonderter Teil der Existenz, sondern eingebunden in den Gesamtzusammenhang des monastischen Lebens der Gemeinschaft."

²²⁶⁰ Von Nagel, Demetrias, 'Puritas cordis – Reinheit des Herzens. Sinn und Ziel einer Mönchsübung nach den Schriften des Johannes Cassian', in: Günter Stachel (ed.), *Munen muso. Ungegenständliche Meditation. Festschrift für Hugo M. Enomiya-Lasalle zum 80. Geburtstag*, Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag 1978, pp. 127-155.

²²⁶¹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 17.5, SC 182, p. 526.

²²⁶² *Regula Benedicti*, c. 13.12-14, p. 520 and c. 17.7, pp. 526-528.

²²⁶³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.56, SC 181, p. 460; c. 49.4-5, SC 182, p. 606; c. 52.3-4, p. 610.

return. We would not pray unless it is for a specific goal, be it forgiveness for our own sins or someone else's or our enemy's sins,²²⁶⁴ perseverance²²⁶⁵ or protection of fellow monks in special situations: those on a journey, doing kitchen service or the weekly reading.²²⁶⁶ Prayer seems to be a strictly utilitarian activity – and in this the author of *De accedendo* agrees with Benedict.

After this outline we have to see how the author of *De accedendo* responds to the *Regula Benedicti* by making Benedict's words part of a much larger argument.

¹⁹ Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: *Seruite*, inquit, *Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.* (Ps. 2, 11)

[¹⁹ Therefore let the tongue bring these things forth in order that it pleases the Creator along with serving work, according to this message of the Psalmist: *Serve*, he says, *the Lord in fear and praise him with trembling.* (Ps. 2, 11)]

Jonas expands and completes the biblical quotation he found in the *Regula Benedicti*. He establishes two different activities that should both be guided by fear: *seruire* (to serve) and *exultare* (to praise). This is in line with the initial requirement to “direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer” (*tam operibus quam oratione*). At this point the *Regula Benedicti* and *De accedendo* part ways. Instead of defining the liturgical Hours as a moment of higher standards that requires special alertness (Benedict uses *maxime tamen*), the author of *De accedendo* emphasizes that *opus* serves the prayer (or, as he says, the tongue) and therefore needs to be performed with just as much anxiety as the prayer itself.

In the next section Jonas explains (*sic ergo...etenim...sic ergo*) what he means with that:

²⁰ Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: *psallite sapienter.* (Ps. 46/47, 8) ²¹ Sapienter etenim quisque psallit, qui uoci laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et qualiter oporteat potentiae diuinae famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. ²² Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio, ²³ sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata humilitate et puritate ac promptissima deuotione ornata ad aeterna praemia tendat.

²⁰ The Creator is served in fear in such a way if good work is tied to the voice of praise, as it is said elsewhere by the Psalmist: *sing the Psalms wisely.* (Ps. 46/47, 8) ²¹ For everyone sings the Psalms wisely who does not contradict the praising voice through

²²⁶⁴ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.57, SC 181, p. 460; c. 4.72, p. 462; c. 13.12-14, SC 182, p. 520; c. 18.4, pp. 528-530.

²²⁶⁵ *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.4, SC 181, pp. 436-438.

²²⁶⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.15, SC 182, p. 568; c. 38.2, p. 574; c. 67.1-2, p. 622.

harmful works and who, as much as it behooves, continues with all zeal to serve the divine power with solicitous concern for religious practice. ²² Let therefore our mind enter (the gate) so dedicated to singing Psalms, so ready for prayer that it, not shackled by any obstacle of worldly desire, is not darkened by any fault of the world, ²³ but that it strives for eternal reward, always dedicated and elevated in the heavens by humility and purity and adorned with most eager devotion.

For Benedict, singing the Psalms wisely meant to ensure that the mind is in harmony with the voice. For Jonas, it means that the *opus bonum* (the good work) is aligned with the voice. Subsequently he explains what this *opus bonum* entails and how precisely one has to prepare one's mind for prayer. We already know most of these activities from the first part of *De accedendo*. They comprise (1) avoiding harmful acts (*noxa opera*), (2) assiduous concern for religious practice (*sollicita religionis cura*), (3) not being hindered by desire for the world (*nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo*), (4) not being “darkened” by worldly vice (*nullo temporis fuscetur uitio*) and (5) striving for the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia tendat*).

This is what constitutes the *humilitas*, *puritas*, and *deuotio* that Benedict had mentioned in chapter 20 of his Rule. It is striking that almost all words and expressions the author used for his revision of the *Regula Benedicti* belong to the semantic repertoire of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *noxa*, *famulari*; *sollicita cura*, *omni studio*, *parata*, *desiderium temporalis*, *fuscare*, *promptissima deuotio*, *aeterna praemia* all appear at some point (many of them several times) in this Rule.

Now the author of *De accedendo* adds a final aspect, which is also already addressed both in the *De accedendo* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the “dedication of the ready mind”:

²⁴ Sic cordis conpunctione flagret, qualiter in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. ²⁵ Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat. ²⁶ Non enim longae orationis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat.

[²⁴ Let it (the mind) burn in such a way with compunction of the heart, that it arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator towards itself. ²⁵ And let no one believe he is heard through verbosity, but rather through the purity of heart and the abundance of tears ²⁶ for it is not the length of a long-winded prayer but the dedication of the ready mind that excites the love of the clement judge.]

The sixth and probably the most important condition for reaching God's ear and arousing his mercy is the awareness of one's sinfulness, the expression of deep, tearful remorse, and the willingness to purify one's heart. All these different things together – not doing evil, being

zealous in monastic work, not desiring the world, fighting vices, striving for salvation, and expressing remorse – constitute the *intentio promptae mentis* (dedication of the ready mind) and arouse the love of the merciful judge. The entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is essentially built around these six objectives of monastic life.

Now, finally, *De accedendo* comes to a conclusion and reveals the purpose of the unceasing prayer that is empowered by a well-prepared heart or mind, which is the forgiveness of all sins, not just one's own:

²⁷ Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam ²⁸ salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

[²⁷ He is always to be prayed to in order that he extends pardon to the guilty – he who has poured through the passion of the Cross medicine on the languishing world; ²⁸ he, who is the eternal salvation of the world, Jesus Christ, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.]

In this final sentence, the author takes a last, crucial turn to the idea of coenobitic monastic life. Prayer works and therefore we have to pray incessantly, but we do not pray for the forgiveness of our own sins but use our empowered prayer in order to gain forgiveness for each other and even for the *delinquentes* in general, inside and outside the monastery. Here *De accedendo* just summarizes what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* described and implemented in great detail. This is what monastic life is all about.

Appendix 1: Parallels *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' hagiographic works

<i>Regula cuiusdam</i>	<i>Vita Columbani; Vita Iohannis; Vita Vedastis</i>	Frequency (based on <i>Patrologia Latina Database</i> and <i>Library of Latin Texts</i>)
1.1 <i>genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 10-11: ex Burgunionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate.</i>	The combination of <i>genus</i> , <i>nobilitas</i> , and <i>sanctitas</i> appears about ten times before Jonas, mostly in works of Augustine and Jerome.
1.3 <i>quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommo- dant</i> 3.1: <i>aurem adcommo- dant</i> 3.13: <i>aurem accomo- dent</i>	<i>VCol I, prologue, p. 146, l. 15-16: cythare melos, aures oppletas, mollis sepe auenae modolamine auditum accommodare; I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 20: aurem accommodas; I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 6-7: aurem pietatis accomodare; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 12-13: qui sic suorum ad petitiones famulorum pietatis suae accommodat aures; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 12-13: ad fragiles turbarum aures fragilem mentem accommodaret</i>	common
1:13: <i>saniae antidoti</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 11-12: pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur; VIoh, c. 2, p. 330, l. 13-14: celestis antidoti pocula prebendo, quo peccatorum sanies pelleretur</i>	exclusive
1.9: <i>sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigit</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 10, p. 254, 4: correctio delinquentium; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 10-11: corrigere delinquentes</i>	About forty times before Jonas, mostly in works of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.
1.9: <i>ad cultum religionis;</i> 24.5: <i>cultum instruuntur</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 5, p. 162, 12: omnium animos ad religionis cultum</i>	common

<i>religionis; De accedendo 1: ad cultum religionis</i>	<i>defigeret; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20: cultui religionis; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17: ad cultum religionis; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28-29: cultui religionis; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 17-18: ad cultum religionis; Vloh, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17: cultuque religionis; c. 1, p. 329, l. 3: cultus religionis cathenatos; Vita Vedastis, c. 3, p. 311, l. 5: sub religionis cultu</i>	
1.11: <i>Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, Domine.</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 24-25: Cum iam egregiis moribus, bonitate et disciplina, scientiam moderantem, plebem regeret</i>	Otherwise almost exclusively in commentaries on the Psalms.
1.18 <i>mercedis recipiat lucra</i>	<i>Vita Vedastis, c. 1, p. 309, l. 8: mercedis lucra</i>	Appears occasionally.
1.19: <i>praesentis uitae</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 4; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 14; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 19; II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 8 II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 29-30; II, c. 25, p. 290, l. 18; II, c. 25, p. 292, l. 10; Vloh, c. 6, p. 333, l. 3-4</i>	common
2.4: <i>correptione pia</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 30: piis correptionibus</i>	exclusive
2.5: <i>arrogantiae uitio maculata</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 1, p. 232, l 11-12: arrogantiae uitio maculati; I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 23: uitium arrogantiae ac elationis; II; 17, p. 268, l. 8: per elationis ac arrogantiae uitium</i>	<i>Arrogantiae uitio maculata</i> appears exclusively here; <i>arrogantiae uitium</i> is very rare.
2.12: <i>corda subditarum (...) excitando erigat.</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 22, p. 205, l. 1: corda excitare; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 8-9: corda subditarum</i>	<i>Ccorda subditorum</i> : rare, but several times in the works of Gregory the Great; <i>corda excitare</i> : common.

2.15: <i>fructum laboris recipiat</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 13: <i>fructus recipiant uitae aeternae</i> ; <i>VIoh</i> , c. 1, p. 328, l. 22: <i>laboris fructus reciperet</i>	About five times prior to Jonas.
2.16: <i>sine commeatu</i> ; 3.11: <i>sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant</i> ; 4.11: <i>sine commeatu</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 15, p. 178, l. 21-22: <i>qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset</i>	<i>Sine commeatu</i> appears occasionally in classical texts, later in charters and capitularies. There is only one exception: Second Council of Orléans (549), c. 18, <i>CCSL</i> 148A, p. 155: <i>...sine comeato concilii ipsius discedere fortasse praesumpserit...</i>
3.1: <i>ex praesentibus pompis</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23-170, l. 1: <i>praesentium pompam facultatem</i>	exclusive
3.1: <i>omnium simul</i> ; 3.12: <i>omnis simul</i> ; 11.6: <i>simul omnes</i> ; 18.2: <i>simul ab omni congregatione</i> .	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 3: <i>simul omnes</i>	common
3.3: <i>faleramenta</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, prologue, p. 146, l. 4; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 18; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 23; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 4	Probably neologism created by Jonas. It appears later occasionally in hagiographical texts, e.g. <i>Vita Sadalbergae</i> .
3.6: <i>consodales</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 9, p. 334, l. 26: <i>consodales</i>	Five times before Jonas.
3.6: <i>intente aspiciant</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 17, p. 183, l. 2-3: <i>intentis oculis</i>	common
3.12: <i>omnis simul congregatio</i> ; 4.1 <i>ex omni congregatione</i> ; 4.6: <i>congregationi omni</i> ; 18.3: <i>ab omni congregatione obiurgetur</i> ; 20.7 <i>ab omni congregatione</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 27: <i>cum omni congregatione fratrum</i> ; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: <i>ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur</i>	<i>Ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur</i> : exclusive.
3.16: <i>contumacie crimen incurrit</i> ; 4.16: <i>neglegentiae damna incurrat</i> ; 5.14 <i>crimen incurrat</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 15: <i>contumaciae crimen incurrere</i>	Also in <i>Regula coenobialis</i> , c. 1 and Columbanus, <i>Ep.</i> 1. The expression <i>crimen contumaciae</i> is rare. <i>Incurrere</i> appears seven times in <i>RcuiV</i> and five times in <i>VCol</i> .

3.23/20.9/21.1/21.2: <i>septa monasterii</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 2: <i>septa monasterii</i> ; II, c. 19, p. 271, l. 28: <i>septa monasterii</i> (also <i>septa secretiora</i> ; <i>septa caenubii</i>).	<i>Septa monasterii</i> appears occasionally in older texts, especially in acts of councils.
3.25: <i>habentes regulae tenorem conseruent</i> ; 15.12: <i>regulae tenori subiacere</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 1-2: <i>contra tenorem regulae</i> ; <i>VIoh</i> , c. 2, p. 330, l. 11: <i>sub regule tenore</i> ; 19, p. 342, l. 21: <i>forma regule tenore</i>	Three times before Jonas.
4.7: <i>pro affectu et materno ordine</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 2: <i>paterno affectu et aequo iure</i> ; II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 29-30: <i>et ille paterno affectu labentem piis correptionibus foueret</i>	Common, but see <i>RcuiV</i> 2.4 on <i>correptione pia</i> .
4.11 <i>cum uoce humilitatis</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 13: <i>humili uoce</i> ; I, c. 22, p. 202, l. 7: <i>humili uoce</i>	common
4.16: <i>neglegentiae damna incurrat</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21-22: <i>ne negligentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae</i> ; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 18: <i>damna incurrat</i> ; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 9-10: <i>ne tanti damni incurreret causam</i> ; <i>VIoh</i> , c. 7, p. 333, l. 12-13: <i>negligentiae damnum</i>	<i>Damnum negligentiae</i> : exclusive; <i>damnum incurrere</i> : common.
5.9 <i>diligatur puritate, diligatur religione</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 25, p. 291, 29: <i>eius puritatis et religionis in omnibus imitatores essent</i>	<i>Puritas religionis</i> appears occasionally. Otherwise the combination of <i>puritas</i> and <i>religio</i> is extremely rare.
5.11 <i>numquam peccati maculam incurret</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 16: <i>contagione peccatorum maculatus</i>	Common. <i>Macula</i> and <i>maculare</i> appear seven times in <i>RcuiV</i> , 21 times in <i>VCol</i> and twice in <i>VIoh</i>
5.11 <i>cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 13, p. 262, 29: <i>cultus pietatis</i>	<i>Cultus pietatis</i> appears rarely before Jonas.
5.11 <i>aeterna praemia accipiet</i> <i>De accedendo</i> 23: <i>ad aeterna praemia tendat</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23-170, l. 1: <i>aeterna praemia caperent</i> ; <i>VIoh</i> , c. 1, p. 328, l. 25-26: <i>et eterne uite premia capere</i>	common

5.12 <i>antiqui hostis</i> 14.8 <i>antiquus hostis</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 3, p. 155, l. 20: <i>antiquus hostis</i>	common
5:16: <i>discordiae fomenta</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 29: <i>discordiae fomitem</i>	Both variants appear about ten times before Jonas.
5:21: <i>iurgiorum incrementa</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 28: <i>iurgiorum incrementa</i>	exclusive
6.1: <i>scripturarum series</i> 9.1: <i>scripturarum series</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 9; II, c. 9, p. 250, l. 15-16	common
6.6: <i>confessus se aduersum</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 19: <i>se aduersum</i> ; II, c. 12, p. 261: <i>te aduersum</i>	<i>Se aduersum</i> appears 14 times before Jonas, <i>te aduersum</i> seven times.
6:15: <i>clementis iudicis pietas</i> <i>De accedendo</i> 26: <i>clemens iudex</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10-11: <i>clemens iudex</i> ; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: <i>clemens iudex</i>	Three instances before Jonas.
6.20 <i>mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit</i> 6.21 <i>mens maculae adtraxerit</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 14: <i>mens fragilitate corrupta</i> ; II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 25: <i>qualemcumque rugam mens fragilitate adtraxisse</i>	Appears occasionally before Jonas.
6.23 <i>peracta oratione</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 2, p. 330, l. 6-7: <i>oratione peracta</i> ; c. 7, p. 333, l. 17: <i>peracta oratione</i> ; c. 13, p. 337, l. 9: <i>peractaque oratione</i>	Three instances before Jonas.
6.26: <i>supra humum prostratae</i> 22.18: <i>supra humum</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 21, p. 200, l. 12-14: <i>supra humum iacuit</i> ; II, c. 3, p. 235, l. 6-7 <i>ad humo prostratus prodit</i> ; II, c. 7, p. 242, l. 17: <i>prostratus itaque humo</i>	common
7.1: <i>iustus iudex</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 28, p. 219, l. 3; II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 25; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 22; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 27; II, c. 24, p. 288, l. 16	Common, based on Ps. 7, 12 and II Tim. 4, 8.
7.2 <i>ad salutem redintegrandam</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 18-19: <i>et ueteres maculas delens, omnia saluti redintegraret</i> ; I, c. 7, p. 166, l. 5-6: <i>ob sanitatem redintegrandam</i> ; II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 4: <i>redintegravit ergo diuina pietas</i>	exclusive

7.6 <i>quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur</i> ; 12.12 <i>Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae</i> ; 18.1 <i>sanctae regulae normam uiolare</i>	VCol I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 17-19: <i>Si, quod nunc usque sub regularis disciplinae abenis constrictum fuit, uiolare conaris</i> ; II, c. 9, p. 249, l. 1: <i>aduersantes sanctae regulae prudentia</i> VCol II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 30-31: <i>sub regularis disciplinae norma eruditus</i> ; VIoh, c. 3, p. 330, l. 25: <i>regularis materie normam</i> ; c. 4, p. 331, l. 1-2: <i>religionis forma plures instruebat et regularis discipline normam tenere eos commonebat</i>	<i>Regulam uiolare</i> appears twelve times before Jonas; <i>regulam uiolare conari</i> exclusive.
8.3: <i>eius gratias referendas</i>	VCol II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 11-13: <i>Grates simul parentes conditori referunt, qui sic suorum ad petitiones famulorum pietatis suae accommodat aures</i> ; II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 24: <i>Gratias deinde refert omnipotenti</i>	common
8.5: <i>uerecundiae metu</i>	VCol II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 9-10: <i>uerecundiae metu</i> ; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 24-25: <i>perculsa metu, uerecundia correpta</i>	exclusive
8.9 <i>illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita</i>	VCol I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 13: <i>in ecclesia positum</i> ; I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 26: <i>in ecclesia positum</i> ; I, c. 28, p. 217, l. 18: <i>in ecclesia positum</i> . <i>Positus</i> appears 13 times in <i>RcuiV</i> and 17 times in <i>VCol</i>	common
9.8 <i>somnum capiendum</i>	VIoh, c. 16, p. 339, l. 9-10: <i>cum somno caperet</i>	common
9.8 <i>necessitas monasterii</i>	VCol I, c. 30, p. 222, l. 18: <i>ad monasterii necessitatem</i>	common in monastic rules
9.10: <i>pro communi necessitate</i>	VCol II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 3: <i>pro communi necessitate</i>	Once in Gregory; once in Cassian.

10.18: <i>temeritatis audacia</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 24: <i>temeritatis audaciam</i>	About ten times before Jonas.
11.3: <i>labor grandis</i> ; <i>De accedendo</i> 8: <i>labor grandis</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11: <i>labor grandis</i>	common
11.3 <i>aut hospitem non cogat aduentus</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 14: <i>hospitem aduentus</i>	Very rare, once in <i>Regula Magistri</i> .
12.1 <i>necessitatis usus</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 4, p. 331, l. 9-10: <i>in operis necessarii usus cerneret laborare</i>	common
12.2 <i>detur intentio</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 12, p. 336, l. 12-13: <i>intentionem dedit</i>	Exclusive. The terms <i>intentus</i> and <i>intentio</i> appear six times in <i>Rcui</i> , 19 times in <i>VCol</i> , twice in <i>VIoh</i> , and four times in <i>De accedendo</i> .
12.6: <i>propter feruentem aestum</i>	<i>VCol</i> 1.4, p. 160, l. 17: <i>feruenti aestu</i>	Occasionally in Jerome and Augustine, otherwise rare.
12.15: <i>omnipotentis Dei misericordia</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 8: <i>omnipotentis misericordiam</i>	common
13.2 <i>sollicitudo animi uigeat</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 10: <i>animo uigens</i>	common
13.5 <i>iudicium damnationis</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 4, p. 332, l. 4: <i>iudicium damnationis</i>	common
14.2 <i>ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 2-3: <i>cum sopore membra laxasset</i>	Common, goes back to Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 8.404.
14.4: <i>subiecta membra</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 3, p. 330, l. 30: <i>subiecta membra</i> .	About five instances before Jonas.
14.9: <i>de cuius relegione non dubitetur</i> ; 24.9: <i>de quorum religione non dubitatur</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 10, p. 170, 10: <i>de quorum religione nihil dubitabatur</i> ; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25-26: <i>de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur</i>	exclusive
14.15 <i>signum crucis fronti inferatur</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 8, p. 166, l. 19: <i>frontem signo crucis armans</i>	common
16.3/20.13/24.3: <i>aetas tenera</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 8, p. 244, l. 30; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 15	common
16.10: <i>reatu culpa</i>	<i>VIoh</i> , c. 10, p. 235, l. 15: <i>reati culpam</i>	common
17.12/18.3/18.4/20.1/20.2: <i>emendare noluerit</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 20-21: <i>emendare dilatando non uelit</i>	common

18.3: <i>ab omni congregatione obiurgetur</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: <i>ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur</i>	exclusive
18.5 <i>obstinatae et durae mentis</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 18-278, l. 1: <i>durae ac ignavae mentis</i> ; II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 2: <i>si misera mens duritiam uecordiae molliret</i>	common
20.4: <i>moderante ergo scientia</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 24: <i>scientiam moderantem</i>	exclusive
20.5 <i>per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 11-12: <i>pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti</i>	exclusive
20.5 <i>sospitati non redditur</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 18: <i>statim sospitati reddit</i> ; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 7: <i>sospitate reddatur</i> ; II, c. 7, p. 240, l. 16: <i>sospitati reddito</i> ; II, c. 7, p. 242, l. 4: <i>sospitati redderetur</i> ; l. 22: <i>redditamque sospitati</i> ; l. 24: <i>sospitate filiam redditam</i> . See also II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 14; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 21-22; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 5-6.	About 15 times before Jonas.
21.1 <i>emendationem polliceri</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 7-8: <i>emendatueros pollicentur</i> ; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 29: <i>emendaturam pollicetur</i>	About ten times before Jonas.
21.1 <i>perculsa timore</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 12-13: <i>timore percussus</i>	Common, possibly from Gregory the Great, <i>Dialogi</i> IV, c. 204, <i>SC</i> 265, p. 76.
21.5 <i>in postmodum</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, prologue, p. 145, l. 12; I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 13; I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 7; I, c. 22, p. 202, l. 19; II, c. 12, p. 263, l. 17-18; II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 3; <i>Vloh</i> , c. 1, p. 328, l. 24	Roughly 25 times before Jonas.
22.2: <i>pro parte</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, prologue, p. 147, l. 15; I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 4	common
22.5 <i>purissimum patefacient affectum</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 14-15: <i>ardentem patri patefaciebat affectum</i>	Twice before Jonas.

22.10/16/20/22/24 <i>cum omni humilitate</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 18, p. 186, l. 11-12: omni cum humilitate</i>	common
22.22: <i>sub silenti uoce</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 10: sub silentii uoce</i>	exclusive
22.23: <i>modestia ac sobriaetate</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 21-21: modestia atque sobrietas</i>	About ten times before Jonas.
23.1 <i>proximam uel consanguineam</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 12: qui consanguinitatis proximus erat; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 24: erat enim ei consanguinitate proxima</i>	About 15 times before Jonas.
23.3 <i>quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 24: ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.</i>	exclusive

Appendix 2: Parallels between *De accedendo*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and Jonas' hagiographical works

<i>De accedendo</i>	<i>Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines</i>	<i>Vita Columbani/ Vita Iohannis</i>	
1: <i>ad cultum religionis</i>	1.9: <i>ad cultum religionis</i> ; 24.5: <i>ad cultum instruuntur religionis</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19-20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28-29; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 17-18; VIoh, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17; c. 1, p. 329, l. 3</i>	common
1: <i>Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur</i>		<i>VCol II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17: omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent.</i>	
4/5/8/11/13/20/22/24 : <i>si...si...si...sic...sic ...sic ergo...sic ergo...sic</i>	1.6/7/9/10/11/13: <i>sic...sit...sit...sic...sic ...sit...sit...sic ergo</i>	<i>VCol II, c. 9, p. 251, l. 6-13: Sic enim...Sic enim...Sic omnis...Nihil enim</i>	

5: <i>et cum eodem dicere possibus: Inquisiui</i>	3.4: <i>cum Propheta orando dicant: Auerte oculos meos</i>		
6: <i>omni intentione</i>		<i>VCol I, c. 30, p. 221, l. 14: omni cum intentione; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 16: omnem intentionem; II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 15: omni intentione et deuotione; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16-17: omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent; VIoh, c. 2, p. 329, l. 13: et cultu religionis sub omni intentione</i>	About 50 occurrences before Jonas.
6: <i>cum omni cordis contritione</i>	6.28 <i>contritione deleantur cordis; 15.8: humili et contrito corde 19.8: cum cordis contritione</i>		common
6: <i>qui se exterius a saeculi desideriiis atterit et interius cum omni cordis contritione per ardorem compuntionis pollet</i>	12.10-11: <i>ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat</i>		
8: <i>facinorum mole</i>	6.6 <i>facinorum molem</i>		Appears very rarely, once in Ps.-Jerome, <i>Breuiarium in Psalmos</i> .
8: <i>Beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium;</i>	5.11: <i>aeterna praemia accipiet</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 10, p. 169.23-170, l. 1-2: aeterna praemia caperent; VIoh, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25-26:</i>	<i>Aeterna praemia:</i> common.

23: <i>ad aeterna praemia tendat</i>		<i>et eterne uite premia capere</i>	
8: <i>sine grande labore</i>	11.3 <i>aut si labor grandis exigerit</i>	<i>VCol I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11: sed grandi labore</i>	Common; also in Ps.-Jerome, <i>Breuiarium in Psalmos</i>
10: <i>iuxta Apostolum</i>	1.11: <i>iuxta Apostolum</i> ; 5.5: <i>iuxta Apocalipsin</i> ; 6.1: <i>iuxta scripturarum seriem</i> ; 22.9: <i>iuxta quod in Actum Apostolorum legimus</i>	<i>VCol I, prologue, p. 148, l. 11: iuxta poetam</i> ; II, c. 9, p. 250, l. 22-23: <i>iuxta psalmistae uocem</i> ; II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 5: <i>iuxta Iob</i> ; II, c. 10, p. 254, l. 25: <i>iuxta Salomonem</i> ; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 4: <i>iuxta euangelii uocem</i> ; <i>VIoh, c. 8, p. 334, l. 12: iuxta Apostolum</i>	common
11: <i>testatur dicens</i>	5.15 and 5.17: <i>testatus est dicens</i>		common
12: <i>aditus non denegetur</i>	21.5: <i>aditum esse in postmodum denegandum</i>	<i>VCol I,9, p. 168, l. 8-9: aditum denegabat</i> I,19, p. 189, l. 8: <i>aditum deneget</i> I,30, p. 222, l. 3-4: <i>aditum plaustrorum denegabat</i>	very rare
12: <i>obstinatae mentis</i>	18.5: <i>obstinatae et durae mentis</i>	<i>VCol II,22, p. 277, l. 28-278, l. 1: durae ac ingnauae mentis</i>	<i>obstinatae mentis</i> : rare
14: <i>diuinae miserationis</i>		<i>VCol II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 20</i>	common
14: <i>tam corpore quam animo parati</i>	2.12: <i>tam corporis quam animae prouida</i>		rare
15: <i>igne accensum</i>		<i>VCol II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 19: subito igne febrium accensus</i>	common
19: <i>conditori placere</i>		<i>V, Col I, c. 20, p. 195, l. 1-2: placere conditore</i>	very rare

19: <i>iuxta psalmografi praeconium</i>	8.1: <i>ad sonitum preconis</i> 14.1: <i>preconiis peruigil</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 3, p. 158, l. 8-9: <i>psalmographi praeconii</i> I, c. 17, p. 182, l. 11: <i>preconantis uox psalmographi.</i>	combination <i>praeconium/psalmographus</i> exclusively here.
20: <i>si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur</i>	1.4-6: <i>Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, 5 ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. 6 Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi.</i>		
21: <i>diuinae potentiae</i>		<i>VCol</i> I, c. 27, p. 215, l. 24; II, c. 2, p. 243, l. 2	common
21: <i>sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur</i>	13.4: <i>cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 20; II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 9-10; <i>VIoh, praef.</i> , p. 326, l. 20; c. 8, p. 333, l. 27: <i>omni studio</i>	<i>omni studio:</i> common
22: <i>mens...intenta;</i> 26: <i>mentis intentio</i>	8.2: <i>mens ad sonitum preconis intenta;</i> 14.1: <i>anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat</i>	<i>VCol</i> II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 19: <i>mente intenta preces fundens</i> <i>VIoh, praef.</i> , p. 326, l. 27: <i>mentis intentione</i>	appears occasionally in other sources
23: <i>deuotione ornata</i>	1.6: <i>uoce ornata;</i> 1.7: <i>beniuolentia ornata;</i> 2.4: <i>humilitate ornata;</i> 2.5: <i>actu religionis ornata;</i> 5.11: <i>cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata</i>		common

25: <i>ubertas lacrimarum</i>		<i>VCol</i> II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 17; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 21-22.	very rare
26: <i>pietatem clementis iudicis</i>	6.15: <i>Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur</i>	<i>VCol</i> I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10-11: <i>clemens iudex</i> ; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: <i>clemens iudex</i>	<i>Clemens iudex</i> : rare. The combination with <i>pietas</i> is unique.
27: <i>infundit medicinam</i>	7.3: <i>medicinam infundit</i>		very rare

Appendix 3: Parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vitae Bertilae*

<i>Vita Bertilae</i>	<i>Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines</i>
c. 1: <i>ore laudabilior</i>	1.6: <i>omnium ore laudabilis</i>
c. 1: <i>dum in illa et quo glorificaretur Christus elegit, et quod imitarentur multi, effulsit</i>	23.2: <i>sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa</i>
c. 1: <i>pleno cordis affectu</i>	3.2: <i>in toto cordis affectu</i>
c. 1: <i>in tenera aetate</i>	16.3; 20.13; 24.2: <i>aetas tenera</i>
c. 2 <i>sub norma sanctae regulae</i>	18.1: <i>uel sanctae regulae normam</i>
c. 2 <i>cum feruore</i>	2.18: <i>cum feruore</i>
c. 2 <i>Cum omni enim grauitate et mansuetudine</i>	8.3: <i>cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine</i>
c. 2 <i>timorem uero Dei semper prae oculis habens,</i>	24.4: <i>retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti</i> ; 13.5: <i>anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter.</i>
c. 2 <i>et puritate confessionis,</i>	16.7: <i>per puram confessionem</i>
c. 2 <i>studebat adimplere</i>	3.18: <i>implere studeant.</i>
c. 2: <i>consodalibus</i>	3.6; 3.14: <i>consodalibus</i> (otherwise rare)
c. 2: <i>septa monasterii</i>	3.23; 20.9; 21.2: <i>septa monasterii</i>
c. 2: <i>ista sollicitudinem; infirmorum, infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur</i>	1.8: <i>Erga peregrinorum et hospitem sollicitudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta</i>
c. 3: <i>tacto signo</i>	10.14: <i>signum tangere</i>
c. 4: <i>norma sanctae religionis</i>	18.1: <i>sanctae regulae normam</i>
c. 5: <i>uera caritas</i>	22.7: <i>sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas</i>
c. 5: <i>sub sancta norma</i>	18.1: <i>uel sanctae regulae normam</i>
c. 5: <i>Quasi ergo mater proprios filios uel filias diligebat cunctos</i>	1.16: <i>Habeat ergo tot animos mater, quot habet in suo regimine filias</i>

c. 6: <i>Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila exemplum et forma pietatis omnibus per continentiam et plenissimam dilectionem et non solum per sanctum eloquium, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu religionis studio subditorum instruebat mores</i>	The terms <i>exemplum, forma pietatis, continentia, eloquium, studio religionis,</i> and <i>mores</i> appear all in chapter 1.
c. 6: <i>inuicem diligenter</i>	5.t: <i>De se inuicem diligendo.</i>
c. 6: <i>caritatis affectu</i>	22.1: <i>Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio.</i>
c. 6: <i>puriterque et caste seu et sobrie</i>	2.4: <i>actu casta, moribus sobria.</i>
c. 6: <i>orationem semper essent paratae</i>	<i>De accedendo 14: Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus.</i>
c. 6: <i>hospitumque et pauerpum curam gererent</i>	3.10: <i>Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam inter omnia habentes;</i> 4.13: <i>Similiter pauperum curam gerat.</i>
c. 6: <i>dilectionis studio et proximi amore.</i>	5.8: <i>Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu, sed pietatis ministerio.</i>
c. 6: <i>ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent;</i>	Compare chapter 6
c. 6: <i>praemium adquisiuit, et illorum animabus lucrum fecit.</i>	3.6: <i>Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.</i>
c. 6: <i>pauperes et peregrini.</i>	3.10: <i>Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam.</i>
c. 6: <i>tantumque fructum per eam magnum Dominus contraxit ad salutem animarum,</i>	1.18-19: <i>Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, ¹⁹ ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.</i>
c. 7: <i>et mentes earum ad bene agendum semper paratae</i>	14.1: <i>paratam Deo mentem praeparant;</i> <i>De accedendo 22: Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata</i>
c. 8: <i>materno affectu nutristi</i>	4.7: <i>pro affectu et materno ordine</i>
c. 9: <i>humilitatem praecipuae, quae est mater uirtutum</i>	3.7: <i>cum uirtutum magistra humilitate</i>
c. 9: <i>misericae pietatem</i>	5.25: <i>ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus</i>
c. 9: <i>praemii aeternam recepit</i>	5.11: <i>aeterna praemia accipiet;</i> <i>De accedendo 23: ad aeterna praemia tendat</i>

Abbreviations used in the study

(for a list of abbreviations used in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see p. \$)

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
<i>AASSOSB</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti</i>
<i>CaesRV</i>	Caesarius of Arles, <i>Regula ad uirgines</i>
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>LXX</i>	Psalms in Septuagint translation
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores Antiquiores</i>
<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Capitularia</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia</i>
<i>Epp.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Script.</i>	<i>Scriptores</i>
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i>
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum</i>
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>RcuiV</i>	<i>Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources Crétiennes</i>
<i>VCol</i>	Jonas of Bobbio, <i>Vita Columbani</i>
<i>VIoh</i>	Jonas of Bobbio, <i>Vita Iohannis</i>

Bibliography

Manuscripts

- Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 20 (S221)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 108
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 36
Brussels, Royal Library, 8780-93 (2493)
Cologne, Historisches Archiv, W.f. 231
København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. S. 176
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemilian. 26
Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 159 Sup.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118
Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48
Paris, BnF, lat. 1564
Paris, BnF, lat. 10879
Paris, BnF, lat. 12205
Paris, BnF, lat. 12634
Paris, BnF, lat. 2974
Paris, BnF, lat. 5573
Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 503
Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 506
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 54
Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 1
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 916
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 917
Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, 69
Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm s.n.
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275)
Valvanera, Archivo del Monasterio
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 1025

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 60

Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 36

Sources

Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4, Berlin: Weidmann 1895, pp. 2-493.

Alcuin, *Vita Vedastis*, in: Christiane Veyrard-Cosme: *L'oeuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin. Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii. Édition, traduction, études narratologiques*, Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo 2003.

Alphabet of Devotion, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 162), pp. 157-169.

Ambrose, *Apologia Prophetarum David*, ed. Filippo Lucidi, Pierre Hadot, and Karl Schenkl, Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Rome: Città nuova editrice 1981.

Ambrose, *De Abraham libri duo*, *PL* 14, col. 419A-500A.

Ambrose, *De institutione uirginis*, *PL* 16, col. 305A-334B.

Ambrose, *De virginitate*, ed. Franco Gori, *Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera*, vol. 14.2, Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana 1989.

Antiphonary of Bangor, ed. Frederick E Warren, 2 vols., London: Harrison 1893-1895.

Apophthegmata Patrum, alphabetic collection, *PG* 65, col. 71-440; transl. Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 2004.

Apophthegmata Patrum, systematic collection, ed. Jean-Claud Guy, *SC* 387/474/498, Paris: Editions du Cerf 1993/2003/2005.

Aquilinus Iuuenius, *Euangelicarum historiae libri IV*, ed. Johannes Hüemer, *CSEL* 24, Vienna: Tempsky 1891.

Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, ed. Wilhelm Waitz, *MGH Script.* 15, Hannover: Hahn 1887, pp. 198-220; transl. Allen Cabaniss, in: Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press 2000, pp. 213-254.

- Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii* (Greek text), ed. Gerhardus Johannes Marinus Bartelink, SC 400, Paris 1994.
- Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii Versiones latinae: Vita beati Antonii abbatis Euagrio interprete. Versio uetustissima*, ed. Pascal H. E. Bertrand and Lois Gandt, CCSL 170, Turnhout: Brepols 2018.
- Athanasius of Alexandria, *On Sickness and Health*, transl. David Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1955, pp. 310-314.
- Audoinus of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 634-741 (incomplete); PL 87, col. 479-592 (complete); transl. Jo Ann McNamara, in: Thomas Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, New York: Garland 2001, pp. 137-167 (based on MGH edition).
- Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, ed. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 28, Vienna: Tempsky 1894.
- Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, PL 44, col. 881-909.
- Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI-CL*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 40, Turnhout: Brepols 1956.
- Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium*, ed. R. Willems, CCSL 36, Turnhout: Brepols 1954.
- Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris: 1967, pp. 149-152; transl. Raymond Canning and Tarsicius J. van Bavel, *The Rule of Saint Augustine. Masculine and Female Versions*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996.
- Augustine, *Praeceptum*, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris 1967, pp. 417-437; transl. Raymond Canning and Tarsicius J. van Bavel, *The rule of Saint Augustine. Masculine and Female Versions*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996.
- Augustine, *Sermones*, PL 39.
- Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, ed. Albert Schmidt, ‘Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I’, in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237-256; also PL 68, col. 385-396 (with *ordo convivii* und *ordo psallendi*).
- Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, PL 68, col. 399-408, also ed. by Hope Mayo, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, vol. 2, Ph.D. thesis Havard, Cambridge, MS 1974, pp. 4-68.

- Basil of Caesarea, *Regula*, Latin transl. by Rufinus, ed. Klaus Zelzer, *CSEL* 86, Vienna: Tempsky 1986; also ed./transl. Anna M. Silvas, *The Rule of St. Basil in Latin and English*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2013.
- Basil of Caesarea, *Shorter Rule and Longer Rule* (Greek text), *PG* 31, col. 890-1320.
- Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 358-395; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 86-105.
- Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Michael Lapidge, *SC* 489-491 Paris: Cerf 2005.
- Bede, *Commentarium in Lucam*, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 120, Turnhout: Brepols 1960.
- Bede, *De temporum ratione*, ed. Charles William Jones, *CCSL* 123B, Turnhout: Brepols 1977; transl. Faith Wallis, *The Reckoning of Time*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2012 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 29).
- Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1896, pp. 364-404.
- Bede, *In Ezram et Nehemia*, ed. D. Hurst, *CCSL* 119A, Turnhout: Brepols 1969; transl. Scott DeGregorio, *On Ezra and Nehemiah*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2006.
- Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, ed./transl. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985.
- Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum*, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168-168A, Turnhout: Brepols 1999.
- Benedict of Aniane, *De diuersarum poenitentiarum modo de regula Benedicti distincto*, ed. Josef Semmler, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 571-582.
- Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*, transl. David Bell, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1983.
- Bieler, Ludwig, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983.
- Bobbio Missal*, ed. Elias A. Lowe, London: Harrison 1920.
- Boniface, *Epistolae*, *MGH Epp.* 3, Berlin: Weidmann 1893, pp. 215-433; transl. Ephraim Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, New York: Columbia University Press 2000.
- Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 476-494.

- Caesarius of Arles, *Epistula "Vereor"*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 274-336; transl. William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 19), pp. 129-139. The version for monks can be found in *PL* 67, col. 1145c-1160D.
- Caesarius of Arles, *Homilia ad monachos*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 398, Paris: Cerf 1994, pp. 148-161.
- Caesarius of Arles, *Opusculum de gratia*, ed. German Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2: *Opera Varia*, Abbaye de Maredsous: Maretoli 1942, pp. 159-164.
- Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 398, Paris: Cerf 1994, pp. 204-226.
- Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 170-272; transl. Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles: A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960 (Studies in Medieval History, New Series, vol. 16).
- Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones ad monachos*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 398, Paris: Cerf 1994, pp. 60-161.
- Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. German Morin, *CCSL* 103-104, Turnhout: Brepols 1953; transl. Mary Magdeleine Mueller, *Caesarius of Arles, Sermons*, 3 vols., Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1956-73 (The Fathers of the Church, vol. 31, 47, und 66).
- Caesarius of Arles, *Testament*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 360-396; transl. William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 19), pp. 67-76.
- Canones Hibernenses*, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 160-175.
- Canones Wallici*, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 136-159.
- Capitula qualiter*, ed. Hieronymus Frank, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 349-351.

Cassian, *Collationes*, ed. E. Pichery, SC 42/54/64, Paris: Cerf 1955/1958/1959; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1997 (Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 57).

Cassian, *Institutiones*, ed. Jean-Claude Guy, SC 109, Paris: Cerf 1965; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian, The Institutes*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press 2000 (Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 58).

Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, CCSL 97-98, Turnhout: Brepols 1958.

Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Minors; transl. Wolfgang Bürsgens, *Fontes Christiani* 39.1-2, Freiburg: Herder 2003.

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 12, Berlin: Weidmann 1894.

Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula canonicorum*, ed./transl. Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 27-83.

Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula interpolata (longer Rule)*, ed./transl. Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 184-285.

Columbanus, *Epistulae*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 2), pp. 2-59.

Columbanus, *Instructiones*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 2), pp. 60-121.

Columbanus, *Paenitentiale*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 2), pp. 168-181.

Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 2), pp. 142-169.

Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 2), pp. 122-143.

Columbanus, *Regula monialium*, ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, CSEL 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2016, pp. 189-238.

Concilia Galliae, vol. 1: a. 314-a. 506, ed. Charles Munier, CCSL 148, Turnhout: Brepols 1963.

Concilia Galliae, vol. 2: a. 511-a. 695, ed. Charles de Clercq, CCSL 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963.

Concilios Visigóticos et Hispano-Romanos, ed. José Vives, Barcelona/Madrid 1963 (España Cristiana, vol. 1).

Concilium Hispalense, a. 619, *PL* 88, col 1071B-C.

Confession of Patrick, ed. Richard P. C. Hanson, *SC* 249, Paris: Cerf 2007.

Consensoria monachorum, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 2, Paris: Études augustiniennes 1967, pp. 7-9.

Constitutiones Corbeiensis, ed. Josef Semmler, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 355-422.

Constitutum Caesariae, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 496-498.

Council at an Unknown Place (614), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 286-289.

Council of Ankyra (314), *PL* 67, cols 47A-56C.

Council of Autun (ca 670), ed. Hubert Mordek and Roger E. Reynolds, 'Bischof Leodegar und das Konzil von Autun', in: Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang 1992, pp. 71-92.

Council of Auxerre (591-605), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 264-272.

Council of Chalcedon (451), ed./trans. Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, London/Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 1990, pp. 77-103.

Council of Mâcon (581-583), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 222-230.

Council of Orange (529), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 53-76.

Council of Paris (614), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 274-285.

Council of Rome (402), trans. Hefele/Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 2.1, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1908, pp. 136-137.

Council of Tours (567), ed. Charles de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 175-199.

- Council of Vannes (461-491), ed. Charles Munier, *CCSL* 148, Turnhout: Brepols 1963, pp. 150-158.
- Cyprian, *De lapsis*, ed. Wilhem Hartel, *CSEL* 3.1, Vienna: Tempsky 1868.
- Cyprian, *Heptateuchos, Genesis*, ed. Rudolf Piper, *CSEL* 23, Vienna: Tempsky 1891.
- De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*, ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2016, pp. 237-238.
- De Seilhac, Lazare, M., Bernard Saïd, Madeline Braquet, and Véronique Dupont, *Règles Monastiques au Féminin*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1996.
- Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum*, ed. Henricus M. Rochais, *CCSL* 117, Turnhout: Brepols 1957, pp. 1-308.
- Dicta Caesariae*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris 1988, pp. 470-474.
- Dionysius Exiguus, *Vita Pachomii*, ed. Henri van Cranenburgh, *La vie latine de Saint Pachôme. Traduite du Grec par Denys le Petit*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1969 (Subsida Hagiographica, vol. 46).
- Diptyque of the monastery founded by Aurelianus of Arles, ed. Philippe Bernard, ‘Les diptyques du monastère des Saints-Apôtres d’Arles au VII^e siècle. Edition critique. Commentaire historique et liturgique’, in: *Revue d’histoire de l’église de France* 89:222 (2003), pp. 5-21.
- Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed./transl. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985.
- Eigil of Fulda, *Vita Sturmi*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *MGH Script.* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1875, pp. 365-377; ed. Pius Engelbert, *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda. Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, Marburg: Elwert 1968, pp. 131-163 (Veröffentlichungen der Kistorischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, vol. 29); transl. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints’ Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press 2000, pp. 165-187.
- Eligius of Noyon, *Foundation Charter of Solignac*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 742-749.
- Eligius of Noyon, *Sermo*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 749-761 (= *Vita Eligii* II, c. 15).

Eucherius of Lyon, *Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae*, ed. Karl Wotke, *CSEL* 31, Vienna: Tempsky 1894, pp. 1-62.

Eugippius, *Regula*, see *Regula Eugippii*.

Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* ed. Kirsopp Lake *et al.*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1973/1980 (Loeb Classical Library, vol. 153/265); transl. Philip R. Amidon, *Ecclesiastical History*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2016 (The Fathers of the Church, vol. 133).

Evagrius Ponticus, *Praktikos*, ed. Antoine Guillaumont and Claire Guillaumont, *SC* 170-171, Paris: Cerf 1971; transl. John Eudes Bamberger, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2009.

Evagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, ed. Jean Leclercq, ‘L’ancienne version latine des sentences d’Evagre pour les moines’, in: *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), pp. 195-213.

Foundation charter of Solignac (632), ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 747-748.

Fredegar, *Chronicarum libri quattuor et continuationes*, ed./trans. of book 4 by John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar: with its Continuations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1960.

Fructuosus of Braga, *Pactum*, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 208-211.

Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula*, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 129-162; transl. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 2: *Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1969 (Fathers of the Church, vol. 63), pp. 145-175.

Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De remissione peccatorum*, *PL* 65, col. 527D-574B.

Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, ed. Denis Gorce, *SC* 90, Paris: Cerf 1962; transl. Elizabeth A. Clark, *The life of Melania the Younger by Gerontius*, New York: Mellen 1984.

Glosae de diuersis doctoribus collectae in Regula Sancti Benedicti, ed. Matthieu van der Meer, *CCCM* 282, Turnhout: Brepols 2017.

Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilheam Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, Hannover: Hahn 1951.

- Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, Hannover: Hahn 1885, pp. 294-370; transl. Raymond Van Dam, *Glory of the Confessors*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1988 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 4).
- Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, Hannover: Hahn 1885, pp. 211-294; transl. Edward James, *Life of the Fathers*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2nd ed. 1991 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 11).
- Gregory the Great, *Expositio in librum primum Regum*, ed. Patricius Verbraken, *CCSL* 144, Turnhout: Brepols 1963.
- Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Paul Antin, *SC* 251/260/265, Paris: Cerf: 1978-1980.
- Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, *PL* 76, col. 1075-1312.
- Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam Prophetam*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, *CCSL* 142, Turnhout: Brepols 1971.
- Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Hiob*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, *CCSL* 143-143B, Turnhout: Brepols 1979-1985.
- Gregory the Great, *In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI*, *CCSL* 144, Turnhout: Brepols 2010.
- Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartmann, *MGH Epp.* 1-2, Berlin: Weidmann 1891/1899.
- Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* ed. Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Marel, *SC* 381-382, Paris: Cerf 1992.
- Hefele, Karl Joseph and Henri Leclercq, *Histoire des Concils*, vol. 2.1, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1908.
- Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae S. Benedicti*, ed. Rupert Mittermüller, Regensburg: Pustet 1880, with an English translation on www.hildemar.org.
- Historia monachorum*, see Rufinus.
- Holstenius, Lucas and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, vol. 1, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759.
- Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas Sancti Patres monachis et uirginibus sanctimonialibus seruandas praescripsere, collectus olim a S. Benedicto, Anianensi abbate*, Rome 1661.

- Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas Sancti Patres monachis et uirginibus sanctimonialibus seruandas praescripsere, collectus olim a S. Benedicto, Anianensi abbate*, Paris: Ludovicus Billaine 1663.
- Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, ed. John McCulloh, *CCCM* 44, Turnhout: Brepols 1979.
- Hucbald of St.-Amand, *Vita Rictrudis abbatis Marcianensis*, *AASSOSB* 2, Paris 1669, pp. 937-950; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 195-219.
- Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH Script.* 15, Hannover: Hahn 1887, pp. 86-106.
- Innocent I, *Epistola* 2, *PL* 20, cols 469B-481A.
- Institutio canonicorum*, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1906, pp. 307-421.
- Institutio Sancti Angilberti de diuersitate officiorum*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, M. Wegener, and Hieronymus Frank, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 283-303.
- Institutio Sanctimonialium*, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1906, pp. 421-456.
- Isidore of Seville, *Liber sententiarum*, *PL* 83, col. 537-738.
- Isidore of Seville, *Regula*, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 79-125.
- Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I-XVIII*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, *CCSL* 73-73A, Turnhout: Brepols 1963.
- Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*, ed. Franciscus Glorie, *CCSL* 75, Turnhout: Brepols 1964.
- Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. Isidor Hillberg, *CSEL* 54-56, Vienna: Tempsky 1910/1912/1918.
- John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines*, *PL* 72, col. 859B-860C.
- Jonas, of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, pp. 144-294; transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press 2017 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 64), pp. 85-239.
- Jonas, of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, pp. 309-320; transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of*

- Réomé*, and *Life of Vedast*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press 2017 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 64), pp. 240-264.
- Jonas, of Bobbio (?), *Vita Vedastis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, pp. 326-344; transl. Alexander O’Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé*, and *Life of Vedast*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press 2017 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 64), pp. 265-277.
- Justinian, *Nouellae*, ed. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin: Weidmann 1895.
- Kardong, Terrence G., *Benedict’s Rule. A Translation and Commentary*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996, pp. 203-206.
- Leander of Seville, *Regula*, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 21-76; transl. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 1, *Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1969 (Fathers of the Church, vol. 62), pp. 175-228.
- Legislatio Aquisgranensis* (816), ed. Josef Semmler, *CCM* 1 Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 423-436.
- Leo I, *Decreta*, *PL* 67, col. 277-302.
- Leo I, *Epistolae*, *PL* 54, col. 551-1218.
- Hormisdas, *Letter to Caesarius of Arles*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 350-358.
- Liber Orsiesii*, ed. Armand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et “liber” de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932 (Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, vol. 7), pp. 109-147.
- Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. Antoine Dumas, *CCSL* 159, Turnhout: Brepols 1981.
- Liber Scintillarum*, see Defensor.
- Marculfus, *Formularum libri duo*, ed. Alf Uddholm, Upsala: Eranos’ Förlag 1962 (Collectio scriptorum veterum Vpsaliensis); transl. Alice Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: two Merovingian Legal Handbooks*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2008 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 46).

- Mayo, Hope, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, Ph.D. thesis Harvard, Cambridge, MA 1974, 2 vols.
- McCarthy, Maria Caritas, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960.
- McNamara, Jo Ann and John Halborg, *The Ordeal of Community*, Toronto: Peregrina 1993.
- MacNeill, John Thomas and Helena Margaret Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, New York: Columbia University Press 1991.
- Memoriale qualiter*, ed. Claudio Morgand, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 177-289.
- MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, vol. 1, ed. Theo Kölzer, Hannover: Hahn 2001.
- Miracula Austrigisili*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 200-208.
- Ó Maidín, Uinseann, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996.
- O'Hara, Alexander and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Columbanus; Life of John of Réomé; and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 64).
- Odo of Cluny, *Collationes*, *PL* 133, col. 517-638A.
- Orationes supra defuncte corpus, hoc est quando migrat soror de corpore*, ed. German Morin, *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Opera omnia*, vol. 2, Paris: Maretioli 1942, pp. 127-128.
- Ordo Casinensis I*, ed. D. T. Leccisotti, Kassius Halinger, and M. Wegener, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 95-104.
- Ordo diurnus Anianensis*, ed. Clemens Molas and Maria Wegener, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 305-317.
- Pachomius, *Epistulae*, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932 (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, vol. 7), pp. 77-101.
- Pactum Fructuosi*, see Fructuosus.
- Paenitentiale Bigotianum*, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 198-239.

Paenitentiale Cummeani, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 108-135.

Paenitentiale Vinniani, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 74-95.

Paenitentiale Wallici, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 136-159.

Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. Adelheid Wellhausen, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2003.

Pardessus, Jean Marie, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, vol. 2, Paris 1849.

Passio Leodegari, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 282-322; transl. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1996 (Manchester Medieval Sources Series), pp. 193-153.

Passio Praeiecti, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 212-248; transl. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1996 (Manchester Medieval Sources Series), pp. 254-300.

Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann und Wilhelm Waitz, *MGH SRL*, Hannover: Hahn, 1887, pp. 12-192.

Pelagius, *Verba seniorum*, *PL 73*, col. 851-992.

Penitentiale Vallicellianum, ed. Adriaan Gaastra, *Between liturgy and canon law: a study of books of confession and penance in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy*, Ph.D. thesis University of Utrecht 2007.

Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua*, *PL 59*, col. 411-520; transl. Mary Josephine Suelzer, *Julianus Pomerius, The Contemplative Life*, London/Westminster, MD: Newman Press 1947 (Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 4).

Praefatio Gildae de Poenitentia, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Insitute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 60-65.

Privilege for the monastery of Rebais, *PL 87*, col. 1134B-1138A.

Privilege for the monastery of Soissons, *PL 88*, col. 1183B-1186C.

Privilege of Bishop Berthefridus of Amiens for Corbie, in: Léon Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes merovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie. Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'École des chartes*, Paris: A. Picard 1902.

Ps.-Athanasius, *The Life and Activity of the Holy and Blessed Teacher Syncletica*, transl. Elizabeth Bryson Bongie, Toronto: Peregrina Publishing 1997.

Ps.-Columbanus, *Regula monialium*, see Columbanus.

Ps.-Jerome, *Breuiarium in psalmos*, PL 26, col. 821C-1278D.

Ps.-Jerome, *Expositio Euangeliorum*, PL 30, col. 530A-590A

Ps.-Rufinus, *Commentarius in LXXV psalmos*, PL 21, col. 645B-960B.

Regula Aureliani, see Aurelianus of Arles.

Regula Basilii, see Basil of Caesarea.

Regula Benedicti Anianensis, ed. Josef Semmler, CCM 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 503-536.

Regula Benedicti, ed. Jean Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, SC 181-186, Paris: Cerf 1971-1972; ed. Josef Hanslik, CSEL 75, 2nd edition, Vienna: Tempsky 1977; transl. Bruce Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict. Edition and Translation*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press 2011 (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, vol. 6).

Regula Caesarii ad monachos, see Caesarius of Arles.

Regula Caesarii ad uirgines, see Caesarius of Arles

Regula Cassiani, ed. Henry Ledoyen, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), pp. 154-194.

Regula communis, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 172-211; transl. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 2: *Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1969 (Fathers of the Church, vol. 63), pp. 176-228.

Regula consensoria, ed. Donatien De Bruyne, 'La Regula Consensoria. Une règle des moines priscillianistes', in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 83-88.

Regula cuiusdam patris, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos". Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la "Regula monachorum" de Colomban', in: *Revue*

d'Histoire de la Spiritualité 49 (1973), pp. 3-36; transl. Albrecht Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The Regula cuiusdam patris (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 290-302.

Regula Donati, ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl and Michaela Zelzer, *CSEL* 98, *Monastica* 1, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, pp. 1-188; ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 'La règle de Donat pour l'abbesse Gauthstrude', in: *Benedictina* 25 (1978), pp. 219-313; transl. Jo Ann McNamara und John E. Halborg, in: *Vox Benedictina. Women and Monastic Spirituality* 2 (1985), pp. 85-107 and pp. 181-203.

Regula Eugippii, ed. Fernando Villegas and Adalbert de Vogüé, *CSEL* 87, Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky 1976; transl. Maximilian Krausbruber, *Die Regel des Eugippius. Die Klosterordnungen des Verfassers der Vita Sancti Severini im Lichte ihrer Quellen. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Innsbruck: Kulturverlag 1996.

Regula Ferrioli, ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117-148.

Regula Fructuosi, see Fructuosus of Braga.

Regula Isidori, see Isidore of Seville.

Regula Leandri, see Leander of Seville.

Regula Macharii, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères* vol. 1, *SC* 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 372-388.

Regula Magistri, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 105-107: Paris: Cerf 1964-1965; transl. Luke Eberle, *The Rule of the Master*, Kalamazoo, MI: Chistercian Publications 1977.

Regula orientalis, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, in: *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 2, *Soucrés Chétiennes* 298, Paris: Cerf 1982, 462-494.

Regula Pachomii, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932 (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, vol. 7), pp. 13-74; transl. Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2: *Pachomian Chronicles and Rules*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1981.

Regula patrum secunda, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 2, SC 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 274-282.

Regula patrum tertia, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 2, SC 298, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 532-542.

Regula Pauli et Stephani, ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, Montserrat 1959 (*Scripta et Documenta*, vol. 11).

Regula quattuor patrum, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 1, SC 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 180-204.

Regula Tarnatensis, ed. Fernando Villegas, ‘La “regula monasterii Tarnatensis”. Texte, sources et datation’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7-65.

Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, ed. Eva Schulz-Flügel, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1990 (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, vol. 34).

Rule of Ailbe, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (*Cistercian Studies Series*, vol. 162), pp. 19-27.

Rule of Carthage, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (*Cistercian Studies Series*, vol. 162), pp. 59-73.

Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (*Cistercian Studies Series*, vol. 162), pp. 53-57.

Rule of Tallaght, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (*Cistercian Studies Series*, vol. 162), pp. 97-130.

Rule of the Céli Dé, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (*Cistercian Studies Series*, vol. 162), pp. 81-96.

Sinodus Aquionalis Britanniae, ed./transl. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1983, pp. 66-67.

Siricius (d. 399), *Epistolae*, *PL* 13, col. 1031B-1096A.

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum*, *PL* 102, col. 13C-552B

- Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Diadema Monachorum*, PL 102, col. 593-690.
- Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, ed. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, CCM 8, Siegburg: F. Schmitt 1974; transl. David Barry, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 2007.
- Smaragdus, *Summarium in epistolas et evangelia*, PL 102, col. 553A-594B.
- Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Pierre Périchon, Pierre Maraval, and Günther Christian Hansen, SC 477/493/505-506, Paris: Cerf 2004-2007.
- Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed./transl. Günther Christian Hansen. *Sozomenos. Historia Ecclesiastica – Kirchengeschichte, Fontes Christiani 73.1-4*, Turnhout: Brepols 2004.
- Statuta Murbacensia*, ed. Josef Semmler, CCM 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 441-450.
- Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi*, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Nicole Dupré, SC 510, Paris: Cerf 2006.
- Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ed. Jacques Fontaine, SC 133-135, Paris 1967-1969; transl. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press 2000, pp. 1-29.
- Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo Imperatori porrectus*, ed Josef Semmler, CCM 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 319-327.
- Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, SC 345, Paris 1988, pp. 418-436.
- Tertullian, *De Anima*, ed. Jan Hendrik Waszink, CCSL 2, Turnhout: Brepols 1954, pp. 781-869.
- Testimony to the monastery of Sinchell the Younger, transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 162), pp. 133-136.
- Theodemar, Abbot of Montecassino, *Epistula ad Theodoricum gloriosum*, ed. Jacob Winandy and Kassius Hallinger, CCM 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 127-136.
- Theodor, *Epistula*, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épitres de S. Pachome, épitre de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932 (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, vol. 7), pp. 105-106.

- Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa*, ed. Pierre Canivet et Alice Leroy-Molinghen, *SC* 234/257, Paris: Cerf 1977/1979; transl. Richard M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1985.
- Traube, Ludwig, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*, Munich: Verlag der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898, pp. 627-628.
- Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, ed. Friedrich Leo, *MGH AA* 4.1, Berlin: Weidmann 1881.
- Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 358-377; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 60-86.
- Virtutes Geretrudis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 465-474.
- Vita Adelphi*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover: Hahn 1902, pp. 208-228.
- Vita Agili*, ed. Jean Mabillon *AASSOSB* 2, Paris 1669, pp. 315-326; *AASS* August, vol. 2, Antwerp 1743, pp. 569-597.
- Vita Alcuini*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, *MGH Script.* 15, Hannover: Hahn 1887, pp. 182-197.
- Vita Aldegundis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, pp. 79-90.
- Vita Amati*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 208-221 (abridged); *AASSOSB* 2, Paris 1669, pp. 129-135 (complete).
- Vita Anstrudis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, pp. 64-78; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 289-303.
- Vita Antonii*, see Athanasius of Alexandria
- Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 536-567; transl. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1996 (Manchester Medieval Sources Series), pp. 152-165.
- Vita Aureae*, ed. François Dolbeau, ‘Vie et miracles de sainte Aure, abbesse, jandis vénéré à Paris’, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), pp. 17-91.
- Vita Austrebertae*, *AASS* February, vol. 2, Paris 1864, pp. 419-423A.

Vita Balthildis, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 2*, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 475-508; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 264-288.

Vita Benedicti Anianensis, see Ardo.

Vita Bertilae, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM 6*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, pp. 95-109; *AASS Nov.* vol. 3, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1910, pp. 90B-94D; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 279-288.

Vita Caesarii, ed. Marie-José Delage, *SC 536*, Paris: Cerf 2010; transl. William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters. Translated with notes and introduction*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 19), pp. 1-65.

Vita Carileffi, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 3*, Hannover: Hahn 1896, pp. 386-394 (abridged); *AASS July*, vol. 1, pp. 85-102.

Vita Cuthberti (anonymous version), ed./transl. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985.

Vita Desiderii Ep. Carducensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 4*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 563-602.

Vita Eligii, see Audoinus of Rouen.

Vita Eustadiolae, *AASS June*, vol. 2, pp. 133C-144F.

Vita Faronis, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 171-203 (abridged); *AASS Oct.*, vol. 12, Brussels: Vromant 1867, col. 609-621.

Vita Filiberti, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 583-604.

Vita Frodoberti, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 72-88.

Vita Galli vetustissima, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 4*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 251-256.

Vita Geretrudis, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 2*, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 453-474.

Vita Germani Grandivallensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM 5*, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 25-40; transl. Arnold Nussbaumer, *Der Bericht des Priesters Bobolen über die Jura-Heiligen German und Randoald. Nach dem Codex Sangallensis 551 übersetzt*, Laufen 1965.

- Vita Leobae*, ed. Wilhelm Waitz, *MGH Script.* 15, Hannover: Hahn 1887, pp. 118-131.
- Vita Liudgeri*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *MGH Script.* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1882, 405-414.
- Vita Melaniae Iunioris*, ed. Denys Gorce, *SC* 90, Paris: Cerf 1962.
- Vita Odilae*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, pp. 24-50.
- Vita Pachomii* (Bohairic version), transl. Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 45).
- Vita Pachomii* (first Greek version), ed. François Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae*, Brüssel: Société des Bollandistes 1932 (Subsidia Hagiographica, vol. 19).
- Vita Pacomii iunioris*, ed. Albrecht Diem and Hildegund Müller, ‘Vita, Regula, Sermo: Eine unbekannte lateinische Vita Pacomii als Lehrtext für ungebildete Mönche und als Traktat über das Sprechen’, in: Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010, pp. 223-272.
- Vita Pardulfi*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 7, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1920, pp. 24-40.
- Vita patrum Iurensium*, ed. François Martine, *SC* 142, Paris: Cerf 1968; transl. Tim Vivian, Kim Vivian, and Jeffrey Burton Russel, *The Lives of the Jura Fathers*, Kalamazoo, MI/Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications 1999 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 178).
- Vita Rictrudis*, see Hucbald of St.-Amand.
- Vita Rigoberti*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 7, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1920, pp. 58-80.
- Vita Romarici*, ed. Bruno Kursch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 208-225; complete edition: *AASSOSB* 2, Paris 1669, pp. 415-420.
- Vita Rusticulae sive Marciae abbatissae Arelatensis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 337-351; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 119-136.
- Vita Sadalbergae*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 40-66; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, pp. 176-194.
- Vita Sigiramni*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 606-625.

Vita Vedastis, see Jonas of Bobbio and Alcuin.

Vita Walarici abbatis Leuconensis, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 157-175.

Vita Wandregisili Abbatis Fontanellensis prima, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 1-24.

Vita Wandregisili altera, ed. Pierre van den Bosch, *AASS* July, vol. 5, Antwerp 1772, pp. 272-281.

Vita Wilfridi, see Eddius Stephanus.

Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Galli*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 280-337.

Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *MGH Script.* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1875, pp. 331-353; transl. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press 2000, pp. 107-140.

Literature

Agamben, Giorgio, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2013.

Alciati, Roberto, 'And the Villa Became a Monastery: Sulpicius Severus' Community of Primuliacum', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 85-98.

Alexander, Dominic, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2008.

Anaya Torres, Juan Miguel, *La expulsión de los religiosos: Un recorrido histórico que muestra interés pastoral de la Iglesia*, Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana 2007.

Angenendt, Arnold, 'Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800', in: Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1982, pp. 52-79.

- Angenendt, Arnold, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153-221.
- Angenendt, Arnold, 'Mit reinen Händen. Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese', in: Georg Jenal and Stephanie Haarländer (eds.), *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Hirsemann 1993, pp. 297-316.
- Angenendt, Arnold, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1994.
- Arendt, Hans-Peter, *Bußsakrament und Einzelbeichte. Die tridentinischen Lehraussagen über das Sündenbekenntnis und ihre Verbindlichkeit für die Reform des Bußsakramentes*, Freiburg: Herder 1981.
- Arjava, Antti, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1996.
- Asad, Talal, *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1993.
- Asmussen, Jes Peter, 'Beichte (religionsgeschichtlich)', in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 5, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1980, pp. 411-414.
- Bacht, Heinrich, 'Agrypnia. Die Motive des Schlafentzugs im frühen Mönchtum', in: Günther Pflug, Brita Eckert, and Heinz Friesenhahn (eds.), *Bibliothek, Buch, Geschichte: Kurt Köster zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1977, pp. 353-369.
- Barney Warf and Santa Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New York: Routledge 2014.
- Barthes, Roland, 'The Death of the Author', in: *idem, Image/Music/Text*, transl. Stephen Heath, New York: Hill and Wang 1977, pp. 142-147.
- Bauer, Nancy, 'Monasticism after dark: from dormitory to cell', in: *American Benedictine Review* 38:1 (1987), pp. 95-114.
- Baun, Jane, 'Gregory's Eschatology', in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 157-176.
- Bayer, Clemens M. M., 'Vita Eligii', in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 25, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2007, pp. 461-524.
- Beach, Alison and Andrea Juganaru, 'The Double Monastery as an Historiographical Problem', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval*

- Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Bell, Rudolph M., *Holy Anorexia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1985.
- Berger, Jutta Maria, *Die Geschichte der Gastfreundschaft im hochmittelalterlichen Mönchtum. Die Cistercienser*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1999.
- Berschin, Walter, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988.
- Bertrand, Pascal, *Die Evagriusübersetzung der Vita Antonii. Rezeption-Überlieferung-Edition. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vitas patrum-Tradition*, Ph.D. thesis University of Utrecht 2006.
- Bhaldraithe, Eoin de, ‘Obedience: The Doctrine of the Irish Monastic Rules’, in: *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983), pp. 63-84.
- Biller, Peter and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*; York: York Medieval Press 1998.
- Bischoff, Bernhard and Birgit Ebersperger, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (*Laon – Paderborn*), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004.
- Bishko, Charles Julian, ‘The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism’, in: *idem, Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300*, London: Variorum Reprints 1984, pp. 1-47.
- Blanchard, Monica J., ‘*Sarabaitae* and *Remnuoth*. Coptic Considerations’, in: James E. Goehring and Janet A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity. Language, Literature, and Social Context*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2007, pp. 49-60.
- Blennemann, Gordon, ‘Ascetic prayer for the dead in the Early Medieval West’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Blennemann, Gordon, ‘Hagiographie: une norme narrée. Regards sur les Vitae de Jutta de Sponheim et de Hildegarde de Bingen, et sur le Liber visionum d’Élisabeth de Schönau’, in: Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabeth Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (eds.), *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieux clos (IV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2015, pp. 115-127.

- Bodarwé, Katrinette, ‘Schadet Grammatik der Frauenfrömmigkeit?’, in: Carola Jaeggi *et al.* (eds.), *Frauen –Kloster – Kunst*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 63-73.
- Bonnerue, Pierre, ‘Benoît d’Aniane et la législation monastique’, in: François Bougard (ed.), *Le christianisme en occident du début du VII^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle, Regards sur l’histoire*, Paris: SEDES 1997, pp. 175-185.
- Bonnerue, Pierre, ‘Éléments de topographie historique dans les règles monastiques occidentales’, in: *Studia Monastica* 37 (1995), pp. 57-77.
- Bonnerue, Pierre, ‘Opus et labor dans les règles monastiques anciennes’, in: *Studia Monastica* 35 (1993), pp. 265-291.
- Bouillet, M.-E., ‘Le vrai “Codex Regularum” de Saint Benoît d’Aniane’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 75 (1965), pp. 345-349.
- Bowes, Kimberley, ‘Inventing Ascetic Space: Houses, Monasteries and the “Archeology of Monasticism”’, in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 315-351.
- Brakke, David, ‘Care for the Poor, Fear of Poverty, and Love of Money: Evagrius Ponticus on the Monk’s Economic Vulnerability’, in: Susan Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Christianity, Holy Cross Studies in Patristic Theology and History*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2008, pp. 76-87.
- Brakke, David, ‘Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self’, in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001), pp. 501-535.
- Brakke, David, ‘The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul’, in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995), pp. 419-460.
- Brakke, David, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995.
- Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2006.
- Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints*, Chicago: Chicago University Press 1981.
- Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015.
- Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell 2003.

- Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016.
- Bruce, Scott G., “‘Lurking with Spiritual Intent’: a Note on the Origin and Functions of the Monastic Roundsman (*circator*)”, in: *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), pp. 75-89.
- Bruce, Scott G., ‘The tongue is a fire: the discipline of silence in early medieval monasticism (400-1100)’, in: Edwin D. Craun (ed.), *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 2007 (Studies in Medieval Culture, vol. 47), pp. 3-32.
- Bruce, Scott G., *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007.
- Brunert, Maria-Elisabeth, *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, Münster: Aschendorff 1984.
- Brunner, Jean-Josef, *Der Schlüssel im Wandel der Zeit*, Bern/Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt 1988.
- Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté Chrétienne: Sens et pratiques sociales de l’anathème et de l’excommunication (IV^e-XII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015.
- Bully, Sébastien, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018.
- Bully, Sébastien and Emmet Marron, ‘L’“instant Colomban”. Conditions de fondation et premiers éléments de topographie des monastères d’Annegray et de Luxeuil’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 139-164.
- Callan, Maeve B., ‘St Darerca and her sister scholars: women and education in medieval Ireland’, in: *Gender and History* 15:1 (2003), pp. 32-49.
- Carcat, Augustine, *La vie de Sainte Fare. Fondatrice et première abbesse de Fare-monstier en Brie*, Paris: Chez Robert Sara 1629.
- Caseau, Béatrice, ‘L’image du mauvais moine: Les remnuoths et les sarabaïtes de Jérôme et de Cassien’, in: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009), pp. 11-25.

- Casiday, Augustine, ‘Cassian against the Pelagians’, in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 7-23.
Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae, vol. 1,
Utrecht/The Hague: Nijhoff/Kemink 1887.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., ‘The monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 295-304.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., ‘The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio’, in: *Celtica* 11 (1976), pp. 43-59.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2000.
- Choy, Renie S., ‘The Deposit of Monastic Faith: The Carolingians on Essence of Monasticism’, in: Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past: Papers read at the 2011 Summer Meeting and the 2012 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2013 (Studies in Church History, vol. 49), pp. 74-86.
- Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016.
- Christophe, Paul, *Cassien et Césaire. Prédicateurs de la morale monastique*, Gembloux/Paris 1969.
- Clark, Francis, *The “Gregorian” Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism*, Leiden: Brill 2003.
- Claussen, Martin A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004.
- Claussen, Martin, ‘Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 806: a little-known manuscript of Benedict of Aniane’s Concordia regularum’, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 23:1 (2015), pp. 1-42.
- Cloke, Gilian, *This Female Man of God. Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450*, London: Routledge 1995
- Cochelin, Isabelle, ‘Customaries as inspirational sources’, in: Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines (eds.), *Consuetudines et Regulae. Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 27-72.

- Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Downplayed or silenced: authorial voices behind customaries and customs (eighth to eleventh centuries)', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016 (Disciplina Monastica, vol. 11), pp. 153-173.
- Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life in the Central Middle Ages: a Tight Community shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Collins, Samuel W., *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan 2012.
- Constable, Giles, 'The Authority of Superiors in Religious Communities', in: George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thommene (eds.), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de La Napoule*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1978, pp. 189-210.
- Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia, PA/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011.
- Cooper, Kate, 'Approaching the Holy Household', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 131-142.
- Corrigan, John, 'Spatiality and religion', in: Barney Warf and Santa Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New York: Routledge 2014, pp. 157-172.
- Cottineau, Laurent Henri, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. 2, Mâcon: Protat frères 1939.
- Cox Miller, Patricia, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1994.
- Crislip, Andrew T., *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2005.
- Czock, Miriam, *Gottes Haus: Untersuchungen zur Kirche als heiligem Raum von der Spätantike bis ins Frühmittelalter*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2012.
- Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'Introducing monastic space: the early years, 250-750', in: *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 19 (2014), pp. 5-25.

- Dailey, Erin Thomas A., *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite*, Leiden: Brill 2015.
- Dal Santo, Matthew, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012.
- Dartmann, Christoph, 'Normative Schriftlichkeit im früheren Mittelalter: das benediktinische Mönchtum', in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 100 (2004), pp. 1-61.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622-653.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Imitatio morum. The cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in: Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, New York/London: Garland Publishing 1998, pp. 49-80.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Internal Cloisters: The case of Ekkehard's Casus Sancti Galli', in: Walter Pohl und Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2000, pp. 209-221.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in: *eadem*, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 291-328.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuws und Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185-224.
- De Jong, Mayke, 'What was public about public penance? *Paenitentia Publica* and justice in the Carolingian world', in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secolo IX-XI)*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo 1997 (Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi su'll alto Medioevo, vol. 44.2), pp. 863-904.
- De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996.

- De Nie, Giselle, ‘*Contagium* and Images of Self in Late Sixth-Century Gaul’, in: Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (eds.), *Purity and Holiness. The Heritage of Leviticus*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 1999, pp. 247-261.
- De Seilhac, Lazare, M., Bernard Saïd, Madeline Braquet, and Véronique Dupont, *Règles Monastiques au Féminin*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1996.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘“Comment les moines dormiront”. Commentaire d’un chapitre de la Règle de Saint Benoît’, in: *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 25-62.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘La mort dans les monastères: Jonas de Bobbio et les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand’, in: *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont (1920-1986)*, Rome: Institutum Patristicum “Augustinianum” 1988, pp. 593-619.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘La règle de Césaire d’Arles pour les moines: un résumé de sa Règle pour les moniales’, in: *Revue d’Ascétique et de Mystique* 47 (1971), pp. 369-406.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘La règle de Donat pour l’abbesse Gauthstrude’, in: *Benedictina* 25 (1978), pp. 219-313
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘Lectio sanctas libenter audire: silence, reading, and prayer in St. Benedict’, in: *Benedictina* 27 (1980), pp. 11-16.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘Sub Regula vel Abbate, Étude sur la signification théologique des règles monastiques anciennes’, in: *Colectanea Cistercensia* 33 (1971), pp. 200-241.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, ‘The Master and St Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn’, in: *English Historical Review* 112 (1992), pp. 95-103.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Community and Abbot in the Rule of St. Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1979, pp. 63-159.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Die Regula Benedicti. Theologisch-Spirituelles Kommentar*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag 1983, pp. 165-179.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l’antiquité*, vol. 10-11, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2006/2007.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, *Jonas de Bobbio, Vie de Saint Colomban et de ses disciples*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1988.
- De Vogüé, Adalbert, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181-186, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1971.
- Dekkers, Eligius, ‘Een onbekend werk van Sint Eligius?’, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63 (1989), pp. 296-308.

- Delage, Mari-José, *Vite de Césaire d'Arles*, SC 536, Paris: Cerf 2010.
- Delisle, Léopold Victor, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés a la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8 823-18 613*, Paris: Durand & Pedone-Lauriel 1863-1874.
- Dérout, Jean-Louis, 'Les possibilités d'interprétation semiologiques des textes hagiographiques', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 151-162.
- Devroey Jean-Pierre, 'Monastic Economics in the Carolingian Age', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Dey, Hendrik W., 'Building worlds apart. Walls and the construction of communal monasticism from Augustine through Benedict', in: *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004), pp. 357-371.
- Díaz, Pablo C., 'Social plurality and monastic diversity in late Antique Hispania (6th–8th c.)', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Diem, Albrecht and Claudia Rapp, 'The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Diem, Albrecht and Hildegund Müller, 'Vita, Regula, Sermo: Eine unbekante lateinische Vita Pacomii als Lehrtext für ungebildete Mönche und als Traktat über das Sprechen', in: Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010, pp. 223-272.
- Diem, Albrecht and Matthieu van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, St. Ottilien: EOS-Editions 2016.
- Diem, Albrecht and Philip Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules, 4th-9th c.', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming
- Diem, Albrecht, '...ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in: Victoria

- Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191-224.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Choreographing monastic life: Some observations on the *Memoriale qualiter*', in: Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward (eds.), *Categorising the Church. Monastic Communities, Canonical Clergy and Episcopal Authority in the Carolingian World*, Turnhout, Brepols, forthcoming.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68-85 and pp. 248-249.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Das Ende des monastischen Experiments. Liebe, Beichte und Schweigen in der *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines* (mit einer Übersetzung im Anhang)', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (*Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen*, vol. 47), pp. 81-136.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli" Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in: Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tresp, Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüebli (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (Monasterium Sancti Galli, vol. 7), St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 65-97.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules', in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17-39.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259-305.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Encounters between monks and demons', in: A. Harbus, Tette Hofstra, and Karin Olsen (eds.), *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Latin and Germanic Literature*, Leuven: Peeters 2004 (*Germania Latina*, vol. 5), pp. 51-67.

- Diem, Albrecht, 'Exclusion and the Rhetoric of Accessibility in the Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism', in: Sylvie Joye, Maria Cristina LaRocca, and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *La construction sociale du sujet exclu (IV^e-XI^e siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2019, pp. 123-147.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Gregory's Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul', in: Philippe Depreux, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 165-191.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West', in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011 (Disciplina Monastica, vol. 8), pp. 53-84.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Merovingian Monasticism: Dissent and Experiment', in: Isabel Moreira and Bonnie Effros (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019, forthcoming.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Monastic Rules', in: Philip L. Reynolds (ed.), *Great Christian Jurists and Legal Collections in the First Millennium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019, pp. 214-236.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521-559.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1-38.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Organisierte Keuschheit. Sexualprävention im Mönchtum der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters', in: *Invertito. Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 3 (2001), pp. 8-37.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Teaching Sodomy in a Carolingian Monastery: A Study of Walahfrid Strabo's and Heito's *Visio Wettini*', in: *German History* 34 (2016), pp. 385-401.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti', in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish*

- Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 243-261.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools. The Role of Alcuin', in: Luuk A. J. R. Houwen and Alasdair A. McDonald (eds.), *Alcuin of York. Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, Groningen: Forsten 1998 (Germania Latina, vol. 3), pp. 27-44.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Companion on Women and Gender in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432-446.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk in Gaul. Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Iohannis* and the construction of a monastic identity', in: *Revue Mabillon* 80 (2008), pp. 5-50.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016 (Disciplina Monastica, vol. 11), pp. 51-67.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Vita vel Regula: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages', in: Samantha Herrick (ed.), *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500-1500*, Leiden: Brill 2019, pp. 123-142.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Maximilian Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters vol. 3), pp. 63-89.
- Diem, Albrecht, 'Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity', in: Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013 (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, vol. 14), pp. 47-88.
- Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 24).
- Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Iles 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 VII^e siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde’, in: Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1989 (Beihefte der Francia, vol. 16.2), pp. 371-394.
- Dörries, Hermann, ‘Die Beichte im alten Mönchtum’, in: *idem, Wort und Stunde. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966, pp. 225-250.
- Dossey, Leslie, ‘Sleeping arrangements and private space: a cultural approach to subdivision of late antique homes’, in: David Brakke, Deborah Deliyannis, and Edward Watts (eds.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Farnham: Ashgate 2012, pp. 181-197.
- Dossey, Leslie, ‘Watchful Greeks and Lazy Romans: Disciplining Sleep in Late Antiquity’, in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21:2 (2013), pp. 209-239.
- Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966.
- Dubreucq, Alain and Lauranson-Rosaz, Christian, ‘De l’ermitage au monastère: aux origines de l’espace monastique en Gaule à partir de deux exemples: Burgondie et l’Auvergne (fin V^e-début VIII^e siècle)’, in: *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 9 (2003) 279-294.
- Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, *et al.*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols., Niort: L. Favre 1883-1887.
- Dumézil, Bruno, ‘L’affaire Agrestius de Luxeuil: hérésie et régionalisme dans la Bourgondie du VII^e siècle’, in: *Médiévales* 52 (2007), pp. 135-152.
- Dunn, Marilyn, ‘Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio’, in: *Peritia* 20 (2008), pp. 1-27.
- Dunn, Marilyn, ‘Mastering Benedict: monastic rules and their authors in the early medieval West’, in: *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), pp. 567-594.
- Dunn, Marilyn, ‘The Master and St Benedict: a rejoinder’, in: *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), pp. 104-111.
- Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MS: Blackwell 2000.
- Ebling, Horst, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 1972 (Beihefte der Francia, vol. 2).

- Effros, Bonnie, *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2002.
- Ekirch, Roger A., *At Day's Close. Night in Times Past*, New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company 2005.
- Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York: Harcourt 1959.
- Elliott, Dyan, 'Pollution, illusion, and masculine disarray: nocturnal emissions and the sexuality of the clergy', in: Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schulz (eds.), *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 1997, pp. 1-23.
- Elm, Kaspar and Michel Parisse (eds.), *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1992.
- Engelbert, Pius, 'Benedikt von Aniane und der Codex regularum Clm 28118 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München', in: *Studia Monastica* 57 (2015), pp. 69-90.
- Engelbert, Pius, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der *Regula Benedicti* im Frühmittelalter', in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 81 (1986), pp. 39-60.
- Engelbert, Pius, *Der Codex Regularum des Benedikt von Aniane*, St. Ottilien: Eos Editions 2016.
- Esders Stefan and Steffen Patzold, 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 371-392.
- Ewig, Eugen, 'Das Formular von Rebais und die Bischofsprivilegien der Merowingerzeit', in: *idem, Spätantikes und fränkischen Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, vol. 2, Munich 1979 (Beihefte der Francia, vol. 3.2), pp. 457-463.
- Ewig, Eugen, 'Das Privileg des Bischofs Berthefrid von Amiens für Corbie von 664 und die Klosterpolitik der Königin Balthild', in: *Francia* 1 (1973), pp. 62-114.
- Ewig, Eugen, *Spätantikes und fränkischen Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, 2 vols., Munich 1979 (Beihefte der Francia, vol. 3.1-2).
- Feiss, Hugh, 'Circatores: From Benedict of Nursia to Humbert of Romans', in: *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), pp. 346-379.

- Felten, Franz J., ‘Auf dem Weg zu Kanonissen und Kanonissenstift. Ordnungskonzepte der weiblichen Vita religiosa bis ins 9. Jahrhundert’, in: Raphaela Averkorn, Eberhard, Raimund Haas, and Bernd Schmies (eds.), *Europa und die Welt der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Dieter Berg*, Bochum: Winkler 2004, pp. 551-573.
- Felten, Franz J., ‘Herrschaft des Abtes’, in: Friedrich Prinz (ed.), *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1988 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 33), pp. 147-296.
- Felten, Franz J., *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich. Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1980 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 20).
- Ferrari, Guy, *Early Roman Monasteries; Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana 1957 (Studi di antichità cristiana, vol. 23).
- Figuinha, Matheus Coutinho, ‘Pro qualitate loci et instantia laboris: Monasteries and their Human and Natural Environments in Late Antique Gaul’, in: *Medieval Worlds* 9 (2019), pp. 82-111.
- Flechner, Roy and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016.
- Flint, Valerie, ‘Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe’, in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149-166.
- Folz, Robert, ‘Tradition hagiographique et culte de sainte Bathilde, reine des Francs’, in: *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 119 (1975), pp. 369-385.
- Foot, Sarah, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006.
- Fortin, John R, ‘The reaffirmation of monastic hospitality’, in: *Downside Review* 121:423 (2003), pp. 105-118.

- Foucault, Michel, ‘What is an author?’, in: James D. Faubion (ed.), *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology. Essential works of Michel Foucault*, transl. Robert Hurley et al., vol. 2, New York: The New Press 2002, pp. 207-222.
- Foucault, Michel, *Die Geständnisse des Fleisches. Sexualität und Wahrheit 4*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2019.
- Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books 1979.
- Foucault, Michel, *On the Government of the Living. Lectures at the College de France 1979-1980*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2016.
- Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, New York: Pantheon Books 1978.
- Fouracre, Paul and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1996.
- Fouracre, Paul, ‘The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria’, in: Derek Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Oxford: Blackwell 1979 (Studies in Church History, vol. 16), pp. 77-91.
- Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.
- Frank, Isnard W., ‘Beichte (Mittelalter)’, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 5, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1980, pp. 414-421.
- Frank, Karl Suso, ‘Die Klosteranlage nach der Regula Magistri’, in: *Regulae Benedicti Studia* 6/7 (1977/1978, published 1981), pp. 27-46.
- Frank, Karl Suso, ‘Lesen, Schreiben und Bücher im frühen Mönchtum’, in: Ursula Schaefer (ed.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1993, pp. 7-18.
- Gaastra, Adriaan, *Between liturgy and canon law: a study of books of confession and penance in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy*, Ph.D. thesis University of Utrecht 2007.
- Gaillard, Michèle and Anne-Marie Helvétius, ‘Production de textes et réforme d’un monastère double. L’exemple de Remiremont du VII^e au IX^e siècle’, in: Carola Jaeggi et al. (eds.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 383-393.

- Gaillard, Michèle, ‘Colomban: un *peregrinus* bien informé’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 213-225.
- Gaillard, Michèle, ‘De l’Eigekloster au monastère royal. L’abbaye Saint-Jean de Laon, du milieu du VII^e siècle au milieu du VIII^e siècle à travers les sources hagiographiques’, in: *Beihefte der Francia* 52 (2001), pp. 251-262.
- Gaillard, Michèle, ‘L’accueil des laïcs dans les monastères (V^e -IX^e siècle), d’après les règles monastiques’, in: *Bulletin du centre d’études médiévales d’Auxerre, Hors-série* 8 (2015), pp. 1-13.
- Ganz, David, ‘Les relations entre Luxeuil et Corbie’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 261-269.
- Gehl, Paul F., ‘*Competens silentium*: Varieties of monastic silence in the Medieval West’, in: *Viator* 18 (1987), pp. 125-160.
- Goehring, James E., ‘The dark side of landscape: ideology and power in the Christian myth of the desert’, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 437-451.
- Goffman, Erving, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Gordon, Stephen, ‘Medical condition, demon or undead corpse? Sleep paralysis and the nightmare in medieval Europe’, in: *Social History of Medicine* 28:3 (2015), pp. 425-444.
- Gougaud, Louis, ‘Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 167-184 and pp. 321-333.
- Gouillet, Monique, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2005.
- Guerout, Jean, ‘Fare (saint)’, in: *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol 16, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1967, cols 505-509.
- Hallinger, Kassius, ‘Papst Gregor der Große und der hl. Benedikt’, in: Basilius Steidle (ed.), *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, Rome: Orbis Catholicus/Herder 1957 (Studia Anselmiana vol. 42), pp. 231-319.

- Hamilton, Sarah and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in: Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 1-23.
- Hanslik, Rudolf, *Regula Benedicti, CSEL 75*, Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky 1977.
- Hartmann, Martina, 'Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1-19.
- Hauke, Hermann, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Clm 28111-28254*, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 1986.
- Heijmans, Marc, 'Les découvertes archéologiques dans l'enclos Saint-Césaire', in: J.-M. Rouquette et al. (eds.), *Arles: histoire, territoires et cultures*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale 2008, pp. 250-252.
- Heijmans, Marc, "L'enclos Saint-Césaire à Arles, un chantier controversé", in: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales* 3 (2010), pp. 2-15.
- Heinzelmann, Martin, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert*, Zürich/Munich: Artemis Verlag 1976.
- Heinzelmann, Martin, 'Eligius monetarius: Norm oder Sonderfall?', in: Jörg Jarnut and Jürgen Strothmann (eds.), *Die merowingischen Monetarmünzen als Quelle zum Verständnis des 7. Jahrhunderts in Gallien*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink 2013, pp. 243-291.
- Heinzelmann, Martin, 'Studia sanctorum. Éducation, milieu d'instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l'hagiographie en Gaul jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne', in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen Âge. Culture education et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, Nanterre: Editions Erasme 1990, pp. 105-138.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie and Michèle Galliard, 'Production de textes et réforme d'un monastère double: l'exemple de Remiremont du VII^e au IX^e siècle', in: Jeffery Hamburger, C. Jäggi, S. Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein, *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 383-393.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribuée à Jonas', in: *Revue du Nord* 93:391-392 (2011), pp. 671-689.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates dans le monde franc (VII^e-VIII^e siècles)', in: Edina Bozóky (ed.), *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique*

- au Moyen Âge en Occident. Actes du colloque de Poitiers*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012 (Hagiologia, vol. 8), pp. 59-80.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Hagiographie et réformes monastiques dans le monde franc du VII^e siècle’, in: *Médiévales* 62 (2012), pp. 33-48.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘L’abbaye d’Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515-814)’, in: Bernard Andenmatten and Pierre Alain Mariaux, *L’abbaye de Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, 515-2015*, vol. 1: *Histoire et archéologie*, Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio 2015, pp. 111-133.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘L’image de l’abbé à l’époque mérovingienne’, in: Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-Lutz, and Volker Sciorr (eds.), *Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 2012, pp. 253-276.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘L’organisation des monastères féminins à l’époque mérovingienne’, in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 47), pp. 151-169.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie, ‘Le sexe des anges au Moyen Âge’, in: Michèle Riot-Sarcey (ed.), *De la différence des sexes. Le genre en histoire*, Paris: Larousse 2010, pp. 101-130 and pp. 246-251.
- Herwegen, Ildefons, *Das Pactum des hl. Fructuosus von Braga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des suevisch-westgotischen Mönchtums, und seines Rechtes*, Stuttgart: Enke 1907 (Kirchgenrechtliche Abhandlungen, vol. 40).
- Hillner, Julia, ‘Monks and children: corporal punishment in Late Antiquity’, in: *European Review of History* 16:6 (2009), pp. 773-791.
- Hilpsch, Stephanus, *Die Doppelköster. Entstehung und Organisation*, Münster: Aschendorff 1928.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russel, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, Berkeley/London: University of California Press 2012 (orig. 1983).
- Hochschild, Arlie Russel, ‘Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure’, *American Journal of Sociology* 85:3 (1979), pp. 551-575.

- Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500-840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992.
- Hochstetter, Donald , ‘The Meaning of Monastic Cloister for Women according to Caesarius of Arles’, in: Thomas F. X. Noble and John J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 1987, pp. 27-40.
- Holstenius, Lucas and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759.
- Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Paris: Billaine 1663.
- Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Rome 1661.
- Holze, Heinrich, ‘Schweigen und Gotteserfahrung bei den ägyptischen Mönchsvätern’, in: *Erbe und Auftrag* 69 (1993), pp. 314-321.
- Ménard, Nicolas Hugues *Concordia regularum auctore S. Benedicto Aniane abbate*, Paris: Bechet 1638.
- Anton, Hans Hubert, ‘Smaragd’, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, col. 644-648.
- Hummer, Hans J., ‘Die merowingische Herkunft der Vita Sadalbergae’, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003), pp. 459-493.
- Hummer, Hans J., *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.
- Hurschmann, Rolf and Volker Pingel, ‘Schloß, Schlüssel’, in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 11, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2001, col. 186-189.
- Illich, Ivan, ‘Lectio Divina’, in: Ursula Schaefer (ed.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1993, pp. 19-35.
- Iogna-Prat, Dominique, ‘Churches in the Landscape’, in: Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds.), *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 363-379.

- Jacobs, Uwe Kai, *Die Regula Benedicti als Rechtsbuch. Eine rechtshistorische und rechtstheologische Untersuchung*, Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau Verlag 1987.
- Jaspert, Bernd, *Die Regula Magistri-Regula Benedicti-Kontroverse*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1975 (Regulae Benedicti Studia Supplementa, vol. 3).
- Jenal, Georg, ‘Smaragdus’, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 674-675.
- Jenal, Georg, *Italia ascetica atque monastica. Das Asketen- und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250-604)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1995 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 39.1/2).
- Johnston, Elva, ‘Exiles from the edge? The Irish contexts of peregrinatio’, in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Europe in the Middle Ages: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 38-52.
- Kaplan, Michel, ‘The Economy of Byzantine Monasteries’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Kardong, Terrence G., ‘Better Than Benedict? Albrecht Diem’s Promotion of the *Regula Cuiusdam Patris Ad uirgines*’, in: *American Benedictine Review* 66:4 (2015), pp. 402-418.
- Kardong, Terrence, ‘Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns’, in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395-412.
- Kasper, Clemens, *Theologie und Askese. Zur Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag 1991.
- Keskiaho, Jesse, ‘The handling and interpretation of dreams and visions in late sixth-to eighth-century Gallic and Anglo-Latin hagiography and histories’, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), pp. 227-248.
- Keskiaho, Jesse, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015.
- Kettemann, Walter, *Subsidia Anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten “anianischen Reform”*, Ph.D. thesis Duisburg University 2000.

- Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters. Translated with notes and introduction*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 19).
- Klingshirn, William E., ‘Caesarius’s Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition of the ‘Vita Caesarii’’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 100 (1990), pp. 441-481.
- Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994.
- Knowles, David, ‘The Regula Magistri and the Rule of St. Benedict’, in: *idem, Great Historical Enterprises*, London: Nelson 1963, pp. 139-195.
- Kramer, Rutger, ‘“...ut normam salutiferam cunctis ostenderet”: représentations de l’autorité impériale dans la Vita Benedicti Anianensis et la Vita Adalhardi’, in: Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier (eds.), *Normes et hagiographie dans l’Occident latin (V^e-XVI^e siècles) Actes du colloque international de Lyon, 4-6 octobre 2010, Dec 2014*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 101-118.
- Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019.
- Kreiner, Jamie, ‘Autopsies and Philosophies of a Merovingian Life: Death, Responsibility, Salvation’, in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22:1 (2014), pp. 113-152.
- Kreiner, Jamie, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.
- Kruger, Steven F., *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992.
- Lahaye-Geusen, Maria, *Das Opfer der Kinder: ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums im Hohen Mittelalter*, Altenberg: Oros Verlag 1991.
- Lake, Stephen, ‘Hagiography and the Cult of Saints’, in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 225-246.
- Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge: Boydell 1997.
- Lateur, Emmanuel, ‘Silence du Christ et silence monastique’, in: *Collenctane Cistercensis* 38 (1976), pp. 185-198.
- Lauwers, Michel (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d’un système de lieux dans l’Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014.

- Lauwers, Michel, ‘Constructing Monastic Space in the Early and Central Medieval West (5th–12th centuries)’, in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Le Goff, Jacques, *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1984.
- Le Jan, Régine, ‘Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia’, in: Mayke de Jong, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theeuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 243-269.
- Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols, Philadelphia, PA: Lea Brothers 1896.
- Leclercq, Jean, ‘La cloture: points de repère historiques’, in: *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 43:4 (1981), pp. 366-371.
- Leclercq, Jean, ‘Mönchtum und Peregrinatio im Frühmittelalter’, in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 55 (1960), pp. 212-225.
- Leclercq, Jean, ‘Silence et parole dans l’expérience spirituelle d’hier et d’aujourd’hui’, in: *Collectane Cistercensis* 45 (1983), pp. 185-198.
- LeGoff, Jaques, ‘Le rire dans les règles monastiques du Haut Moyen Âge’, in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen-Âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, La Garenne-Colombes: Ed. européennes Erasme 1990, pp. 93-103.
- Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1879.
- Leyerle, Blake, ‘Monks and Other Animals’, in: Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller (eds.), *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 2005, pp. 150-174.
- Leyser, Conrad, ‘Masculinity in Flux: Nocturnal Emission and the Limits of Celibacy in the Early Middle Ages’, in: D. M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, London/New York: Taylor and Francis 1999, pp. 103-120.
- Leyser, Conrad, ‘Semi-Pelagianism’, in: A. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publ. 1999, col. 761-766.
- Leyser, Conrad, ‘*This Sainted Isle*: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism’, in: William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (eds.), *The Limits of Ancient*

- Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1999, pp. 188-206.
- Leyser, Conrad, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2000.
- Lifshitz, Felice, 'Is Mother Superior? Towards a History of Feminine *Amtscharisma*', in: John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering*, New York/London: Garland 1996, pp. 117-138.
- Lifshitz, Felice, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York: Fordham University Press 2014.
- Löfstedt, Bengt, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio', in: *Arctos* 8 (1974), pp. 79-95.
- Louis, Étienne, 'Espaces monastiques sacrés et profanes à Hamage (Nord), VII^e-IX^e siècles Monastères et espace social', in: *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 435-471.
- Lubinsky, Crystal Lynn, *Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood. The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014
- Lynch, Joseph H., 'The Cistercians and Underage Novices', in: *Citeaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 24 (1973), pp. 283-297.
- Magnani, Eliana, 'Female house ascetics, from the fourth to the twelfth centuries', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Maillé, Geneviève Alette de Rohan-Chabot Marquise de, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, Paris: A. & J. Picard 1971.
- Markus, Robert Austin, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 257-271.
- Markus, Robert Austin, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990.
- Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange', in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 208-234.

- Mathisen, Ralph W., ‘Les pratiques de l’excommunication d’après la législation conciliaire en Gaule (V^e-VI^e siècle)’, in: Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux (eds.), *Pratiques de l’eucharistie dans les Eglises d’Orient et d’Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge), I: L’institution. Actes du séminaire tenu à Paris, Institut catholique (1997-2004)*, Paris: Institut d’Etudes Augustiniennes 2009, pp. 539-560.
- Mattingly, Todd Matthew, ‘The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary’, in: *American Benedictine Review* 60:1 (2009), pp. 62-75.
- Mattingly, Todd Matthew, *Living Reliquaries: Monasticism and the Cult of the Saints in the age of Louis the Pious*, Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 2019.
- McCarthy, Maria Caritas, *The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ‘Women and literacy in the early middle ages’, in: *eadem, Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries*, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum 1994, no. XIII, pp. 1-43.
- McNamara, Jo Ann, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992.
- McNamara, Jo Ann, ‘Chastity as a Third Gender in the History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours’, in: Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1999 (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, vol. 8), pp. 199-209.
- McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996.
- Meeder, Sven, ‘Monte Cassino and Carolingian politics around 800’, in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 279-295.
- Meens, Rob, ‘“A Relic of superstition”. Bodily impurity and the Church from Gregory the Great to the twelfth century Decretists’, in: Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (eds.), *Purity and Holiness. The Heritage of Leviticus*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 1999, pp. 281-293.

- Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.
- Melville Gert and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 47).
- Metteer, Charles J., ‘Distraction or spiritual discipline: the role of sleep in early Egyptian monasticism’, in: *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 52:1 (2008), pp. 5-43.
- Meyvaert, Paul, ‘The Medieval Monastic Clastrum’, in: *Gesta* 12 (1973), pp. 53-59, reprinted in: id., *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others*, London: Variorum Reprints 1977, no. XVI (Collected Studies Series, vol. 61).
- Miquel, Pierre, ‘Silence: De l’Antiquité au moyen âge’, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 14, Paris: Beauchesne 1990, col. 829-842.
- Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, Munich: Beck 2003-.
- Moira, Isabel, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2000.
- Moreira, Isabel, ‘Dreams and Divination in Early Medieval Canonical and Narrative Sources: The Question of Clerical Control’, in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 89 (2003), pp. 621-642.
- Moreira, Isabel, *Heaven’s Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press 2010.
- Mostert, Marco, *The library of Fleury: a provisional list of manuscripts*, Hilversum: Verloren 1989.
- Moulin, Léo, *La vie quotidienne des religieux au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Hachette 1978.
- Moyse, Gérard, ‘Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e-X^e siècles)’, in: *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 131 (1973), pp. 21-104 and pp. 369-485.
- Mundó, Anscari, ‘I “Corpora” e i “Codices Regularum” nella tradizione codicologica delle Regole monastiche’, in: *Atti del 7^o Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1980*, vol. 2, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo 1982, pp. 477-520.
- Mundó, Anscari, ‘Las reglas monasticas latinas del siglo VI y la “lectio divina”’, in: *Studia Monastica* 9 (1967), pp. 229-255.

- Murray, Alexander, ‘Confession before 1215’, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 3 (1993), pp. 51-81.
- Murray, Jacqueline, ‘Men’s Bodies, Men’s Minds: Seminal Emissions and Sexual Anxiety in the Middle Ages’, in: *Annual Review of Sex Research* 8 (1997), pp. 1-26.
- Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums, vol. 41).
- Nelson, Janet L., ‘Women and the word in the Earlier Middle Ages’, in: *eadem, The Frankish World 750-900*, London/Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press 1996, pp. 119-221.
- Neufville, Jean, ‘Les éditeurs des “Regulae Patrum”: Saint Benoît d’Aniane et Lukas Holste’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 76 (1966), pp. 327-342.
- Niermeyer, Jan Frederick, C. van de Kieft, G. S. M. N. Lake-Schoonebeek, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002.
- Nolte, Cordula, ‘Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad virgines des Caesarius von Arles’, in: Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn (eds.), *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 7, Düsseldorf: Schwann 1986, pp. 257-271.
- Norberg, Dag, ‘Le développement du Latin en Italie de S. Grégoire le Grand a Paul Diacre’, in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’ Alto Medioevo*, vol. 5.2, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 1958, pp. 485-503.
- Ó Maidín, Unseann, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996.
- O’Carroll, James, ‘Sainte Fare et les origines’, in: *Sainte Fare et Faremoutiers: treize siècles de vie monastiques*, vol. 1, Faremoutiers: Abbaye de Faremoutiers 1956, pp. 2-35.
- O’Hara, Alexander and Faye Taylor, ‘Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy: the Case of Bobbio and the Miracula Sancti Columbani’, in: *Viator* 44 (2013), pp. 43-61.
- O’Hara, Alexander and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Columbanus; Life of John of Réomé; and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017 (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 64).
- O’Hara, Alexander, ‘Jonas of Bobbio, Marchiennes-Hamages, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines*’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélie Bully (eds.), *Colomban et*

- son Influence. Moines et Monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 287-293.
- O'Hara, Alexander, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 17:2 (2009), pp. 126-153.
- O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.
- O'Hara, Alexander (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.
- Ohm, Juliane, 'Der Begriff carcer in Klosterregeln des Frankenreichs', in: Joachim F. Angerer and Josef Lenzenweger (eds.), *Consuetudines Monasticae. Eine Festgabe für Kassius Hallinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo 1982, pp. 145-155.
- Padberg, Lutz von, 'Missionare und Mönche auf dem Weg nach Rom und Monte Cassino im 8. Jahrhundert', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 111 (2000), pp. 145-168.
- Pagani, Ilena, 'Ionas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio', in: *Studi medievali*, ser. 3 29:1 (1988), pp. 47-85.
- Palmer, James T., *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish world, 690-900*, Turnhout: Brepols 2009.
- Paxton, Frederick S., *Christianizing Death. The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1990.
- Penkett, Robert, 'Perceiving the other: sensory phenomena and experience in the early medieval Other World', in: *Reading Medieval Studies* 25 (1999), pp. 91-106.
- Peyroux, Catherine, *Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West*, Ph.D. thesis Princeton University 1991.
- Picard, Jean-Michel, 'The marvellous in Irish and continental saints' Lives of the Merovingian period', in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981 (BAR International Series, vol. 113), pp. 91-103.
- Plenkens, Heribert, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1906.
- Pollard, Richard Matthew, 'Nonantola and Reichenau: A New Manuscript of Heito's *Visio Wettini* and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition', *Revue bénédictine*, 120 (2010), pp. 245-294.

- Ponessa, Matthew D., ‘Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian monastic reform’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 116:2 (2006), pp. 367-392.
- Ponessa, Matthew D., ‘Standing Distant from the Fathers: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and the Reception of Early Medieval Learning’, in: *Traditio* 67 (2012), pp. 71-99.
- Poschmann, Bernhard, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im frühen Mittelalter*, Breslau: Müller & Seiffert 1930.
- Poschmann, Bernhard, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, Munich: Josef Kösel & Friedrich Pustet 1928.
- Prinz, Friedrich, ‘Columbanus, the Frankish nobility and the territories east of the Rhine’, in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981 (BAR International Series, vol. 113), pp. 73-87.
- Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, 2nd edition, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag 1988.
- Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel. Im Auftrag der Salzburger Äbtekonzferenz*. St. Ottilien: Eos 2002.
- Rädle, Fidel, ‘Smaragdus’, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, Munich: Artemis Verlag 1995, col. 2011-2012.
- Ramsey, Boniface, ‘John Cassian and Augustine’, in: Alexaner Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casidy (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 114-130.
- Rapp, Claudia, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016.
- Réal, Isabelle, ‘Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century’, in: Beach, Alison and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Rebillard, Éric, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2009.
- Resnick, Irvn M., ‘*Risus monasticus*. Laughter and Medieval Monastic Culture’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 97 (1987), pp. 90-100.

- Rohr, Christian, ‘Hagiographie als historische Quelle: Ereignisgeschichte und Wunderberichte in der Vita Columbani des Ionas von Bobbio’, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 103 (1995), pp. 229-264.
- Roques, Gilles, ‘La langue de Jonas de Bobbio, autor latin du VII^e siècle’, in: *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 9 (1971), pp. 7-52.
- Rosé, Isabelle, ‘Exclure dans un Mode Clos? L’*Excommunicatio* dans les règles monastiques de l’antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge’, in: Geneviève Bühner-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté Chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l’anathème et de l’excommunication (IV^e-XII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 119-142.
- Rose, Valentin, *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Berlin: Asher 1893 (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 12).
- Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press 2006.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?*, Cambridge/Malden, MA, Polity Press 2018.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999.
- Rouse, Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, ‘Eloi’s books and their bookcase’, in: *Manuscripta* 55:2 (2011), pp. 177-178.
- Rousseau, Philip, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, 2nd ed., Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2010, pp. 231-234.
- Rubenson, Samuel, ‘Power and politics of poverty in early monasticism’, in: Geoffrey D. Dunn, David Luckensmeyer, and Lawrence Cross (eds.), *Poverty and Riches*, Strathfield: Centre for Early Christian Studies 2009, pp. 91-110.
- Rudge, Lindsay, *Texts and contexts: Women’s dedicated life from Caesarius to Benedict*, Ph.D. University of St. Andrews 2006.
- Rudge, Lindsey, ‘Dedicated Women and Dedicated Spaces: Caesarius of Arles and the Foundation of St John’, in: Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011 (Disciplina Monastica, vol. 8), pp. 99-116.

- Sautman, Francesca Canadé and Pamela Sheingorn (eds.), *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, New York: Palgrave 2001.
- Scheiba, Manuela, ‘Der Dienst an der Klosterpforte. Beobachtungen zur Gestalt der Klosterpförtner in RB und RM’, in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 63-86.
- Scheibelreiter, Georg, ‘Königstöchter im Kloster. Radegund (†587) und der Nonnenaufstand von Poitiers (589)’, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979), pp. 1-37.
- Schilp, Thomas, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1998.
- Schulenburg, Jane Tibbets, *Forgetful of their Sex*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1998.
- Schulenburg, Jane Tibbets, ‘Strict active enclosure and its effects on the female monastic experience (ca. 500-1100)’, in: John A. Nichols und Lillian Thomas Shank (eds.), *Medieval Religious Women*, vol. 1: *Distant Echoes*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1984, pp. 51-86.
- Schulenburg, Jane Tibbets, ‘Women’s monasteries and sacred space: the promotion of saints’ cults and miracles’, in: Lisa Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008, pp. 68-86 and pp. 117-122.
- Schürer, Markus, ‘Das Reden und Schweigen der Mönche. Zur Wertigkeit des silentium im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum’, in: Werner Röcke and Julia Weitbrecht (eds.), *Askese und Identität in Spätantike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2010 (Transformationen der Antike, vol. 14), pp. 107-129.
- Seebass, Otto, ‘Fragment einer Nonnenregel des 7. Jahrhunderts’, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1896), pp. 465-470.
- Seebaß, Otto, ‘Über das Regelbuch Benedikts von Aniane’, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 15 (1895), pp. 244-260.
- Semmler, Josef, ‘Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo’, in: Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750-1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1-49.

- Semmler, Josef, ‘Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils 816’, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), pp. 15-82.
- Smith, Katherine Allen, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press 2011.
- Stancliffe, Clare E., ‘Jonas’s Life of Columbanus and his Disciples’, in: John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2001, pp. 189-220.
- Stancliffe, Clare E., ‘The Thirteen Sermons attributed to Columbanus and the Question of their Authorship’, in: Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Columbanus. Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge/Rochester, NY 1997, pp. 93-202.
- Stevenson, Jane, ‘Brothers and Sisters: Women and Monastic Life in Eighth-Century England and Francia’, in: *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 82:3 (1994), pp. 1-34.
- Straw, Carol, ‘Gregory’s Moral Theology: Divine Providence and Human Responsibility’, in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 177-204.
- Suhl, Nicole, ‘Die “Vita Bertilae Abbatissae Calensis” – eine Quelle für mögliche Unterschiede in der Religiosität von “Volk” und “Elite” im frühen Mittelalter?’, in: Hans-Werner Goetz and Friederike Sauerwein (eds.), *Volkskultur und Elitekultur im frühen Mittelalter*, Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum 1997, pp. 39-58.
- Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 2007.
- Taylor, Cloë, *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault*, New York: Routledge 2010.
- Tentler, Thomas N., *Sin and Confession at the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1977.
- Tilley, Maureen, ‘Caesarius’s Rule for unruly nuns: permitted and prohibited textiles in the monastery of St John’, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 26:1 (2018), pp. 83-89.
- Traube, Ludwig, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*, Munich: Verlag der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898.
- Ueding, Leo, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit*, Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering 1935 (Historische Studien, vol. 261).

- Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces et topographie des monastères de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge: réflexions à propos des règles monastique', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 15-42.
- Unger, Richard W., *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2004.
- Van Dam, Raymond, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press 1985.
- Van den Gheyn, Joseph, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 6, Brussels: Lamertin 1906.
- Van der Essen, Leon, 'Bertila', in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 8, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1935, col. 1004-1005.
- Van Rossem, Maaïke, 'De poort in de muur. Vrouwenkloosters onder de Regel van Caesarius', in: *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 4 (1983), pp. 41-91.
- Verdon, Jean, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 72:4 (1994), pp. 749-759.
- Verdon, Jean, *Night in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2002.
- Vodola, Elisabeth, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1986.
- Vogeler, Renate, 'Exkurs: Jonas und die Dialogi Gregors des Grossen', in: Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988, pp. 43-45.
- Von Nagel, Demetrias, 'Puritas cordis – Reinheit des Herzens. Sinn und Ziel einer Mönchsübung nach den Schriften des Johannes Kassian', in: Günter Stachel (ed.), *Munen muso. Ungegenständliche Meditation. Festschrift für Hugo M. Enomiya-Lasalle zum 80. Geburtstag*, Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag 1978, pp. 127-155.
- Vones-Liebenstin, Ursula, 'Solignac', in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 711.
- Vorgrimler, Herbert, *Sacramental Theology*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1992.

- Walker Bynum, Caroline, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: The University of California Press 1987.
- Wathen, Ambrose, *Silence in the Rule of St Benedict*, Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications 1973 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 22).
- Watkins, Oscar Daniel, *A history of penance: being a study of the authorities (A) For the whole Church to A.D. 450 (B) For the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215*, New York: Franklin 1920.
- Weaver, Rebecca Harden, *Divine Grace and Human Agency: A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy*, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press 1996.
- Weidemann, Margarethe, ‘Urkunde und Vita der heiligen Bilhildis aus Mainz’, in: *Francia* 21:1 (1994), pp. 17-84.
- Wemple, Suzanne Fonay, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1981.
- White, Deborah, ‘Navigating Boundaries in the Merovingian Monastery: Gender, Authority, and *regulae mixtae*’, in: *Journal for Medieval Monastic Studies* 7 (2018), pp. 1-20.
- Wilfong, Terry G., ‘Friendship and Physical Desire. The Discourse of Female Homoeroticism in Fifth-Century CE Egypt’, in: Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz und Lisa Auanger (eds.), *From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press 2002, pp. 304-329.
- Wollasch, Joachim, ‘*Benedictus abbas Romensis*. Das römische Element in der frühen benediktinischen Tradition’, in: Norbert Kamp, Joachim Wollasch, Manfred Balzer, Karl Heinrich Krüger, and Lutz von Padberg (eds.), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hauck*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1982, pp. 119-137.
- Wood, Ian N., ‘Columbanian Monasticism: a Contested Concept’, in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Europe in the Middle Ages: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 86-100.
- Wood, Ian N., ‘Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*’, in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome’s Fall. Narrators and*

- Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99-120.
- Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I’, in: *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171-198.
- Wood, Ian N., ‘The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part II’, in: *Peritia* 27 (2016), pp. 189-214.
- Wood, Ian N., ‘The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography’, in: *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 63-80.
- Wood, Ian, ‘La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban’, in: Sébastien Bully, Alain Dubreucq, and Aurélia Bully (eds.), *Colomban et son influence moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29-37.
- Wormald, Patrick, *The Times of Bede*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Oxford: Blackwell 2006.
- Yasin, Ann Marie, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009.
- Zelzer, Klaus, ‘Zur Stellung des *Textus receptus* und des interpolierten Textes in der Textgeschichte der Regula s. Benedicti’, in: *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978), pp. 205-246.
- Zimmerl-Panagl, Victoria, ‘*Elegi pauca e plurimis ...* Editorische Fragestellungen zur Regula Donati, dem Fragment einer Nonnenregel (CPPM II 3637) und Columban’, in: *eadem*, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 225-252.

Index Verborum

- a 40
 ab 40
 abbas 24.10
 abbatisa 1.title;
 1.1; 1.12; 2.7; 2.8;
 3.11; 3.17; 3.18;
 3.19; 3.23; 4.9;
 6.23; 7.1; 7.1; 7.4;
 7.5; 7.6; 8.11; 9.7;
 9.9; 9.10; 9.12;
 9.13; 9.17; 10.1;
 10.14; 10.15;
 10.17; 10.5; 10.7;
 12.5; 12.6; 12.9;
 13.1; 13.4; 15.11;
 15.6; 15.9; 16.1;
 16.5; 16.9; 17.6;
 17.7; 17.7; 17.8;
 17.10; 19.3; 19.8;
 19.10; 20.3;
 22.12; 22.13;
 22.17; 22.20;
 22.21; 22.21;
 22.22; 22.23
 abesse 21.1
 abicere 20.3
 abluere 6.19
 absque 3
 abstinentia 10.3
 ac 24
 accedere 22.20;
Acc.title; 2; 3; 4; 5
 accensus *Acc*.3; 15
 accidere 16.5
 accipere 3.11; 3.12;
 5.11; 5.20; 5.20;
 9.20; 10.17; 12.3;
 17.10; *Acc*.8
 accomodare/adcom
 modare 1.3; 3.13
 actus 1.2; 1.3; 2.4;
 2.5; 4.6; 6.15;
 6.21; 17.9; 20.2;
 22.title; 22.2;
 22.4; 22.9
 ad 82
 adfinitas 23.6
 adherere 3.2
 adhibere 2.15; 15.8;
 19.2; 20.4
 adhuc 20.7
 adire 8.7
 aditus 21.5; *Acc*.12
 adiutorium 12.25;
 14.5; *Acc*.9
 adiuuare 12.25;
 12.28; 14.5
 administrare
 10.title; 10.13;
 11.5
 administratio 10.1;
 10.16
 admonitio 2.12
 adnuntiare 2.8
 adquirere 6.17; 8
 adsistere *Acc*.14
 adstare 8.5; 22.22
 adsurgere 2.18;
 11.5; 22.15
 adtestare 2.11
 adtrahere 6.22
 aduenire 3.20; 3.21;
 3.23
 aduentus 10.7;
 11.1; 11.3
 aduersari 22.3
 aduersitas 14.10
 aduersus 6.4; 6.6
 aedificare 3.1; 22.9
 aegenus 1.8
 aequalitas 10.1
 aequanimiter 4.2
 aequitas 4.4
 aequus/equus 2.4;
 10.3; 10.5; 23.6
 aerumnosus 17.3
 aestas 11.title; 12.6
 aestus 14.10
 aetas 2.1; 2.19; 3.1;
 4.10; 10.5; 11.8;
 14.12; 15.10;
 16.3; 20.13; 24.3;
 24.6
 aeternus 5.11; 21.1;
Acc.8; 8; 23; 28
 affabilis 3.7
 affectare 22.14
 affectus 3.2; 4.7;
 4.12; 5.8; 6.30;
 15.12; 22.1; 22.5;
 22.9; 24.2
 agere 1.11; 1.14;
 1.18; 3.25; 4.16;
 4.21; 7.5; 15.2
 agnoscere 2.17;
 6.10; 21.2
 agnus 11.1
 ait 3.5; 3.10; *Acc*.2
 alibi *Acc*.20
 aliquis 25
 aliud 4
 alius 13
 alter 7.3; 10.17;
 10.12; 10.12;
 10.17; 16.7; 17.6;
 17.8
 alternatim 12.18
 alteruter 6.14
 amare 3.3
 ambitio 22.12;
 22.14
 ambitus 22.3
 amen 5.26; *Acc*.28
 amicus 5.2
 amittere 20.6
 amor 5.9; 5.9; 5.26;
 23.6; 23.7; 23.9;
 24.5
 amplius 9.13;
 12.22; 19.6; 24.8
 amputare 17.5; 20.5
 anima 1.2; 2.12;
 2.9; 5.2; 6.18; 9.4;
 9.6; 9.14; 9.19;
 14.1; 14.2; 14.8;
 16.9; 17.2; 22.1;
 23.3
 animus 1.16; 9.11;
 9.15; 13.2; 16.10;
 22.4; *Acc*.14
 annus 2.2
 ante 8
 antea 2
 anteponere 13.6;
 24.9
 antidotum 1.13
 antiquus 5.12; 14.8
 aperire 3.20; *Acc*.13
 apocalipsin 5.5;
Acc.13
 apostolus 5.15;
 5.22; 11.1; 17.9;
 17.11; *Acc*.10
 apparere 18.1
 apud 6
 arbitrium 12.6;
 15.11; 23.9; 24.10
 ardere 14.14
 ardor *Acc*.6
 arguere 6.30
 arripere 12.6; 22.8;
 22.14
 arrogantia 2.5;
 22.12
 asperitas 4.19
 aspicere 3.9; 22.17
 assiduus 6.title
 atque 2
 attere *Acc*.6
 attollere 2.2; 2.13;
 3.9
 auaritia 4.17; 4.18
 auarus 4.17
 auctor 15.1
 audacia 10.18
 audire 3.13; 10.14
 auditus 6.21
 auertere 3.4; 6.29
 augere 3.16; 10.7;
 20.7
 auris 1.3; 3.13
 austeritas 1.12
 aut 47

autem 4	caritas 1.7; 5.9;	10.12; 10.13;	communis 4.18;
baiulare 3.22	22.1; 22.6; 22.7;	10.13; 10.14	9.10; 12.18; 13.1;
balneum 12.14;	22.7; 22.9	cinctus 14.13	17.9; 17.9; 17.10;
15.8	caro 5.8; 6.20; 9.14;	circumseptus 22.3	20.7
beatus 6.4; <i>Acc.</i> 8	14.10; 15.6; <i>Acc.</i> 8	circumstantia 9.3	commutare 17.11
bene 4.6	castigare 3.14;	clauis 3.17; 3.18	commutatio 5.20
benedicere 10.13;	12.12; 20.10	clausus 23.7	compositus 4.6
10.15; 12.17;	castigatio 2.13;	clemens 6.15;	comptus 1.6
12.17	20.5; 22.14	<i>Acc.</i> 26	conari 7.6; 22.14
benedictio 10.14;	castitas 1.6	clementia <i>Acc.</i> 9; 24	concedere 15.8;
22.10; 22.11;	castus 2.4	clericus 3.9	15.11
22.20; 22.22	casus 4.23; 16.title;	coca/quoca 3.18;	concors 22.5
benignus 5.22	16.1; 16.5; 16.5;	3.21; 12.22; 12.29	conditor <i>Acc.</i> 19
beniuolentia 1.7	18.1	cocinare 12.22;	confabulatio 9.19
bibere 3.23; 3.24	cauere 1.12	12.22	confamulare <i>Acc.</i> 19
binae 3.8; 12.13;	causa 9.12	coepere 1.14; 1.15;	conferre 10.4; 17.8
12.13; 14.5; 14.5	cautus 3.7	1.15; 3.3; 8.8;	confessio 6.title;
bis 18.2; 21.3	cedere 15.7	17.4	6.1; 6.2; 6.5; 6.18;
blandimentum 3.7	celebrare 9.16; 11.1	coetus 8.6; 12.24	6.20; 6.23; 7.title;
blandus 1.13	celer 12.15	cogere 11.3	7.1; 7.4; 16.5;
bonitas 1.10; 1.10;	cella 14.12; 15.6	cogitare <i>Acc.</i> 15	16.7; 16.8; 16.9;
1.11	cellararia 3.18;	cogitatus 6.21	22.18; 22.18
bonus 1.11; 1.11;	4.title; 4.1; 12.20;	cognitus 6.4; 16.7	confestim 10.14
1.12; 1.15; 3.2;	12.29; 15.9	cognoscere 5.3;	confiteri 3.15; 6.4;
3.3; 3.5; 4.15;	cellarium 3.12	22.14	6.6; 6.6; 6.13;
4.20; 4.20; 4.20;	cellula 19.9	cohercere/coercere	6.14; 6.22; 7.1;
<i>Acc.</i> 20	cena <i>Acc.</i> 15; 15	1.16; 12.9	7.2; 7.2; 22.17
bracislatorium	cenare <i>Acc.</i> 13	comedere 10.12;	confundere <i>Acc.</i> 2
12.21	censere 3.24; 6.21;	10.13	congregatio 3.12;
caelare 7.5	14.10; 23.1	commeatus/comeat	4.1; 4.2; 4.7; 6.26;
caelestis 5.17;	cernere 3.15	us 2.16; 3.11;	13.2; 18.3; 19.9;
<i>Acc.</i> 23	certe 22.5	3.19; 4.9; 9.7;	20.7; 20.12
caelum 3.5; 12.25	ceruisia 10.6; 12.21	12.5; 22.19;	congruere 6.19;
caenare 11.2	cessere 9.4	22.19; 22.22	11.title
calciamentum 17.5	ceteri 6.24; 23.6	commendare 17.7	conloqui 3.9; 9.21;
canere 8.4; 22.12	ceteri 8.9; 15.7	commerere 22.14	14.8
cantare 6.24; 8.9;	christianus 21.1	commertium 17.11	conloquium 3.7;
19.7	christus 2.13; 3.3;	commisum 6.26	9.19; 19.10
capere 6.16; 9.4;	3.10; 5.1; 5.6; 5.6;	committere 4.8;	conpertus 16.5
9.8; 14.4; 14.11;	5.7; 5.9; 5.22;	4.21; 6.26; 7.1;	completa 2.17; 6.22;
24.10	15.4; 15.5; 15.5;	7.5; 10.17; 13.3;	9.7
capitulum 9.13;	17.8; 22.6; 23.2;	13.4; 13.5; 16.9	completio 9.8
12.16; 12.17	23.4; 23.5; <i>Acc.</i> 28	commodare 17.7	completorium 6.20;
caput 12.14; 22.5	cibaria 10.10; 15.7	communicare 6.24;	6.23
	cibus 9.11; 9.14;	6.25; 22.12	conpunctio <i>Acc.</i> 6;
	10.3; 10.9; 10.11;		24

conrumpere 7.3	coquina/quoquina 11.5; 16.2	crucifixus 17.2; 23.2	custodire 3.22; 6.2; 8.12; 9.title; 9.20; 12.21; 22.4; 22.12
consanguineus 23.title; 23.1; 23.6	cor 1.7; 1.12; 2.12; 3.2; 4.19; 5.12; 6.3; 6.26; 6.27; 9.3; 9.11; 12.15; 14.3; 19.8; 23.7; <i>Acc.</i> title; 6; 11; 15; 18; 24; 25	crudelitas 2.11	custos 17.6; 20.9
conscientia 13.2	coram 3.5	cruentatio 5.14	damnare 8.10; 8.12; 10.11; 14.12
consentire 1.6; 4.3	corporalis 18.5; 20.6	crux 14.15; <i>Acc.</i> 27	damnatio 9.4; 13.5; 16.9; 19.2
conseruare 3.25	corpus 2.12; 10.5; 10.9; 10.11; <i>Acc.</i> 14	culmen 22.8	damnum 4.16; 9.19; 14.4
consessus 22.15	correctio 20.1	culpa 2.19; 3.15; 6.12; 6.24; 12.29; 14.12; 16.1; 16.4; 16.8; 16.8; 16.9; 16.10; 16.10; 18.title; 18.4; 18.5; 19.1; 19.2; 19.4; 19.9; 20.1; 21.5; 22.13; 22.18	dare 28
considerare 12.6	corruptio 1.19	culpabilis 2.19	dauid 6.4
consideratio 2.3; 10.12; 15.11	corruptio 1.19	cultus 1.4; 1.9; 5.11; 9.1; 24.5; <i>Acc.</i> 1	de 33
consilium 2.9; 2.10; 2.10; <i>Acc.</i> 11; 12	corruptio 1.12; 2.4; 17.12; 19.2; 19.5; 20.title; 20.10	cum 56	debere 1.title; 1.1; 1.4; 2.title; 2.12; 3.1; 4.title; 4.4; 4.7; 4.18; 5.1; 6.23; 8.11; 9.title; 9.6; 9.12; 10.1; 11.8; 12.23; 14.title; 15.title; 15.1; 17.title; 19.title; 19.1; 22.1; 22.14; 24.2; <i>Acc.</i> 14
consodalis 3.6; 3.13	corrigere 1.9; 10.18; 16.3; 16.4; 20.1; 20.2; 20.3; 20.13; 23.9; 23.9; 23.9	cupere 14.8	debitum 5.24; 5.25
consolare 12.28	corripere 2.19; 7.6; 18.2; 20.title; 20.1; 20.9; 22.16; 24.3	cupiditas 4.17; 17.3; 17.11	decernere 10.4; 10.17; 14.5
consortium 17.11; 19.9	corruptio 1.19	cur 4	decet 10.2
consparsio 10.4	cotidianus 6.2; 6.18; 6.18; 6.19; 10.3; 10.4; 12.title; 12.29	cura 1.13; 1.18; 1.8; 2.14; 2.15; 3.6; 3.10; 3.25; 4.8; 4.12; 4.13; 4.16; 5.1; 6.1; 9.9; 13.1; 13.3; 13.5; 15.title; 15.1; 15.2; 15.4; 15.5; 15.6; 15.8; 15.9; 15.10; 20.title; 20.4; 24.1; 24.4; <i>Acc.</i> 21	decipere 5.12
conspicere 3.3	creator 2.12; 3.2; 9.11; 14.2; <i>Acc.</i> 15; 20; 24	cursus 2.3; 2.18; 2.18; 6.21; 6.24; 6.25; 6.25; 8.4; 8.4; 8.6; 8.9; 8.10; 8.11; 14.5; 22.12	declarare 9.1; 15.1
constare 22.6	creber 6.1	custodia 6.3; 9.3; 12.20; 14.4; 24.11	declinare 2.9; 9.3
constituere 2.1; 2.3; 22.12; 22.13	credere 12.19; <i>Acc.</i> 25		decrepitus 15.10
consuere 12.5	credulitas 20.10		decus 2.2
contemnere 17.1; 17.4	crescere 6.12		deducere 24.6
contemplatio 3.3	crimen 3.16; 5.14; 5.26; 6.7; 7.1; 7.1		defendere 20.2; 23.1; 23.title; 23.2; 23.4; 23.5; 23.8
contemptus 3.3	crucifigere 23.4; 23.5		deferre 3.12; 3.17; 11.7
continentia 1.6			definitio 19.5
contra 4.11			deinceps 12.2
contradicere 1.2; 1.5; 22.16; <i>Acc.</i> 21			delectare 9.15; 12.12; 17.12
contrahere 6.15			
contrarius 2.8			
contritio 6.26; 6.27; 19.8; <i>Acc.</i> 6			
contritus 12.15			
contumacia 3.16			
contumax 18.1			
conturbare 4.10			
conuersatio 22.13			
conuersio 10.5			
conuersus 22.13			
copia 6.17; 22.3; 22.9			
copiosus 6.9; 6.10; 6.11			

delere 6.26; 6.29	13.6; 14.1; 14.1;	dispendium 2.11	14.5; 14.7; 14.11;
deliberare 3.20;	14.5; 17.4; 24.5;	dispensare 4.2; 4.4	14.13; 14.14
3.20	<i>Acc.title</i> ; 9; 10	dispensatio 2.4; 4.5;	dormitorium 16.2
delictum 6.4; 6.13;	diabolus 5.13;	4.18; 8.11	dubitare 14.9; 24.8
6.17; 6.19; 7.6;	16.10; 18.1; 20.8	disponere 13.1	ducere <i>Acc.</i> 15
12.15; 14.10;	dicere 36	dissolutus 9.18	dulcescere 4.19;
16.4; 22.17; 23.4	dies 9.16; 10.4;	distribuere 1.10; 4.4	12.11
delinquere 1.9;	10.7; 10.9; 11.1;	diuersus 20.10	dum <i>II</i>
3.15; 6.20; 6.21;	11.4; 12.title;	diuinus <i>Acc.</i> 14; 21	duo 9.21; 10.4;
16.1; 16.6; <i>Acc.</i> 27	12.1; 12.29; 19.5;	diurnus 6.21; 8.1;	10.8; 11.3; 24.8
demergere 22.12	19.6	9.title; 9.7; 12.2;	duodecim 8.9
demissus 3.9	diffundere 6.15;	14.1	durus 18.5
demonstrare 5.1;	11.1	docere 1.11; 6.3	eadem 3.20
6.1; 11.2; 22.2;	dignari 10.15	doctrina 1.3; 1.4;	ebdomada 12.13;
22.4	dilabi 16.4; 16.5	24.5; <i>Acc.</i> 9	12.22; 12.22; 19.5
demum 11.7; 21.2;	dilectio 5.2; 5.4;	documentum 24.1	ecce <i>Acc.</i> 13
22.11	5.6; 5.7; 5.11;	dolere 6.7; 22.17	ecclesia 6.24; 6.24;
denegare 4.11;	5.12; 5.26	dolor 6.12	6.25; 8.9; 11.2;
16.6; 21.5; <i>Acc.</i> 12	diligens 4.12	domina 17.6	19.7
denique 22.3	diligere 4.4; 5.title;	dominatio 2.11	edax 4.6
denuo 3.19; 17.3	5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4;	dominicus 8.title;	edere 3.23; 3.24
depraehendere	5.4; 5.6; 5.8; 5.9;	11.4	effabilis 22.5
17.12	5.9; 5.9; 5.9; 5.10;	dominus 3.2; 3.4;	effectus 1.5
deprecari 20.7	5.11; 5.14; 5.16;	3.5; 3.5; 4.4; 4.14;	egere 12.1
deputare 8.5; 12.22	22.1	4.15; 4.22; 4.24;	ego 6.23; 6.25;
deripere 3.22	dimittere 5.17;	5.1; 5.10; 5.17;	6.26; 8.6; 8.9;
desequare 20.6	5.17; 5.24; 5.24;	6.4; 6.8; 6.8; 6.9;	22.20; <i>Acc.</i> 5; 13;
desiderare 3.1; 3.3	5.25; 6.13; 16.2;	6.17; 6.26; 6.28;	13
desiderium 1.6; 9.6;	23.8	9.3; 9.5; 9.15;	egritudo 10.5
9.6; 14.8; 17.3;	dinoscere 6.15	9.16; 9.16; 9.16;	elatus 4.6; 20.2
<i>Acc.</i> 6; 9; 22	dirigere 12.16;	10.15; 12.15;	eligere 4.1
desidia 9.18; 24.3	12.16; 22.17	12.16; 12.17;	elimosina 3.12
detegere 16.10	diripere 1.12; 4.18	12.25; 12.28;	eloquium 1.4; 9.12
detinere 2.8; 6.24;	discedere 21.1; 22.6	14.5; 15.3; 15.9;	emendare 12.29;
8.7; 15.1	discere 24.6; <i>Acc.</i> 2	17.1; 18.2; 20.8;	16.6; 17.12; 18.3;
deuiare 2.7; 8.12;	disciplina 1.11;	20.7; <i>Acc.</i> 2; 5; 11;	18.4; 20.title;
24.4	1.12; 1.17; 1.17;	12; 19	20.1; 20.2
deuotio <i>Acc.</i> 23	2.4; 10.18; 17.12;	domus 14.11;	emendatio 21.1
deus 3.2; 3.2; 3.22;	18.5; 20.3; 20.6;	<i>Acc.</i> 16	enim <i>I3</i>
3.24; 3.25; 4.18;	23.7; 23.9; 24.1;	donare 5.20; 5.22;	enutrire 6.17
5.9; 5.22; 5.26;	24.2; 24.5	5.22	erga 4
6.27; 7.2; 8.2; 8.2;	discipulus 5.3	donum 1.10; 3.12;	ergo 35
8.11; 9.6; 10.2;	discordia 5.16	4.18; 10.4	erigere 2.12
12.9; 12.15;	discrepare 2.9	dormire 8.7;	eripere 1.19
12.16; 12.17;	discretio 4.18;	14.title; 14.3;	erudire 1.2
12.17; 12.25;	12.23; 24.11		eruditio 1.2

- erumnosus 6.15
 esse 219
 et 194
 etenim 14
 etiam 5
 euangelium 5.1;
 5.17
 euenire 3.19; 22.12
 euentus 11.3;
 16.title
 ex 28
 exagitare 10.7
 examinare 21.4
 exaudire *Acc.*5; 6;
 25
 exceptus 10.4; 11.3;
 11.4
 excitare 2.6; 2.12;
 11.5; 14.8;
 *Acc.*24; 26
 excommunicare
 19.9; 20.13
 excommunicatio
 18.title; 18.4;
 19.title; 19.1;
 19.6; 20.1; 20.6;
 20.7; 20.13
 exemplum 1.6; 3.5
 exhibere 3.12; 15.2;
 19.2
 exigere 3.23; 11.2;
 11.3; 11.3; 12.7;
 13.3; 22.13
 exiguus 22.4
 exinde 4.14; 17.7
 exire 12.26
 existere 3.7; 19.9
 exorare 6.26
 exordium 12.3
 expectare, *see*
 exspectare
 expergesci 2.17
 expetere 9.12
 expiare 6.20
 explere 6.21; 6.25;
 6.25; 8.4; 8.9
 exprobrare 22.17
 exspectare/
 expectare 7.2; 8.5
 exter 12.10; 15.6;
 *Acc.*6
 extinguere 5.12
 extra 4.4
 extraneus 3.5
 extremus 12.15;
 21.4
 exultare *Acc.*19
 fabula 3.13; 9.2;
 9.4; 12.9
 fabulatio 12.12
 facere 31
 facies 6.29; 14.7;
 14.7; 16.10
 facilis 22.3
 facinus 1.10; 5.16;
 6.6; 6.15; 23.5;
 *Acc.*8
 faleramentum 3.3
 familiaritas 4.4;
 23.5
 famula 22.6; 22.6
 famulari *Acc.*21
 farina 10.4
 fauus melis 4.20
 femina 3.23
 fenerare 4.18
 fenestra 3.20; 11.5
 ferculum 10.4;
 10.9; 10.16; 11.7
 feruens 12.6; 19.2;
 22.4
 feruor 2.18
 fessus 1.9; 15.10
 festinatio 8.1; 14.5
 festinus 8.3
 festus 9.16; 10.7;
 10.9; 12.1; 12.14
 fidelis 1.7; 4.22;
 17.2
 fiducia 6.8
 filia 1.16
 fingere 9.6
 finire 12.17; 19.5
 finis 1.14; 8.4;
 12.3; 12.17
 firma 3.4
 firmitas 13.2
 flagellum 1.11;
 2.13; 2.19; 20.7;
 20.13
 flagrare *Acc.*24
 flectere 22.10;
 22.22
 flos 1.6
 focus 12.13
 fomentum 1.10;
 5.16; 20.5
 fomes 7.6; 10.2;
 20.7
 fons *Acc.*17
 foris 3.5; 3.6; 3.11;
 3.11; 3.12; 3.20;
 3.20; 3.23; 6.23;
 6.25; 8.7; 8.9;
 21.1
 forma 1.3
 forsitan 9.12
 fortis 2.3; 12.6;
 12.6; 12.7
 fouere 21.3
 fragilitas 6.20
 frangere 8.8; 16.2;
 20.7
 frater 5.15
 fraus 14.8
 friuolus 9.2
 frons 14.5
 fructus 1.5; 2.15;
 6.17; 9.4; 9.20;
 12.2; 12.23
 frui 9.11; 19.10
 fuga 21.5
 fugere 4.17; 21.1
 fundamentum 22.8
 fuscare 2.14; 6.2;
 *Acc.*22
 garrulus 2.5; 9.18
 generare 4.23
 genus 1.1; 22.22
 gerere 3.6; 4.13
 gloria 8.3
 glorificare 3.5; 3.5;
 6.6
 gradus 2.13
 grandis 9.8; 11.3;
 *Acc.*8
 gratia 4.4; 8.3; 9.11
 gratus 4.5
 grauis 2.3; 6.24;
 6.26; 7.6; 11.3;
 19.2; 19.5; 19.9;
 22.13
 grauitas 7.3; 8.3;
 9.15
 gubernare 3.22;
 11.8; 13.4
 habere 26
 hebdomada, *see*
 ebdomada
 hic/haec/hoc 36
 hiems 11.title
 holus 10.4
 homicida 5.15
 homo 3.5; 5.17;
 15.1; *Acc.*11
 honestus 7.3
 honor 3.23; 22.14;
 22.14
 honorare 2.13
 hora 2.16; 3.21;
 6.19; 6.21; 6.22;
 8.1; 8.10; 8.11;
 8.12; 9.7; 9.8;
 11.title; 11.1;
 11.4; 12.3; 12.3;
 12.4; 14.1; 19.4;
 24.10
 hortari *Acc.*2
 hospes 1.8; 3.10;
 3.21; 3.22; 10.7;
 11.3
 hospitalis 3.23
 hostis 5.12; 8.7;
 14.8; 22.3

- humiliare 6.27;
22.title
humiliatio 22.5
humilis 2.13; 3.15;
3.15; 6.30; 12.15;
19.8
humilitas 2.4; 2.13;
3.7; 3.9; 3.15;
4.11; 4.21; 6.28;
20.10; 22.6; 22.7;
22.9; 22.10;
22.16; 22.20;
22.22; 22.23;
Acc.23
humus 6.26; 22.18
iaculari 14.8
iam 5
ibi 2
ibidem 12.19
idem *Acc.5*; 15
ideo 20.12
idipsum 3.18
idoneus 8.11
iesus *Acc.28*
ignauia 1.9; 2.6;
9.4; *Acc.8*
ignis *Acc.15*
ille/illa/illud 18
illuc 24.4
imitabilis 1.6
imitari 1.3; 1.4; 1.4;
5.4; 23.2
impiaetas 6.4
implere *Acc.9*
implorare 3.18;
3.20; 4.14; 8.6;
11.4; 23.4; 23.9
in 159
inantea 22.13
inbecillitas 14.4;
15.11
inbuere 24.5
incautus 1.13
incedere *Acc.22*
incipere 17.3
incisio 20.5
inclinatus 3.9
incognitus *Acc.9*
inconprehensibilis
Acc.9
incorruptus 3.25
incrementum 5.21;
Acc.10
increpare 20.1
increpatio 1.12;
2.19
incurrere 3.16;
4.16; 5.11; 5.14;
13.5; 17.11; 20.6
inde 2
indebitus 22.14
indicare 19.4; 22.2
inebriare *Acc.16*
ineffabilis *Acc.9*
ineffrenatus 9.4
infans 24.title; 24.1
infantia 2.2
infelix 20.3
inferre 1.3; 14.15;
23.9
infirmitas 4.12;
14.12; 15.1
infirmus 1.8; 10.5;
14.5; 15.title;
15.2; 15.3; 15.4;
15.6; 15.5; 15.5;
15.7; 15.9; 15.9
infundere 1.13; 7.3;
Acc.27
ingemescere 6.6
ingenium 2.3
ingredi 6.23; 12.24
inhabitare 12.21
inherere 3.2
inimicus 1.19
iniquitas 6.29
iniquuus 10.12
iniuriosus 4.6; 9.5
iniustitia 6.4; 6.4
inlecebra 6.2
inlicite 2.16
inluminare 6.8;
Acc.2; 4; 5
inluminatio *Acc.3*
inmaculatus 11.1
inmaturitas 2.2
inmittere 14.8
inniti 8.2
innocens 20.12
inoboediens 18.1
inops 1.8
inpedire 8.10
inpendere 15.5;
15.12
inpetratio 6.5
inpiger 2.3; 8.11
inplere, *see* implere
inponere 12.23
inprobatus 10.5
inprobitas 18.5
inquirere 2.16;
Acc.1; 5; 6
inquit 5
inquoatio 11.3;
11.4; 11.4
inrationabilis 4.11
inretire 20.8
inserere 6.19; *Acc.9*
insistere 12.2
insonare 8.1; 8.1;
10.13
instigare 18.1
institutum 22.1
instruere 22.8; 24.5
intellectus 18.4
intellegere 3.13
intendere 14.15
intentio 12.2;
Acc.1; 6; 26
intentus 2.14; 3.9;
8.2; 9.11; 14.2;
Acc.22; 23
inter 4
interior 12.11;
16.10; *Acc.6*
interrogare 2.8; 2.9;
22.16
interrogatio 2.8;
12.9
intimare 22.21
intonare 2.12; 8.3
intra 5
intrare *Acc.13*
introducere 4.3
introire 5.13
introitus 3.20; 5.12;
11.1
intueri 10.12; 14.4
intus 3.6; 3.24; 8.8
inuenire 2.16; 5.9;
6.12; 7.6; 8.11;
19.4; 21.4; 22.23
inuicem 5.title;
5.title; 5.1; 5.2;
5.3; 5.4; 5.4; 5.22;
5.22; 6.13; 6.14;
6.16; 14.6; 14.7;
22.title; 22.10
inuidia 5.13
inuitus 20.11
iohannes 5.1; 5.15
ipse 16
ira 6.30
iracundus 2.4
is/ea/id 75
iste 2
ita 8
item 2.17
iterum 6.9
iubere 22.18
iuda 17.11
iudex 6.15; 6.30;
7.1; *Acc.26*
iudicare 3.15; 9.18;
12.7; 18.4
iudicium 10.5;
13.5; 16.1; 19.1;
21.1
iungere 4.15; 23.3;
23.6; *Acc.20*
iunior 2.16; 4.7;
4.10; 11.8; 22.11;

22.15; 22.16; 22.17; 22.17	legere 9.title; 9.13; 17.9	magis 9.18; 20.2; 22.17	memini 6.8; 6.27
iurgium 5.21	legumen 10.4	magistra 3.7	memor 4.14; 4.24; 6.28
iussio 17.6	lenis 1.12; 4.11; 4.19; 9.15	magnitudo 16.8; 18.4	mens 1.9; 3.3; 3.4; 6.2; 6.20; 6.22; 6.30; 7.3; 8.2; 8.11; 9.4; 12.11; 12.15; 13.6; 14.1; 16.4; 18.5; 22.5; 22.6; <i>Acc.</i> 9; 12; 15; 22; 26
iussum 2.8	lenitas 20.5	magnus 6.17; 11.3	
iustitia 4.4; 9.1; <i>Acc.</i> 18	letitia 9.18	maiestas 8.3	
iustus 1.2; 4.4; 4.5; 4.18; 5.20; 7.1; 7.2; 8.12; 12.7; 19.1	leuis 19.2; 19.2; 19.4	maior 2.8; 5.2; 12.29; 16.4; 16.9; 16.9	
iuuamen 1.8	lex 6.8	maledictus 13.6	
iuuencula 14.10; 15.8	libens 14.8	malignus 8.7	mensa 9.title; 9.title; 9.7; 9.10; 9.13; 9.17; 10.title; 10.1; 10.12; 10.13; 11.5; 11.6; 11.7; 11.8; 11.8; 19.4; 19.5; 19.7; 24.7; 24.7
iuuenis 2.10	librare 19.1	malitiosus 9.2	
iuxta 16	libratio 10.3	malus 1.11; 1.11; 5.7; 9.3; 17.11	
labi 18.1; 22.17; 23.5	licentia 12.19	mane 3.17	
labium 9.3	licet 15.2; 24.4	manere 3.3; 5.9; 5.12; 6.11; 12.19; 14.2; 22.7; 22.7; 23.2; 23.7	
labor 1.19; 2.15; 2.15; 3.25; 10.7; 11.3; 11.3; 12.7; 12.23; 15.6; <i>Acc.</i> 8	ligare 3.24	manifestare 7.title; 7.1; 16.8; 16.9; 22.18	mensura 4.4; 9.11; 10.5; 10.6; 10.12; 10.17; 19.1
lacrima <i>Acc.</i> 25	lingua 12.11; <i>Acc.</i> 19	mansuetudo/mansu aetudo 5.9; 8.3	mercari 12.23
laetificare 1.7	liquor 10.6	manus 8.1; 12.title; 12.2; 12.3; 12.9; 12.10; 12.16; 12.16	merces 1.18; 3.1; 3.6; 3.22; 3.25; 4.21; 12.23; 13.5
laicus 3.9	liuor 5.12	manifestare 7.title; 7.1; 16.8; 16.9; 22.18	merere 9.20; 19.8; 22.13
languens 2.6; <i>Acc.</i> 27	loculus 17.11	mansuetudo/mansu aetudo 5.9; 8.3	meritum 1.11; 4.4
laqueus 17.11; 20.8	locus 1.17; 8.5; 8.5; 9.21; 19.7; 19.7; 21.4; 22.10; 22.12; 22.14; 22.14; 22.15	manus 8.1; 12.title; 12.2; 12.3; 12.9; 12.10; 12.16; 12.16	metus 8.5; 8.8; 20.7; 24.9
largiri 9.11; <i>Acc.</i> 27	loqui 3.8; 9.7; 9.8; 9.9; 9.10; 9.12; 9.17; 9.18; 9.21; 12.18; 12.19; 14.6; 22.23; 22.23	martyr 9.16	meus 3.2; 3.4; 5.3; 5.2; 6.4; 6.4; 6.4; 6.4; 6.29; 6.29; 9.3; 9.3; 9.3; 12.17; 14.3; 14.5
lasciuia 24.3	locus 1.17; 8.5; 8.5; 9.21; 19.7; 19.7; 21.4; 22.10; 22.12; 22.14; 22.14; 22.15	mater 1.16	minimus 3.10; 4.24; 12.29; 16.4
lasciuus 1.9	loetus 20.5	maternus 4.7; 14.4	ministerium 5.8; 22.1; 24.2
latus 22.3	longus 19.5; 22.22; <i>Acc.</i> 26	maturus 4.6; 12.6	ministra 3.21; 10.2; 15.9
lauare 5.5; 7.1; 12.5; 12.14; 12.15; 12.26; 12.27	loqui 3.8; 9.7; 9.8; 9.9; 9.10; 9.12; 9.17; 9.18; 9.21; 12.18; 12.19; 14.6; 22.23; 22.23	maximus 7.1	ministrare 3.11; 3.23; 4.7; 4.12;
laudabilis 1.6	lucere 3.5	me 7	
laudare <i>Acc.</i> 21	lucerna 14.14	mecum <i>Acc.</i> 13	
laus 2.12; <i>Acc.</i> 20	lucrum 1.18; 3.6; 9.19	mederi 1.13; 7.2; 15.8; 20.4	
laxare 5.25	lucubrare 1.2	mediare 1.11	
lectio 9.14; 12.2; 12.2; 12.4; 22.12; 24.6	lumen <i>Acc.</i> 17; 17	medicina 6.12; 6.18; 7.3; <i>Acc.</i> 27	
lectulus 14.5	luminare 2.17	meditatio 12.11	
lectus 2.16; 2.17	lux 3.5; 11.4	mel 4.20	
	macula 5.11; 5.14; 6.22	meliorare 1.14	
	maculare 2.5; 20.12; 21.5; 24.3	membrum 14.2; 14.4	

4.14; 10.3; 10.5; 10.14; 11.6; 11.8; 15.4; 15.5; 15.7	mos 1.14; 1.16; 2.1; 2.3; 2.4; 2.6; 3.7; 4.6; 21.1	14.4; 15.9; 15.10; 16.title; 16.1; 16.4	numerus 10.10; 17.11
minor 7.1; 10.10; 16.4	motus 22.4	nemo 5.2	numquam 3.8; 3.9; 5.11; 22.7; 22.7; 24.4
minus 12.18; 12.19	mox 8.1	nescire 20.13	nutrimentum 5.21
minutus 22.title	multiloquium <i>Acc.</i> 25	nihil 9	nutrire 1.10; 1.12; 6.18; 22.6; 24.title; 24.1; 24.2; 24.9
miseratio 5.20; <i>Acc.</i> 14	multus 2.2; 6.1; 16.1; 16.1; 24.1	nimis 1.10; 1.12; 1.12; 4.18; 10.11	o 5.20; 5.20
miseriordia 5.26; 6.9; 6.10; 6.11; 12.15; 20.8; <i>Acc.</i> 15; 18; 24	mundus 3.1; 17.2; 17.2; 17.2; 17.3; 17.3; 17.4; 17.8; 23.5; 23.5; <i>Acc.</i> 27; 28	nisi 9	obiurgare 18.3
misericors 1.10; 5.22	munus 19.10; <i>Acc.</i> 8	nitor 7.3	obnoxius 19.4
mitis 2.4	murmur 12.23	nobilis 1.1	oboedientia 3.24
moderamen 23.7	murmurare 18.1	nobis 6	oboedire 5.title
moderari 20.4	mutare 15.7	nocturnus 2.18; 8.1; 8.10; 14.1	obprobrium 7.2
moderatio 7.3; 9.15	mutuatim 11.8; 22.10	nolenter 3.13	obseruare 10.title; 10.16
moderatus 2.4	mutuus 5.4; 6.15; 6.16	nolle 17.12; 18.3; 18.4; 20.title; 20.1; 20.2	obseruatio 10.1
modestia 22.23	nam 4	nomen 3.5; 12.25; 17.1	obstaculum <i>Acc.</i> 22
modulus 16.3	namque 5	non 91	obstare <i>Acc.</i> 8
modus 3.16; 19.1; 20.1; 23.1	natiuitas 9.16	nona 2.16; 6.21; 6.22; 6.23; 11.3; 12.3; 12.4	obstinatus 18.5; <i>Acc.</i> 12
moles 6.6; <i>Acc.</i> 8	ne 23	nonnullus 22.4	obtinere 1.5
monacha 5.1; 7.4; 9.6; 12.9; 17.title; 17.5; 22.21	nec 17	norma 18.1	occasio 2.11; 4.23; 8.12; 8.7
monasterium 1.title; 1.1; 2.title; 2.1; 2.14; 3.title; 3.1; 3.23; 4.1; 5.1; 9.title; 9.8; 13.1; 17.title; 17.1; 17.9; 20.9; 21.1; 21.2; 22.1; 22.13; 23.title; 23.1; 24.1	necessarius 3.9; 9.12; 9.21; 10.11; 12.9; 12.27; 13.1; 13.3; 15.11	nos 14	occidit 3.18
monstrare 22.9	necesse 12.19; 12.22	noster 5.5; 5.24; 5.24; 5.26; 6.13; 6.28; 6.28; 12.16; 12.16; 12.16; 12.17; 12.25; 12.25; <i>Acc.</i> 15; 22	occultare 4.18; 7.3; 7.6
mora 4.23; 9.12	necessitas 2.12; 2.12; 3.18; 3.19; 3.20; 3.21; 9.8; 9.10; 9.12; 12.1; 12.18; 17.7; 22.21; 22.21	noticia 7.5	occupare 12.10
morosus 8.4	nectere 1.4	nouellus 10.5	occurrere 22.10; 22.22
mors 2.11; 5.12; 5.13	negare 9.17	nouisse 1.16; 4.21; 6.11; 8.4	oculus 3.4; 3.9; 3.9; 10.12; 13.6
mortalis 14.8	neglectus 3.22; 22.4	nouitas 10.5; 10.18; 14.12	odire 5.15
mortificatio 9.20	neglegens 8.5; 13.6; 16.2	nox 3.17; 3.17; 3.19; 6.20; 11.4; 14.14	odium 5.14
mortuus 17.3	neglegentia 2.14; 2.16; 4.16; 12.29;	noxa 4.3; <i>Acc.</i> 21	offensio 4.23
		nullatenus 13	officium 8.9; 20.7; 22.2
		nullus 30	olim 6.8
		numerare 17.11	omittere 2.11; 12.2
			omnimodo 9.20
			omnino 3.23; 4.17; 8.7; 9.8

- omnipotens 2.15;
4.18; 5.18; 6.13;
12.15; *Acc.*9
- omnis 96
- opacus 6.20
- operari 5.7; 12.title;
12.1; 12.6; 12.8
- operatio 12.3
- operire 6.4
- oportet *Acc.*21
- oportunitas 12.10;
13.3; 15.6
- opulentus 1.8
- opus 1.4; 1.4; 1.5;
1.6; 1.6; 1.6; 3.5;
3.18; 3.22; 4.15;
4.21; 8.1; 8.1; 8.2;
8.2; 8.10; 8.11;
8.11; 9.title; 1.15;
12.2; 12.2; 12.5;
12.5; 12.6; 12.7;
12.9; 12.9; 12.10;
12.16; 12.16;
12.16; 12.17;
12.18; 13.1; 13.6;
20.2; 22.19;
22.19; *Acc.*1; 9;
14; 19; 20; 21
- orare 3.4; 3.12;
5.24; 6.4; 6.14;
6.16; 9.3; 12.24;
12.25; 12.28;
*Acc.*title; 22; 27
- oratio 1.11; 2.16;
2.17; 3.12; 6.16;
6.23; 6.29; 6.30;
9.8; 12.25; 12.28;
20.7; *Acc.*1; 26
- oratorium 3.12
- orbis terrarum 5.13
- ordinare 2.8; 8.11;
9.9; 17.7; 17.10;
22.12; 22.23
- ordinatio 3.23; 7.4
- ordo 4.7; 8.4; 8.12;
8.12; 19.7; 19.7;
- 22.title; 22.12;
22.13; 22.13;
22.15
- ornatus 1.6; 1.7;
2.4; 2.5; 5.11;
*Acc.*23
- ortari 1.14; 5.22;
6.14
- os 1.6; 9.3; 9.6;
14.8
- ostendere 3.5; 3.7;
19.1
- ostiaria 3.1; 3.25
- ostium 3.17; 3.23;
9.3; *Acc.*13
- otiosus 9.2; 9.5;
12.9
- ouis 2.9
- pacientia 3.7
- paenitens/penitens
6.29; 12.13;
12.15; 21.4
- paenitentia/
penitentia 3.7;
3.14; 3.16; 6.24;
7.4; 7.6; 9.20;
16.8; 19.7; 19.11;
20.9; 21.2
- palma 12.29
- panis 12.20
- parare *Acc.*11; 14;
22
- paratus 14.1
- pars 22.2
- paruus 12.29
- pascha/pasca 9.16;
11.1; 11.4
- passio *Acc.*27
- pastor 2.9
- patefacere 3.15;
3.20; 4.19; 5.12;
6.7; 20.10; 22.5
- pater 2.8; 3.5; 5.17;
6.1; 22.1; *Acc.*28
- pati 4.24
- patiens 2.4
- patrare *Acc.*9
- pauper 3.10; 4.13
- pax 9.1
- peccatum 4.3; 5.5;
5.11; 5.17; 5.17;
6.2; 6.4; 6.13;
6.14; 6.18; 6.29
- pellere 6.6
- pendere 12.29
- penes 3.17; 7.3;
17.6
- penitens, *see*
paenitens
- penitentia, *see*
paenitentia
- penitus/paenitus
9.10; 12.9; 19.10
- pensare 4.18; 10.5;
16.1; 16.3; 19.3;
24.10
- pentecoste 9.16;
11.1; 11.3
- per 51
- peragere 2.11; 6.23
- percellere 21.1
- percurrere 10.1;
19.6
- percussio 12.29
- perdere 8.8; 8.10;
16.2; 23.3; 23.4
- perducere 1.14
- peregrinus 1.8;
3.10; 3.21
- perennis *Acc.*8
- perfectus 24.6
- perficere 3.19
- perfunctorius 3.3
- perhennis 6.10
- permissio 9.17
- permittere 3.23;
6.23; 9.12; 12.9;
23.1
- perpetrare 16.6
- perseuerare 1.15;
18.5
- persuasio 1.13
- pertinere 4.21; 16.9
- peruenire 22.8
- peruigil 14.2
- pes 11.5; 12.26
- pestis 4.17
- petere 4.11; 4.22;
5.23; 22.19;
22.20; *Acc.*6; 7; 8
- petitio 22.20
- pietas 1.17; 1.17;
4.21; 5.8; 5.11;
5.26; 6.15; 8.3;
15.1; 15.12; 20.5;
20.7; 20.8; 21.3;
24.2; *Acc.*26
- piger 4.6
- pistrix 3.18; 12.18;
12.21
- pius 2.4; 4.2; 5.20;
6.30; 10.7; 15.11;
22.5
- placere 4.2; 4.3;
9.13; *Acc.*19
- plantare *Acc.*10
- plus 1.3; 10.9;
10.10
- poena 12.12; 15.6;
20.6; 20.7
- pollere *Acc.*6
- polliceri 21.1
- pompa 3.1
- pomum 10.4; 10.16
- pondus 12.7
- ponere 3.2; 5.2; 8.5;
8.8; 8.9; 9.3; 9.21;
9.21; 22.1; 22.12;
23.7; 24.7
- porrigere 2.12
- porta 3.13; 3.17;
3.20; 3.20
- portare 3.12; 9.9;
15.6
- portaria 3.title; 3.1;
9.12
- poscere 4.11; 9.7;
9.8; 10.3; 14.12;

- 15.7; 16.8; 18.4;
Acc. 8
- positus 4.12; 6.29;
8.5; 8.8; 8.9; 9.21;
9.21; 11.2; 22.1;
22.12; 23.7; 24.7
- posse 3.21; 14.11;
15.12; 16.6; 24.3;
Acc. 5; 8; 9
- possidere *Acc.* 8
- post *19*
- postea 21.1; 21.2;
24.3
- postmodum 21.5;
Acc. 9
- postponere 8.1
- postquam 22.18
- postulare 22.11
- potare *Acc.* 16
- potentia *Acc.* 21
- potestas 17.8
- potio 10.7; 10.8
- potius 15.12; 17.1;
Acc. 25
- potus 9.11; 10.3;
10.6; 10.12;
10.16; 15.7
- praebere/prebere
1.14; 1.19;
- praeceptio 15.2
- praecipere/preciper
e 5.4; 5.10; 5.23;
6.25; 9.10; 17.6
- praecipuae/
praecipue 8.10;
10.17; 15.2; 15.8
- praecipuus/precipu
us 9.16;
- praeco 8.1; 8.2
- praeconium/preconi
um 14.2; *Acc.* 19
- praelatus 1.3
- praemere 9.18
- praemium 1.19;
5.11; *Acc.* 8; 23
- praeparare 3.6;
12.14; 14.1
- praepedire *Acc.* 8;
22
- praeponere 4.14;
8.2
- praeposita/preposita
2.title; 2.1; 2.3;
2.16; 7.1; 9.9;
10.17; 11.8; 12.5;
12.9; 12.19;
12.21; 12.27;
16.5; 22.17; 22.21
- praesens/presens
1.19; 2.12; 3.1;
3.3; 12.9; 15.4;
17.7
- praesentare 3.17
- praessura 2.11
- praestare 20.11
- praestus 1.8
- praesumere 3.11;
4.9; 7.4; 9.8; 9.10;
9.21; 10.17;
10.18; 17.7;
17.10; 22.14
- praetendere *Acc.* 18
- praeter/preter *11*
- praex 6.15
- prauus 9.2
- prebere, *see*
praebere
- precacio 10.7
- precedere 6.8
- preceptum 2.7;
4.14; 4.24; 5.2;
9.5; 18.1; 18.2;
19.10; 22.title
- precipuus, *see*
praecipuus
- presens, *see*
praesens
- presidium/praesidiu
m 1.19; 6.16;
Acc. 9
- primordium 5.12
- primus 8.4; 11.6;
17.12; *Acc.* 9
- pristinus 21.1
- priuare 19.4; 19.7
- prius 8
- pro 23
- probabilis 21.2;
21.4
- probatus 13.2;
14.12
- procedere 4.19; 6.3
- procliuis 12.29
- procurare 8.11;
10.14
- prodesse 1.15
- prodigus 2.5; 4.17
- proditio 16.7
- proditor 17.11
- profectus 1.18
- proferre *Acc.* 19
- proficere 20.1; 24.6
- proinde 2
- prolixitas 2.2;
Acc. 26
- prolixus 8.6
- promouere 22.13
- promptus 4.12;
Acc. title; 23; 26
- propheta 3.4; 9.1;
9.3; *Acc.* 2
- propiciatio 6.8
- propositum 7.6
- proprius 1.2; 5.16;
12.1; 12.5;
17.title; 17.1;
17.2; 17.6; 22.21;
23.9; 23.3; 23.4;
23.4
- propter *10*
- prorumpere 9.18
- prosequi 22.11;
Acc. 21
- prostratus 6.26;
22.18
- protoplastes 5.12
- protrahere 19.5
- prouehere 2.13
- prouidentia 1.17
- prouidus 2.12
- prouocare *Acc.* 15
- prout 8
- proximus 5.7; 5.8;
5.10; 5.14; 5.16;
5.18; 5.26; 6.30;
23.1; 23.title
- psallere 12.16;
Acc. 20; 21; 22
- psalmista 1.11;
6.17; *Acc.* 20
- psalmografus
Acc. 19
- psalmus 8.4; 8.9;
12.11; 19.7; 22.12
- puerilis 24.6
- pulsare *Acc.* 13; 15
- purgare 6.21
- puritas 5.9; *Acc.* 23;
25
- purus 6.5; 16.5;
16.8; 16.9; 22.5
- putare 15.4
- quadragesima 11.3;
11.4; 15.7
- quaerere/querere
4.19; 6.11; ; 13.2;
15.4; 22.20
- qualis 9
- qualiter *10*
- quamdiu 19.7
- quamquam 23.7
- quamuis 4.22; 14.2;
Acc. 10
- quando *10*
- quandocumque 8.1
- quandoque 1.19;
Acc. 14
- quantus 9
- quatenus 3
- quaternus 10.9
- quattuor 12.19
- qui *160*
- quia *19*

- quicquid 5
 quicumque 9
 quies 12.8
 quiescere 12.7;
 14.7; 14.10
 quilibet 14
 quinquaginta 11.1
 quippe 6.4; 9.2
 quique 4
 quire 10.5
 quisquam 17.7
 quisque *Acc.*21; 25
 quoca, *see* coca
 quod 29
 quodammodo 1.13
 quomodo 3
 quoniam 12.28
 quot 1.16
 quur, *see* cur
 radicitus 17.5
 rapere 14.10
 ratio 4.11; 4.14;
 9.5; 10.title; 11.2
 reatus 16.10
 receptio 21.title;
 21.5
 recipere 1.18; 1.19;
 2.15; 3.10; 3.17;
 3.22; 3.25; 6.6;
 7.1; 7.2; 7.3; 7.4;
 9.20; 13.5; 15.9;
 21.2; 21.4; *Acc.*15
 recitare 22.12
 recludere 19.9
 recondere 16.10
 recordari 21.1
 recordatio 12.9;
 12.11
 rectus *Acc.*18
 reddere 4.14; 6.30;
 9.5; 9.11; 20.5
 redemptio 6.9;
 6.10; 6.11
 redintegrare 6.7;
 7.2
 reducere 1.9; 2.2
 refectio 3.21; 11.4;
 12.8
 refectorium 16.2;
 24.7
 refellere 22.14
 referre 3.13; 8.3;
 17.11
 reficere 3.21; 3.21;
 9.14; 10.8; 10.9;
 10.11; 11.title;
 11.1; 11.3; 11.3;
 11.4; 24.10
 regimen 1.16; 20.3
 regnare *Acc.*28
 regradi 22.13
 regula 3.24; 3.25;
 7.6; 9.title; 9.1;
 9.7; 9.13; 10.8;
 10.18; 12.12;
 12.21; 15.12;
 18.1; 18.4; 19.6;
 19.11
 regularis 3.14;
 17.12; 19.11
 religio/relegio 1.9;
 2.5; 3.24; 5.9;
 10.2; 12.19; 14.9;
 21.1; 21.1; 22.13;
 22.14; 24.5; 24.8;
*Acc.*1; 21
 religiosus/relegiosu
 s 4.1; 14.1; 22.22
 relinquere 12.9
 reliquus 2.11; 3.22
 remissio 6.6
 remittere 5.18;
 5.18; 6.4
 repellere 5.6
 reportare 12.23
 repperire/reperire
 2.14; 2.19; 12.20;
 12.29; 24.11
 reprehensibilis
 12.20
 representare/repraes
 entare 12.20;
 12.27
 requiescere 2.7
 res 2.10; 2.11; 2.14;
 3.22; 4.8; 17.2;
 17.3; 17.5; 17.6;
 17.7; 17.8
 reseruare 3.22
 respicere 10.12;
 14.7
 respondere 4.22;
 22.16
 responsio 4.11;
 4.19; 4.19
 resurrectio 11.1
 retinere 2.16; 3.17;
 3.18; 3.19; 5.16;
 5.21; 17.6; 19.7;
 24.5
 retrahere 2.13
 retro 22.13
 reuelare 6.17; 6.18;
 6.18
 reuelatio 6.17
 reuera 15.5
 reuerentia 10.9
 reuersio 21.5
 reuerti 21.1
 reuocare 8.4
 rex 8.1
 rigere *Acc.*10
 rigidus 1.12; 22.5
 roboam 2.10
 rogare 6.26; 10.14;
 12.24; 12.28;
 22.10; 22.19;
 22.19; 22.22
 rudis 6.2
 ruina 4.3; 6.12
 sabbata 2.16; 12.14
 sacer 1.4; 1.4; 2.15;
 3.24; 9.7; 9.16;
 10.9; 11.2
 sacerdos 22.22
 sacrare *Acc.*9
 sacratus 3.22; 11.1;
 11.1; 11.4
 saecularis 3.13
 saeculum 4.4; 5.9;
*Acc.*6; 28; 28
 saepe 20.title; 20.1;
 20.11
 sagax 6.1
 salomon *Acc.*11
 saltim 20.5
 saluare 5.4
 salus 6.17; 7.2;
 20.11; 23.3;
*Acc.*28
 salutare 12.25
 salutatio 22.5
 sanare 1.12; 6.18
 sancire 22.1
 sanctitas 1.1
 sanctus 6.8; 9.1;
 9.16; 11.1; 11.1;
 18.1; 22.1;
*Acc.*15; 28
 sanguis 5.5; 23.6
 sanies 1.13; 20.4;
 20.6
 sanus 1.14; 15.8
 sapiens 4.1; *Acc.*20;
 21
 sapientia 1.1
 satire 9.14
 satisfacere 8.6
 satisfactio 3.15;
 16.6; 19.8
 saturitas 10.11
 scandalizare 4.24
 scandalum 4.23
 scientia 1.11; 10.1;
 20.3; 20.4
 scilicet *Acc.*8
 scire 2.6; 2.18; 4.4;
 4.14; 19.1; 21.5;
*Acc.*18
 scola 6.23; 12.13;
 14.title; 14.14

- scribere 2.8; 4.20;
5.13; 20.3
- scriptura 2.11; 6.1;
6.3; 6.14; 9.1;
9.19; 12.11
- scurrilis 9.2; 9.5
- se 26
- secretus 6.24; 16.9;
18.2
- secunda 3.17; 3.18;
3.19; 3.20; 6.20;
6.23; 9.7; 12.3;
17.12
- secundum 5.7; 5.9;
5.9; 8.12; 12.7;
12.21; 16.3; 18.2;
18.4
- securus 6.5
- sed 47
- sedare 6.30
- sedere 10.12; 11.7;
24.8
- sedulus 2.12;
20.title
- segnis 8.4
- segnitia 2.19
- segregare 8.7; 19.7;
20.9
- semel 4
- semetipse 5.11;
22.21
- semper 24
- senex 14.5
- senilis/saenilis 2.1;
3.1; 14.12; 16.3
- senior 2.8; 2.9;
2.10; 2.16; 4.7;
4.10; 7.1; 7.3;
11.6; 12.19;
12.20; 12.21;
14.9; 18.1; 18.2;
19.8; 22.11;
22.11; 22.14;
22.15; 22.16;
22.17; 22.17;
- 24.4; 24.7; 24.8;
24.9
- sensus 2.17
- sententia 7.6; 20.6
- sentire 15.6; 15.9
- separare 14.12;
19.9; 20.12
- separatim 15.6
- septa 3.23; 20.9;
21.1; 21.2; *Acc.* 15
- septem 19.6
- sequi 4.14; *Acc.* 3
- series 6.1; 8.9; 9.1
- sermo 1.2; 2.3;
4.19; 4.20; 4.20;
9.5; 9.6; 22.5
- seruare 6.3; 9.1;
10.8; 22.title;
22.title; 22.6
- seruire *Acc.* 19; 20
- seruitus *Acc.* 14
- sese 2.13
- seu 9
- sexta 11.1; 12.7
- si 92
- sibi 11
- sic 42
- sicut 17
- signum 3.20; 8.title;
8.1; 10.13; 10.14;
10.14; 14.5
- silentium 9.title;
9.1; 9.1; 9.20;
12.12; 14.5; 22.22
- similis 10.8; 21.3
- similiter 2.18; 4.13;
4.17; 6.23; 11.2;
12.14; 12.21;
12.28; 15.1;
22.17; 22.20
- simul 6
- sine 14
- singulus 3.2; 3.8;
11.5; 11.5; 12.14;
12.29
- siue 4
- sobrietas 10.1;
11.5; 22.23; 22.23
- sobrius 2.4; 4.6
- sol 3.19
- solacium 6.16
- solidus 9.11
- solitus 10.6
- sollemnitas 9.16;
10.3; 10.9; 11.1;
11.1; 11.3; 11.4;
12.14
- sollers 2.3; 14.4
- sollicitudo 1.8;
13.2; 14.4
- sollicitus 1.8; 8.11;
13.4; *Acc.* 21
- soluere 5.16; 5.26;
5.26; 6.15
- solus 3.18; 7.1; 9.5;
9.6; 17.11
- somnus 8.7; 9.8;
24.10
- sonitus 8.2
- sonus 9.18; 11.5
- sopor 14.2
- soror 2.16; 3.21;
4.10; 4.11; 4.12;
5.6; 5.6; 5.11;
5.11; 6.24; 7.title;
7.1; 8.6; 9.10;
10.12; 12.14;
12.24; 12.26;
16.5; 17.8; 17.12;
18.1; 19.4; 19.9;
20.1; 21.title;
21.1; 22.14;
22.15; 22.23; 23.6
- sospitas 20.5
- spacium/spatium
3.21; 6.20; 11.1;
19.6
- sperare 15.9
- spernere 2.10; 6:27
- spes 3.2; 6.7; 6.8;
6.27
- spiritus 6.8; 11.1;
Acc. 15; 28
- splendor 12.16
- stare 6.24; 6.25;
Acc. 13
- statim 16.5
- statio 11.4
- statuere 12.2; 19.7
- status 6.2; 22.6
- strepitus 11.5
- studere 1.15; 3.18;
4.3; 4.21; 6.23;
9.6; 9.9; 9.20;
22.13; 22.21; 23.7
- studium 3.25; 6.18;
13.4; 15.8; 19.3;
23.9; *Acc.* 1; 21
- sub 11
- subditus 2.12; 2.8;
2.9
- subiacere 15.12;
16.8; 17; 12; 18.4;
18.5; 19.11; 20.1
- subicere 1.12; 2.13;
14.4;
- subiugare 1.3
- sublimare *Acc.* 23
- sublimatio 10.12
- sublimis 2.13; 3.9
- subsequi 6.5; 10.15
- subsidiium 2.12
- substantia 4.18
- subtrahere 4.18
- subuenire 1.13; 2.6
- sufferre 10.5
- sufficere 10.4; 16.6
- suffragium 12.1;
Acc. 8
- suggerere 22.21
- sumere 12.3
- summus 3.3; 8.1;
15.8; 22.6
- supellex/suppellex
2.14; 13.title
- super 4
- superare 22.3

- superbia 2.5; 20.2
 superbire 22.16
 superbus 18.1
 superfluus 9.4
 superpositio 8.10;
 8.12
 superuenire 3.5;
 9.12; 12.6;
 16.title; 22.15
 supplementum 1.19
 supra 4
 surgere 8.title; 8.1;
 14.5; 22.18
 sustinere 6.8; 10.5
 suus 35
 sycerus 10.6
 tacere 9.2
 talis 10
 tam 13
 tamdiu 2
 tamen 17
 tangere 10.14
 tantum 2
 tantummodo 3
 tantus 1.17; 24.4
 tardare 8.11
 tarditas 2.19; 4.23;
 8.9
 tardus 4.6; 6.5; 15.8
 te 4
 temeritas 10.18;
 10.18; 17.11
 temperare 4.18
 temporalis 5.6;
 12.10; 17.3;
*Acc.*22
 temptare 18.1
 tempus 9.1; 10.3;
 11.title; 11.2;
 12.1; 12.2; 12.7;
 15.7; 15.7; 19.7;
 21.1; *Acc.*22
 tenacitas 18.5
 tendere *Acc.*1; 23
 tenebrae 2.14; 6.2
 tener 16.3; 20.13;
 24.3
 tenere 7.3; 12.9;
 19.7; 20.8
 tenor 3.25; 15.12;
 20.9
 tepescere 2.2; 2.6;
 2.17; 6.21; 22.4
 tepiditas 2.18
 tepor 16.10
 ternus 10.9
 terra 5.13; 12.17;
 12.25
 tertius 3.8; 9.21;
 17.12; 21.3; 21.5
 testari 5.15; 5.17;
*Acc.*11
 testis 3.8; 7.2; 9.21
 theufania 9.16
 tibi 3
 timere *Acc.*20
 timor 4.14; 4.15;
 12.15; 13.4; 21.1;
 24.5; 24.9; *Acc.*19
 tollere 1.17
 torpere 2.2
 torpescere 14.2
 torrere *Acc.*16
 tot 2
 totus 3.2; 3.20; 4.2;
 8.8; 8.10; 14.14
 tradere 17.8
 traditio 6.1
 transgredi 3.14;
 10.18; 19.11
 transgressio 4.3
 transilire 22.12
 tremor *Acc.*19
 tres 2.11; 9.21;
 12.18; 12.22
 tribuere 3.19; 4.19;
 4.22; 4.23; 10.6;
 13.3
 tristitia 11.2
 trutinare 10.1
 tu 6.4; 12.28
 tueri 23.7
 tumor 20.2; 20.6
 tunc 8
 turbulentus 2.4; 4.6
 tutus 12.20
 tuus 8
 uacare 9.6; 12.2;
 12.9
 ualere 6.5; 10.5
 uanitas 3.4
 uasum 2.14; 3.22;
 11.5; 12.27
 uber 15.7; 22.13;
 23.3
 ubertas *Acc.*16; 25
 ubi 2
 uel 125
 uelle 7.6; 15.1;
 16.9; 20.9
 uendere 17.11
 uenia 8.6; 16.6;
 19.8; 22.19;
 22.20; 22.20;
*Acc.*27
 uenire 8.4; 11.5;
 15.3; 22.18;
 22.20; 22.22;
*Acc.*15; 16
 uerber 20.1
 uerbum 9.3
 uerecundari 16.10
 uerecundia 8.5; 8.8
 uerecundus 7.2;
 22.14
 ueritas 2.11; 23.5
 uero 49
 uersum 12.28
 uerus 5,7; 9.20;
 20.10; 22.6; 22.7;
 22.7; 22.7; 22.7
 uespera 3.20; 11.2;
 11.4; 12.8
 uespertinus 3.20
 uester 6
 uestimentium 12.5;
 17.5; 17.7
 uestiri 14.13
 ueterescere 6.2
 uia 3.4; 6.17; 22.10
 uicis 3.6; 10.8;
 11.3; 11.8; 12.9;
 12.18; 12.20
 uidere 3.4; 3.5; 4.4;
 8.8; 15.11; 22.4;
*Acc.*17
 uigere 10.2; 13.2;
 18.4
 uigil 2.3
 uigilare 10.14; 14.3
 uigor 14.2
 uincere 1.19
 uinculum 5.16
 uindicare 17.title;
 17.2; 17.5;
 uindicta 6.30; 20.1
 uinum 10.7; 10.8
 uiolare 7.6; 18.1
 uiolatrix 12.12
 uir 3.23
 uiridis 16.3
 uirtus 3.7; 22.6;
 22.8; 22.23; 22.3;
 24.11
 uirus 5.12
 uis 20.13
 uisitare 2.16; 2.17
 uisitatio 19.10
 uisus 6.21
 uita 1.19; 2.2; 2.11;
 6.3; 15.7; 21.4
 uitiare 16.4
 uitium 1.12; 1.16;
 2.5; 4.18; 7.5;
 16.4; 17.5; 17.12;
 20.12; 22.12;
 23.9; 24.3; 23.8
 uiuere 17.3; 17.4;
 23.2; 23.5
 uiuificare 3.4
 uix 2
 ullus 4
 ultimus 8.5

unde 4	17.8; 23.4; 23.9;	usitare 12.4	utroque 1.12
undecim 2.11	23.4	usque 12	uulnerare 14.8
unguentum 20.5	uos 5	usus 2.10; 2.27;	uulnus 6.18; 7.2;
unitas 3.24	uouere 3.24	10.3; 12.1; 12.14;	7.3; 20.5
unus 10	uox 1.4; 1.5; 1.5;	15.8; 24.6	uultus 3.9; 4.4
unusquisque 12.22	1.6; 1.6; 4.11;	ut 126	zelus 3.25
uoluntas 2.8; 2.9;	4.19; 4.22; 9.18;	utensilium 3.22;	
4.1; 10.7; 16.5;	9.18; 10.14;	13.title; 13.1; 13.4	
	10.15; 22.22	utilitas 9.7; 16.2	

Editorial decisions for the edition, to be discussed/explained

- Can we insert an image of the first column of the *Regula cuiusdam patris*?
- Isabelle made a remark about the hierarchy of sections, subsections, sub-subsections etc. We need to find a solution for that. At the moment there is no hierarchy. What would you recommend?
- How to mark textual parallels. Bold is not beautiful but it's the easiest to recognize immediately. I experimented with spaced letters but the optical impression isn't better and it is less clear. An alternative would be to use small caps all through but I doubt whether that looks really more beautiful. At the moment I use small caps for text use from sources that are not the RBen, i.e. the Rules of Columbanus and Basil and the works of John Cassian. I'm open to suggestions.
- In the commentary: I inserted a period after each entry that forms a grammatically correct sentence but left out periods if it's only a reference.
- In the Apparatus criticus, fontium and Fortleben all Latin texts are printed straight; in the commentary they are printed in *italics*
- Biblical references before punctuation (periods, periods, semicolons).
- All Latin quotations use u/V, also those quoted from editions that use u/v and U/V. The only exception are references to the PL edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the critical apparatus.
- The critical apparatus is negative (i.e. the reading in the text is only reproduced if the information in the apparatus would be ambiguous or unclear.
- Listings of references to monastic rules are given roughly chronological order; listings of hagiographic texts in alphabetical order. For example: *RBas* 23; *RPach Pr* 23; *RIVP* 5.24; *CaesRV* 23; *RD* 21; *V. Antonii* 23; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 21. Cassian, *Institutiones* is treated as a monastic rule.
- The *Index Verborum* in general refers to sentence numbers, *De accedendo* is integrated. For particles, pronouns etc. I provide the number of occurrences in the text in *italics*. E.g. eruditio 1.2
erumnosus 6.15
esse 219
et 194
- Spelling follows *M*, even if it is inconsistent (*penitentia*; *paenitentia*). The *index Verborum* however all terms are listed under one spelling variant, if necessary with cross references, eg. "hebdomada, *see* ebdomada."
- References to the folio of *M* are currently integrated in the text. It would be great if we can put them in the margin, but if that's difficult, I'm fine with leaving them in the text. But I don't want to take them out.
- Source references in the commentary usually don't include references to editions, unless it is a lesser well-known text that appears only once in the apparatus.
- For the time being, orthographic variants still appear in the critical apparatus. I have highlighted them yellow. We can decide to get rid of them at a later stage. I would, however, document spelling variants if the spelling has been deliberately altered in *M^{pc}*
- I use *c.* in the study, but usually not in the edition. For example: *VCol* I.12 (edition); *VCol* I, *c.* 23 (study); *V. Eligii* II.23 (edition); *Vita Eligii* II, *c.* 23 (study).

- The text of the edition is divided in paragraphs only if there are clearly identifiable different sets of regulations. I do this so that the reader can easily recognize the structure of a chapter.
- In the Latin text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, words added for clarification are placed between square brackets [She]; latin terms added for explanation are added between round brackets (*amor*).
- Connections between the *Regula cuiusdam* and the *Memoriale qualiter* are documented in detail. The *Memoriale qualiter* exists in a male version quoted as *Memoriale qualiter I*, and a female version, *Memoriale qualiter II*. Since the edition of both versions is rather confusing and the chapter division not congruent, I quote both versions independently and add page references.
- Any Latin quotations in the footnotes that have been highlighted in green are checked against the original text.
- I apply the Oxford Comma consistently.
- Quotation marks before and after the period: I put them after the period unless it is just one expression put between quotation mark. If this is a bad decision, it can easily be resolved by search and replace. I did, however, place quotation marks before commas, colons, and semicolons.
- In general, I use double quotation marks, except in references to articles or chapters.
- I capitalize nomina sacra (also Psalms, Antiphones, liturgical Hours)
- I use abbreviated source references without “c.” in the edition (*RDon* 12.9 *etc.*) without references to the editions in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but write them out and give page references in the study: *Regula Donati*, c. 19.9, *CSEL* 98, p. 13.